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CONTENTS

EDITORIAL FOREWORD		vii
FIELDWORK, 1997–8: DELTA SURVEY, MEMPHIS, SAQQARA, TELL EL-AMARNA, GEBEL DOKHAN, QASR IBRIM	Penelope Wilson, D. G. Jeffreys <i>et al.</i> , Geoffrey T. Martin, Paul T. Nichol- son, Barry Kemp, Valerie A. Maxfield and David Peacock, and Pamela Rose	1
PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE SURVEY OF KOM EL-HISN, 1996	C. J. Kirby, S. E. Orel and S. T. Smith	23
UNCHARTED SAQQARA: A POSTSCRIPT	Sue Davies	45
TROIS SESHEMNEFER ET TRENTE-SIX DOMAINES.	Luc Delvaux et Eugène Warmenbol	57
LA POPULATION <i>MRT</i> : UNE APPROCHE DU PROBLÈME DE LA SERVITUDE DANS L'ÉGYPTE DU III ^e MILLÉNAIRE (I)	Juan Carlos Moreno García	71
NEUE FRAGMENTE ZUR <i>LEHRE EINES MANNES FÜR SEINEN SOHN</i> (P. BM EA 10775 UND P. BM EA 10778)	Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert	85
A FUNERARY MASK IN DURHAM AND MUMMY ADORNMENT IN THE LATE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY	Aidan Dodson	93
FRIENDSHIP AND FRUSTRATION: A STUDY IN PAPYRI DEIR EL-MEDINA IV–VI	Deborah Sweeney	101
UNE MONUMENT D'ORIGINALITÉ	Olivier Perdu	123
A PARALLEL TO THE INAROS STORY OF P. KRALL (P. CARLSBERG 456+P. CtYBR 4513): DEMOTIC NARRATIVES FROM THE TEBTUNIS TEMPLE LIBRARY (I).	Kim Ryholt	151
GNOMONS AT MEROË AND EARLY TRIGONOMETRY	Leo Depuydt	171

I. E. S. EDWARDS	H. S. Smith.	181
KATE BOSSE-GRIFFITHS	Alan B. Lloyd	191
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS		
ZU EINEM SCHEINBAR ENIGMATISCHEN EPITHETON EINES MEISTERSCHLACHTERS AUS DEM SPÄTEN ALTEN REICH	Ludwig D. Morenz	195
FAIR GEGENÜBER DEM 'MANN VON DRAUßEN' (<i>RWTY</i>)—ZU EINER PASSAGE EINER INSCRIFT DER ERSTEN ZWISCHENZEIT	Ludwig D. Morenz	196
THE SMALL SEALS OF THE FORTRESS OF ASKUT	Brigitte Gratién	201
FOUR NOTES ON THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY. <i>THE SARCOPHAGUS IN THE TOMB OF TUTANKHAMUN:</i> A CLARIFICATION	M. Eaton-Krauss.	205
HOW OLD WAS MATANAZI?	M. Eaton-Krauss.	210
A FIRST ACOLYTE OF AMUN	Trevor Bryce	212
PARTISAN ROYAL EPITHETS IN THE LATE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD AND THE DYNASTIC AFFILIATION OF PEDUBAST I AND IUPUT II	James K. Thomson	215
THE QUESTION OF <i>DQR</i> AND STERILE BLADES IN P. EBERS 875	Brian Muhs	220
NEW EVIDENCE FOR THE USE OF CEDAR SAWDUST FOR EMBALMING BY ANCIENT EGYPTIANS	Luc Bouchet-Bert	224
AN INSECT STUDY FROM EGYPTIAN STORED PRODUCTS IN THE LIVERPOOL MUSEUM	Victoria Asensi Amorós and Colette Vozenin-Serra	228
ABNORMAL HIERATIC IN OXFORD: TWO NEW PAPYRI	Eva Panagiotakopulu	231
	John Baines, Koen Donker van Heel and Hans- Werner Fischer-Elfert	234
REVIEWS		
ROLF GUNDLACH, <i>Der Pharao und sein Staat. Die Grundlegung der ägyptischen Königsideologie im 4. und 3. Jahrtausend.</i>	Reviewed by Jaromir Malek	237
MANFRED BIETAK, <i>Avaris, the Capital of the Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dabra</i>	Jacke Phillips	238
R. B. PARKINSON, <i>The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Egyptian Poems, 1940–1640 BC</i>	Detlef Franke	241
STUART TYSON SMITH, <i>Askut in Nubia. The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium BC</i>	D. A. Aston.	243

CONTENTS

v

WILLIAM J. MURNANE, <i>Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt</i> and ALBRECHT ENDRUWEIT, <i>Städtischer Wohnbau in Ägypten: Klimagerechte Lehmarchitektur in Amarna</i>	Ian Shaw	246
PATRICIA SPENCER, <i>Amara West, I. The Architectural Report</i>	John Alexander	249
JAC. J. JANSSEN, <i>Village Varia. Ten Studies on the History and Administration of Deir el-Medina</i>	M. L. Bierbrier	251
P. BRIANT, <i>Histoire de l'empire perse. De Cyrus à Alexandre</i>	Maria Brosius	253
DOMINIC MONTSERRAT, <i>Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt</i>	Gay Robins	256
LORELEI H. CORCORAN, <i>Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I-IV Centuries A.D.) with a Catalog of Portrait Mummies in Egyptian Museums</i>	Dieter Kurth	258
K. A. WÖRPER (ed.), <i>Greek Papyri from Kellis, I.</i>	J. David Thomas	261
DAVID P. S. PEACOCK AND VALERIE A. MAXFIELD, <i>Survey and Excavation: Mons Claudianus 1987-1993. Volume I, Topography and Quarries</i>	Donald Bailey	263
WILLIAM Y. ADAMS, <i>Qasr Ibrîm. The Late Mediaeval Period</i>	W. H. C. Frend	265

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

THE year 1998 has been a busy one for the Egypt Exploration Society. Seven major fieldwork projects were undertaken under the Society's auspices, as well as smaller studies. Objectives and findings are more fully detailed in the Fieldwork section which follows. Publication of discoveries arising from such work continued apace. The volume on *The Tomb of Tia and Tiä*, an important Ramesside monument in the Saqqara necropolis discovered and recorded by the EES–Leiden joint expedition, has appeared, written by Professor Geoffrey T. Martin and various collaborators. 1998 also saw the long-awaited publication of some of the Society's fieldwork in the Batn el-Hagar region as part of the UNESCO Nubian Rescue Campaign in the early 1960s. Two volumes on the architecture and texts of the temples at *Semna-Kumma*, a project of Dr Ricardo A. Caminos in an advanced state at the time of his death, have been brought out under the editorship of Mr T. G. H. James.

The ever-increasing demands on staff in the Society's London office have led to the creation of a new post there. Mr David Butcher was appointed from August 1998 with specific responsibility for the administration of the Society's finances. This has allowed Dr Patricia Spencer and Dr Carla Gallorini to make more effective use of their Egyptological and information technology skills in work on the Society's colour magazine, *Egyptian Archaeology*, and other publications, and on the computerization of the library catalogue respectively. The Society also now has a website (www.ees.ac.uk) with details of membership and publications, as well as the latest news on excavations in Egypt and Egyptological events elsewhere.

The British Museum has continued to pursue an active programme in 1998, despite the major disruptions and gallery closures due to building work announced in the last *JEA*. Of the annual Sackler lecture Dr Derek Welsby writes:

The Sackler Distinguished Lecture in Egyptology was delivered by Dr Rudolf Kuper of the Heinrich Barth Institut at the University of Köln on 22 July 1998. The lecture, entitled 'Archaeology and Discoveries in the Western Desert' and held in the British Museum lecture theatre, was attended by a capacity audience and was devoted to the results of ongoing investigations of climatic change and human adaptation in the Western Desert of Egypt. It set the scene for the following two-day colloquium, held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, Brunei Gallery. A large number of papers highlighted the importance of, and the interaction of, the desert with the Nile valley both in Egypt and in Northern Sudan. They drew attention to the wide range and longevity of activity in what are now very inhospitable regions made possible by the dislocation during the Holocene of climatic zones several hundred kilometres to the north of where they lie today. With the onset of the present arid phase, which rendered the deserts unsuitable for sedentary occupation, they still retained, particularly as sources of gold and hard stone, considerable economic importance. The threats posed by uncontrolled desert tourism were noted as well as steps being taken to combat the resulting damage both to the fragile environment and to the archaeological sites hitherto so well preserved by virtue of their isolation.

A new display of mummies and funerary equipment is scheduled to open at the British Museum in 1999, thanks to the generous sponsorship of the Bioanthropology Foundation. There will also be a temporary exhibition accompanied by a substantial publication from 8 July until December 1999 celebrating the bicentenary of the discovery of the Rosetta Stone. The Stone has been recently cleaned, with spectacular results, and now presents a strikingly different appearance. It will be fully conserved as part of the display, which will concern the decipherment and the uses of writing in ancient Egypt.

The opening of an important permanent exhibition of Egyptian material is not something which occurs frequently, so it is a pleasure to mark the opening of the Swansea Egypt Centre on 28 September 1998. Built out of the Swansea Wellcome Collection and situated at the University of Wales, Swansea, it contains two large display galleries open to the public and is the first facility of its kind in Wales.

The original Griffith Institute in Oxford, so fondly remembered by many scholars, was demolished over the past summer. The Griffith Institute with the Topographical Bibliography has now moved into new premises, also housing the bulk of the library, near the old site, in St. John's Street, and will remain there until the new building is complete.

May 1998 saw the retirement of Mr John Ruffle as Keeper of the Oriental Museum at the University of Durham. A lifelong museum man, he began his career at the Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery, moving to the Durham museum in 1980. Although devoted to the collections in his care, John Ruffle has always been an enthusiast for making ancient Egypt accessible to a wider audience and the general public, and a keen arranger and presenter of lectures, day-schools and extramural classes, and with the closure of the Egyptology department at Durham University, his teaching has kept the subject going there on a restricted scale. His enthusiasm remains infectious, and the large and lively group of devotees of Egypt flourishing in the northeast of Britain is the visible result of his labour. We wish him well in his retirement.

A welcome Egyptological appointment in Britain this year has been that of Dr Sarah Clackson, an expert on Coptic papyrology, as Lady Wallis Budge Fellow at Christ's College, Cambridge.

On a less happy tone, 1998 has seen the deaths of a number of eminent scholars who have made rich contributions to the wider field of Egyptology in a variety of areas. Dr Kate Bosse-Griffiths, who did so much for the study of ancient Egypt in Wales, is the subject of an obituary in this volume.

The Swedish Egyptologist Professor Torgny Säve-Söderbergh died on May 21, 1998, at the age of 83.

As a young man he studied Egyptology at Uppsala and Göttingen, but it was with Uppsala University that he was most closely associated throughout his long professional career. A personal chair was created for him there in 1950 which he held for 30 years until his retirement, where he was largely responsible for building up the study of ancient Egypt in Sweden. He was perhaps best known for his lifelong interest in Nubia. He served as the Swedish delegate to the executive committee of the UNESCO Nubian Rescue Campaign, where he was involved with the relocations of the Philae and Abu Simbel temples, and he wrote the UNESCO account in *Temples and Tombs of Ancient Nubia* (1987). He also acted as field director for the Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia, and served as the editor of its eleven-volume publication series. His academic interests were broad, including a study of Coptic poetics (1949), and several fieldwork seasons in Egypt, resulting in the completion of Norman de Garis Davies' work on Theban tombs (*Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs* (1957)) and the publication of Old Kingdom tombs in the Nag

Hammadi necropolis (1994). His long career culminated in his being elected president of the International Association of Egyptologists (1976–82) and of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (1978–84). [drawn from Lana Troy's obituary, posted on behalf of the IAE by Jaromir Malek, on griffoff@ermine.ox.ac.uk]

1998 also saw the death of Professor Adolf Klasens, on July 1, at the age of 81.

He began his career studying Classics and Egyptology at Groningen University, then moved to Leiden University to pursue his studies of ancient Egypt with Professor A. de Buck. Klasens developed close links with British Egyptology. He spent time in Cambridge working on demotic with S. R. K. Glanville, and received his archaeological training at Saqqara, working under W. B. Emery on EES excavations. This experience may have partly inspired him to initiate the Dutch tradition of archaeological fieldwork in Egypt. He excavated at Archaic sites at Abu Roash (1957–9), and during the Nubian Rescue Campaign explored the region near Abu Simbel, including the Meroitic town of Shokan and the Christian citadel church at Abdallah Nirqi. In 1960 he became Professor of Egyptology at Leiden University, where he took on the double task of teaching and involvement with the major Egyptian collection in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. His foremost attachment and devotion was to the museum, where he served for 33 years as librarian, curator and director, and it was largely through his efforts that the Leiden museum became the important research and display institution that it is today. [drawn from Hans D. Schneider's obituary, posted on behalf of the IAE by Jaromir Malek, on griffoff@ermine.ox.ac.uk]

An important loss in the field of Coptic studies is that of Dr Hans Quecke, who most recently served as honorary president of the International Association for Coptic Studies based in Rome.

While the international interest in Egyptology and the broad range of what is submitted for possible publication is reflected in the contents of the present volume, the EES has decided to maintain the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* as a predominantly English-language journal. In future there will be a strong preference for articles written in English. There has been a recent tendency for authors to submit manuscripts which conform poorly to *JEA* style, creating unnecessary work for the editors. In future we would ask contributors to read carefully and to implement the *JEA* style guidelines available on the inside cover of the *Journal* and in expanded form in our 'Notes to Contributors', which are sent out with acceptances and are also available on request. The quality of artwork has also frequently proved inadequate. We request that no original drawings or photographs (photocopies only) be sent until the article has actually been accepted for publication. Figures and text inserts accompanying final manuscripts should be on acetate or similar at any size; photocopies on ordinary paper will not usually reproduce to an adequate standard. In future a disc in any of the standard widely-available formats must accompany the final version of manuscripts. This is *not* camera-ready copy, but should conform as closely as possible to *JEA* house-style and should be identical to what has been printed out on the accompanying hard copy. Finally, in the interests of economy, we will no longer automatically return rejected manuscripts, so would-be contributors are reminded to retain copies of all material sent.

As Editor-in-chief of *JEA* it falls to me to thank all those who have assisted with the production of this volume. Dr Richard Parkinson and Dr Geraldine Pinch have, after years of sterling service, left our editorial group. Their patience and amusing reactions to various editorial necessities and vicissitudes will be remembered and missed. We welcome Dr Margaret Serpico, who joins Professor W. J. Tait and Dr John Taylor as an Assistant Editor of the *Journal*. Once again, the hieroglyphs were set by Dr Nigel

Strudwick, and they were eased through the Oxford computing system by Professor John Baines, who with beady eye, bicycle and keyboard offered a variety of useful services. Daniel Lines also deserves recognition for undertaking much of the thankless job of proofreading. Finally, it remains to thank all the scholars who have given their time and expertise to serve as anonymous referees for *JEA*, and our printers Whitstable-Litho and our typesetters Unicus Graphics Ltd, whose closure will bring to an end a long and productive association. We would like to thank Jim Vickers and his staff for their help and support over the last ten years.

FIELDWORK, 1997–8

THE 1997–8 season has proved an active and a fruitful one for the Egypt Exploration Society's fieldwork missions. As usual, the scope of activities undertaken by fieldworkers on behalf of the Society's projects was wide-ranging and varied, running from survey to excavation to specialist recording and analysis to conservation and restoration of important portions of monuments.

With the 1997–8 season EES participation in joint fieldwork with the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara comes to an end. The collaboration has lasted for more than twenty years and has been fruitful, with the re-emergence from obscurity of the tombs of the General Horemheb and of Tutankhamun's treasurer Maya being among the most spectacular and widely-reported results. Professor Geoffrey T. Martin, who has led the Society's efforts in this project, will continue to collaborate with the Dutch mission as it carries on the excavation and recording of these tombs.

The resources released by the ending of the Society's contribution will be devoted to more threatened sites, and 1997–8 saw the inauguration of the Society's Delta Survey Project after preliminary examinations last year. Sais was the main focus of attention (see the report below). Dr Penelope Wilson and James Wright also extended their attention beyond that immediate area to the site of Queisna, about 60 km north of Cairo. This site stands on a sand hill at least 20 m above the surrounding fields and contains a Roman cemetery and a nearly intact Late Period mausoleum which is currently being excavated by the SCA. EES interests at Buto were also pursued in the spring of 1998 by Peter French and Tomas Gorecki who, through the generosity of the German Institute in Cairo, continued to record pottery from EES excavations at Buto in the 1960s. The five other ongoing missions which the Society has in recent years sponsored also had profitable fieldwork seasons which are chronicled below. This was the last session at Mons Porphyrites and in the Sacred Animal Necropolis at Saqqara.

The Society, its field directors and their team members have received abundant help and support for their activities for which they are extremely grateful. The Supreme Council for Antiquities (SCA), under its former Permanent Secretary Dr Ali Hassan and his successor Professor Gaballa A. Gaballa, and its representatives in Cairo and elsewhere in Egypt have given much appreciated cooperation throughout the year and have earned our gratitude. The Secretary of the Higher Committee, Mr Magdi Abu el-Aala, and the staff of the security office at Abbasiya also deserve thanks. Once again Miss Rawya Ismail in the Cairo Office of the EES has done sterling work liaising between London and Cairo, providing every possible assistance to expedition members. Without the ongoing efforts of all of these, the Society's fieldwork activities would run much less smoothly.

The Survey of Sais, 1997

BETWEEN 21 September and 10 October 1997 the EES Mission to Sa el-Hagar (Sais) carried out a topographical survey of the area in the vicinity of the village of Sa el-Hagar. The team consisted of Penelope Wilson and James Wright¹ and the work was facilitated by the kind help and cooperation of the Tanta Inspectorate of the SCA and in particular, Mr Said Hegazy, Dr Sabri Hasnin and Mr Ahmed Rashwan.

The survey concentrated on two main areas of the site:

(a) An area directly to the north of the modern village (pl. I, 1), which is now an extensive pit about 400 m by 500 m in area, called by the survey team the 'Great Pit'. There are a few visible features here including a Roman bath house excavated by the EAO in 1974,² a group of large granite blocks, some mud-brick buildings and a limestone covered drain or waterway. In addition there are areas of dense stratified pottery concentrations (Roman) and of smashed limestone and other stone chippings. A granite sarcophagus and statue torso lying in this area were also recorded. At the east side of the pit, surface traces of building walls were noted and an attempt was made to mark them out for the topographical survey.

The exact nature of this 'pit' is unknown but it attests to the extensive digging in the area over the past two hundred years or so. Some of the material may have been taken for *sebakh* to fertilise the fields, whereas other mud and soil has been removed to build the huge embankments along the Nile to the west, presumably to act as flood barriers in the years before the building of the Aswan dams. The questions of artificial flood barriers and whether the position of the ancient town of Sais moved during the course of its history has important implications for future work at the site.

The village itself stands upon a low but distinct mound and although the modern village is rapidly expanding, it should be possible to try to trace the extent of the ancient village in future work.

(b) An area further to the north, known as Kom Farrays in some of the literature.³ This seems to be the area recorded by travellers to Sa el-Hagar in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and drawn by Georges Foucart in 1894.⁴ At that time a huge enclosure wall still surrounded substantial mud-brick buildings. In separate visits, Wilkinson and Champollion noted⁵ that what was possibly the main temple here occupied the southern half of the enclosure and was orientated on an east–west axis. The enclosure wall has become the main track around the area, providing a solid and stable unmetalled road. It is about 10 m wide at its widest point, but future work should be able to establish the true width of the enclosure wall, perhaps up to 28 m wide.⁶ The track encloses an area of approximately 750 m by 675 m, which must be the last vestige of collapsed and removed mud-brick. Much of the area is under cultivated fields (pl. I, 2), but the extent of the areas recorded by Foucart and containing mud-brick buildings and

¹I would like to thank James Wright for loaning equipment for the EES work and for giving his expertise so generously.

²J. Leclant, 'Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1973–1974', *Orientalia* 44 (1975), 201.

³D. Arnold, *Die Tempel Ägyptens*² (Augsburg, 1996), 218.

⁴'Notes prises dans le Delta', *RT* 20 (1898), 162–9.

⁵G. Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes* (London, 1843), I, 327–8; J.-F. Champollion, in H. Hartleben (ed.), *Lettres et journaux*, II (Paris, 1909), 98–105.

⁶As suggested by the plan of LD I, pls. 55–6.

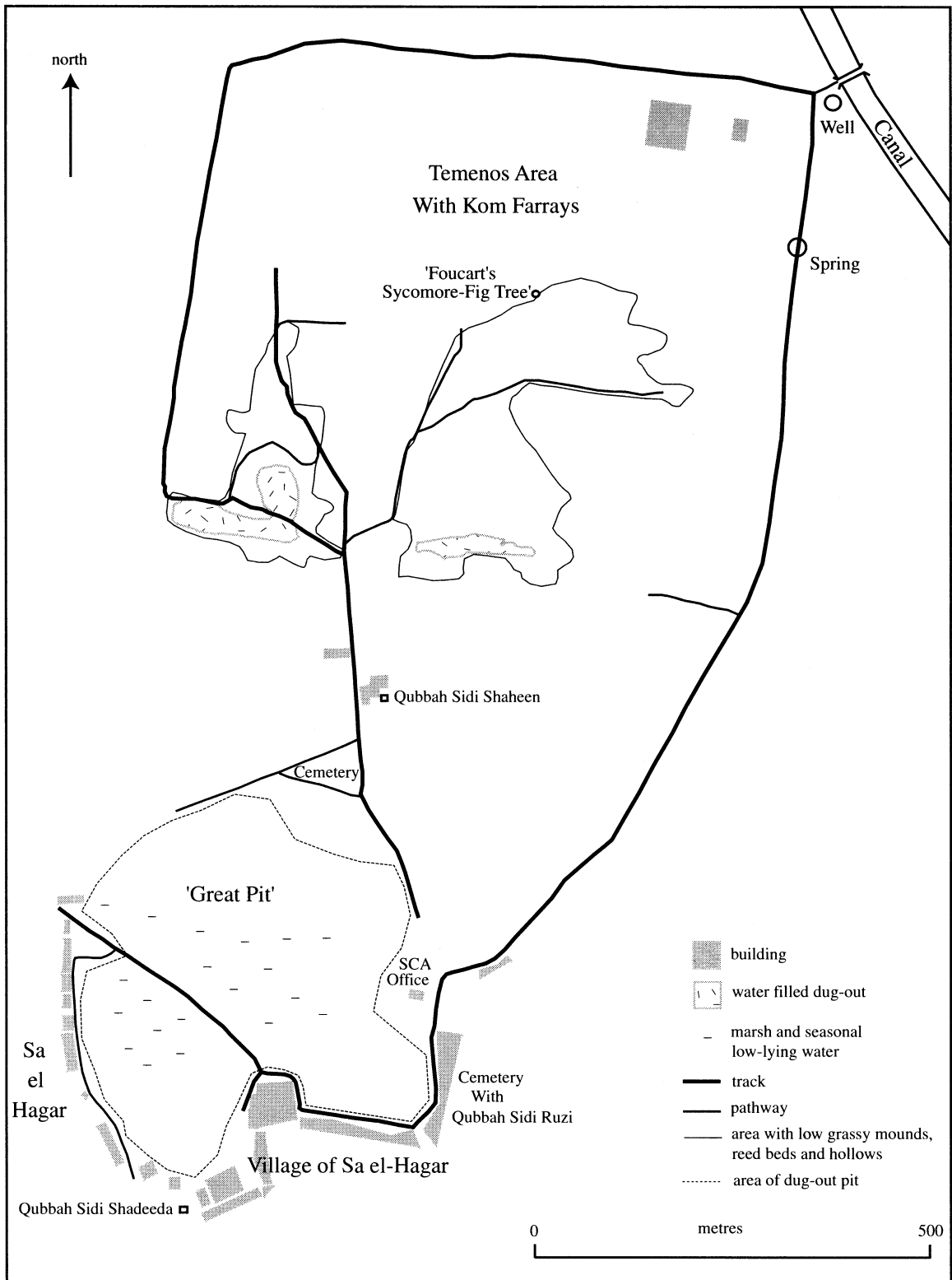


FIG. 1. Sketch plan of Sais Survey areas (compiled from 1997 topographical survey by P. Wilson and J. Wright).

pottery mounds is still about the same. This non-agricultural land is officially Antiquities Department land and a few uninscribed large granite blocks lie hidden in the long grass. There has been considerable disturbance here and removal of *sebakh* on a huge scale, but we made a more detailed contour survey which may show areas from which mud-brick had been removed. The negative spaces may be the locations of ancient walls and some of the deepest diggings are now filled with water, creating small lakes whose reed beds are the habitats of a wide variety of birds, small mammals and reptiles. Patches of bare ground expose shattered fragments of all kinds of non-local rocks of the types usually associated with ancient monuments, including red and black granite, quartzite, limestone, sandstone and volcanic tufa. Foucart also noted a spring in the eastern side of the 'enclosure' which still exists. Wilkinson had suggested that the sacred lake of the temple lay in the northern half of the enclosure and it could have been fed by natural springs such as the one here and in other areas of the site. In addition Foucart marked a sycamore-fig tree almost in the centre of the enclosed area and it seems that a descendant of the sycamore tree still grows here (pl. I, 3).

The topographical plan of the survey joins the two areas together for the first time in a detailed drawing (fig. 1) and further associates the areas with field boundary markers and the tombs of local sheikhs.

The survey also recorded standing monuments on the site and inscribed blocks and architectural elements at the Antiquities Office, including a fine colossal royal head, perhaps dating to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty⁷ and a block mentioning the particular form of Osiris at the site, Osiris-Hemag (pl. I, 4).⁸ Roman pottery from the bath house area was recorded and the local inspectors took the team to a nearby hamlet called Kawadi whence part of a sarcophagus recorded by J.-F. Champollion in 1828 had recently been removed to the Antiquities Office.

As part of a wider survey of the whole area the survey team cycled around the immediate vicinity, to gain an impression of the access to the Nile and the flood embankment running alongside the river. In addition, we visited Rosetta and located in the Qaitbey Fort some of the blocks Habachi believed had originally come from Sais.⁹ A visit was also made to Buto as a suitable comparison to the ancient city of Sais.

PENELOPE WILSON

Memphis, 1997

THE 1997 season ran from 16 August to 12 December, the team members being Bettina Bader, Janine Bourriau (Deputy Field Director), Amanda Dunsmore, Carla Gallorini, Colin Hope, David Jeffreys (Field Director), W. Raymond Johnson, Karin Kopetsky, Mary Anne Murray, Gwilym Owen, Will Schenck, and Margaret Serpico. In addition to SCA officers at Abbassiya, we are grateful to the Directors of Antiquities for Giza and for Saqqara, Dr Zahi Hawass and Mohammed Hagraas, the Inspector for Mit Rahina, Ezzat Mohammed Abd el-Salaam and his successor Shaaban Mohammed Saat, and their staffs.

⁷ Found in June 1964 in the north-east corner of the 'Great Pit'; height 146 cm, maximum width 109 cm—see F. M. Wasif, 'Soundings on the Borders of Ancient Sais', *Oriens Antiquus* 13 (1974), 327–8.

⁸ On this aspect of Osiris see now M. Zecchi, *A Study of the Egyptian God Osiris Hemag* (Imola, 1996).

⁹ L. Habachi, 'Sais and its Monuments', *ASAE* 42 (1943), 369–407.

There were three main elements to this season's programme: (a) to continue investigation of the buried sediments of the floodplain to the east of the Saqqara escarpment and the Early Dynastic cemetery (Jeffreys); (b) to continue the survey of loose and re-used Eighteenth Dynasty blocks from the small Ptah temple at Kom Rabi'a (Schenk, Johnson); and (c) to continue with the post-excavation recording and analysis of material from the excavation at Kom Rabi'a, in particular ceramics (Bourriau, Bader, Hope, Owen, Serpico) and archaeobotanical samples (Murray).

Escarpment survey

This season we were able to try out more powerful dewatering equipment than had been available in previous years. A wellpoint pumping system, of the kind used successfully at Buto¹ and other Delta sites, was installed to cover a 7×7 m area adjacent to the 1996 site alongside the Shubramant Canal (SMC 96) (fig. 1),² and a 3×3 m exposure was

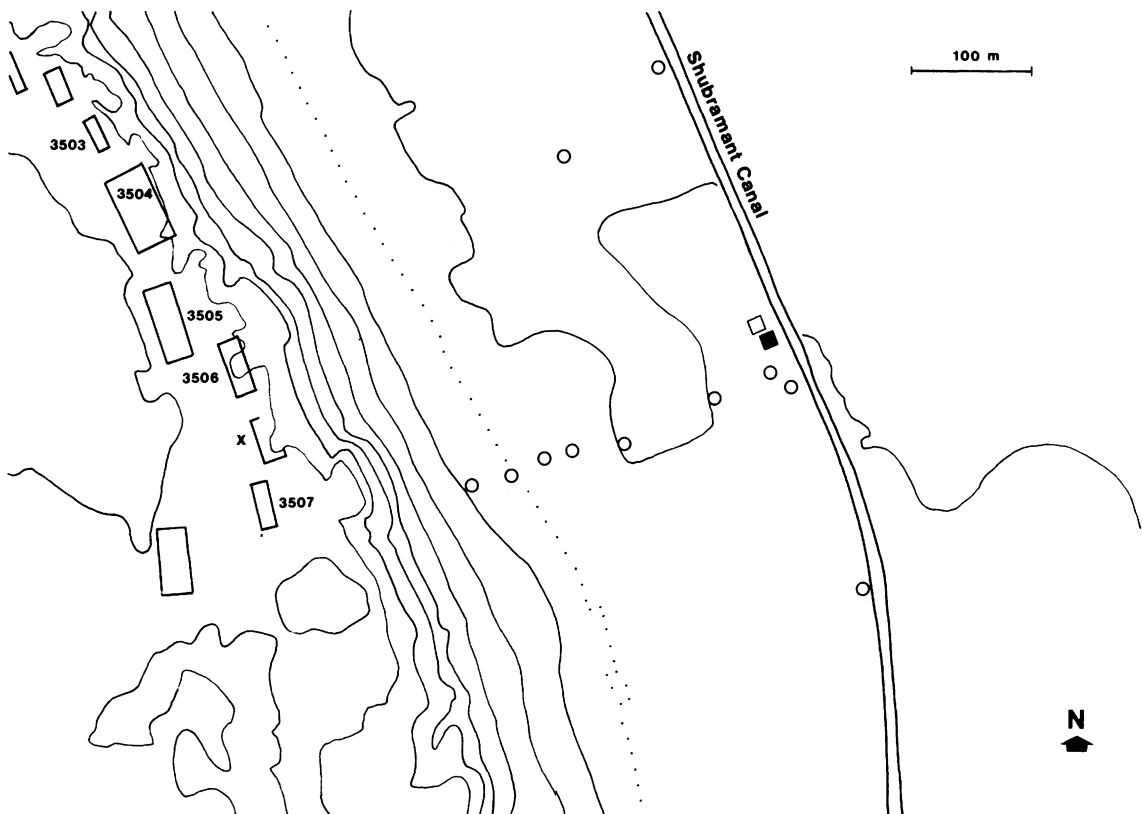


FIG. 1. Plan of eastern edge of Saqqara plateau with mastabas 3503–3507, and location of boreholes (circles), SMC 96 (open square) and SMC 97 (filled square). Dotted line indicates present edge of floodplain.

¹T. von der Way, 'Tell el-Farā'in-Buto', *MDAIK* 42 (1986), 191–4 with pl. 28.

²D. G. Jeffreys et al., *JEA* 83 (1997), fig. 1.

opened up within this square. Despite the fact that local conditions were not entirely ideal, with a high local groundwater level and underlying heavy impermeable clay at four metres below ground level, it was eventually possible to excavate to a safe working depth of more than three metres (a marked improvement on last year), enabling us almost to reach the expected third millennium occupation. For this, however, a slightly greater drawdown of ground water will be needed, and a site has been identified for the future which should be more suitable, with permeable sands and sandy silts to a depth of six metres. The system seems to work extremely well in the local conditions and, in combination with drill cores and geophysical survey, it has proved a highly effective tool for the job.

The exposure proved to contain a deep pit or well which had been filled or had collapsed and been recut several times, and had finally been stopped with a clay capping [10] (fig. 2; pl. II, 1). The most recent fills produced abundant pottery of the Hellenistic Period, but we could not reach the base of the cutting in the time available. Since the pit/well was unlined, the underlying stratigraphy could be seen as the fills were removed: at 2.6 m depth (17.2 m above sea level) the well had been cut through a fine pale brown alluvial (?) sand [25] which seems, from the evidence of the surrounding boreholes at that depth, likely to be the layer covering the Old Kingdom and earlier dynastic levels (pl. II, 2). Higher up, at 18.4 m, the surround of the well consists of a very dense pack of black clay [21] which may be part of a deliberate attempt to consolidate the wellhead.

These features once again underline the fact that the sand-covered margins of the floodplain in this area were not abandoned but fulfilled social and agricultural functions of some kind, perhaps as overflow accommodation during the summer inundation. Although they may contain little permanent or even ephemeral architecture from these periods of sand encroachment, they were sufficiently valuable, or pressure on land was such in this narrow stretch of the valley, that they were exploited as much as possible. In the Hellenistic Period at least, they may also have provided space for temporary housing of pilgrims and other visitors to the giant animal cult complexes on the cliffs above.

Ptah temple survey

The work of recording the Amenophis III blocks incorporated in the fabric of the Ramesside structure is now finished, with some additional recording and photography carried out this year. The reused material includes several fragments of offering lists in raised relief, scenes of offering to Ptah, name-frieze blocks and fragments with the name of Nebmaatre Amenophis in raised and sunk relief, and raised relief scenes with priests in procession carrying the barque of Ptah-Sokar; a sunk relief scene of offering to the barque itself is partially preserved on another block. The evidence suggests that the building dismantled by Ramesses II was a barque sanctuary dedicated to Ptah. The inscriptions and style of relief, with its innovative solar iconography, date it to the end of the reign of Amenophis III. It is clear that only a few fragments of the original structure are visible and it is likely that more are incorporated in the Ramesside building, probably turned into the core of the walls, but without entirely dismantling the temple the present survey is as complete as possible.

Ceramics study

This ran from October to mid-December. During the first part of the season work on the classification of the New Kingdom fabrics was completed, with clarification of the groupings and some refinements to the system, which is now closer to that used at Amarna. The larger fragments were photographed for publication. Colin Hope finished

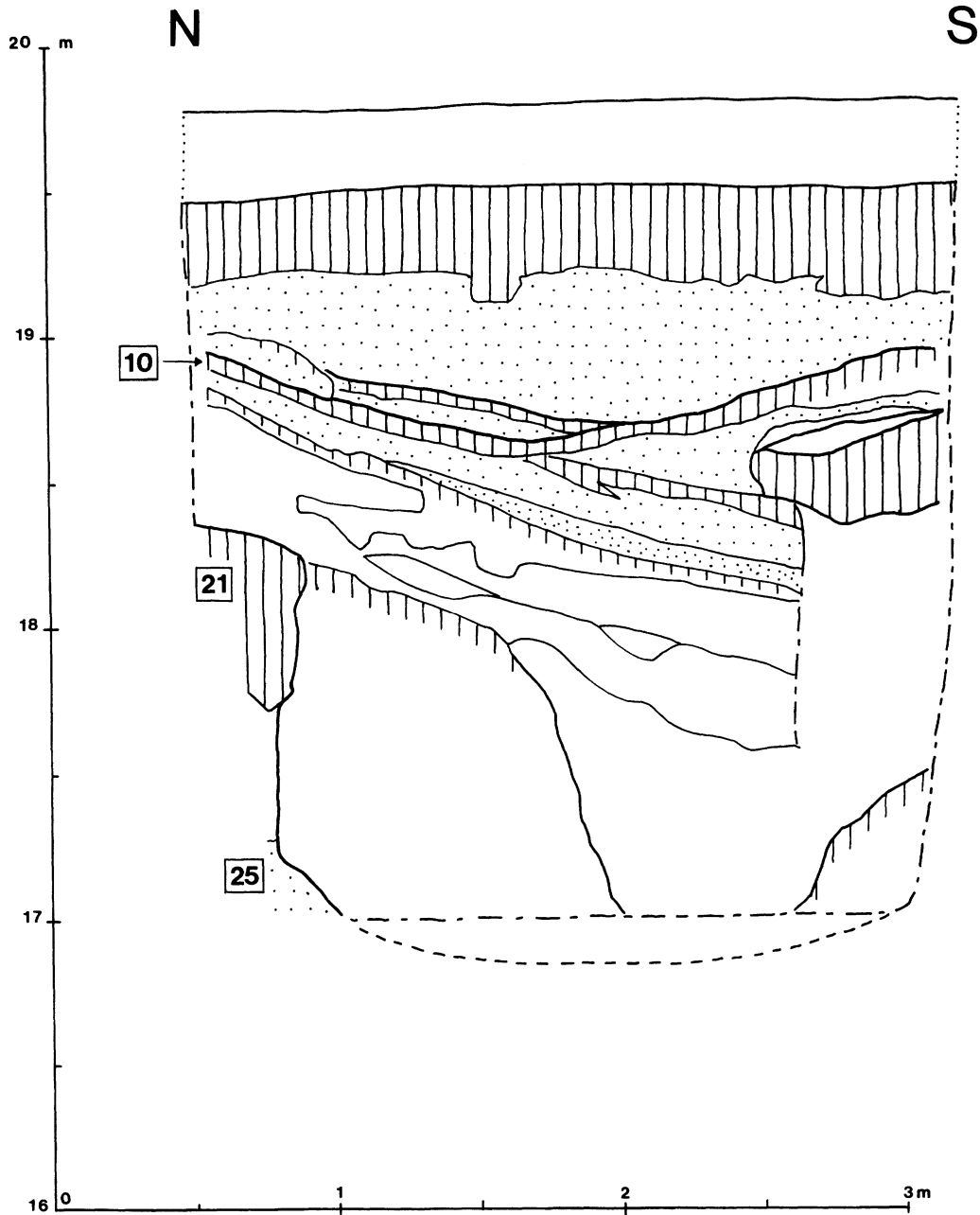


FIG. 2. SMC 97, east side: section showing pitfills.

his study of the blue-painted pottery. The second half of the study season was occupied recording pottery from the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period levels of the site, and by the end approximately half of all the Middle Kingdom pottery had been recorded or sampled.

DAVID JEFFREYS, JANINE BOURRIAU *and* W. RAYMOND JOHNSON

Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis

THE joint EES/Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden expedition carried out a season of restoration and study lasting from 2 January to 5 March 1998. The team consisted of Geoffrey T. Martin (Field Director), Barbara Aston, P.-J. Bomhof, Sabrina Gomez-Deluchi, Maarten J. Raven, Will Schenck, Jacobus van Dijk and Julia van Dijk-Harvey. The expedition is grateful to Ramadan Hashem el-Saoud, Inspector of Antiquities at Saqqara, who represented the SCA. Four projects were successfully carried to completion during the season.

The tomb of Maya

The work of re-erecting the reliefs from the underground chambers in newly-constructed rooms in the forecourt of the monument, begun two seasons ago, was finished this year. The relief slabs belonging to the first of the three rooms (H) were put in position and many small fragments were added to the walls in all three rooms. After this had been completed, the narrow gaps between the blocks, which were originally filled with gypsum mortar, were carefully made good with new mortar. The spaces between the walls and the ceiling were closed with cement, but small plastic tubes serving as air vents were inserted in them at regular intervals in order to ensure the circulation of air behind the blocks. Finally, the ceilings as well as the blank walls in the passageways between the rooms were plastered over. A full collation of all drawings of the substructure reliefs and texts will be carried out in 1999. This season a complete photographic record in colour and black and white was made of the substructure rooms.

Sarcophagus of Raia

The sarcophagus was found during the excavation of the tomb of the Harim Official Pay in 1996. Raia was Pay's son and successor as Overseer of the Royal Harim in Memphis in the early Nineteenth Dynasty. He extended certain parts of his father's tomb and was originally buried in chamber B of the substructure. His limestone sarcophagus was subsequently smashed by tomb robbers into approximately 250 pieces. The actual restoration was done by a team of restorers of the Antiquities Inspectorate at Saqqara (as was the Maya restoration) under the supervision of Abdallah Hassanein Mohammed. The limestone fragments were fixed together with a strong epoxy resin and reinforced with 10 mm steel bars. The sarcophagus and its lid, both originally shattered, are now almost complete, except for some undecorated parts of the lid and base. These were made good in cement and reinforced concrete. To house the sarcophagus the expedition constructed a strong wooden box with a detachable roof and collapsible sides, which will ensure its safety for the future. A photographic and epigraphic record was made of this important inscribed object, which retains much of its original pigment.

Pottery

Pottery from two New Kingdom and three Coptic contexts was recorded. Sherds from the levelling fill surrounding shaft 96/4 and its associated Ramesside chapel south-east of the tomb of Pay date to the late Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties. Forms which were reconstructed include long-necked ovoid jars decorated with alternating red lines and grey-blue bands, and an unusual blue-painted beaker with a small globular body and a very large flaring rim. The pottery recovered from the narrow area between the tombs of Iniuia and Horemheb, excavated in 1996, was found to include late Eighteenth Dynasty material probably deriving from the tomb of Horemheb, and late Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasty sherds from builders' levelling fill which also surrounds the tomb of Iniuia to the west, south and east. It is of particular interest to be able to note the changes in pottery types between these time periods.

Three deposits of Coptic pottery from shaft A in the tomb of Ramose, and from the surface fill over the eastern and southern parts of the courtyard of the tomb of Pay were reconstructed as far as possible, but are not yet drawn. Most of the drawing of pottery from Pay's tomb which was reconstructed last year was drawn in 1998. A photographic record of much of the pottery was made.

As a result of clearing the backlog of more recently-excavated material it was possible to initiate the process of final checking of pottery from the tomb of Maya. Residual sherds were added to existing vessels or recorded separately. Additional new types of unusual blue-painted decoration were recovered, including a fluted goblet with alternating *udjat*-eyes and *nefer*-signs and a band of chequer drawings at the rim. The final descriptions, checking of drawings and recording of the number and varieties of types were completed for the majority of blue-painted vessels.

Epigraphy

Drawings were made (over photographs) of a considerable corpus of Old Kingdom relief fragments deriving mainly from the tomb of Horemheb. These will be incorporated in a volume dealing with all the Old Kingdom material found to date in the EES/Leiden concession.

Minor works

A strong wooden roof was erected over the main chapel of the tomb of Maya, and wooden coverings were placed for protection over certain reliefs in that monument and in the tomb of Horemheb. Sundry repairs and decoration were carried out in the expedition house.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara, 1998

WORK at the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara, took place between 30 March and 16 April 1998. This is intended to be the final season of fieldwork, save for the completion of the ceramic study and conservation and recording of the bronze cache (see below).

The team this season comprised: Kenneth J. Frazer (draughtsman), Peter G. French (ceramics), Zadia Green (site assistant/illustrator), Caroline M. Jackson (survey), Paul T. Nicholson (director/survey), and Siobhan Stevenson (conservator). The SCA inspector appointed to the project was Mr Zaki Ahlad Hassein, to whom we are grateful for assistance, and particularly for attending our work during a national holiday. We are also indebted to Mr Mohammed Hagra, Director of Saqqara, and to Dr Zahi Hawass of the Giza Inspectorate for their kind assistance in facilitating our work. The School of History and Archaeology, Cardiff University, generously paid Zadia Green's expenses, and we are grateful for the assistance. A sectional ladder was donated by Tony Parkes of Lyte Industries (Wales) Ltd., following contacts made on our behalf by Alf Baxendale. Equipment for stereography was loaned by Bob Aldridge. W. Z. Wendrich and Hans Barnard of the Netherlands Institute for Archaeology and Arabic Studies kindly loaned a photographic tripod and printed the SCA report. The help of all of these is gratefully acknowledged.

Hawk Catacomb

The work of the SAN expedition this year was to comprise the conservation of the bronze objects found outside the Hawk Catacomb in 1995,¹ as well as to complete the underground survey of the North Ibis Catacomb, and to examine pottery cached by earlier excavators in the Hawk Catacomb. Unfortunately, the bronzes were stored in the SCA magazine at Saqqara and were unavailable for study this season. It is hoped, however, that they can be conserved and studied for publication as soon as they become accessible. Given the unavailability of the bronzes, Siobhan Stevenson, the conservator who was to work on them, kindly agreed to undertake other work, most notably a conservation assessment of the Catacomb, following previous Society work, and she examined some of the ancient tool markings left by the original quarrymen who cut the galleries. This involved sketching the location of those cracks running through the roof and walls of the Catacomb and making an assessment of their stability.

Another important aspect of the work this season was the recording of the Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic pottery which was undertaken by Peter French. The 41 diagnostic sherds of the Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic Periods, collected from surface contexts in 1992, were drawn and described, bringing the total recorded to 71. The only work remaining on this material is the description of the non-diagnostics. About ten Coptic sherds collected at the same time are still to be analysed.

Because access to the bronzes was not possible, we were unexpectedly able to begin work on the Coptic painted pottery deposited by the excavators in the Falcon Catacomb and rediscovered in 1995. All items were washed and photographed and some repairs effected. There proved to be 62 pieces, half of whose painted designs were drawn by Zadia Green and Siobhan Stevenson, in conjunction with Peter French. Descriptions and conventional section-drawings are still to be done. A few unpainted Coptic vessels in the Catacomb also await analysis.

¹ See P. T. Nicholson and H. S. Smith, 'An Unexpected Cache of Bronzes,' *Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (1996), 18.

North Ibis Catacomb

Caroline Jackson and Paul Nicholson continued their work in the North Ibis Catacomb. The intention this season was to make sketch plans of all those tomb chambers above the level of the galleries which are currently invisible on the surface. This work was greatly facilitated by the donation of a sectional aluminium ladder which allowed access to areas which could not have been reached with conventional or caving ladders. This particularly applied to the very confined spaces at the foot of some of the tomb shafts where a rigid ladder of the necessary length could not have been righted, even if it were possible to negotiate its passage through the narrow galleries.

All but one tomb chamber (already recorded by H. S. Smith) proved to be undecorated, but their locations in relation to the underlying galleries has been informative. The locations of all other tomb shafts entering the galleries were also noted, and their fill recorded. In places it is clear that the galleries themselves still retain parts of the original tomb chambers, though in others such traces have been completely removed in the cutting of the galleries.

In addition to this work in the tomb chambers, it was decided to supplement the excellent survey made by Kenneth Frazer in 1971, which has served as a basis for our own work. This original survey was schematic, but for the new publication it is hoped to show some of the architectural elements with a view to supplementing the discussion of the phasing of the site. A number of interesting features were noted, including raised areas of plasterwork on the face of certain gallery blockings (pl. II, 3). These seem to have taken the form of a vertical 'door', but are entirely decorative or symbolic. At intervals along the axial aisles there seems to have been a series of 'gateways' formed where buttresses protruded into the corridor (pl. II, 4); two of these were plastered.

The re-survey was undertaken using compass and tape, as was that by Frazer, since the galleries are often so choked with rubble as to make the use of conventional surveying equipment impossible, particularly where the passages are less than 70 cm high and a conventional tripod cannot be erected. The position of the original entrance, the so-called 'cave-tomb entrance' and the shaft by which the EES team entered in 1971 were surveyed at the surface using the EDM, as were other features of the Animal Necropolis. It is hoped that the accurate recording of these surface features can be used to help to correct the inevitable errors arising in the underground survey. During the season Kenneth Frazer drew the sketches of the tomb chambers located, as well as advising on the survey work and its preparation for publication.

The photographic record was also supplemented, and the use of stereo photography (stereography) experimented with at the suggestion of Bob Aldridge. The photographic recording of this Catacomb is felt to be of particular importance for future study, since in its current state it is the least accessible of the animal Catacombs, and the rock in parts is very friable and will gradually deteriorate, making access still more difficult. The results of the stereography have been encouraging, and are particularly useful in showing stratigraphic relationships of areas of brickwork in the catacombs. The use of such equipment is to be advocated for future work.

No clearance work in this Catacomb has been attempted by the current expedition, since in its present state the monument is felt to be fairly stable. The removal of debris from the passages would potentially weaken them, so leading to the deterioration of the

monument. Such deterioration as currently occurs is likely to be slight, in line with other unexcavated monuments. Clearance of the Catacomb would demand considerable resources and engineering expertise.

Future Work

The next stage of the work is the publication of the North Ibis Catacomb, including a plan of the monument and tomb chambers. Work on this has already begun. It is intended that the same volume will also deal with the bird bones from this, the South Ibis and the Hawk Catacombs, and with the metrical studies undertaken in previous seasons. Publication of the bronze cache will have to await its conservation following its release from the jurisdiction of the local prosecutor. The pottery report will appear in a separate volume dealing with the pottery from the Sacred Animal Necropolis as a whole. H. S. Smith will publish an architectural study of the temple terrace and Hawk Catacomb.

PAUL T. NICHOLSON

Tell el-Amarna, 1997–8

THE Society's expedition worked at Amarna for two periods within the span covered by these reports: between 9 September and 9 October 1997, and 23 February and 15 April 1998. The staff comprised (for the first period) Barry Kemp, Neal Spencer, Emma Duncalf, Martha Hawting and Margarita Nikolakaki-Kentrou; and (for the second) Barry Kemp, Ann Cornwell, Surésh Dhargalkar, Lucia Evans, Jane Faiers, Rainer Gerisch, Angela McDonald, John MacGinnis, Gwilym Owen, Evgenia Panagiotakopulu, Gillian Pyke, Jane Reed, Pamela Rose, Margaret Serpico, Katherine Smith, Katherine Spence, and Benjamin Stern. The SCA was represented on both occasions by Inspector of Antiquities Aly el-Bakry, to whom many thanks are due, as also to Mahmoud Hamza, Samir Anis and their colleagues in the Minia Inspectorate, as well as to the SCA for granting permission for the work to take place. The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research at the University of Cambridge provided the expedition with its base in the UK. The North Palace work of autumn 1997 was funded by the Amarna Research Foundation. Individual projects were supported by the Leverhulme Foundation, the G. A. Wainwright Fund, and NERC. Grateful thanks for assistance of various kinds are due to Richard Keen of Keminco and M. el-Dorry of Eastmar (Cairo), Alf Baxendale, John Sharp and Balfour Beatty International Ltd, and the EES members in Cairo.

Area south of the Great Palace

In the last two years we have begun to look again at the ground at the southern end of the Great Palace, first dug by John Pendlebury in 1934 (fig. 1). Although much denuded since his day, we have managed to trace enough of the walls to lead to a fresh and more accurate plan. We have now taken the step of moving further southwards, beyond the limits of Pendlebury's clearances, thus into a 'new' area of the city. Sketch plans made early in the nineteenth century and aerial photographs of the 1920s and 1930s show the outlines of huge buildings, but just what they are has never been properly ascertained.

The condition of the ground in this area has been much affected by local farmers, who

make little camps behind their fields and tether their animals and heap up piles of chaff and other produce. Barely any standing brickwork is now visible at all. We began by laying out sets of five-metre squares belonging to the grid established in September 1996 (pl. III, 1). One set ran down the line of the northern wall of the closest of the large unexplored buildings on the south, to which we have given the designation number O43.1. Although eroded to an extreme degree, the foundations of this wall were picked up intermittently over a length of 55 m, to a corner which is likely to have been the north-

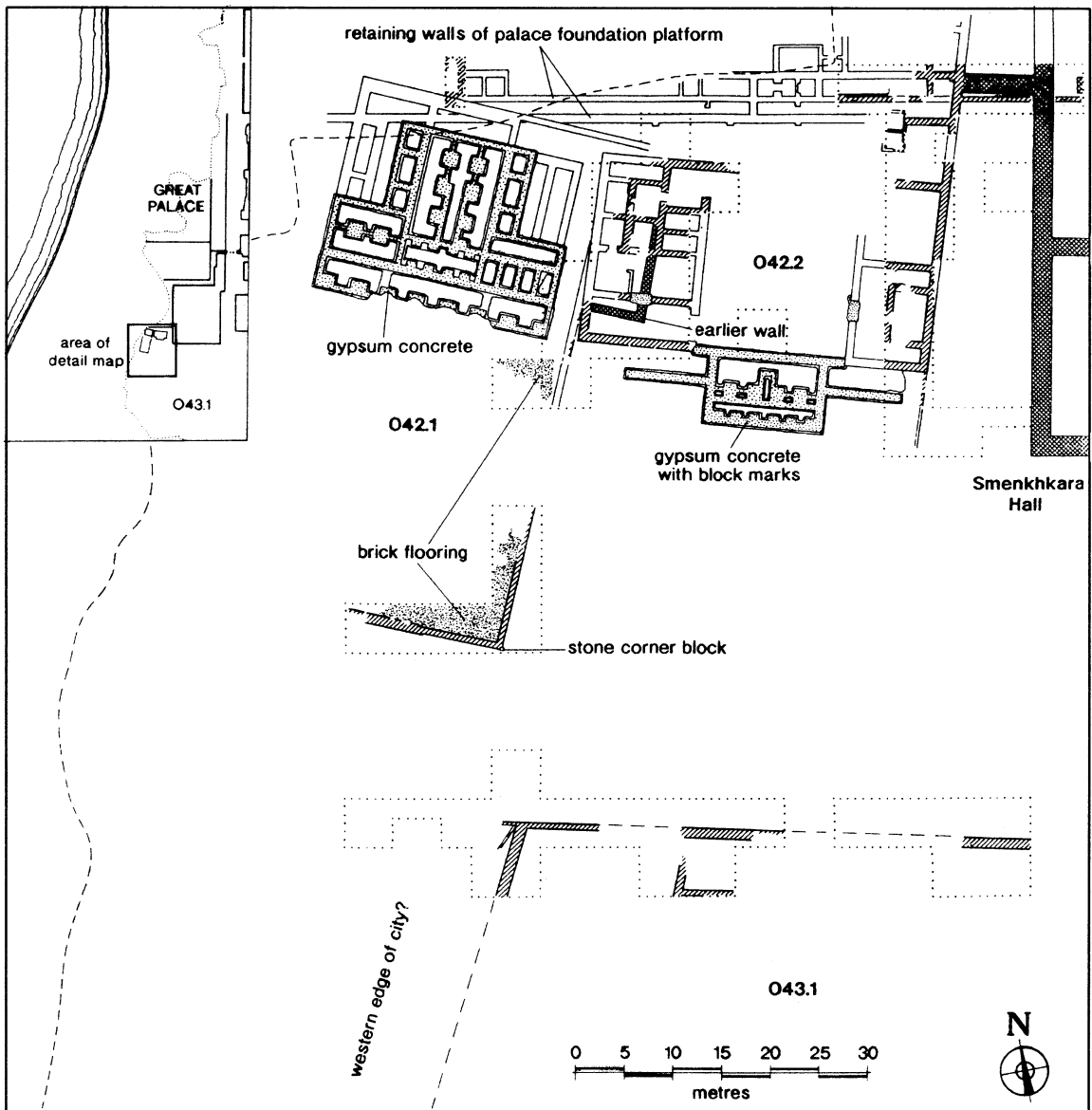


FIG. 1. Area at the southern end of the Great Palace.

west corner of the building. As the plan shows, other walls run off to the south. This is encouraging, because it was by no means clear that anything at all would have survived so close to the edge of the fields.

This part of Amarna is the most westerly that has survived, and is thus closest to the river. At least two of the rock tombs at Amarna show that the city possessed a waterfront. A drawing in the tomb of Maya (no. 14) implies that the Great Palace ran to the river's edge, whilst a relief in Meryra's tomb (no. 4) has a detailed scene of boats moored close to a stockyard full of fat cattle. One question to answer is, therefore: did building O43.1 (and others lying even further to the south) face onto a street, with yet more buildings beyond, now lost beneath the modern fields, or did it actually represent the western edge of the city and thus form part of Amarna's waterfront? The second case would, incidentally, imply that the river was, in Akhenaten's day, more or less where it is today. We therefore took the excavation squares for a further 15 m to the west, where the ground begins to slope down to the fields. Not a trace of a wall emerged, nor were any visible this far west when the old sketch maps were made. More needs to be done to check this point, but I am inclined to think that the second alternative is the right one, and that we are looking along the city's edge. One cannot expect many finds from such a denuded area. Even the sherd count is well down, but amongst the sherds are many amphora handles and bases. This is perhaps a pointer to the buildings here having been used for storage, a very appropriate use, given their position. Perhaps more clues lie to the south to where, next season, the work will be extended.

The other set of squares lay to the north and was intended to investigate the ground in front of the larger of the two stone buildings explored by Pendlebury (O42.1). This had the plan of a fairly conventional temple, with a portico of large columns. The intention was to learn more about an unexpected patch of brick paving which had turned up in front of it at the end of our previous work here. The new excavation has now revealed that it belonged to nothing less than a large forecourt, surrounded by a mud-brick wall and paved with bricks. Careful attention to the outlines of the bricks showed that originally it had a pylon-like entrance on the south. A stone block had been let into the outside of the one preserved corner. This has to be the foundation for the standard roll-moulding which graced the outside corners of Egyptian temples. There are many signs at Amarna that Akhenaten was building at the limits of his resources and that sometimes brick had to be used in place of stone. This forecourt to a rather conventional-looking temple is another good example.

Small Aten Temple

Surésh Dhargalkar supervised the continuation of the project to lay out in stone the outlines of the temple sanctuary, and was able to see the front of the sanctuary (the forecourt, portico foundations and stone pylon) finished. The courtyard walls have been built to two courses of stone in height, and the foundations filled in to near the top of the second course. The outlines of the positions taken by the colossal columns have been marked similarly. The north and south wing walls, as well as the pylon lying behind, have been marked out with three courses and only the insides filled to the top, leaving these parts standing above the level of the fill. A good deal of time was also spent on improving the finish, including the 'distressing' of all exposed mortar joints between the new blocks.

The rear part of the sanctuary still remains to be brought to this stage, but already most of the stonework has been laid and the fill has been almost completed in the outer parts. It is planned to complete the work in 1999.

The route to the sanctuary passed through three pairs of pylons built from mud-bricks, the second and third pairs much ruined. As a way of emphasising the processional nature of the route, the inside edges of these pylons, which define the gateways, have been built up with new mud-bricks.

North Palace

Several areas were explored anew and replanned during both the autumn and spring seasons, under the supervision of Kemp, Spence, MacGinnis and Spencer. One was the front (west) entrance. It had been flanked by two narrow pylons of mud-brick which protruded only on the outside face of the enclosure wall. The gateway between them had originally been floored with limestone slabs, one of which still remains, tilted at a steep angle into a pit. The gateway must have been raised in level, for to the front and back two narrow parallel walls had formed the edges to shallow ramps. To the south of the southern ramp on the outside a second parallel wall ran outwards for a much longer distance, beyond the limits of the excavation, perhaps enclosing an area in front of the palace. A small excavation made over the south-west corner of the palace revealed a corresponding wall also running westwards.

The south-west court of the North Palace is particularly poorly preserved, but the plans of the 1920s excavations nevertheless show an additional major wall which does not relate to the general plan of the court. From careful work with trowel and brush John MacGinnis was able to locate traces of this wall again in two places and to demonstrate that it was, indeed, later than some of the adjacent walls, though still of the Amarna Period. However, others of the walls which appear, from the old plans, to be part of the original layout of the palace now seem to belong with this later wall, too, and so may therefore represent a change in the overall plan of this area.

The north-west corner of the palace was also re-examined, revealing that one metre beneath the mud-brick floor of the Altar Court is a mud layer bearing traces of colour. The sandy fill produced faience moulds, fragments of bowls with pigments and, for the first time at the North Palace, a substantial amount of pottery.

Last year Katherine Spence had cleared the central gateway between the first and second courtyards and revealed anew the foundations of the substantial stone structure. This year she cleared the doorway to the north of this feature and uncovered the well preserved gypsum foundations of the door itself and of two rectangular features in front (pl. III, 2). A number of mason's marks were imprinted in the gypsum and two undecorated stone blocks remained *in situ*. Many tiny fragments of gold leaf were recovered around the gateway, suggesting that it must have been a highly ornate and gilded construction. Several post-holes, perhaps for scaffolding, were excavated around the rectangular foundations. The fill of one contained brown quartzite chippings, suggesting that the foundations were for a pair of statues to flank the entrance. In the rear court she also expanded her excavation of last year in an endeavour to clarify the nature of the large depression which occupies much of it. The result was to confirm that the base of the court lay at least 6 m below the level of the surrounding chambers.

Whilst working at the front of the palace in the autumn of 1997, the opportunity was taken to sink a large trench, 15 by 2 m and to a depth of nearly 2 m, into the fields on the axis of the palace and at a distance of approximately 70 m from its front. The provisional interpretation of the stratigraphy is that it provides a record of the first extension of the inundations over the desert, in the early centuries AD, which temporarily turned the desert surface in front of the palace into a beach.

The conservation programme was continued in the Garden Court in the autumn season, an area in urgent need of repairs to the brick walls. Much of what was done took the form of refacing or repointing the joints in the walls of the rooms on the east and west sides of the central garden, and also along the south wall and the outer face of the west wall. A distinctive problem at the North Palace is the deep channelling of walls caused by the loss of timber beams originally inserted and now eaten away. The solution chosen was to fill the channels with mud mortar, leaving them recessed slightly, and then to apply a coating of a water-based wood stain.

Field photography

Gwilym Owen continued his photographic study of the tombs at Amarna, with a series of pictures in the North Tombs. Through the generosity of the Amarna Research Foundation the expedition acquired an 18-foot helium balloon which Owen flew successfully for aerial photography over several parts of the site. The flight programme is intended to cover areas of current fieldwork and gradually to survey in detail particular areas of the city.

Research at the field station

Post-excavation work featured large, the principal areas of study being: refinements to and further drawings for the Eighteenth Dynasty pottery corpus (Pamela Rose, Jane Reed) and for the second stage of the Late Roman pottery corpus (Jane Faiers, Gillian Pyke); special attention to Canaanite amphorae and to resin-bearing sherds (Margaret Serepico, Ben Stern, Angela McDonald); microscope study of charcoal to determine wood species (Rainer Gerisch), plant remains of the Late Roman Period (Wendy Smith), and insect remains of both periods represented at Amarna (Evgenia Panagiotakopulu); study of statue fragments of the Amarna Period (Lucia Gahlin) and of other material (Ann Cornwell). Many pieces of carved stone from the Small Aten Temple were copied in facsimile (Emma Duncalf, Martha Hawting).

BARRY KEMP

The Roman Imperial Porphyry Quarries, Gebel Dokhan

THE fifth and final season of work at Mons Porphyrites took place between 21 February and 9 April 1998. The project is sponsored by the EES in collaboration with the Universities of Exeter and Southampton and the Vrije Universiteit van Brussel. The field team comprised, in addition to the directors, Nick Bradford, Rebecca Bridgman, Penny Copeland, Seán Goddard, Jill Phillips and David Spencer (survey and excavation), Donald Bailey and Catherine Johns (finds recording, lamps and glass), Sheila Hamilton-Dyer (archaeozoology), Fiona Handley (textiles and cordage), Ann Macklin (human osteology),

Wilfrid van Rengen (ostraca), Roberta Tomber (pottery) and Marijke van der Veen (archaeobotany). Grateful thanks are offered to the SCA staff of the Qena office for help in the field. Particular acknowledgement must be made of Mr Hussein Afyouni, the director, and inspectors Mr Mohammed Hamed and Mr Mohammed Rian. Financial support was received from the British Academy, the British Museum and the Universities of Exeter and Southampton and the Vrije Universiteit van Brussel, in addition to the EES. We are greatly indebted to Mme Cecile Lambrecht of the Three Corners Hotel in Hurghada for the assistance which she has given us over all five seasons, not least in facilitating communications with the outside world.

Work in this fifth season included excavation in the two forts in the survey area (in the Wadi Abu Ma'amel and at Badia) and in the Lycabettos quarry village, and completion of the area survey, with the production of plans and photographic records of the Lycabettos quarries and of the settlements at either end of the slipway leading down from them. In addition, records were made of the disturbed graves in the cemetery to the north of the Mons Porphyrites fort.

Excavation

Excavation at the fort in the Wadi Abu Ma'amel continued the established policy of examining the rubbish deposits associated with the site. In 1997 the east *sebakh* had produced an ash deposit containing a remarkable archive of bread orders; the trench here was extended in order to retrieve the rest of the collection, but only a few more were found. The collection was redeposited material, mixed with ceramics of predominantly late second century date, but some of the late fourth century. Below the ash layers was an earlier deposit sitting on a rain-washed surface above the natural rock. It contained some organic residues mixed with large quantities of Nile amphorae, and dated to the earlier second century.

Sebakh to the north of the fort was dated to the second half of the second century and possibly into the third. Its contents were dominated by stone chippings and broken, part completed, stone bowls (of porphyry and slate) at different stages in their manufacture, providing evidence for a small-scale stoneworking industry. This same *sebakh* produced similar evidence for a shell-working industry—a collection of shell spoons at all stages of manufacture. An industrial area must have lain nearby.

The main cemetery for the settlement lay on a spur jutting into the wadi from the east, a short distance to the north of the fort. Surface observation of the pitted surface suggests something in excess of 200 burial sites, some apparently unmarked, others consisting of small mausolea. Part of the cemetery presents a disarray of burials, some aligned N–S, others E–W. An apparently later section has a clearer E–W burial pattern, perhaps reflecting a Christian influence. Several of the burial sites had been disturbed, and human skeletal remains were scattered over the surface or thrown back into open grave pits. Work was concentrated on examining the scattered material and completing the excavation of those graves already partly dug out. No new graves were opened. It should therefore be emphasized that the conclusions are based on a small sample size which may not be representative of the population as a whole. Eight to ten burial sites were investigated, but it was impossible to establish the exact number of individuals present as the remains were so disturbed, and a number of burial sites were multiple. The age

range for the individuals present was from juvenile to 35/40 years. The condition of the remains, after lengthy exposure to the elements, meant that articular surfaces had been eroded and evidence for bone infections and similar conditions lost. However, freshly-excavated material presented vertebral disorders such as Schmorles nodes, arthritic lipping, crushed vertebrae, degenerative disc disease and osteophytosis. Surprisingly, in view of the main occupation of the residents at Mons Porphyrites, there was no positive evidence of fractures or breakages, nor was there any evidence for dietary-deficient induced conditions such as rickets or scurvy. This accords well with Van der Veen's conclusion, based on the botanical material,¹ that overall diet had been relatively good. Small amounts of textiles were found in many of the burials, and two, in the later section of the cemetery, contained a bundle of 'herbal' mixture of grasses, seeds and flower particles placed at the head of the deceased.

Work at Badia continued the excavation of the central building of the fort, begun in 1997. The original intention had been to investigate the area to the south of the two circular structures exposed in 1997, leaving the well-preserved structures themselves undisturbed. However, in the period between the 1997 and 1998 seasons serious damage had been done to the eastern structure, when a deep hole was dug through its centre down into the wadi sand below. Accordingly, it was decided to concentrate on the eastern part of the room, investigating the levels below the damaged structure and extending the trench both to north and south.

Primary deposits consisted of a pit (containing, *inter alia*, a coin of Domitian), associated with an occupation deposit of early date. Subsequently a building, with a line of four rectangular piers on a N–S alignment, was laid out at a slight angle to the later (extant) building. At a later stage the gaps between the piers were filled in and plastered over. A thick, rich organic deposit accumulated in connection with this building, a most unexpected find in a building occupying a focal, central position within a fort. Later still, in the fourth century, the remains of the building were filled in with coarse, clean, sand and gravel and the brick-floored circular structures, investigated in 1997, laid down. In the northern part of the trench was an area consisting of layer upon layer of trampled straw and animal droppings; this lay to the east of a pit with a post-setting at its centre and a pivot-stone part way up its fill—the remains of what is, provisionally, interpreted as a donkey mill.

Many fragments of segmental querns were retrieved from the area of the excavation as well as from around the fort generally. Half a large stone mortar lay on the surface by the excavated area and a rim fragment of the same bowl came from the pit. The association of the putative mill with quern fragments and an oven lends weight to the interpretation of the two circular structures as milling floors and points to the involvement of the site, in the fourth and early fifth centuries, in large-scale food processing.

Survey: Lycabettos quarries and associated settlements

Pedestrian access to the Lycabettos quarries could be gained direct from the settlement in the Wadi Abu Ma'amel, via a zig-zag path which climbs the west side of the wadi some distance to the south of the fort, and via a path which leads out of the lower end of the

¹M. van der Veen, in D. P. S. Peacock and V. A. Maxfield, *The Roman Imperial Porphyry Quarries: Interim Report 1995 and Interim Report 1996* (Southampton and Exeter, 1995–6).

South-West village at the head of the wadi.² Another route, and that which must have been used to bring down the heavier quarry products, was via a slipway which took a route to the centre of these two paths. This slipway was of two main phases, an earlier, uncairned slipway being replaced by a well-constructed cairned route, on an adjacent, broadly parallel alignment. The slipway was linked to all the quarry sites. These were all surveyed in detail, along with a series of working platforms which were scattered over the hillside. On these platforms were abandoned squared-off blocks of porphyry.

Evidence of modern quarrying activity has obscured some of the detail in the quarries themselves, in the adjacent village and at the base of the slipway where a loading ramp, truncating the later slipway, may conceivably belong to Italian quarrying in the 1930s. This ramp is constructed of boulders and quarried blocks and is approached by a paved road.

This loading ramp lies to the south of a settlement built up against the western side of the wadi. This now consists of 30 or so individual 'rooms', partly interlinked and extending a distance of approximately 120 m to the north of the ramp. The buildings, which include three (possibly originally four) distinctive beehive-shaped structures close up against the rock face, were built of roughly-shaped blocks, including natural boulders. They are generally very tumbled, obscuring the detail of wall lines. Within the village were extensive scatters of pot- (mainly amphorae) and metal-working debris. It is possible that the cairned slipway originally extended past this settlement, but no evidence survives. Environmental samples from adjacent to the village proved effectively sterile. The early slipway reaches the wadi bottom to the north of the village, its terminal section being extremely steep.

The village at the top of the slipway, immediately below the quarries, sits in a saddle between a small hill to the east and the mountain top to the west. It is divided in two by the slipway, the major part of the settlement being situated on the north. This village had clearly undergone several phases of use. There appeared to be very little rubbish deposited within the buildings themselves and many doorways had been blocked off and building layouts redesigned. A final redesign, affecting particularly the southern part of the village, related to the modern quarrying episode. A sketch-plan of the site, drawn by C. H. O. Scaife in the mid-1930s and reproduced by Meredith,³ is of particular value in that it shows the unadulterated Roman layout. Five test pits were excavated within the village area with the primary objective of retrieving palaeobotanical material so that a comparison might be made between the subsistence level in the villages and the heart of the complex.

Surface pottery from the site includes early material, but is overwhelmingly late.⁴ This is consistent with the coin record (seven bronzes of the House of Constantine) and the inscriptions (a Christian tombstone and a building record, both datable to the fourth century).⁵ The building inscription almost certainly relates to the construction of the cairned slipway and emphasises the vitality of the Lycabettos quarries in the later period. While clearly in use in the second century, with access direct from the fort and from the

² Peacock and Maxfield, *Interim Report 1996*, 8.

³ D. Meredith, 'The Roman Remains in the Eastern Desert', *JEA* 38 (1952), fig. 5.

⁴ R. Tomber, in D. P. S. Peacock and V. A. Maxfield, *The Roman Imperial Porphyry Quarries: Interim Report 1994* (Southampton and Exeter, 1994), 14.

⁵ A. Bernand, *Pan du désert* (Leiden, 1977), nos. 28–9.

South-West village, the evidence from the settlements at both ends of the slipway points to major activity in the fourth and possibly early fifth centuries.

VALERIE A. MAXFIELD *and* DAVID PEACOCK

Qasr Ibrim, 1998

EXCAVATIONS at Qasr Ibrim took place between mid-January and mid-March 1998. The team consisted of Pamela Rose (director and ceramicist), Mark Horton and David Edwards (archaeologists), Fred Aldsworth and Surésh Dhargalkar (surveyors), Lisa Heidorn (ceramicist and archaeologist), Peter French (small finds registrar), Adrian England (illustrator), Alan Clapham (archaeobotanist), Mark Copley (archaeological chemist), and Jeremy Hill (archaeological assistant). The SCA was represented on site by Inspector Shazly Ali Abdel Azim, and we gratefully acknowledge the help given to the expedition in Aswan by Chief Inspectors Attiya Radwan and Mohi el-Din.

The intention of the season was to continue excavation in two areas begun in previous years. These were along the fortifications in the southern part of the site, and in the immediate area of a post-Meroitic house a short distance away. On arrival at Qasr Ibrim, it became clear that these aims required modification in the light of the water level, which is now higher than it has ever been in the past. Not only did we find that the lake had covered part of the proposed area of excavation, but it was clear that water action was also causing significant damage to other parts of the site through the undercutting of the soft sandstone upon which Ibrim is built. Most conspicuously, blocks from the Podium are becoming dislodged (pl. IV, 1), placing that structure under threat of collapse. Water percolation also has a significant effect on the archaeological deposits, destroying the organic remains which are so abundant at Qasr Ibrim.

The area of the southern fortifications has been particularly badly affected by the new lake level. Here the South Bastion, a round stone tower originally thickly encased in mudbrick, has lost its casing. The outer face of the stone tower is now exposed, and its footings stand in water. The adjacent revetment wall, which forms part of the Taharqo temple complex, has partially collapsed, exposing the deposits behind it to water action. Water percolation had penetrated some 1.5 m above lake level within the Bastion, and had begun to affect the earliest known feature on the site, an ancient enclosure wall and gateway which had been sealed off by the construction of the tower (pl. IV, 2). Excavation around and within the gateway revealed six phases of structural modification before it finally went out of use and was completely enclosed within the stone tower. These included the rebuilding of sections of walling and the insertion, later rebuilding, and final blocking of an internal staircase. All the building phases, and also the addition of the brick casing to the tower, could be shown stratigraphically to pre-date the construction of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty temple of Taharqo (Temple 3), although no independent dating evidence was found. Whilst each phase may have followed fairly rapidly from the previous one, they suggest that the gateway was in use for a sustained period. This emphasises the considerable scale of activity on the site at a time when Lower Nubia is usually considered to have been depopulated.

This work was complemented by limited excavations in the immediate vicinity of the Taharqo temple. These also revealed considerable activity on the site prior to the temple's construction, including a large mudbrick and stone wall on the same alignment as that of the later building. It is hoped to expand this work in future seasons.

Excavations also continued around and below the post-Meroitic house, Structure 265. This area was much reduced in size by the rise in the water level since the last field season, and again water percolation had affected many of the lowest deposits. Within the house, excavation of an intact cellar produced complete pottery vessels, as well as wooden and other artefacts, and much archaeobotanical material. The cellar dated to the earlier post-Meroitic period. Outside the structure, remains of walls showed that the east side of the hilltop had been extensively terraced in the later Meroitic Period to provide stable foundations for buildings which are now lost. West of the terracing, Meroitic street deposits fill an access route which appears to have run towards the now-submerged girdle wall, and may mark the position of an entrance of Qasr Ibrim at that time. Traces of Roman occupation were found close to the lake edge but could not be investigated further. During the course of excavation, a surprising discovery was a length of a substantial stone and mudbrick wall on a stone terrace, which ran across the site roughly parallel to the edge of the hilltop. This corresponded in its method of construction to the fortification wall enclosed within the South Bastion, and represents a continuation of that structure. Unfortunately, the wall disappears under the waters of the lake and cannot be traced further. It is clear, however, that the preservation of this massive early wall into the Meroitic Period profoundly influenced the later structural history of the area.

The threat posed by the raised water level necessitated emergency recording and limited excavation in other areas of the site, including the Podium and lengths of the adjacent girdle wall, part of which collapsed during the course of the season. At the western extremity of the site, the undercutting of the cliff edge threatened the overlying material, which included the foundations of a large cut-stone gateway visible below the walls of a Late Christian house (Structure 763). This was cleared and recorded.

Most of the season's work was carried out in areas where water percolation had destroyed the organic remains. As a result, finds of materials other than pottery were less numerous than usual. Where dry deposits were excavated, however, finds included papyrus fragments, wooden objects, and basketry. The papyrus fragments are most commonly inscribed in Meroitic, and include what appears to be a very large part of a letter; fragments inscribed in cursive Greek were also found. The cellar excavated in house 265, which was unaffected by water, produced a fine wooden spoon handle carved with the feathers of Amun, palm sandals and basketry. Metal objects included a heavy bronze finger-ring with a three-dimensional bust of Sarapis (pl. V, 1), a bronze chisel, and a Harpocrates amulet apparently of lead or silver.

Dry deposits also provided a wealth of archaeobotanical material. These came principally from post-Meroitic deposits in house 265, collected in the current and during earlier seasons. The remains were dominated by economically useful plants, mainly the cereals *Hordeum vulgare* and *Sorghum bicolor*, but also included oil, fibre and food crops, as well as fruit and nuts. Flavouring agents included coriander and fenugreek. Two discoveries were of particular interest. The first was the occurrence of peppercorns in the samples, the origin of which is thought to be southeast Asia. The second was the

presence of large quantities of seeds of *Lablab purpureus*. This is the earliest known dated occurrence of the crop in Africa, and of importance to the understanding of its origin.

PAMELA ROSE



1. View of village of Sa el-Hagar from SCA Office



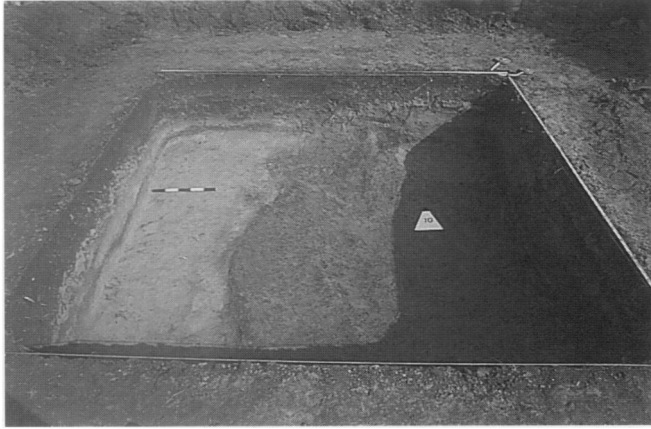
2. View south towards Sa el-Hagar from centre of temenos area



3. Foucart's sycamore fig tree



4. Quartzite block with Osiris-Hemag



1. Survey of Memphis, SMC 97: black clay capping at top of pit



2. SMC 97: north side, showing pit and earlier deposits

MEMPHIS (pp. 4-8)



3. Plastered face of the blocking of gallery 29 of the North Ibis Catacomb. The centimetre scale rests on the raised part of the plasterwork which formed a kind of door, whose edge is clearly shown by the shadow to the left of the scale



4. A buttness on axial gallery 20 of the North Ibis Catacomb. The centimetre scale rests on the plaster of part of the gallery wall; to its right is the end of the brickwork and plaster giving onto the rock of the wall. The buttness extends from the left of the scale

THE SACRED ANIMAL NECROPOLIS AT NORTH SAQQARA (pp. 9-12)

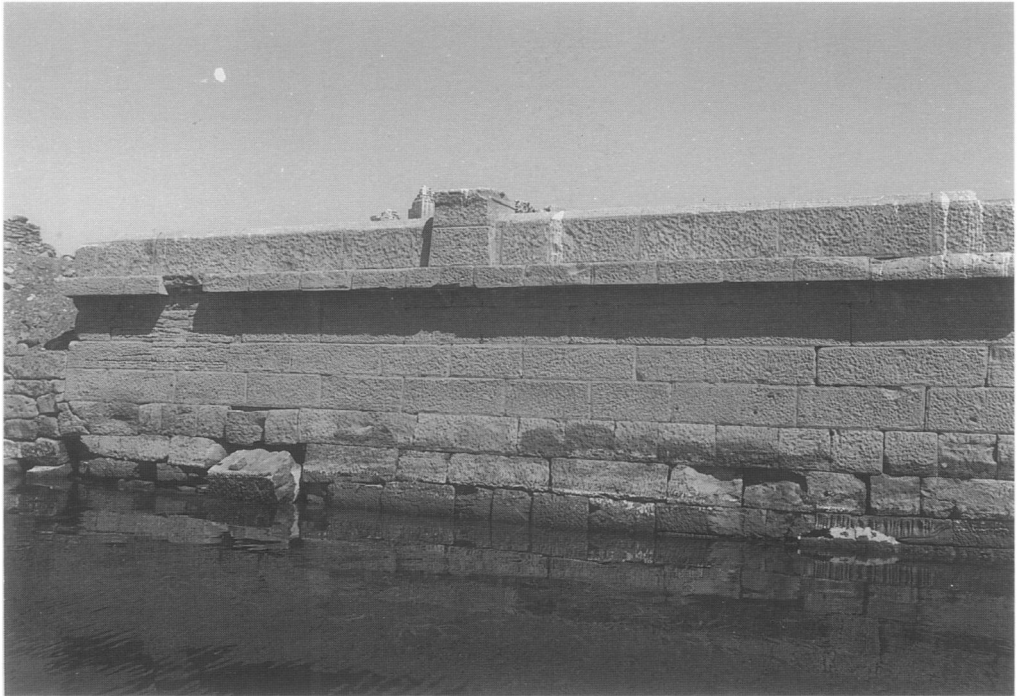


1. Area south of the Great Palace: pattern of excavation trenches in spring 1998. North is towards the right



2. North Palace. Gypsum gateway and pedestal foundations, viewed to the east

PLATE IV



1. The Podium, showing the level of water penetration and the displacement of blocks from the lower courses



2. The gateway enclosed within the South Bastion looking northwards. The dark area at the bottom of the walls marks the extent of water percolation

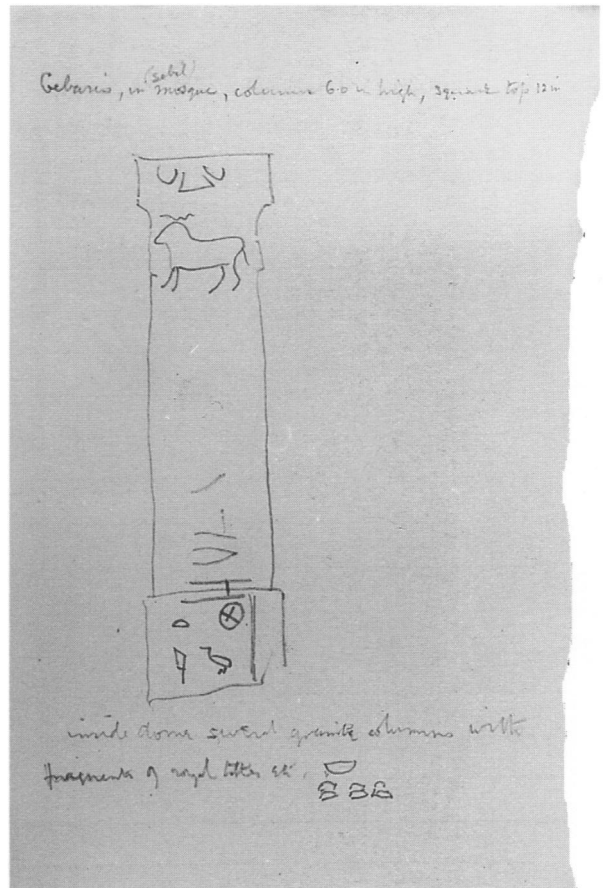


1. Bronze finger ring with head of Serapis

QASR IBRIM (pp. 20–2)



2. Left door-jamb of Ramesses II found in Abuiqa village by 1996 mission



3. Inscribed column in mosque in Gebaris. Griffith mss. 4: 14 (reproduced by permission of the Griffith Institute, Oxford)

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE SURVEY OF KOM EL-HISN, 1996

By C. J. KIRBY, S. E. OREL *and* S. T. SMITH*

The Egypt Exploration Society initiated a new archaeological survey at the site of Kom el-Hisn near the edge of Egypt's Western Delta. Six test pits were opened in the southern half of the site to the north of the Old Kingdom town excavated by the ARCE mission in the 1980s. Deposits dating to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty were discovered in Test Pit 1, robbers' trenches and the foundation wall of the main temple building of Sekhmet-Hathor (probably New Kingdom or later) in Test Pits 2, 3, 5 and 6, and domestic structural remains of the late Third Intermediate Period in Test Pit 4. Auger cores in the intervening areas of the site suggested that deposits of the Middle Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period were substantial.

A new archaeological survey of the site of Kom el-Hisn was initiated under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society. Work began at Kom el-Hisn on 4 August and terminated on 17 August 1996.¹ The team comprised: Christopher Kirby (field director), Sara Orel (site supervisor and pottery specialist), Scottie Shadden (illustrator and site assistant) and Stuart Smith (auger and pottery specialist). The director would like to thank the Supreme Council for Antiquities and its Chairman, Professor Abd el-Halim Nur el-Din, for giving us permission to work at Kom el-Hisn. We also extend our gratitude to Dr Ahmed Abd el-Fatah (Director of Western Delta Excavations), to the Chief Inspector of Beheira Inspectorate, Mr Abdel el-Leitif el-Wakid, and to the SCA inspector assigned to our mission, Mr Ahmed el-Adham, for their valuable assistance.

Previous work at Kom el-Hisn

The site of Kom el-Hisn² lies close to the edge of the middle region of Egypt's Western Delta, 12 km south of Naukratis, approximately, 29 km south-east of Damanhur and on geographical coordinates 30° 48' north and 30° 36' east. The exposed surface is roughly oval in shape with a narrower projection at the north end (fig. 1), and about 60 hectares in area. The site generally appears flat with few extant topographical features.

Kom el-Hisn was first brought to notice in 1880 through the discovery by the *sebakhin* of the trilingual Canopus Decree dating to Year 9 of Ptolemy III Euergetes I, now in the Cairo Museum (JE 22186). While excavating at Naukratis, Petrie visited Kom el-Hisn in 1881,³ but it was his student Francis L. Griffith who recorded features on the site during

*The section on Test Pit 1 was written by S. E. Orel, the additional pottery and auger reports were written by S. T. Smith.

¹The first season of survey at Kom el-Hisn was made possible by the generous financial support of the G. A. Wainwright Fund (Oxford), Truman State University (Missouri) and the EES.

²Arabic: كوم الحصن, literally 'Mound of the Fortification'. For general references to the site see PM IV, 51–2; J. R. Baines and J. Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1982), 168.

³W. M. F. Petrie, *Naukratis. Part I, 1884–5* (MEEF 3; London, 1886), 94–5.

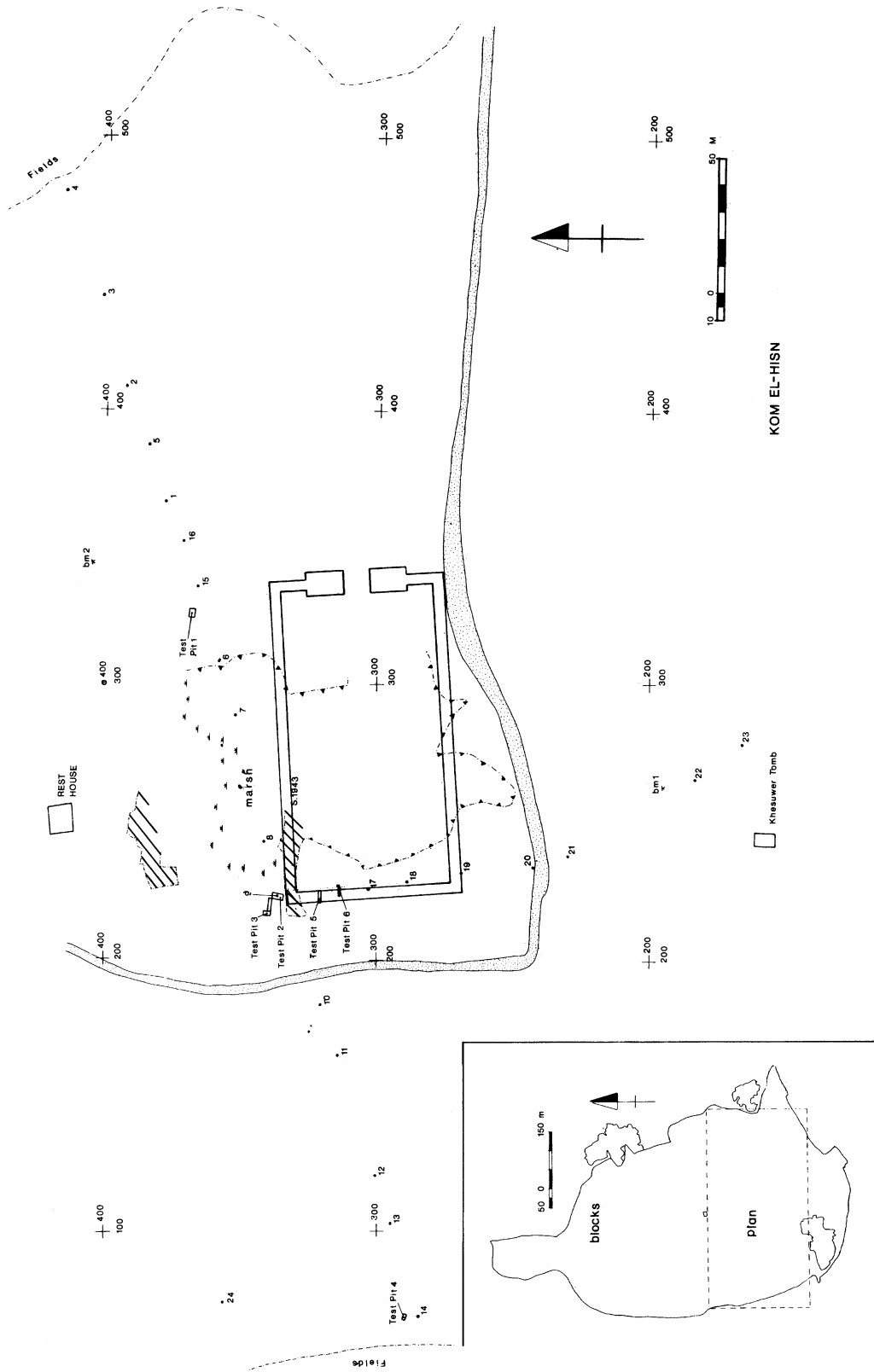


FIG. 1. Plan of area of survey showing test pits and numbered auger cores. The outline of Griffith's temple has been superimposed onto the site plan.

visits between 1885 and 1887. Griffiths described⁴ the remains of a large, rectangular mud-brick temple wall 65 m by 115.50 m and 3.65 m thick with pylons on the east side and the remains of four statues of Ramesses II within it (see pl. VI, 1).⁵ Two of these were dedicated to Sekhmet-Hathor, 'Mistress of Imu', suggesting that Hisn can be equated with Imu (𓆎𓆎𓆎𓆎) (also called 𓆎𓆎𓆎𓆎), the ancient capital of the Third Nome of Lower Egypt, 'Imnty (𓆎) or 'District of the West'. According to the Edfu temple lists Imu replaced *Hwt-'Ihyt* (𓆎𓆎𓆎𓆎) ('House of the Cow') as nome capital from the New Kingdom until the Ptolemaic Period,⁶ the modern location of the earlier town being unknown. Griffith also recorded ancient sites and reused ancient stones in the region between Naukratis and Kom el-Hisn which he published in *Naukratis II*. As his findings may have direct bearing on what buildings existed at Hisn, an appendix below lists previously unpublished additional information from the Griffith notebooks in Oxford. Daressy made a brief survey of the Kom el-Hisn in 1902,⁷ noting two broken colossi of Amenemhet III usurped by Ramesses II, an inscribed stone of Ramesside date, and four blocks from a chapel of Shoshenq II which had been usurped from Ramesses II. In 1910 a local antiquities inspector uncovered the tomb of Khesuwer on the edge of the mound under the village of Sulieman Chalaby at the south-west corner of the site. A clearance of the tomb by C. Edgar uncovered a basalt head of a Twelfth Dynasty king wearing the White Crown.⁸ In the following year, the *sebakhin* found a much damaged statue group of Amenemhet III and two princesses, also made of basalt. From the presence of many cow bones at the north end of the site, Edgar suggested that an animal necropolis, sacred to Hathor, may have existed.⁹

The first substantial excavation at Kom el-Hisn was undertaken by an Egyptian team in the 1940s. This work was initiated after an Antiquities Service inspector saw mud-brick tombs appear through the ground surface after a particularly heavy rain.¹⁰ There followed six seasons of excavation by el-Amir, Farid and Hamada from 1943-9 which uncovered over one thousand graves. These ranged from mud-brick structures to simple pits dated by the excavators from the Middle to the New Kingdom. Brunton subsequently put forward a case for dating many of the graves to the First Intermediate Period.¹¹ One of the most interesting of the grave classes excavated was that of the so-called 'warrior

⁴F. Ll. Griffith, in E. A. Gardner, *Naukratis*, II (MEEF 6; London, 1888), appendix 1, 77-80.

⁵Leonard and Coulson were unable to correlate Griffith's statues with the the five known statues of Ramesses II presently recorded as coming from Kom el-Hisn. See A. Leonard, and W. Coulson, *Cities of the Delta*, I (Malibu, 1981), 81-4; id., 'A Preliminary Survey of the Naukratis Region in the Western Nile Delta', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 6 (1979), 165.

⁶M. De C. Rochemonteix and E. Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou*, I (Paris, 1892), 330; E. Chassinat, *Le temple de Dendara*, I (Paris, 1934), 124; A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), II, 170-1*.

⁷G. Daressy, 'Rapport sur Kom el-Hisn', *ASAE* 4 (1903), 281-3.

⁸C. C. Edgar 'Recent Discoveries at Kom el-Hisn', in G. Maspero, *Le musée égyptien. Recueil de monuments et de notes sur les fouilles d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1915), 54-63, pls. xxxii-xxxvi.

⁹Ibid. 62-3.

¹⁰A. Hamada and M. el-Amir, 'Excavations at Kom el-Hisn Season 1943', *ASAE* 46 (1946), 101-41; A. Hamada and S. Farid, 'Excavations at Kom el-Hisn', *ASAE* 46 (1947), 195-235; 48 (1949), 299-325; 50 (1951), 367-78.

¹¹G. Brunton, 'The Dating of the Cemetery at Kom el-Hisn 1946', *ASAE* 46 (1947), 143-5. Photographic registers of these excavations, now in Alexandria, were recently studied by Leonard and Coulson, who suggested that the material is mainly of New Kingdom date but no later than the Nineteenth Dynasty. See Coulson and Leonard, 'The Naukratis Survey', in *L'Égyptologie en 1979: axes prioritaires de recherches*, 1 (Paris, 1982), 213. There is also a comprehensive photographic record of small finds in the Journal d'Entrée in the Cairo Museum.

group', which contained well-preserved daggers and axes.¹² The Egyptian excavations also revealed part of an Old Kingdom town.¹³

The site next received attention in the 1980s as part of a broad survey by the Naukratis Archaeological Project from the University of Michigan,¹⁴ during which the stone tomb of Khesuwer was recorded and published.¹⁵ As part of their archaeological assessment of Kom el-Hisn, the Naukratis Project invited R. Wenke to undertake more detailed study of the site. Wenke's survey included auger-cores and limited excavation. The project worked between 1983–9, concentrating mainly on the Old Kingdom town first revealed by Hamada and Farid.¹⁶

Present fieldwork (fig.1)

A new survey at the site of Kom el-Hisn, under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society, was instigated to further evaluate the historical use of the site. A study of archival sources suggested that there were still new aspects of the site to be explored. The area of Kom el-Hisn outlined on the 1919 Survey of Egypt map (1:100,000) showed a second crescent-shaped mound next to the main site known locally as 'Kom el-Dubeia'. This site lies under the modern village of Abuiqa. Unpublished excavations here in 1950 and 1955 revealed 570 graves dating from the Middle Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period.¹⁷ The close proximity of this archaeological area to the main site of Kom el-Hisn may suggest that in ancient times the settlement and cemeteries extended from Hisn to Dubeia.

A second consideration was the temple of Sekhmet-Hathor. Although Griffith planned this structure, the precise nature, dating and location of the building were unclear. Little remained of the wall even in Griffith's day and by a process accelerated by the presence of the Delta Light Railway,¹⁸ large amounts of mud-brick deposits were removed by the *sebakhin*. Hamada and Farid uncovered remnants of the structural foundations of the temple in 1945, but were unable to find and plan the return wall at either end.¹⁹ It appears that Griffith misdefined the wall structure as a 'temple enclosure': the dimensions he recorded suggest that he discovered the main temple building of Sekhmet-Hathor of Imu itself. A reference in Griffith's unpublished field notebooks indicates²⁰ that he may also

¹²W. V. Davies, *Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, VII Tools and Weapons I; Axes* (London, 1987), 37.

¹³Hamada and Farid, *ASAE* 46, 299, pl. ii.

¹⁴Leonard and Coulson, *Cities of the Delta*, 81–5.

¹⁵D. Silverman, *The Tomb Chamber of Hsw the Elder: The Inscribed Material at Kom El-Hisn*, (ARCE Reports 10; Winona Lake, 1988); id., 'Epigraphic Work at Kom el-Hisn 1981', *NARCE* 116 (1981/2), 6–11. Silverman dates the tomb to the early Middle Kingdom.

¹⁶R. Wenke et al. 'Kom el-Hisn: Excavation in an Old Kingdom Settlement in the Egyptian Delta', *JARCE* 25 (1988), 5–34; R. Wenke, 'Old Kingdom Community Organization in the Western Egyptian Delta', *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 19 (1986), 15–33; id., 'Excavations at Kom el-Hisn', *NARCE* 129 (1985), 1–11; 135 (1986), 11–17; 149 (1990), 1–6.

¹⁷J. Leclant, 'Fouilles et travaux en Egypte, 1954–1955', *Orientalia* 25 (1956), 262, fig. 20.

¹⁸Dareddy, *ASAE* 4, 281; id., 'Le nom d'Horus du roi Chéchonq III', *ASAE* 13 (1914), 86.

¹⁹A foundation deposit of Psamtik III from the Hamada and Farid expedition is now in the Cairo Museum. It probably came from the excavation of the temple wall and thus may prove conclusive in the dating of the structure. I would like to thank A. J. Spencer for this reference.

²⁰Griffith ms (Griffith Institute, Oxford), Book 12, 8: 'North of temple enclosure off (?) path much limestone rubbish from the Ezbe to beyond the end of the temenos, in one place a considerable fragment of 19 in(ch) brick wall 10 yards broad runs n(orth) s(outh) but apparently cut away for later building'. With a width dimension of 9.15 m and a north–south alignment, this structure would appear to be an ideal candidate for the enclosure wall.

have seen part of the temenos wall of the temple precinct without realising what it was. The evidence of inscribed blocks of Ramesses II in Griffith's notebooks, the statues on the site, and the discovery of a stone door-jamb of that king by our present mission indicate that a substantial temple of that pharaoh existed at Hisn. Griffith also hypothesised that Ramesses II may have had a royal residence in this area.²¹

The two previous excavation projects at Kom el-Hisn had focused on the following areas: i) the cemeteries in the middle portion of the site; ii) the north edge of the temple area; and iii) the Old Kingdom occupation in the southern quarter of the site. A reconnaissance of the surface terrain confirmed that there was still a large portion of seemingly undisturbed archaeological deposition preserved to some height on the south side of the resthouse and to the north of Wenke's excavations of the Old Kingdom town. The general vicinity of Griffith's temple was indicated by a marked depression in the ground surface. This area extended into the middle portion of the site from behind the resthouse to the southern edge of a water-filled depression that bordered the Old Kingdom excavations. This 'lake' had been created by the Hamada, el-Amir and Farid excavations and by *sebakhin* activity.²² As a contour map had already been created by the Wenke mission,²³ we continued the trend of archaeological investigation initiated by the American project and placed a series of test-pit excavations in different areas to evaluate the archaeological remains. The positioning of test-pits was, in part, determined by the findings of the auger-core survey (see below). All heights were related to a steel girder benchmark close to the tomb of Khesuwer at the southern end of Kom el-Hisn by using two datum points located close to the test pit excavations. The benchmark (B.M. 1) was given the nominal value of 0 m. The site grid was aligned to magnetic north.

Test Pit 1 (KH96/1) (figs. 1–3)

A reconnaissance of the area to the south of the resthouse indicated a plateau of higher ground on the south-east side running to the eastern boundary of the site. The western edge of this plateau had a regular, vertically-cut edge which suggested that it was one of the Hamada–el-Amir–Farid trenches. A test pit 2 m north–south by 3 m east–west was positioned a little eastward of this cut in an attempt to uncover levels later than the Old Kingdom habitation to the south. The trench was excavated to 52 cm below the ground surface. No structural elements were revealed, although a segment of hard clay may have represented a floor or working surface. The nature of the deposits appeared to be dumped fill and building debris which contained large quantities of pottery.

Pottery from Test Pit 1 (see fig. 2) below the surface formed a coherent set of later Middle Kingdom wares, primarily of Nile silt but with marl as well.²⁴ The ceramic

²¹ Griffith suggests that the village of 'Ramsis', with its small remaining earthwork measuring 20 yards by 5 yards, may represent the site of a 'small chateau of Rameses' (*Naukratis* II, 79).

²² Griffith, *Naukratis* II, 77.

²³ Wenke et al., *JARCE* 25, fig. 1.

²⁴ The definitions of Nile silt pottery fabrics are found in H.-A. Nordström and J. Bourriau, 'Ceramic Technology: Clays and Fabrics', in Do. Arnold and J. Bourriau (eds), *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery* (Mainz am Rhein, 1993), 171–4. The distinction between Nile B2 and C in the Delta is sometimes difficult to define. At Kom el-Hisn there seems to be little of what Dorothea Arnold calls 'Nile B 2 near C' ('Pottery', in D. Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I* (MMA Egyptian Expedition 22; New York, 1988), 126. The variant of Nile B2 at Hisn tends to be rather the variation which is closer to the midpoint of Nile C, particularly in the abundant inclusions of sand.

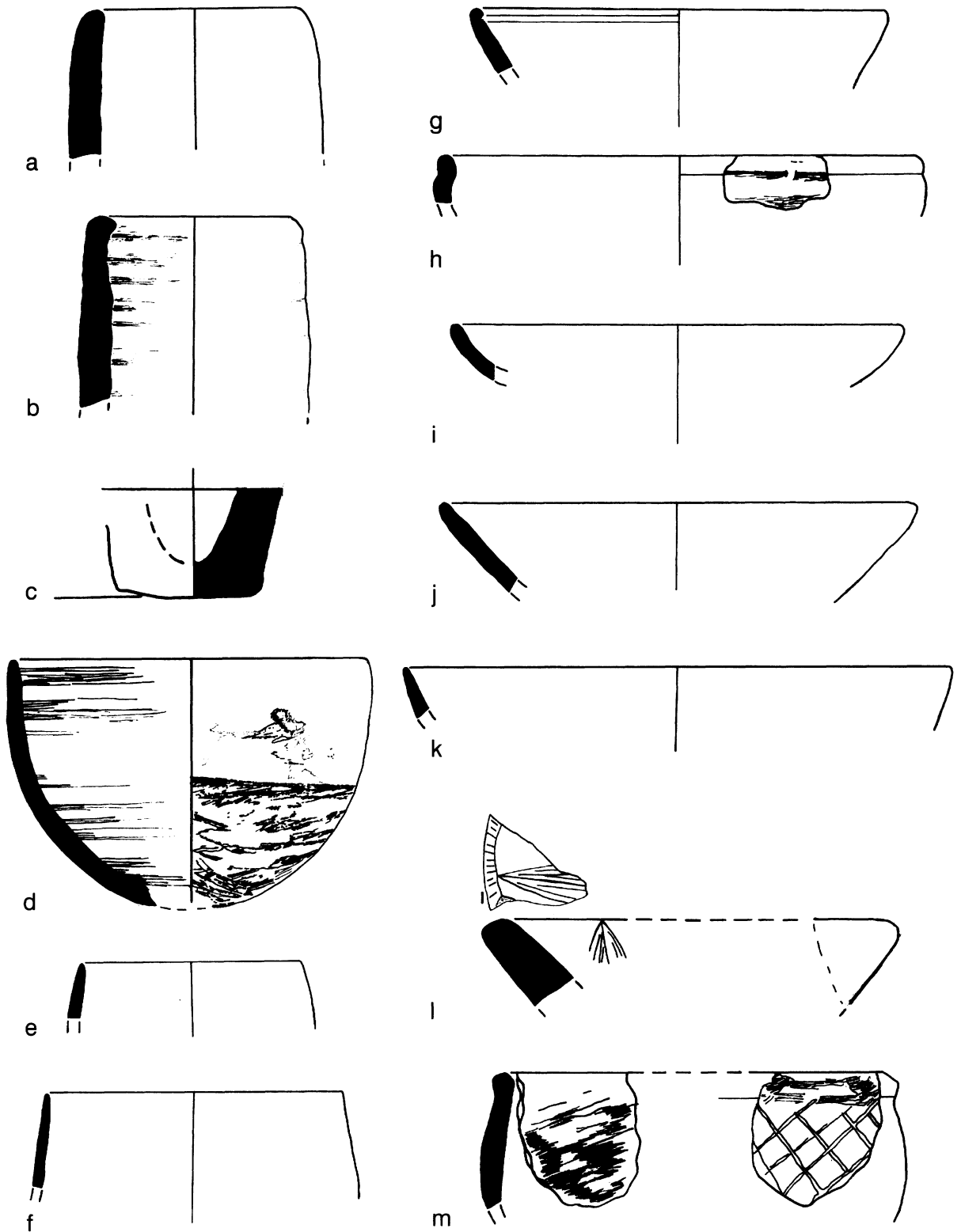


FIG. 2. Pottery from Test Pit 1.

TABLE 1. *Pottery and Small Finds from Test Pit 1 (undiagnostic/diagnostic)*

Context	Nile B1	Nile B2	Nile C	Marl A	Marl B	Marl C	Finds
top	4/0	214/9	32/2	1/0	2/1	—	limestone spindle weight
1	5/0	238/8	7/0	1/0	—	—	
2	3/0	247/7	16/5	2/2	—	9/2	
3	—	—	—	—	—	—	
4	42/12	111/11	251/16	2/0	—	32/1	Kerma-ware sherd; worked sherd, circular in shape
5	100/18	86/2	317/11	2/0	—	28/1	1 Pan-grave sherd
6	22/4	15/1	128/6	—	—	6/0	
7	117/16	88/5	512/38	4/0	—	22/2	Kerma polished-ware sherd; hemispherical cup
8	61/10	46/3	336/17	—	—	12	3 seal impression fragments

material indicated a clear break between the surface and contexts 1 and 2, where the dominant vessel ware was Nile B2 (87.6 per cent of the total), whereas the contexts below (4–8) have Nile C providing 65.9 per cent of the total sherds, while Nile B2 provided only 14.8 per cent of the total. This break was most strikingly expressed by the thick concentration of bread moulds found in the lower levels (see below). The distribution of pottery types and the small finds from Test Pit 1 is shown in Table 1. The most common fabric was Nile C, particularly when one looks at the level of context 4 and below.²⁵ The Nile C was usually not particularly well-fired, and the vessel fragments were often so soft that it was possible for a trowel to cut through them easily in the course of excavation. The number of sherds was so high that the soil appeared quite red. This fabric was used for the most common vessel type in contexts 4–8, the Middle Kingdom bread mould (fig. 2a–c).²⁶ At Kom el-Hisn these were all fragmentary, but the shape was distinct. All examples displayed a relatively straight, hand-formed tube, often with slightly thickened rim, sometimes flattened or turned inwards. The walls were tapered gently down to the slightly flattened base. The number of bread moulds may offer an indication of the purpose of the area. Although Middle Kingdom tombs were found in the area to the south-west of Test Pit 1, bread moulds are not common as offerings in tombs, and this large number of moulds is more likely a dump from a bakery area, perhaps associated with the temple.²⁷ It may be noted that fragmentary bread moulds found at Lisht South were suggested to be from a dump of material from ‘various ritual and everyday activities around the pyramid complex’.²⁸

²⁵In total, 3140 sherds from 8 contexts were classified. Of these 212 (6.7 per cent) were diagnostic (rims and bases). For the breakdown of fabric types by contexts see Table 1.

²⁶Unfortunately, none of the vessels produced a complete profile and thus the ratio of height to width could not be established. The form is that known from the end of the Eleventh Dynasty and used most commonly from the Twelfth Dynasty through the beginning of the New Kingdom, when it develops at Karnak into a more flaring variant of the shape. See H. Jacquet-Gordon, ‘A Tentative Typology of Egyptian Bread Molds’, in Do. Arnold (ed.), *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik* (Mainz am Rhein, 1981), 11–24; Type C, the Middle Kingdom shape, is discussed and illustrated by fig. 4, nos. 3–14.

²⁷The New Kingdom temple may be built in the same area as an earlier Middle Kingdom establishment, or there might have been an offering area associated with the tombs, or the bread moulds might be associated with activity elsewhere on the site.

²⁸Do. Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, 124.

The next most common vessel forms in this area were open ones, consisting of cups and bowls of a variety of types. These range from the distinctive Middle Kingdom hemispherical cups of Nile B1, of which five very fragmentary examples²⁹ were found, along with one which was complete enough for us to estimate the vessel index (diameter divided by height multiplied by 100) (fig. 2d). Its measurement of 150 places it in the grouping of the later Twelfth Dynasty, but a single complete vessel is not enough to date a whole deposit.³⁰ All these cup fragments from Test Pit 1 had a red line around the rim, a commonly noted trait in this hemispherical variety.³¹ Also of Nile B1 were two fine-walled cups with slightly restricted rims (fig. 2e and f)³² and other open forms with inverted rims (fig. 2g and h). These latter two forms were somewhat intriguing. The first was burned quite thoroughly, presumably in use (Munsell 2.5 YR 3/2, rather than the more common B1 colour at the site, which is 5YR 5/1, 5/3, or 5/4), while the second showed not only slightly modelling on the exterior, but also a surface that was extensively burnished with horizontal strokes.

Aside from Nile C, the most common fabric throughout the deposit was Nile B2, which has proved to be a sandy version of the fabric (distinguishing it from Nile C, which is notably less sandy at Kom el-Hisn). This fabric was used for a group of bowls ranging from 16 to 21 cm in diameter, with either no surface treatment or a red wash on the interior (fig. 2i–k).

Marl fabrics A, B, and C were present in the area, but B was only present at the surface, while a few fragments of A and more common examples of C were found at the lower levels as well. It is not surprising that Marl C was the more common of the latter two fabrics as its source is in the area of Lisht and Memphis, while Marl A is Upper Egyptian in origin.³³ Not included in the analysis of Table 1 because of its late retrieval was a rather fragmentary hand-made fish platter of Marl C (fig. 2l).

Imported ware in the lower levels of Test Pit 1 included body sherds of Kerma polished-ware (from contexts 4 and 7), as well as a rim sherd of 'Pan-grave' pottery³⁴ (fig. 2m). This is more common on Egyptian sites as a component of Nubian graves in Egypt than in a settlement context. The Middle Kingdom graves excavated by Hamada and Farid date to the Eleventh Dynasty and the early part of the Twelfth Dynasty, although none were identified that were as late as the Thirteenth Dynasty, and there was nothing to indicate the presence of Nubian material at the site prior to our excavation. Certainly, further investigation in this area is desirable and this will be a component of future work at the site.

The nature of the deposits in Test Pit 1 suggests an area of rubbish and building material dumping (fig. 3). The large number of bread moulds emphasised the domestic context of these remains, although it is conceivable that they formed the waste product from temple bakeries. The dating of the pottery was consistent with the late Middle

²⁹These only had 5–10 per cent of the diameter preserved, with one exception.

³⁰For a discussion of vessel index of hemispherical cups as an aid to dating, see Do. Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, 140–1.

³¹Ibid. 140.

³²A parallel to this form is from Lisht South, type 42a; see *ibid.* 127, fig. 64.

³³Ibid. 126.

³⁴Possibly the most northerly provenanced example ever to be found in Egypt (personnel communication by J. Bourriau).

Kingdom and as such represents the first (published) evidence of historical occupation of this period at Kom el-Hisn.³⁵

Test Pit 2 (KH96/2) (figs. 4 and 5a)

With the guidance of two former basket boys from the Hamada and Farid excavations, Adl Hameed el-Wany and Yusef Kerada, we were shown the trench that had revealed the north or south wall of Griffith's temple. It was clear from the Hamada and Farid plans³⁶ that they had failed to locate the return wall at either end of the east-west wall, i.e. the front or back wall of the temple. It appeared that at least one corner of the temple had been reached, however, as foundation deposits of Psamtik III were recovered. Our mission placed a test excavation, 2 m east-west by 4 m north-south, on a raised ridge on the north side of the west end of the Hamada-Farid trench. This was done to clarify whether the back wall of the temple turned to the north or to the south.

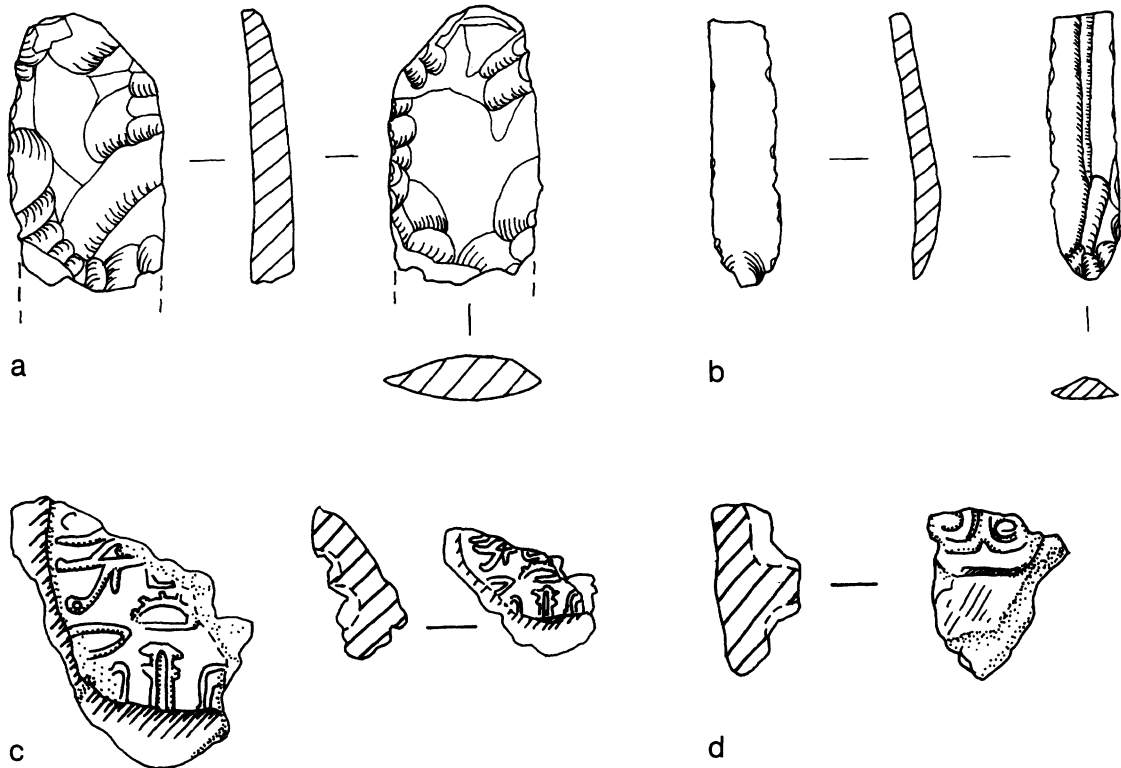


FIG. 3. (a) flint blade. Find 4 (Test Pit 1:2); (b) fragment of flint blade. Find 11 (Test Pit 1:11); (c) 2:1 scale drawing and 1:1 scale drawing of mud sealing. Find 17 (Test Pit 1:8); (d) 2:1 drawing of mud sealing fragment. Find 16 (Test Pit 1:8).

³⁵Wenke's excavations revealed deposits in one of their test squares which he dated to the early Middle Kingdom; see *JARCE* 25, 13. Silverman, likewise, dates the tomb of Khesuwer to early in the Middle Kingdom. The royal head discovered inside the Khesuwer tomb, however, has been dated to the reign of Amenemhet III based upon similarities to another sculpture of that king in the temple area; see Baines and Málek, *Atlas*, 168; Daressy, *ASAE* 4, 286.

³⁶The plans in the *ASAE* articles have proved too inaccurate to relate to our present work.

The trench revealed the denuded remains of articulated mud-brick collapse. This overlay a linear cut through sand (probably a robbers' trench since the time of Hamada and Farid) which ran south-east to north-west and was filled completely with compacted, disintergrated mud-brick. The pottery dated to the Middle and New Kingdoms and is likely to have been redeposited from graves disturbed by the original cut of the temple wall (see below).

Test Pit 3 (KH96/3) (fig. 4)

At the same time as the opening of Test Pit 2, another trench was begun farther to the west. This was done to determine if the return wall of the temple turned to the north.³⁷ The test trench was 2 m east-west by 3 m north-south, with a further 1 m by 4 m extension to connect it with Test Pit 2. A roughly linear cut running north-south was revealed filled with a complex series of pitting and localised dumps of mud-brick rubble,

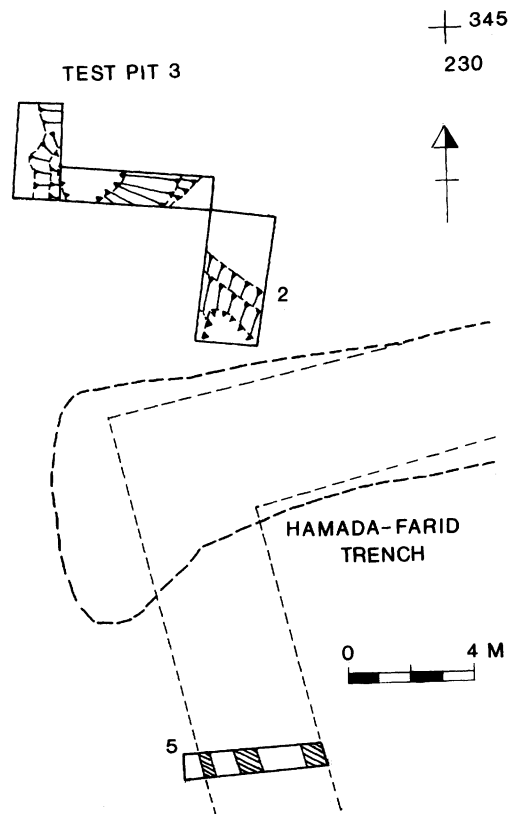


FIG. 4. Plan showing the relationship of features in Test Pits 2, 3 and 5 to the north temple wall trench (S.1946) excavated by Hamada and Farid.

³⁷It is clear that Hamada and Farid believed that they had uncovered the southern wall of the temple and that the return wall ran northwards; see *ASAE* 46, fig. 14. They may have been influenced by Griffith's plan which appears to show the northern wall missing. In fact, Griffith was unable to plan this side of the temple because it was obscured by mounds of rubble; see *Naukratis II*, 77.

clay and reddish sand. A preserved iron object from context 8 is unlikely to have been of any great age. This, and the very mixed nature of the deposits, suggested that we were digging in an area already excavated by Hamada and Farid.³⁸ This trench confirmed that the return wall of the temple had not been found running to the north of the Hamada–Farid trench and instead may be sought to the south.

Pottery from Test Pits 2 and 3 included sherds in Nile Silt B1-2, C, and Marls A, C and D. Diagnostics included a mix of Middle Kingdom sherds (hemispherical bowls and ‘zir’ rims,³⁹ fragments from New Kingdom amphorae,⁴⁰ and an early Third Intermediate Period Nile silt jar sherd.⁴¹ The mixed character of this assemblage was consistent with foundation fill or secondary deposition of the fill into a robber’s trench.⁴²

Test Pit 4 (KH96/4) (fig. 5b)

Auger core 96/13 (discussed below) produced pottery of New Kingdom date or later. It was therefore decided to place a test pit 1 m north–south by 2 m east–west close to this core to clarify the nature of the archaeological deposits.

The archaeological stratigraphy in Test Pit 4 was complex. The weathered wall and floor revealed at the west end of the trench appeared to date to the late Third Intermediate Period based on the pottery lying directly on the floor surface. Directly below this wall was a wider, earlier structure. The mud-brick collapse from the east section of the trench may indicate a similar wall alignment at that end of the trench. It appeared that the collapse of this latter wall had been cut by the earlier of the two walls at the other end of the trench.

Pottery from Test Pit 4 reflected an assemblage from the Third Intermediate Period to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in Nile Silt B2, C, and the late Upper Egyptian Marl Clay.⁴³ The usual bowls with everted rims were abundant. One jar rim found a good parallel in a cylindrical jar horn in late New Kingdom strata at Tanis and in a globular jar type which could be later.⁴⁴ Of particular interest were sherds in Phoenician fabric imported from the Levant. An amphora and a handled jug found parallels in the Iron IIC (800–586 BC), as did a Nile Silt (imitation?) handled krater with grooved rim.⁴⁵ Other sherds were consistent with a late Third Intermediate Period date.⁴⁶ This material, taken together with the sherds recovered from deeper deposits in the auger cores, pointed to a range for these deposits running potentially from the late New Kingdom through the late Third Intermediate Period, and perhaps into the early Late Period.

³⁸This trench is certainly the one marked ‘S.1943’ running north–south at the west end of the temple-wall trench; see *ASAE* 46, 196, fig. 14.

³⁹M. Bietak, ‘Egypt and Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age’, *BASOR* 281 (1991), 27–72.

⁴⁰C. Hope, *Pottery of the Egyptian New Kingdom*, (Melbourne, 1989), 87–100, figs. 1–5.

⁴¹D. Aston, *Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period (Twelfth–Seventh Centuries BC)*, (SAGA 13; Heidelberg, 1996), pl. 196.

⁴²This mixture of Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom pottery probably came from the disturbance of the cemetery area by the intrusion of the temple wall foundation; see Hamada and Farid, *ASAE* 46, pl. i, which clearly shows a mud-brick grave structure beneath the temple’s north wall.

⁴³Aston, *Egyptian Pottery*, 1–9.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, figs. 10, 70.

⁴⁵R. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* (Rutgers, 1970), pls. 76, 79, 81; Aston, *Egyptian Pottery*, figs. 233–4.

⁴⁶Aston, *Egyptian Pottery*, figs. 217–28.

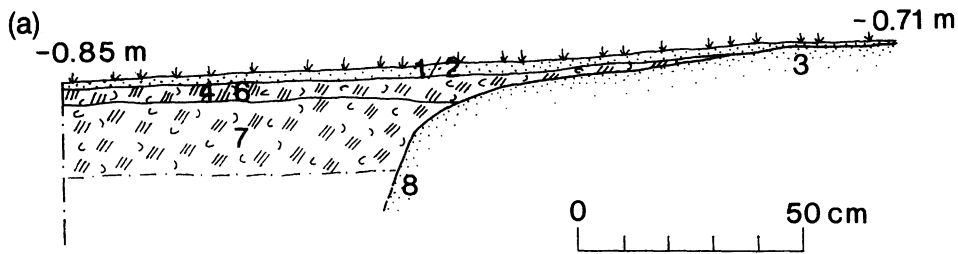


FIG. 5a. Test Pit 2, west section.

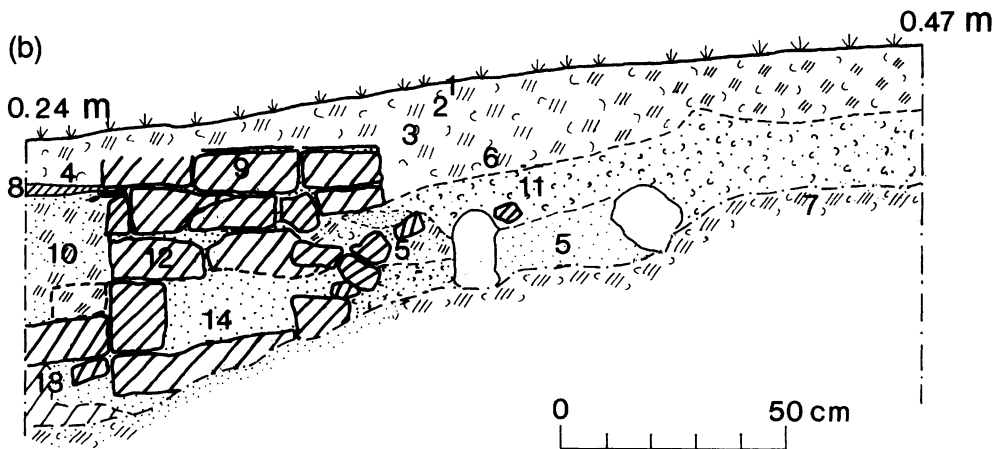


FIG. 5b. Test Pit 4, north section.

The level of the Thirteenth Dynasty deposits in Test Pit 1 was of a similar level to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty deposits on the western boundary. This suggested that the town had expanded over the west part of the site in this latter period, when it was occupied by earlier cemeteries. The continuity of use of the wall alignment uncovered in Test Pit 4 suggested that this may have been a significant boundary line within the ancient city. This alignment was the same as that of the back wall of the temple, supporting the notion that the streets of ancient Imu were aligned to the main temple precinct.

Test Pit 5 (KH96/5) (figs. 4 and 6)

The excavation of Test Pit 3 suggested that the return wall of the temple would be located to the south of the Hamada and Farid trench. Surface trowelling in this area revealed a change from sand to compacted mud-brick. A thin strip 0.70 m north–south by 4.30 m east–west was opened. Immediately below the surface was a mud-brick feature with a foundation trench cut into soft yellow-orange sand which had spilt into the trench at the north end. Between the cut and the wall were narrow mud-bricks, 20 cm × 9 cm, packed obliquely, and a small piece of pink mortar. A thin line of fine sand separated the cut fill from the edge of the wall. The west edge of the wall (Wall 1) consisted of mud-bricks abutted side-to-side as a row of headers (32 cm × 16 cm). Directly behind this

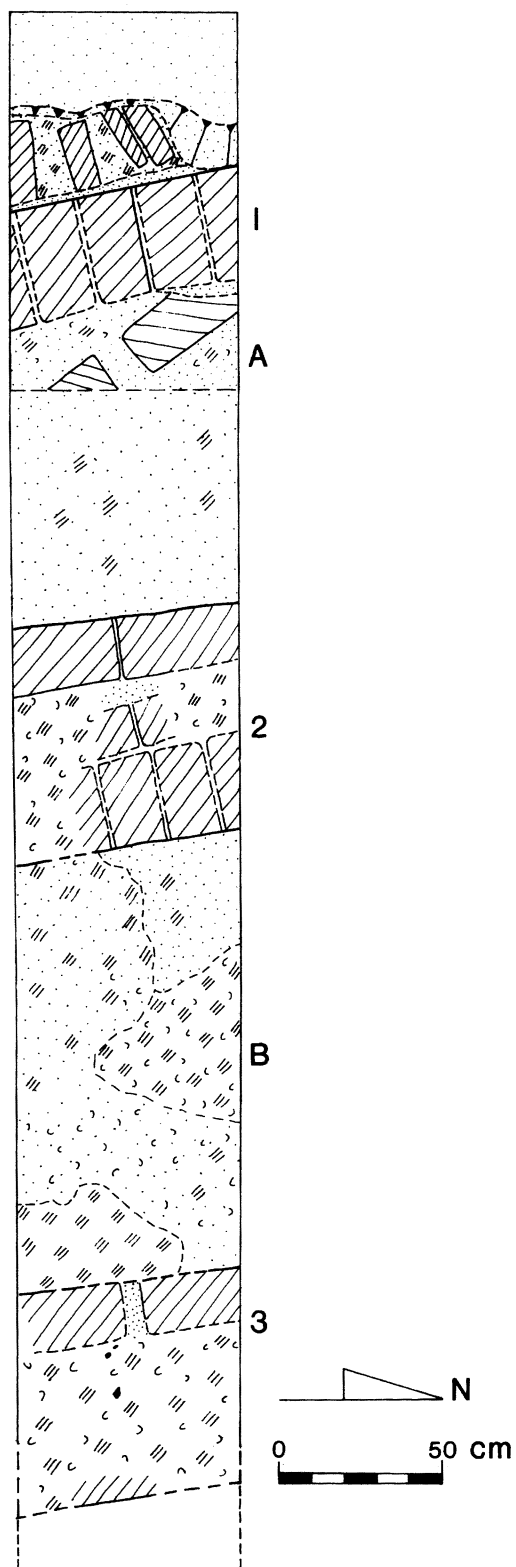


FIG. 6. Plan of mud-brick feature in Test Pit 5. The heights above B.M.1 at the two west corner points are -1.15 m.

brick line was a layer of fine yellow-orange sand (Area A). This sand was taken down 10 cm in the initial investigation of the trench to reveal a mixture of random light greenish clay bricks in a sandy clay. A second wall (Wall 2), parallel to Wall 1, consisted of two rows of grey-brown stretcher bricks (37 cm × 19 cm) and a row of header bricks (27 cm × 16 cm). The area to the east of the wall (Area B) consisted of patches of sand, clay and silt material in localised dumps. A third mud-brick wall (Wall 3) ran parallel to Walls 1 and 2. The bricks were grey-brown and their average dimension was 35 cm × 19 cm. The east (and presumably outside edge) of this wall was difficult to detect as it lay close to a circular bore hole filled with water. The line finally determined seemed certain because it made Wall 3 the same thickness as Wall 2.

The nature of construction of this mud-brick feature set into a foundation cut with packed brick fill indicated a brick structure of some scale. The proposed width of this feature, 3.85 m, fitted comfortably with Griffith's measurement of 4 yards for his mud-brick temple.⁴⁷ Although the series of three parallel walls suggested the structure of the foundation was intact at this point, the diverse deposits filling the areas in between may have reflected the secondary deposition of the internal sand deposits of the temple precinct and debris from the destruction of the superstructure of the temple.⁴⁸

Test Pit 6 (KH96/6)

Another test pit (0.70 m × 1.20 m) was opened to the south to reveal the preserved extent of the back wall of the temple. The trench revealed a continuous layer of soft yellow-brown sand. A series of auger cores was placed down the projected line of the back wall of the temple to determine if any other fragments of the wall had survived. The results indicated deep deposits of sand for the entire length of the proposed wall line. The sands detected probably represented the overspill of the sand deposits of the temple precinct with the removal of the mud-brick and excavation of the internal area of the temple, as was witnessed by Griffith.

The nature and extent of Griffith's temple (fig. 1)

By pin-pointing the west (back) wall of the temple it has become possible to place the outline of Griffith's temple on a modern map. The area of the 'lake' (i.e. the excavated depression filled with ground water) fits for the most part into the zone originally occupied by the temple precinct. Another modern feature also confirms where the temple stood: the village road between the village of Es-Saida on the east and Suleiman Charlaby on the south-west corner of the kom. Near to Suleiman Charlaby this track splits, with one branch turning north towards the natural geriza mound in the centre part of the site.

⁴⁷*Naukratis* II, 77. The walls of the temple are described as resting on rubbish 'piled to some height above water-level', but the evidence from Test Pit 5 would suggest that this observation was incorrect. Griffith also notes that the *sebakhin* had 'dug below the foundations and have almost entirely cut away large portions of the wall on the south, while the north side is much hidden by rubbish, but in no part is more than a few feet of the height remaining'.

⁴⁸I would like to thank A. J. Spencer for a useful discussion on the pattern of debris from temple destruction with reference to his work at Tell Balamun.

This route appears to follow the outline of the south and west sides of where the temple wall originally stood. Today, it also forms a boundary between the area of the Old Kingdom town and the rest of the site.⁴⁹

Assuming the Griffith temple to be of New Kingdom date or later, the use of mud-brick for the principal temple of a nome capital would appear to be unexpected. Griffith's description of great mounds of limestone chippings on the north side of the temple suggests, however, that at least some of the walls were faced with limestone slabs.⁵⁰

Auger core survey (figs. 7–8)

The auger survey at Kom el-Hisn consisted of 24 cores from which 130 discrete samples were taken. A long east–west line of auger cores provided a section across the site and connected the two initial test pits (1 and 2). A second north–south line of cores established a connection between the first series and Old Kingdom area excavated by Wenke. A plot of the relative frequency of ceramic and bone material shows that several were of artifact-rich settlement remains separated by an artifact-poor sandy zone. The coring revealed that the eastern Middle Kingdom area identified in Test Pit 1 was both extensive and deep (cores 1–7, 15, 16). The central area consisted of sandy deposits with few objects (cores 8–12, 17–21), while the western (cores 13, 14, 24) and southern cores (22, 24) uncovered areas of Third Intermediate Period (possibly including late New Kingdom) and Old Kingdom settlement. The artifacts recovered include ceramic sherds, bone, shell, lithics, and clay seal impressions.

The zone encompassing cores 1–7 and 15–16 was characterized by thick deposits of artifact-rich loam (approximately equal parts sand, silt and clay), mottled with red (perhaps burnt mud) and black (charcoal). The transition of these soils to sand with artifacts, eventually coming down to an often gravelly and compacted sand without artifacts, presumably represented the original gezira surface.⁵¹ The loam was 1.15 to 1.7 m thick, with artifact-laden sand deposits extending down over 2 m in most cases.

The area of cores 8–12 and 17–21 was characterized by yellow, often alternating with grey, sand deposits. Very few artifacts came from these cores, and sterile levels were typically reached within the first half metre. This area may represent the denuded temple precinct or redistributed sand from the interior of the temple (cores 8–9, 17–21) and the First Intermediate Period and later cemetery area (cores 10–12) identified by Hamada and Farid.

The zone including cores 13–14 and 24 was characterized by artifact-rich sticky clays and clayey loams, finely mottled red and black, but very distinct from the cores above. Core 14 was particularly complex, with alternating layers of clay (perhaps indicating an architectural layer of mud-brick), loam (settlement debris), and alternating layers of clay and sand which may indicate natural alluviation in the deeper levels.

⁴⁹Griffith marks this path on two sketch plans of Kom el-Hisn: Griffith mss. Book 12: 4–5; 6–7. See pl. VI, 1.

⁵⁰Griffith mss. Book 12:8.

⁵¹Wenke et al., *JARCE* 25, 15–16, fig. 3.



FIG. 7. Auger core analysis plan.

Finds

Diagnostic pottery from cores 1–7, 15 and 16 included forms typical for the Middle Kingdom in Nile Silt B1, B2, and C and Marl C fabrics.⁵² Diagnostic sherds included numerous hemispherical bowl fragments, beer jars, and bread moulds. One sherd from core 16 was from a Nubian polished ware. A few bowl rims and part of the handle to a lid were also consistent with a Middle Kingdom assemblage.⁵³ Body sherds from Marl C storage containers were also recovered. The beer-jar sherds were confined to the ‘band necked’ type, which indicated a date at the end of the Twelfth into the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁵⁴ One bowl rim possibly indicated a date in the later Thirteenth Dynasty.⁵⁵

Of particular interest were three Tell el-Yahudiya sherds found in stratified contexts in core 5. Two black polished sherds in a sand stratum running from 170–190 cm showed the distinct zoning typical of the piriform type, which dates to the Thirteenth Dynasty.

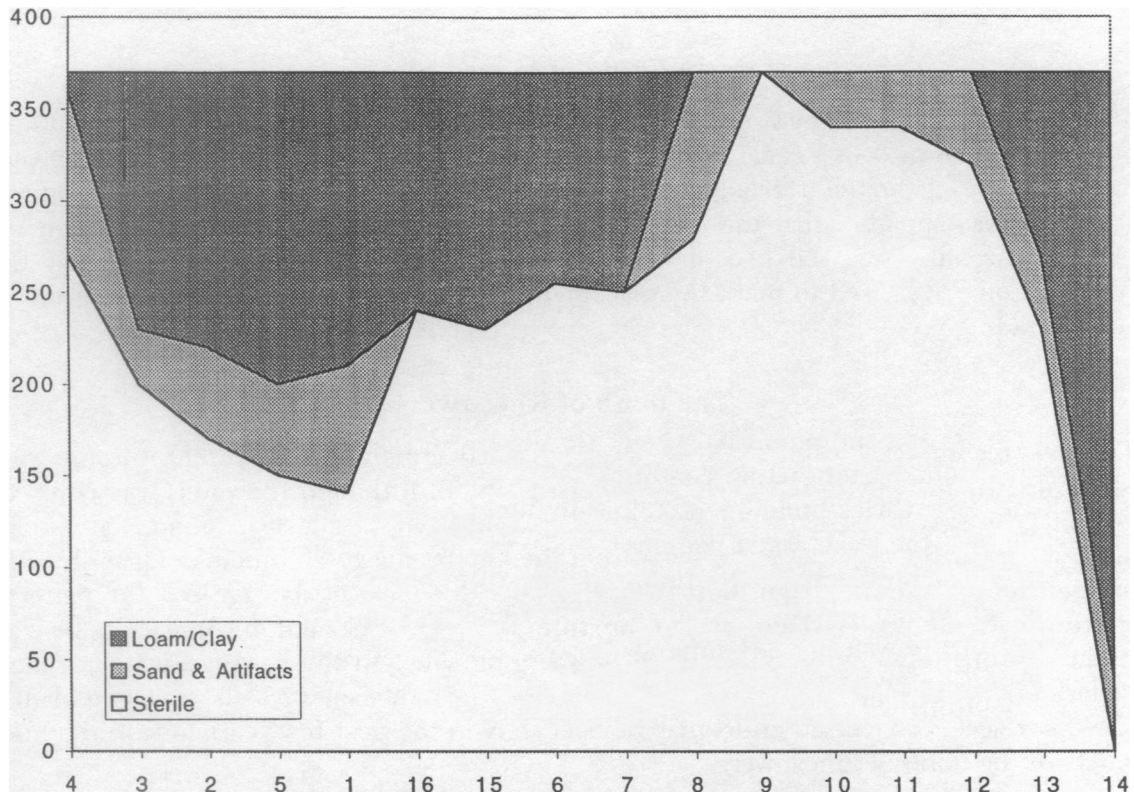


FIG. 8. Idealised section of Kom el-Hisn from auger cores.

⁵²Do. Arnold, ‘Keramikbearbeitung in Dahschur 1976–1981’, *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 25–65; Do. Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, figs. 63–74; Bietak, *BASOR* 281, 27–72.

⁵³Do. Arnold, *MDAIK* 38, Abb. 8–11; S. T. Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.* (London, 1995), figs. 3.5–3.9

⁵⁴Bietak, *BASOR* 281, 36, fig. 7.

⁵⁵Do. Arnold, *MDAIK* 38, Abb. 11:12.

Another brown sherd from a loam stratum running from 70–100 cm had the chevron pattern typical of the piriform 2 (or possibly biconical) style, which dates to the Second Intermediate Period.⁵⁶

Core 14 produced a number of diagnostic sherds pointing to the Third Intermediate Period, possibly overlapping with the late New Kingdom. Small bowls and especially plates with bevelled rims are common in Aston's phases I and II (particularly the former).⁵⁷ A sherd from the 250–270 cm loam stratum finds parallels in the late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period.⁵⁸ Core 24 produced similar plates, along with a large carinated bowl rim sherd.⁵⁹

Many of the cores produced bone, including large and small mammal and fish (including catfish). The Middle Kingdom cores yielded several small fragments of seal impressions (cores 1–3, 5–6). Those that were legible came from scarab-sized stamp seals, and at least some of the backs showed the impression of small pegs, probably from boxes. A seal impression from the possible Old Kingdom area (core 23) had traces of a small Horus, like those found by Wenke. Lithics included some debitage and utilized pieces from both the Middle Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period wares.

Stone building of reused blocks

This building was noted by Coulson and Johnson.⁶⁰ It now lies right at the northern limit of Kom el-Hisn next to a canal known locally as 'Teret el-Magnoona' ('The canal of the mad woman'). Although a detailed plan of the structure will have to wait until a future season, it was apparent that the feature consisted of reused limestone blocks. Many of these had a single incised line or two lines meeting at a right angle. These may be construction lines, used to mark the placement of abutting wall and floor blocks from a stone building.

The tomb of Khesuwer

This was recorded and published by Edgar⁶¹ and Silverman.⁶² Our present mission was concerned by the deteriorating condition of the tomb. Although the tomb was covered over in 1960 by a brick building, it still lies in direct contact with the ground, a situation made worse by the waste water coming from the nearby village of Sulieman Charlaby. All the bottom course blocks in the tomb have suffered from salt damage but the pattern of erosion above this level appeared to vary from block to block, and in some cases blocks at the top of the wall had suffered from emerging salts. In the worse cases the relief surface of the stone had been completely destroyed by rising salt crystals, leaving a blank, pitted surface. A concerted effort may be necessary in the next few years to save the fine reliefs of the tomb of Khesuwer.

⁵⁶ Bietak, *BASOR* 281, 38–47.

⁵⁷ Aston, *Egyptian Pottery*, figs. 187–292.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, figs. 103, 105, 110, 123, 196.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, fig. 190.

⁶⁰ *Cities of the Delta*, 84, pl. 10.6.

⁶¹ See n. 8 above.

⁶² Silverman, *Tomb Chamber of Hsw the Elder*. No detailed plan or elevation of the structure was included in that report.

Survey of the environs of Kom el-Hisn

It was appropriate for our mission to continue the work started by F. Ll. Griffith (see Appendix) by walking through the surrounding villages and noting the presence of ancient inscribed and worked stone. Although Griffith had noticed little of interest in Abuiqa, our colleagues from Beheira Inspectorate felt that a visit to this village directly to the south-east of the site of Kom el-Hisn could prove productive. The objects observed in the walking survey were:

1. A limestone mortar of possibly Roman date. The dimensions were: diameter 0.65 m; internal depth 0.59 m; wall thickness at top 0.10 m. It was found on a street in Abuiqa village.
2. A fragment of a limestone block, possibly reworked. There are percussion marks on the back and remains of illegible hieroglyphs on the front. The dimensions are: length 0.50 m; width 0.35 m. It was found in a street in Abuiqa village.
3. A rectangular, dressed, limestone slab with incised inscription (see pl. V, 2) from the left-hand section of a door-jamb. This stone had been reused as the base of a cupboard and consequently had a small pivot hole and frame slot marked on the right-hand edge. The hieroglyphic inscription reads vertically: ‘...*nb tꜣwy (Stp-n-rꜥ) (Wsr-mꜥꜥt-rꜥ)*...’ The length of the block is 0.70 m, its width 0.37 m and its thickness 0.09 m. The piece was reported to the Beheira inspectors by an inhabitant of Abuiqa village.
4. Dressed limestone block, possibly a paving slab, with cutaway in one corner. The length was 0.92 m, the width 0.72 m and the thickness approximately 0.08 m. It was found in the yard of Abuiqa Primary School. See plate VI, 2.
5. A flattened conical-shaped stone with small circular projection at centre with square-cut hole. This is the top section to a mortar or wine press. The diameter was 0.84 m, and the height 0.32 m. It was located close to no. 4.
6. A large rectangular stone slab fragment with circular cutaway in top, a central square hole and a sloping narrow channel cut out on one side. This is the base of a mortar or wine press. The length was 0.96 m and the circular cutaway diameter 0.84 m. It was found close to no. 5 and they probably belong together.
7. A plain red granite column with slight ridge at one end. The diameter was 0.32 m and the overall length 1.14 m. The ridge was 0.09 m in from the end of the column. It was recovered by Inspector Ahmed el-Adham from the exterior of the south-east corner of the main mosque at Absum el-Gharbiya near Abuiqa.

Conclusion

The Egypt Exploration Society Mission to Kom el-Hisn succeeded in revealing previously unrecorded phases of ancient Imu’s history. The test pit excavations and auger cores indicated substantial occupation deposits of the late Middle Kingdom, possibly in part relating to the temple precinct, and domestic remains of the late New Kingdom to Third Intermediate Period. The discovery of the foundations of the back wall of Griffith’s temple has allowed the exact placement of this structure on the site (see plan). It is hoped in the future that it may be possible to pursue a strategy of archaeological investigation to reveal more of the temple’s nature and history. The detection of inscribed

blocks in the surrounding villages, continuing Griffith's work, may prove important in creating a picture of what formal buildings existed at Hisn.

Future work at the site should develop the findings of the 1996 season and perhaps give due consideration to two areas of research on ancient Imu. The first will be to clarify the relationship of the site with the Nile and artificial water systems.⁶³ The second will be to search for evidence of a Ramesside fort at the site. Kom el-Hisn may have formed an important link in Ramesses II's defensive network against Libyan incursions into the Western Delta⁶⁴ and this may have some bearing on why ancient Imu was elevated in the New Kingdom from a large market town into the capital of the *'Imnty-nome*, a position it maintained through to the Ptolemaic Period.

Appendix: Griffith's survey of the environs of Kom el-Hisn⁶⁵

An important background source to the survey at Kom el-Hisn was the unpublished archive of F. Ll. Griffith now in the Griffith Institute, Oxford (pls. V, 3 and VI, 1). Griffith walked over much of the area between Naukratis and Abu Abillo recording site names of possible historical interest and reused ancient inscribed blocks. The synthesis of this work appeared in the appendix of the second Naukratis volume (pp. 77–80); however, more details and drawings of the ancient blocks can be gleaned from his field notebooks.⁶⁶ The following is additional information to Griffith's report in *Naukratis II*. Square brackets denote where writing was illegible or include clarifying comments.

*Griffith's Site: Zimran el-Kom / Modern Site: Kom el Zimran*⁶⁷

'A village on a small high mound deeply excavated but showing nothing earlier than Roman. In the northern mosque at entrance from sebil to mosque, a granite column *nb t:wi (Re mu m: setep en-s:)* s; re nb (?) an (*Ramessu mri imm*). In the southern mosque nine granite columns hacked out of inscribed slabs, the inscriptions quite useless.' (Book 4:1, 16)

'A mound 40' high at its highest point where there is an arab cemetery. The mound has been dug out to 30' in its centre. All Roman except perhaps below highest point where mound of rubbish in the section was built against it. Brickwork: bricks measure 9" but thick and perhaps 9 × 18" in true measure. Outside[....??] another of 7" (?7 × 14). Before this Kom is a low stretch of sand east (?)—west beyond path, follows a sand mound, partly a causeway of brickwork, a large canal flows west or south just before the mound.' (Book 18:2)

⁶³One of the blocks discovered by Daressy mentions a canal in the vicinity of Imu called 'Khonsu', and also a 'Nilometer' (?) 50 m to the east of where the Ramesses II statues were located in the temple (*ASAE* 4, 283–4; *ASAE* 16, 236). There are further references to a canal associated with the site in Gardiner, *Onomastica II*, 166*. Whether the site was close to a river branch or not, a symbolic association with the Nile is suggested by the orientation of the temple facing due east; many of the occupants of the graves also had their heads to the north and facing due east (*ASAE* 46, 103).

⁶⁴Habachi's study of military posts of Ramesses II in the Western Delta suggested that ancient 'Imet' near Tod (Kom el-Hisn) was part of that pharaoh's military defence network; see L. Habachi, 'The Military Posts of Ramesses II on the Coastal Road and the Western Part of the Delta', *BIFAO* 80, (1980), 26. The strategic importance of Hisn is suggested by an inscribed grey granite statue of Ahmose Pennekheb found at el-Kab. This records that, in the military campaigns of Amenhotep I, the statue owner 'took as booty from him (the King) in the north of Amu (?): Khak's [Libyan tribe] 3 hands'; see G. Maspero, 'Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et d'histoire', *ZAS* 21 (1883), 77–8; M. Müller, 'Supplementary Notes to the Notes on the Peoples of the Sea', *PSBA* eighteenth session, fourth meeting (1888), 287.

⁶⁵A further discussion of Griffith's survey of Kom el-Hisn is published in C. J. Kirby, 'In the Footsteps of Griffith at Kom el-Hisn in Egypt's Western Delta', *The Ashmolean* 32 (1997), 7–8.

⁶⁶I would like to thank Dr J. Malek and the Griffith Institute, Oxford, for allowing me to refer to this material.

⁶⁷Also known as 'Zimran el Nakh'. Griffith suggests (*Naukratis II*, 80) that this name may echo the ancient name of Imu, 'City of palm trees', as 'nakhlan' are palm trees.

Griffith's Site: Zaujet Messallim

'There are limestone and marble fragments but no granite.' (Book 4:1)

Griffith's Site: Ramsys / Modern Site: Ramsis

'An insignificant village, with bank at north end 20 yards long by 5 yards broad, which was crowned by a mosque now pulled down. The new mosque has a fragment of inscribed stone which refers to the goddess Nut (?).' (Book 4:1)

'Remains of a small mound close to mosque. Remains of brick mosque upon it and Roman bricks and pottery, most of it has been carried away but evidently quite important.' (Book 12:10)

Griffith's Site: Gebraris (pl. VI, 1)

'Several pieces of sculptured granite have been trimmed down into columns for the mosque. In the Sebil mosque, columns are 6.0 (feet?) high with a 12 inch square top. Inside the dome are several granite columns with fragments of royal titles.... [For example, 'Lord of Appearances']. A low mound with a small Roman capital in the south-west corner.' (Book 18:2)

Griffith's Site: Bueqa / Modern Site: Abiuqa and Griffith's Site: Tut / Modern Site: el-Tod

'No remains except that of a florid Corinthian marble capital.' (Book 4:16)

Griffith's Site: Besum esh Sherqyiah / Modern Site: Absum es-Sharqa

'A large, sandy cemetery⁶⁸ with Roman pottery. In the mosque are blocks of granite and limestone.' (Book 4:16)

Griffith's Site: Teh el-Barud / Modern Site: Ityai el Barud

'There is a mound on the line of the railway, much stone chipping. A large, rough, limestone sarcophagus with lid measuring 10 by 4 by 3 feet in one block — there is no inscription but the inside is shaped like a body.' (Book 17:4)

Griffith's Site: Baqliye / Modern Site: Zawyet el-Baqli (?)

'There is a temple enclosure, much limestone. Remains of lime kilns. At west entrance of temple area are a number of red and black unsculptured granite and some unfinished capitals. No town remains but on the other mound is a cemetery containing chambers of sacred animals, limestone coffin, shabtis. Possibly whole mound can be dated to XXIX dynasty.' (Book 17:10)

Griffith's Site: Zawyet el-Raqqim/?; Griffith's Site: Gebel Ahmar/?

'Many columns (28) in middle of large, low mound. Two inscribed stone fragments of Ramesses II. There are also limestone and granite capitals.' (Book 17:14)

⁶⁸This sand area appears to be marked on the Survey of Egypt map 1:25,000 (1953), 89/570.

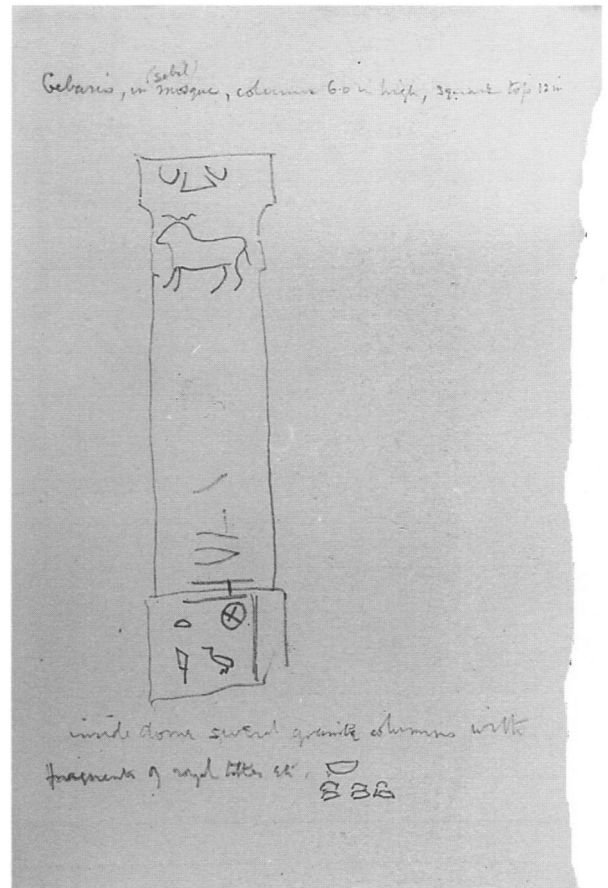


1. Bronze finger ring with head of Serapis

QASR IBRIM (pp. 20–2)

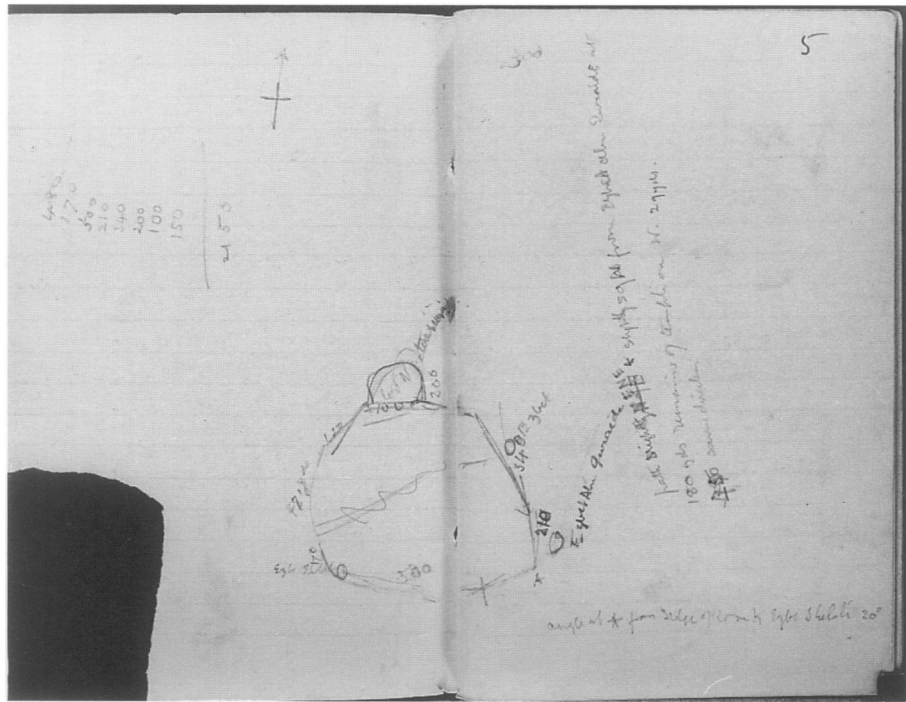


2. Left door-jamb of Ramesses II found in Abuiqa village by 1996 mission



3. Inscribed column in mosque in Gebaris. Griffith mss. 4: 14 (reproduced by permission of the Griffith Institute, Oxford)

PLATE VI



1. Map of Kom el-Hisn in Griffith mss. 12: 4–5 (reproduced by permission of the Griffith Institute, Oxford)



2. Dressed limestone slab located in yard in Abuiqa Preliminary School

UNCHARTED SAQQARA: A POSTSCRIPT

By SUE DAVIES

W. B. Emery's 1964–71 excavations at the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara, uncovered large quantities of bovid material, thought at the time to derive from the Mother of Apis Catacomb. This article suggests instead that the material may have come from other (now lost) bovid galleries in the vicinity, the existence of which is attested by the accounts of eighteenth and nineteenth century travellers who visited them. These accounts are compared and the possible positions of the galleries discussed. References to bovid cults at Saqqara attested in texts but not yet located are set out and certain objects from the site reviewed in an attempt to elucidate the character of the material and the identity of the cults represented by the lost galleries.

To anyone acquainted with the publication *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer* (C. Berger and S. Mathieu (eds), (BdE 106; Cairo, 1994)) which appeared only last year (1997), the title of this present article will sound all too strangely familiar, for in that volume, Harry S. Smith paid homage to Jean-Philippe Lauer with a contribution bearing the title 'Uncharted Saqqâra: an Essay' (II, 379–93), an essay which brought out how much more remains to be learnt of and from the site of Saqqara. The title of the piece published here is, therefore, utterly plagiaristic, but in fact deliberately and unashamedly so, for did not someone once say that plagiarism is the highest form of praise? It is in this spirit that this, my first single-authored article to be published, is offered to Harry Smith in his seventieth birthday year. It is a meagre offering, but one that is proffered with sincerity, gratitude, humility and love. His myriad qualities are not easy to encompass within the space of a single dedicatory paragraph, but it can be truly said that anyone at all whose privilege it has been to come into contact with Harry Smith must, by very virtue of that contact, have had their lives immeasurably enriched. May this piece stand, therefore, as a heartfelt personal tribute to a man who has been in turn such an outstanding teacher, wise and kindly mentor, inspiring scholar, generous colleague and beloved friend.

During current work with H. S. Smith on the production of the archaeological reports of the excavations carried out by the late Prof. W. B. Emery at the site of the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara between 1964 and 1971, I came across a photograph which aroused my curiosity (pl. VII, 1). This photograph shows a group of bovid skulls laid out on the desert surface—at least 29 separate skulls can be distinguished on the negative, although two of these cannot be seen in the print published here. These were recovered from a building called in the field records the 'Cow House' or 'South House', which lay in an area of the site designated Sector 4, to the west of the Central Temple Enclosure (Sector 3) and south of the Main Access Ramp leading up from the west to the Great Gate in the West Main Enclosure Wall (fig. 1). As detailed an account as



FIG. 1. Map of North Saqqara with 100 m grid squares. The grid numbers refer to the squares *below* them. The Central Temple Enclosure lies in H5-6; Sector 4, with the South House and Archaic mastaba, in the NE corner of H6; and Sector 7 in the S part of H6 and the N part of G6. The positions of the catacombs are shown in dotted lines as follows: Baboons: S part of H5 and NE corner of G5; Falcons: SW corner of H5 and G5-6; S Ibis: I3-5 and J4; Mother of Apis: E side of H5.

possible of the stratigraphy in this sector will be given in the archaeological report on the Main Temple Complex;¹ a brief summary only is given here.

The overall stratigraphy in Sector 4 was basically simple. Beneath a layer of surface sand was a deep fill of rubble and limestone chippings which, in the south part of the sector, rose to form considerable mounds. This fill, which appeared to have been tipped mainly from the south and the south-east, almost certainly derived from the cutting of one or more of the catacombs in the immediate vicinity, perhaps those of the Baboons and/or the Falcons (fig. 1). Beneath this fill was a layer of basal sand² which descended to the level of the escarpment. An Archaic mastaba lying between the West Main Enclosure Wall and the South House (fig. 1) was covered by this basal sand to a considerable but unrecorded depth. The level of the upper surface of the basal sand appears to have corresponded closely to that of the base of a horizontal brick buttress running along the bottom of the west side of the West Main Enclosure Wall.

The South House was founded on the basal sand layer. It was constructed of mud-brick and comprised three rooms, a main chamber on the north and two smaller rooms on the south (fig. 1). Traces of smoke-blackening on the interior walls indicated that it had been occupied at some period, though for how long and for what purpose is unknown. It originally had a barrel-vaulted roof, although this had collapsed. The building was covered by the fill of rubble and limestone chippings.

Large numbers of bovid bones and fragments of bovid mummies were recovered from Sector 4. Although many of these came from the South House, the bovid material was not confined to this building. Regarding that recovered from outside the South House, deposits of bovid bones are referred to in six separate entries in the excavation records. Three of these give no indication of level or context. One refers to a deposit from the central area of Sector 4, which was found 'at a high level'. Another refers to the discovery of bones 'deep in the sand stratum' (this must surely refer to the basal sand). The last refers to a deposit of bones 75 cm thick and 1.5 m across which was found on the west side of Sector 4 in loose sand immediately beneath the fill (i.e. in the basal sand). This last deposit, which was covered with matting when found, contained the remains of at least ten animals (pl. VII, 2). Fragments of painted cartonnage were recovered from the same area. None of the above entries makes any reference to bovid skulls.

All the bovid material recovered from inside the South House came from the main chamber on the north. The two smaller rooms on the south contained nothing but quantities of halfa grass. The bovid material was found both above and below the floor level of the chamber and was mixed with the basal sand and with the chippings of the fill that had subsequently been dumped over the top of it (pl. VII, 3-4). The excavation records refer generally to masses of bovid bones and specifically to the following:

- (a) the head of a bovid which was covered with painted cartonnage and measured *c.* 40 cm high including a wooden peg. This head was found *c.* 50 cm above the floor level of the chamber.
- (b) the effigy with real bovid skull H6-248 [2066] (pl. VIII, 1), which was found *c.* 10 cm

¹ H. S. Smith, S. Davies and K. J. Frazer, *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara. The Main Temple Complex* (EES; London, forthcoming).

² The term 'basal' is used here for convenience, not in its geological sense, but in the general sense of pertaining to, or forming, the base.

above the floor level of the chamber,³ and fragments of a similar figure with the rump almost complete, which consisted of cartonnage over a plaster covering, within which were traces of mummy bandages and bituminized remains.

- (c) the well-preserved skin of a mummified bovid with traces of original black hair adhering, and a second piece of skin with traces of brown hair.
- (d) the head of a bovid mummy or effigy which came from beneath the foundations of the house; the skull was plastered and modelled with mud. The legs and head of a miniature wooden bovid effigy were discovered in the same area.⁴
- (e) 'about a dozen more cattle skulls and bones' recovered from under the northern half of the building.

The condition of all the bovid material and the circumstances in which it was found make it clear that it was deposited after an episode of plundering. Of the three deposits recovered from outside the South House on which we have any information regarding level or context, two can be said, with reasonable confidence, to have come from the layer of basal sand. The position of the deposit found 'at a high level' is more uncertain, for no terms of reference are given. The material inside the South House concerning which we have specific information came from up to c. 50 cm above the floor level of the main chamber and from beneath the foundation level of the building, i.e. from the lowest levels of the fill and from a pit dug into the basal sand layer upon which the South House was founded. With one uncertain exception, therefore, the bovid material both inside and outside the South House came from either the lowest levels of the fill or from the layer of basal sand. If the suggestion that the fill derived from the cutting of one or more of the nearby catacombs is correct, then the deposition of all the bovid material must have occurred prior to or during such cutting. This would eliminate the possibility that the plundering of the material could have occurred in Roman times after the abandonment of the Sacred Animal Necropolis site. In the archaeological report on the Main Temple Complex (see n. 1), Smith and I will argue that the West Main Enclosure Wall and the buttress at its base were probably constructed during a phase of building activity which we designate Phase IIa and assign in terms of absolute chronology to the early part of the fourth century BC. In the reports on the Falcon Complex⁵ and the Baboon Complex,⁶ we shall suggest that the cutting of these catacombs was begun during the first half of the fourth century BC and that they subsequently continued in use at least until the end of the Ptolemaic Period. If our hypotheses are accepted, then the dumping of the fill in Sector 4 could have begun at any time during this period. This in turn means that the

³H6-248 [2066] = Cairo JE 91318; see E. A. Hastings, *The Sculpture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara 1964-76* (EES Excavation Memoir 61; London, 1997), 52 no. 186, pls. liii-liv; W. B. Emery, *JEA* 55 (1969), 33-4, pl. viii, 1-4; H. S. Smith, *A Visit to Ancient Egypt. Life at Memphis & Saqqara (c. 500-30 BC)* (Warminster, 1974), 38, pl. ii, e. Emery mistakenly describes the effigy as coming from below the floor level of the chamber and Hastings follows this description. However, the excavation records clearly state that it was found above floor level.

⁴It is practically certain that the wooden effigy referred to is H5-2885 [5268] = Cairo JE 91956 (pl. IX, 1); see Hastings, *Sculpture*, 53 no. 187, pl. lv. Hastings gives the provenance as 'surface debris of Square H5', as stated on the object register card. However, a note on the card says that this effigy was found during the 19(67)-68 season and no other item registered at that time matches the description. The delay in registering the object was almost certainly due to the fact that it was taken for restoration.

⁵S. Davies and H. S. Smith, *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara. The Falcon Complex and Catacomb* (EES; London, forthcoming).

⁶The archaeological report on the Baboon Complex and Catacomb is in preparation.

date(s) at which the bovid material was deposited could range from at least the first half of the fourth century through to the middle of the first century BC. The fact that the material was recovered from the basal sand and the lowest levels of the fill might suggest an earlier rather than a later date within this range, but this is speculative.

The quantity and character of the bovid material is uncertain, for, although Emery intended that it should be properly examined and recorded, and had the bones reburied pending such examination, this had not been arranged by the time of his death. We thus lack any scientific data concerning the number, sex, age and other characteristics of the animals involved. At the time of the excavations in 1968, it was assumed (in view of the number of inscriptions mentioning Isis, Mother of Apis which had by then been found) that the bones represented the remains of Mother of Apis Cows. When the Mother of Apis Catacomb was discovered two seasons later, the fact that the burials had been totally plundered was viewed as confirmation of this assumption. There are, however, grave difficulties facing this interpretation.

The earliest recorded burial in the Mother of Apis Catacomb is dated 393/391 BC. Thereafter, the catacomb continued in use until the end of the Ptolemaic Period, with the latest recorded burial being in 41 BC.⁷ The catacomb contains nineteen burial vaults (numbered 1A and 1-18),⁸ two of which (7 and 9) were double. The maximum number of Cow burials that it could have contained is therefore 21. Prior to the cutting of the Mother of Apis Catacomb, the Cows appear to have been buried in individual vaults in the cliff-face immediately to the south, behind (east of) Sanctuary A and Precinct D.⁹ Eight such vaults have been identified as possible candidates, two of which could have contained double burials. Theoretically, therefore, ten Cow burials could have been made in individual vaults in the cliff-face, though the number is actually likely to have been fewer, probably four or five. Added to the possible 21 burials in the catacomb, this gives a total of 31 Cow burials, with this figure representing a theoretical maximum for the entire period during which the Mother of Apis cult is known to have flourished at the site. In practice, the total number of burials is not likely to have exceeded 26.

As noted above, at least 29 separate bovid skulls can be distinguished on the negative of plate VII, 1. Whether this group includes the skull referred to in (d) above or the dozen or so skulls referred to in (e) above is uncertain. It does not, however, include the bovid head covered with cartonnage referred to in (a) above, the effigy with real bovid skull H6-248 [2066] referred to in (b) above, or the mummified bovid with linen wrappings shown on plate VII, 4, which is not mentioned specifically in the records. Thus, the bovid material from Sector 4 included at least 32 skulls and probably more. There are too many skulls for all this material to represent Mother of Apis Cows, even allowing for the theoretical maximum of 31 burials calculated above.

Even if the arguments presented above concerning the number of bovid skulls recovered from Sector 4 were not conclusive, the fact that the deposits contained the remains of animals other than Mother of Apis Cows would be strongly suggested by the effigy H6-248 [2066] (see n. 3 and pl. VIII, 1). This effigy bears the markings of the Apis Bull

⁷H. S. Smith, 'The Death and Life of the Mother of Apis', in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (EES Occasional Publications 8; London, 1992), 201–25.

⁸For a plan of the Mother of Apis Catacomb see *JEA* 57 (1971), pl. xiii (facing p. 10).

⁹Smith, Davies and Frazer, *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara. The Main Temple Complex*, Section 3.3.

and does not correspond with the iconography of Isis, Mother of Apis; it surely does not contain the physical remains of a Mother of Apis Cow. Unfortunately, it is not clear how many of the Sector 4 skulls had belonged to mummified bovids like that shown on plate VIII, 1 and how many had formed parts of effigies like H6-248 [2066]. Hastings (see n. 3) suggests that such effigies may have been intended to represent the Apis borne by a particular Mother of Apis Cow, that they formed part of the funeral procession of that animal and that they were subsequently deposited in the burial vault or somewhere in the catacomb. This plausible suggestion represents a real possibility. If it is accepted, then it is conceivable that all the Sector 4 bovid material may have derived from Mother of Apis burials and the ceremonies associated with them. However, another possibility also exists.

In 1716, a Frenchman named Paul Lucas visited a complex of underground galleries at Saqqara which contained mummified bovids. Emery quotes (in translation) a passage from Lucas in his preliminary report in the *JEA*.¹⁰ The full account of Lucas's visit is summarized below.¹¹

Lucas begins by describing the journey from Gizeh to Abusir. After passing three fine pyramids (presumably those at Abusir), his party arrived at the shaft through which they gained entry to the galleries. This shaft was square ('quarré'), 12 ft in diameter and *c.* 30 ft deep. On descending, they found a hole and were obliged to proceed on their stomachs for a distance of about twenty paces before finding themselves in a large gallery. On each side of the gallery were an infinite number of earthen pots, their covers sealed with mortar, in which there were bird mummies. The complex was so large and varied by the great number of galleries which traversed the one that they were in and went off to both the right and the left, that it was impossible to explore it all. Lucas had taken the precaution of equipping his party with a length of rope ('deux mille brasses'—two thousand fathoms(?)) which they unwound as they went along. Having exhausted the rope before they reached the end of the galleries, they did not dare to penetrate any further. Incorporated into the galleries were rooms ('chambres'), some of which were full of pots, while others contained mummies which were mostly reduced to powder. Lucas goes on to say that in some of these niches ('ces niches') he saw the heads of bovids. This led him to believe that he was in the burial complex of the Apis Bulls and he had no doubt that the bovid head which M le Maire (the Consul) had given him for M de Valincourt had come from this place. The head was found by locals in a rock-cut room which was so closely shut that, chance alone having made it open, an embalmed bovid was found inside. Lucas himself found such an animal in the catacombs. It was enclosed in a great gilded and painted chest, on which its head was represented. The chest was surrounded by a gilded and painted 'balustrade' about 5 ft high. In the same place ('enceinte') were eight canopic jars with human-headed tops and inscribed with hieroglyphs, which Lucas drew.

It is reasonably certain that the shaft which Lucas descended lay in the vicinity of the Sacred Animal Necropolis. However, the complex which he visited was definitely not part of the Mother of Apis Catacomb, nor does his description accord with the layout or extent of the Falcon Catacomb. The galleries in which he found himself must have formed part

¹⁰ *JEA* 55, 33.

¹¹ P. Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas fait en 1714 par ordre de Louis XIV dans la Turquie, l'Asie, Sourie, Palestine, Haute et Basse Égypte* ☉, Tome I, Livre IV (Amsterdam, 1720), 341–6.

of either the North or the South Ibis Catacombs (fig. 1). Having referred to 'rooms' within the galleries, some of which contained bird mummy pots and some decaying mummies, he immediately goes on to say that the bovid heads which he saw were in some of 'these niches'. It seems that the terms 'niches' and 'rooms' are being used interchangeably here and that the decaying mummies which Lucas refers to were those of bovinds. These rooms must have been of some considerable size, for the chest containing the animal found by Lucas was surrounded by a 5 ft high balustrade. The fact that this chest and balustrade were gilded and painted indicates that both were constructed of wood. It is not clear precisely what is meant by the term 'balustrade'. One possibility is that Lucas is referring to a peripteral shrine similar to those represented on a relief in Leipzig¹² and on an Apis stela found near the Serapeum.¹³ It appears that all the galleries which he explored ran uninterruptedly into one another. Whether there was a clear distinction between the area containing the rooms with bird mummy pots and that containing the rooms with bovinds is uncertain. If so, the Ibis and Bovid Catacombs probably originally formed separate installations. If not, it is possible that, at some period, the galleries were used indiscriminately for both animals. The evidence of the other catacombs in the vicinity makes the former option more likely. The bovid head given to Lucas by the Consul came from a room so closely shut that it was discovered only by chance. If the head did indeed come from the same complex as that explored by Lucas, this indicates that at least some of the burial rooms may originally have been blocked off with mud-brick or masonry. This, however, is uncertain, for the exact provenance of the head is unknown.

Another European who visited underground galleries at Saqqara containing mummified bovinds was the Austrian Consul General, Anton Ritter von Laurin.¹⁴ In January 1846, he sent a report to Joseph von Arneth, Director of the Royal Coinage and Antiques Department in Vienna, which was published four years later by the Academy of Sciences in a sessional report.¹⁵ In it he describes how he rode past the Step Pyramid towards the north and after about ten minutes reached the place. Two shafts of c. 40 ft square and 36–40 ft deep had been uncovered, from the base of which excavated galleries ran out in a westerly direction. To the right and left of the galleries were niches and in each niche was a bovid mummy. The mummies were turned with their faces towards the galleries and, with their glass eyes and variously decorated horns, they afforded a unique spectacle. Von Laurin recognized that these images were not true mummies, but that they consisted of dismembered skeletons, with loose bones wrapped in linen and bound up to resemble the beasts' bodies, onto which the decorated skulls were then joined. He acquired three mummies for the royal collection at Vienna, and other European collectors also bought specimens (of which the best preserved, formerly part of the Abbott collection, is now in the Museum of Natural History in Washington DC). Describing the most splendid example which he saw, von Laurin says that between the horns was a golden disc and

¹²R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *Bucheum*, III (MEES 41; London, 1934), pl. cix, 1.

¹³S. Farag, 'Two Serapeum Stelae', *JEA* 61 (1975), 165–6, pl. xxiii, 1.

¹⁴I am deeply grateful to Dr G. Hamernik for providing me with the information on the Austrian Consul General, for allowing me to consult his unpublished dissertation *Anton Ritter von Laurin, Diplomat, Sammler und Ausgräber* and for making available to me his article entitled 'Auf den Spuren einer vergessenen Entdeckung' which appeared in the March 1997 issue of *Distriktsnachrichten Österreich* (Kiwaniis International), 27–9.

¹⁵*Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe* (Wien, 1850, Erste Abtheilung (Jänner)), 74–7.

on the forehead a gilded wooden triangle. The breast and neck were covered with painted cartonnage, on which were representations of human figures and numerous hieroglyphs.

It is interesting to compare the accounts given by Lucas and von Laurin of their visits to bovid galleries at Saqqara. Lucas mentions one shaft, 12 ft in diameter and *c.* 30 ft deep. Von Laurin talks of two shafts, each 40 ft square and *c.* 36–40 ft deep. Each side of these shafts would therefore have been just over 6 ft in length and the diagonal *c.* 9 ft. The measurements thus indicate that the two men are describing different shafts. Lucas does not give the dimensions of the galleries which he explored, so no comparisons can be made here. However, his description of the size and labyrinthine nature of his complex finds no echo in von Laurin's report. Likewise, von Laurin makes no mention of bird mummies in pots. On the other hand, the account of the unique spectacle afforded by the decorated heads of the mummies, which so impressed von Laurin, is not included in Lucas's description. As this magnificent display was still intact in 1846, it must be assumed that, had he been in the same galleries, Lucas would surely have seen it in 1716 and thought it worthy of mention. Most of the mummies seen by Lucas were already reduced to powder 130 years before von Laurin's report was written. The only burial which he describes in any detail is the one surrounded by the 5 ft high balustrade. This indicates that some of Lucas's 'niches' were at least 5 ft high, whereas von Laurin's are said to have been somewhat smaller.¹⁶ It is almost certain, therefore, that Lucas and von Laurin are describing different galleries.

At the end of his report, von Laurin provides a clue to the location of his galleries. At their entrance he saw an inscribed false door which was thereafter broken away and taken to Cairo for sale. The owner of the monument, named 'Itwesh', was an official under Pharaoh Iseki of the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁷ Mariette subsequently excavated at the tomb complex of Itwesh but, perplexingly, his records make no mention of galleries, bovid bones or bovid mummies. The plotting of the mastaba of Itwesh on Mariette's map under no. 14 is somewhat uncertain,¹⁸ and the precise location of this monument is not known. However, William Stevenson Smith, while acknowledging this uncertainty, felt that there was no choice but to place the group containing no. 14 near the edge of the escarpment west-south-west of FS.3071 + 3072.¹⁹ If the relative positions of nos. 14 and 3071 + 3072 on W. S. Smith's map are transposed onto figure 1, then the mastaba of Itwesh would lie in grid square G5, *c.* 50 m west-south-west of 3071 + 3072, and *c.* 80 m north-north-west of 3075, i.e. very close to the south-east corner of the large mastaba 3518. This area was investigated between 1968 and 1973,²⁰ and yielded several smaller mastabas which appeared to be subsidiary to 3518, but nothing corresponding to the mastaba of Itwesh.

¹⁶In his report, von Laurin gives the dimensions of his shafts in feet. The unit of measurement which he uses for the galleries and niches is, however, more uncertain. The dimensions of the galleries are given as 50–55° long, 8° high and 6° broad, and those of the niches as 6–7° long, 5.5° high and 4° broad. Dr Hamernik believes that von Laurin was using the 'palmo' (22 cm) as his unit of measurement here. This would give dimensions for the galleries of *c.* 11–12 m long, 1.8 m high and 1.3 m broad and for the niches of *c.* 1.3–1.5 m long, 1.2 m high and 90 cm broad.

¹⁷For the tomb of Smenkhuftah Itwesh see PM III², 452.

¹⁸A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire. Fragment du dernier ouvrage de A. Mariette. Publié d'après le manuscrit de l'auteur par G. Maspero* (Paris, 1889), 296–7 with pl. ii.

¹⁹W. S. Smith, 'Topography of the Old Kingdom Cemetery at Saqqarah', in G. A. Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops* (Cambridge, 1936), Appendix C, 398 with map ii.

²⁰W. B. Emery, *JEA* 56 (1970), 10–11, pls. xvii and xix–xx; *JEA* 57 (1971), 3–4; G. T. Martin, *JEA* 60 (1974), 25, fig. 9.

The area immediately to the east of these subsidiary mastabas likewise proved to be unpromising in this respect. However, just to the south of the group of subsidiary mastabas, between them and mastaba 3075 (fig. 1), there are remains of substantial monuments. One of these could conceivably be that of Itwesh, although this would involve accepting that W. S. Smith's placement of this mastaba is slightly too far north. If it is accepted that one of the monuments between 3075 and the 3518 group might be the mastaba of Itwesh, then von Laurin's galleries would lie directly east of the area of the Sacred Animal Necropolis site designated Sector 7.²¹ This being so, then by analogy with the Baboon, Falcon and South Ibis Catacombs and their associated sanctuaries, the original entrance to von Laurin's galleries would lie somewhere in the escarpment to the east of Sector 7 and one of the Blocks in that sector (nos. 1, 4 or 7 maybe, which Spencer has identified as foundation platforms)²² may have supported a chapel or shrine dedicated to the cult. Sector 7 lies in close proximity to the South Ibis Catacomb. If the complex which Lucas explored was this catacomb, then his galleries and those of von Laurin, though different, may have formed parts of a single burial installation. This is uncertain, however, and it is equally possible that the two men were in separate complexes. If Lucas's galleries formed part of the North Ibis Catacomb (fig. 1), then this was undoubtedly the case.²³

The fact that, in addition to the Mother of Apis Catacomb, at least one and possibly two more Bovid Catacombs lie in the vicinity of the Sacred Animal Necropolis site has a direct bearing on references in the textual record. One of the animal cults at Saqqara attested in texts but not yet located is that of the *gm*.²⁴ The burial place of this animal was 'in the House-of-Osiris-Apis (*pr-wsir-hp*) on the north side of the *dromos* (*hft-hr*) of Osiris-Apis'. The term *pr-wsir-hp* refers not only to the Serapeum enclosure but also to the surrounding area of the temple estate, so the burial place of the *gm* could have been anywhere north of the Serapeum *dromos*. In the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, a priest who held a share in the burial place of the *gm* also bore the title 'priest of the children of the Apis whose salvation has occurred' (i.e. who have been mummified). Ray has shown that the *gm* was a young male bovid.²⁵ In view of the linkage of the two priesthoods, he tentatively suggests that there may be some connection between the *gm* and the 'children of the Apis' and draws attention to the bovid effigy H6-248 [2066] recovered from Sector 4 (n. 3 and pl. VIII, 1). A third title held by the same priest was 'priest of the *sbt.t* (hill-compound (?)) of Isis of Khent-...., the great goddess, who is

²¹ For the publication of Sector 7, see G. T. Martin, *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra. The Southern Dependencies of the Main Temple Complex* (EES Excavation Memoir 50; London, 1981).

²² A. J. Spencer, 'Brick Architecture of the Sacred Animal Necropolis', in Martin, *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra. The Southern Dependencies*, Appendix B, 125-7.

²³ It should be noted that, during a preliminary exploration of the North Ibis Catacomb in 1971, Mr K. J. Frazer found bovid bones. On 2 February 1971, Emery made the following entry in the daybook: 'Amidst the scattered debris we found the bones of cattle and it would appear that this may well be the gallery Lucas describes'.

²⁴ The texts concerned are P. Brooklyn 37.1839A and B, and 37.1781 (formerly P. New York Historical Society 373a and b, and 388 respectively); see N. J. Reich, 'New Documents from the Serapeum of Memphis', *Mizraim* 1 (1933), 9-129; P. W. Pestman *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, I (Leiden, 1977), 3-30; K.-T. Zauzich, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau, Sprache und Schrift der demotischen Kaufverträge aus ptolemäischer Zeit* (AA 19; Wiesbaden, 1968), 107-8, 111-12; M. Guilmet 'Le Sarapieion de Memphis: Étude topographique', *CdE* 37 (1962), 359-81; D. Kessler, *Die Heiligen Tieren und der König I: Beiträge zu Organisation, Kult und Theologie der spätzeitlichen Tierfriedhöfe* (ÄAT 16; Wiesbaden, 1989), 101-4.

²⁵ J. D. Ray, 'The *Gm* of Memphis', *JEA* 58 (1972), 308-10.

in the House-of-Osiris-Apis on the north side of the *dromos* of Osiris-Apis'. Ray suggests that this *sbt.t* of Isis may have been at the Sacred Animal Necropolis.²⁶ If this is correct, then it is not unreasonable to infer, in view of the linkage of the priesthoods, that the burial place(s) of the *gm* and/or the 'children of the Apis' might have been in the same vicinity. This being so, then the complexes of Lucas and von Laurin could well represent the galleries of the *gm* and/or the 'children of the Apis', and, if two separate catacombs exist, then it may be that the two cults were differentiated. It could also be that a proportion of the bovid material recovered from Sector 4 came originally from the Lucas and von Laurin galleries and that some of it may represent the remains of plundered *gm* and/or 'children of the Apis' burials.

Some slight support for the above hypotheses may be indicated by three bronzes and one wooden image recovered from the Sacred Animal Necropolis site. Accompanying the preliminary report on the excavations in 1968 are photographs of two bronzes recovered from Sector 4 (JEA 55, pls. viii, 5–6, reproduced here as pl. VIII, 2–3). The bronzes (H6-250 [2068] and H6-249 [2067]) were described by Emery as an 'Apis calf' (by which he meant a young Apis rather than the calf of an Apis) and an 'Apis' respectively; certainly the former does represent a more juvenile animal. Two further juvenile bovid images are provided by the wooden figure H5-2885 [5268] (pl. IX, 1) and the bronze 74/5-27 [6239] (pl. IX, 2). The former almost certainly came from the South House.²⁷ The latter did not come from Sector 4, but from a robbers' pit near the east side of the Central Temple Enclosure (Sector 3). Because only the head, belly and hind legs of the wooden image are ancient and the rest of the figure has been restored, it cannot be known whether it originally bore the Apis markings or not (the restoration shows it without them). The bronze is corroded, but so far as can be ascertained from the excavation and the photographic records, it bears no markings, whereas H6-250 [2068] has the Apis markings on the shoulders and hindquarters and wears the fringed saddle-mat, like the effigy H6-248 [2066]. Whether this indicates that we are dealing with separate, differentiated cult animals is unclear. Likewise, even though they bear the Apis markings, we cannot be completely certain that the bronze H6-250 [2068] and the effigy H6-248 [2066] represent juvenile Apis Bulls; surely the effigy cannot contain the physical remains of an actual Apis. In view of the fact that at least one more Bovid Catacomb exists in the vicinity, it is just possible that, despite its markings, H6-248 [2066] may represent either a *gm* animal or a 'child of the Apis'. If so, then the same might apply to H6-250 [2068]. Regardless of all the uncertainties, however, the differences in the iconography of the wooden image and the three bronzes discussed here do show that distinctions were being made, both between mature and juvenile animals, and, perhaps, between bovinds with and without Apis markings, even if the significance of such distinctions remains elusive.

The existence of a Bovid Catacomb in the escarpment to the east of Sector 7 may help to explain several perplexing features of the Falcon Catacomb. The plan of this catacomb which appears in JEA 57 as plate iii (facing p. 6) has been found to be slightly inaccurate as regards the relative positions of some of the side-galleries running off the Axial Gallery, and a revised plan will appear in the forthcoming archaeological report.²⁸ The

²⁶J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (EES Texts from Excavations 2; London, 1976), 151–4, figs. 3–4.

²⁷See n. 4 above.

²⁸See n. 5 above.

inaccuracies do not, however, affect the thrust of the following argument. It is difficult to find any adequate explanation for the following features of the Falcon Catacomb: (a) the abrupt turn to the west made by the Axial Gallery opposite Gallery 7 and the subsequent turn to the south at the entrance to Gallery 8; (b) the shortness of Galleries 7A and 6/3;²⁹ (c) the relative shortness of Galleries 13–15, 17, 20 and 21 compared to Galleries 6, 23(?) and 24; (d) the absence of any side-galleries on the north side of Gallery 24 whereas nine side-galleries were cut from its south side. These features result in an intriguing blank on the catacomb plan immediately east of Galleries 13–15, 17, 20 and 21. Why did the masons not utilize this area of rock? There are, of course, several possible answers to this question, but one might be that they were aware of pre-existing galleries in the area. The Falcon Catacomb is cut relatively deep; the floor of the Axial Gallery at the base of the entrance stairway is at a level *c.* 4 m below the surface of the Sacred Way just outside the South Gate in the South Main Enclosure Wall. Thus, any catacomb crossing the path of the Axial Gallery further south must surely go over rather than under it. However, not far to the south of the Central Temple Enclosure (Sector 3), the cliff begins to fall away, so that obtaining adequate depth for a catacomb here would be problematic. One solution would have been to cut an open approach *dromos* into the escarpment, descending gradually from west to east, of sufficient length both to clear the Falcon Catacomb and to give enough height for the cutting of the bovid galleries. All such suggestions are, of course, purely speculative.

Summary

The bovid material recovered from Sector 4, although it may well have included the plundered remains of Mother of Apis Cows, cannot have represented these creatures alone; some of it must have come from other animals. How much of the material derived from effigies like H6-248 [2066] and how much from mummies such as that shown on plate VII, 4 is unknown. If the suggestion that the effigies played a role in the Mother of Apis funeral ceremonies and were subsequently buried somewhere in the Mother of Apis Catacomb is accepted, then it is possible that all the Sector 4 bovid material could have come from that catacomb. However, the accounts of Lucas and von Laurin make it clear that there are other bovid galleries in the vicinity of the Sacred Animal Necropolis site, and it is equally possible that some, if not all, of the Sector 4 material could have come from them. It is evident that Lucas and von Laurin explored different galleries, but whether they were in separate burial complexes is more uncertain. The evidence of the false door of Itwesh may indicate that von Laurin's complex lies directly to the east of Sector 7. This being so, the original entrance to his galleries may lie somewhere in the escarpment east of that sector and one of the Sector 7 Blocks may have supported a shrine or chapel dedicated to a bovid cult. One of the animal cults at Saqqara attested in texts but not yet located is that of the *gm*, a young male bovid, whose burial place was north of the Serapeum *dromos*. The texts also attest a cult of the 'children of the Apis'. The same man held priesthoods in both these cults and a third title connects him with

²⁹*JEA* 57 (1971), pl. iii (facing p. 6) does not show all the side-galleries running south off Gallery 6. It shows only the westernmost and easternmost ones (6/1 and 6/5 respectively). In between these two side-galleries there are three more (6/2, 6/3 and 6/4). Galleries 6/2 and 6/4 have never been cleared and Gallery 6/5 was only partially cleared, so their lengths are unknown. Gallery 6/3, however, is only 6.5 m long.

an Isis cult, also located north of the Serapeum *dromos*. If the suggestion that this Isis cult may have been located at the Sacred Animal Necropolis is correct, then the linkage of the priesthoods and the fact that, in addition to the Mother of Apis Catacomb, at least one and possibly two more Bovid Catacombs lie in the vicinity make it reasonable to infer that the galleries explored by Lucas and von Laurin might well have been those of the *gm* and/or the 'children of the Apis'. The linkage of the priesthoods may also indicate some connection between these two animals. It may even be they that were one and the same. However, if Lucas and von Laurin were in separate burial complexes, this might suggest that the cults were differentiated. The nature of some of the objects recovered from the site shows that distinctions were being made, both between mature and juvenile bovid images and perhaps, less certainly, between bovinds with and without Apis markings. Although the significance of such distinctions remains elusive, it is just possible that the juvenile images could have been intended to represent the *gm* and/or the 'children of the Apis'. Finally, the existence of a Bovid Catacomb in the escarpment to the east of Sector 7 may help to explain several perplexing features of the Falcon Catacomb. The cutting of a Bovid Catacomb in this area would have presented certain difficulties, but these would not have been insurmountable. Only further excavation will reveal the truth.



1. Bovid skulls recovered from the South House



2. Deposit of bovid bones found on the west side of Sector 4



3. Bovid material found inside the South House



4. Bovid material found inside the South House



1. Effigy with real bovid skull, H6-248 [2066]



2. Bronze of juvenile bovid, H6-250 [2068]



3. Bronze of Apis Bull, H6-249 [2067]



1. Wooden figure of bovid, H5-2885 [5268]



2. Bronze of juvenile bovid, 74/5-27 [6239]

UNCHARTED SAQQARA: A POSTSCRIPT (pp. 45–56)



3. Relief du mastaba de Seshemnefer-Heba, collection privée (*photographie Marc Jasinski*)

TROIS SESHEMNEFER ET TRENTE-SIX DOMAINES (pp. 57–69)

TROIS SESHEMNEFER ET TRENTE-SIX DOMAINES

Par LUC DELVAUX et EUGÈNE WARMENBOL

The tomb of Seshemnefer-Heba in Saqqara was excavated in 1860 by Mariette. Only the false-door was published, and allegedly transferred to the Cairo Museum, while the reliefs decorating the chapel were reburied. These resurfaced as separate blocks in private collections in the 1960s. A remarkable addition to the series is a block from the north wall seen in a Belgian collection, showing six female personifications of estates.

This new discovery makes it very probable that there were originally 36 estates represented in the mastaba of Seshemnefer-Heba. It also appears that the number 36 is a recurring and significant one, to be found in other tombs, mainly dating from the reign of Djedkare-Isesi, who subjected Egypt to extensive administrative reforms. It is clear that there were already 42 nomes by then, so the 36 estates probably correspond to an ideal and not a real geography: with 36 estates the deceased could have access to all the means of the country.

AU sujet des tombes qu'il avait découvertes en 1860 dans la nécropole de Saqqarah, Auguste Mariette s'interrogeait: 'De ces quatre-vingt-six tombes, qui sait combien on en verra encore dans vingt ans? A l'exception d'une seule, les vingt-six tombes découvertes et décrites par Mr. Lepsius n'ont-elles pas toutes disparu, et des vingt-cinq autres, existe-t-il seulement une pierre pour en marquer l'emplacement?'¹

Parmi ces tombes mises au jour par Mariette, le mastaba de Seshemnefer-Heba, prêtre des pyramides de Menkaouhor et de Djedkarê-Isesi, est effectivement perdu aujourd'hui.² Dans ses *Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, l'égyptologue français n'en publia que la stèle fausse-porte³ et les noms d'une série de huit domaines funéraires se dirigeant vers la stèle, sans doute sur le mur nord si l'on considère que la fausse-porte était à l'ouest (fig. 1). Mariette ne publia malheureusement aucun plan du mastaba. En 1975, Jacques-F. Aubert publiait une série de blocs apparus sur le marché de l'art, ayant appartenu à cette chapelle funéraire.⁴ Ces nouveaux reliefs, qui n'ont pas été vus par Mariette, montraient qu'une série parallèle de domaines funéraires, marchant cette fois vers la droite, s'alignait sur le mur au sud de la stèle. Quant aux reliefs du mur nord mis au jour par Mariette, ils ont apparemment disparu, abandonnés sur place ou, peut-être, envoyés au Musée du Caire. De cette paroi, Aubert ne put localiser qu'un fragment montrant deux domaines progressant vers la gauche, alors conservé dans une collection privée allemande.⁵

Cette paroi nord de la chapelle de Seshemnefer-Heba peut être aujourd'hui partiellement reconstituée grâce à la découverte d'un nouveau relief inconnu de Mariette et d'Aubert, remarquable par la fraîcheur de ses couleurs, et intéressant car il montre la

¹A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1889), 54-5.

²Ibid. 398-400; PM III², 595.

³Cette stèle est décrite en détail par N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom. The Highest Titles and their Holders* (London, 1985), 141.

⁴J.-F. Aubert, 'Le mastaba de Seshemnéfer VI dit Héba', *Or* 44 (1975), 1-11, pls. i-iv.

⁵Ibid. 2-3; H. Müller-Feldmann, *Zeugnisse altägyptischer Kultur aus europäischem Privatbesitz* (Folkwang-Museum; Essen, 1966), 47, Nr. 80, Abb. 14.

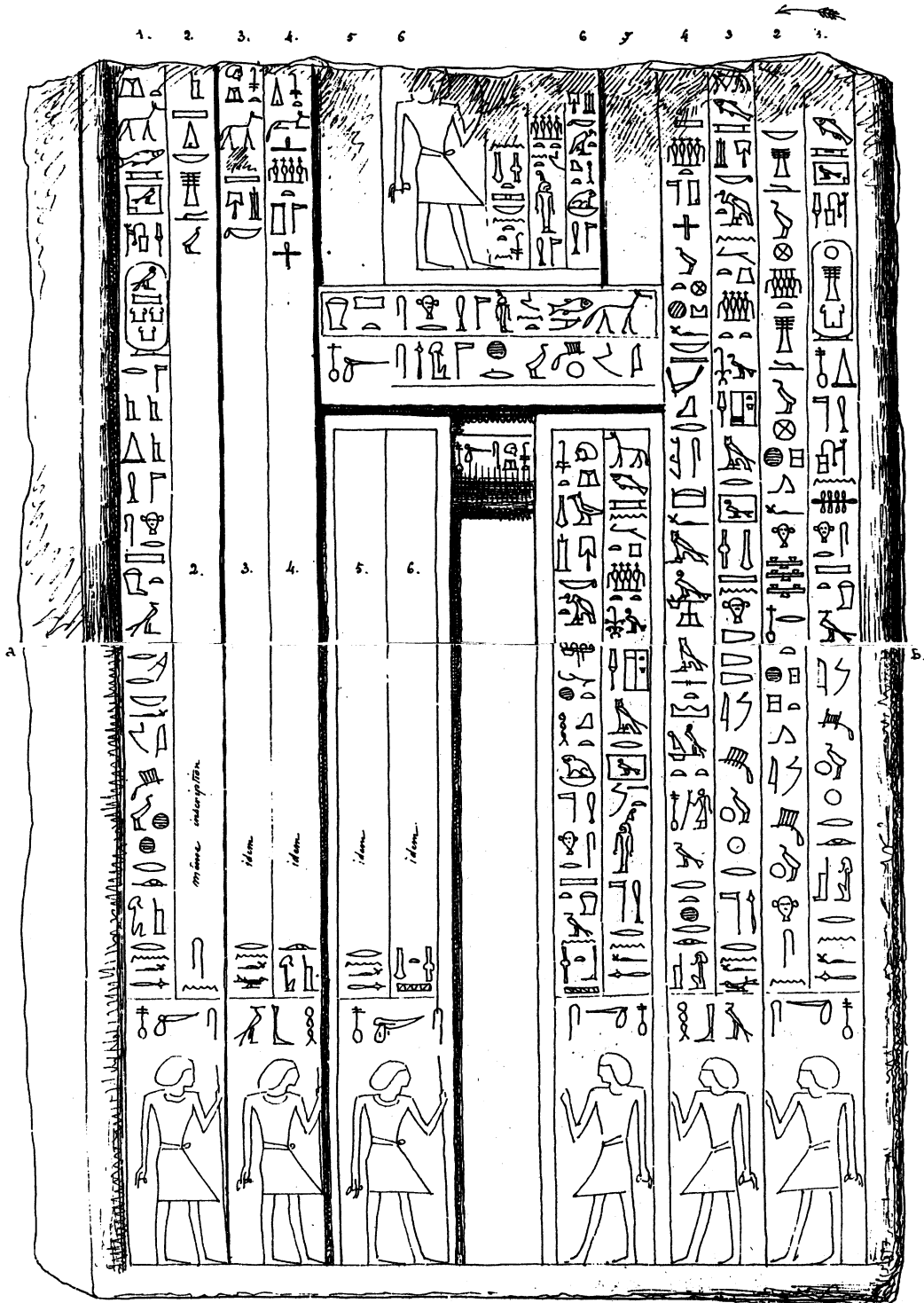


FIG. 1. La stèle fausse-porte de Seshemnefer-Heba (d'après A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1889), 399-400. Dimensions de l'original: hauteur: 200 cm, largeur: 170 cm.

fin de cette procession de porteuses d'offrandes (pl. IX, 3, figs. 2–3).⁶ Il s'agit d'une plaque de calcaire sciée presque verticalement à gauche, et divisée en deux fragments jointifs par une découpe creusée en oblique un peu avant la moitié de sa longueur.⁷ Le relief est délimité par une bordure peinte de motifs géométriques: alternance de bandes rouges, noires et jaunes à la partie inférieure, succession verticale de carrés bleus, rouges et jaunes bordés de barrettes noires à l'extrémité droite.

Notre relief est le seul des blocs de Seshemnefer-Heba à avoir conservé des traces lisibles d'un registre supérieur; on y voit encore les jambes de six hommes, marchant les uns derrière les autres, probablement des porteurs d'offrandes se dirigeant vers la stèle fausse-porte. Leurs jambes, dont la musculature est accusée, sont peintes en rouge foncé. Les produits qu'ils transportaient ne sont plus visibles, excepté pour le quatrième, porteur de deux poissons, et pour le sixième, porteur d'un petit vase. Cette paroi de la chapelle était apparemment un peu mieux conservée que la paroi symétrique, l'autre fragment de la même paroi, conservé dans la collection privée allemande, montrant en effet lui aussi l'amorce d'un registre supérieur.

Le registre du bas est séparé du précédent par une ligne de sol horizontale peinte en noir. On y voit six personnifications féminines de domaines funéraires marchant vers la gauche, jambe droite avancée, portant sur la tête divers types de paniers remplis de provisions.⁸ De la première porteuse ne subsiste que le bras gauche replié sur la poitrine, et le contour de l'arrière de la jambe gauche; elle tient une corbeille remplie de pains de formes diverses. La deuxième a le bras gauche pendant le long du corps, la main tenant un grand lotus épanoui, à la tige rouge et aux pétales verts et roses. Son bras droit est relevé et maintient sur la tête un panier trapézoïdal en vannerie, dont la surface est animée de lignes horizontales noires, et qui contient des pains coniques, aux tons jaunes et roses, ainsi que des légumes verts. L'attitude de la troisième porteuse est identique, mais elle tient dans la main gauche une grande laitue verte. Elle porte aussi le même panier que la précédente, mais il n'est pas décoré de lignes horizontales peintes. La quatrième porteuse a les deux bras levés, afin de soutenir une grande corbeille de vannerie, décorée de lignes horizontales noires, pleine de pains et d'autres offrandes non identifiées, peintes en jaune, vert et rouge. La cinquième porteuse a à nouveau le bras gauche pendant le long du corps et le bras droit levé. Dans la main gauche, elle tient une petite jarre à anse de couleur rose. De la droite, elle soutient un panier en forme de croissant contenant un empilement de pains et d'offrandes jaunes, roses et vertes. La sixième porteuse, enfin, adopte la même attitude. De la main gauche, elle tient en laisse une petite gazelle qui marche derrière la jambe gauche de la porteuse précédente. Sa main droite soutient un panier trapézoïdal contenant à nouveau des pains coniques

⁶Tous nos remerciements à Monsieur Marc Jasinski qui nous a permis d'étudier et de publier ce relief, ainsi qu'à Danielle Vandeborne qui a réalisé avec talent et patience les dessins au trait illustrant cet article. Aubert s'émerveillait déjà de l'état de conservation des couleurs sur les fragments qu'il avait acquis (Aubert, *Or* 44, 8 sqq.). Le panneau vendu chez Christie's en 1973 était par contre totalement délavé, résultat d'un mauvais traitement récent ou signe de conditions de conservation particulières *in situ*? Voir *ibid.* 2.

⁷Hauteur: 0,65 m.; largeur: 1,01 m. Voir: *Antiquities* (Sotheby's catalogue, London, Thursday 14 December 1995), 22–3, nr. 34. Le panneau aurait été acquis au début des années 1960.

⁸Sur ce type de représentations: J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, IV: *Bas-reliefs et peintures. Scènes de la vie quotidienne* (Paris, 1964), 126–35; H. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien* (BdE 34; Le Caire, 1962); W. Helck, 'Güterprozession', *LÄ* II, 919–21; Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content* (London, 1987), 82–3.

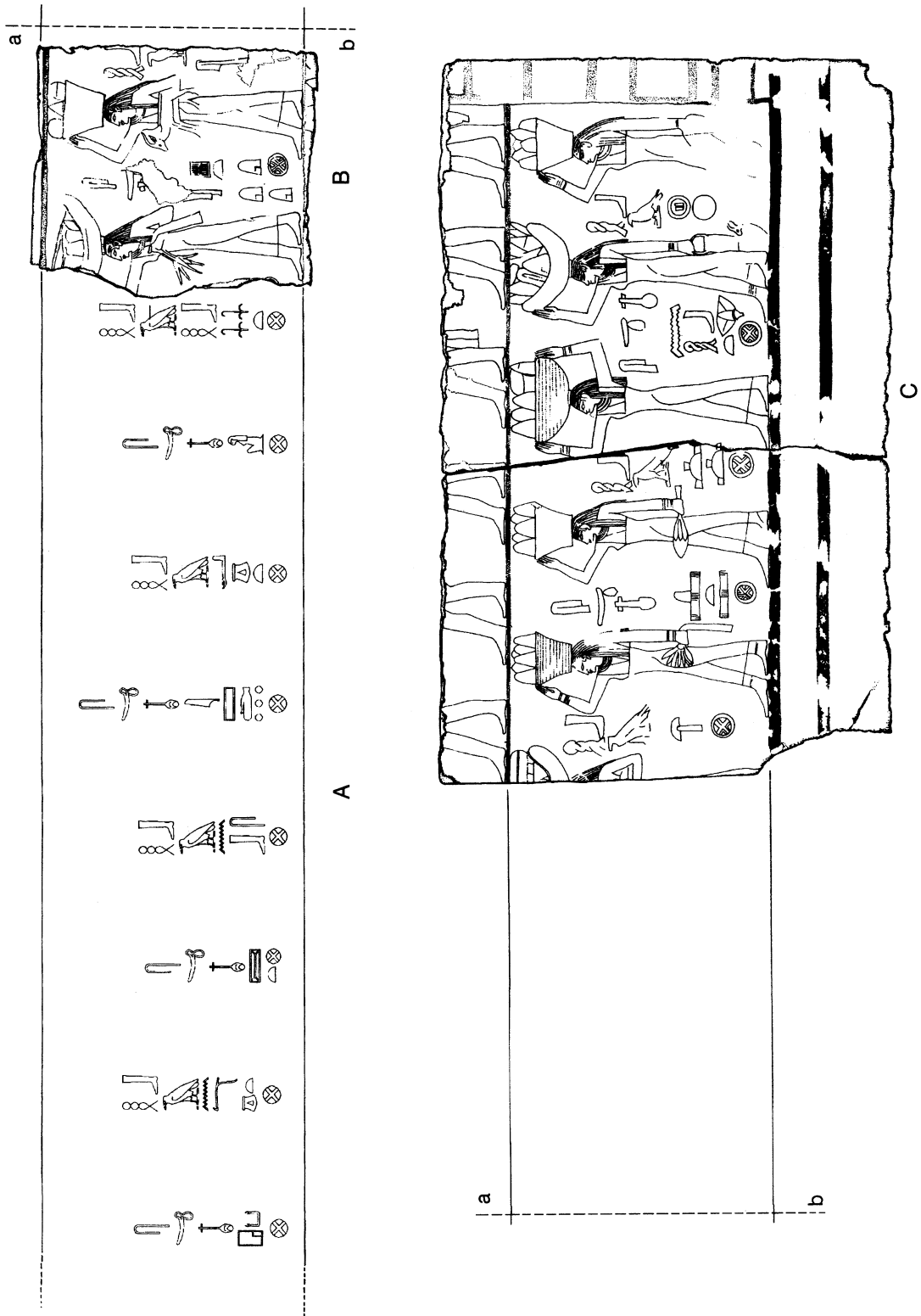


FIG. 2. Restitution du défilé des domaines funéraires de Seshemnefer-Heba. Paroi nord (dessin de Danielle Vandenberghe).

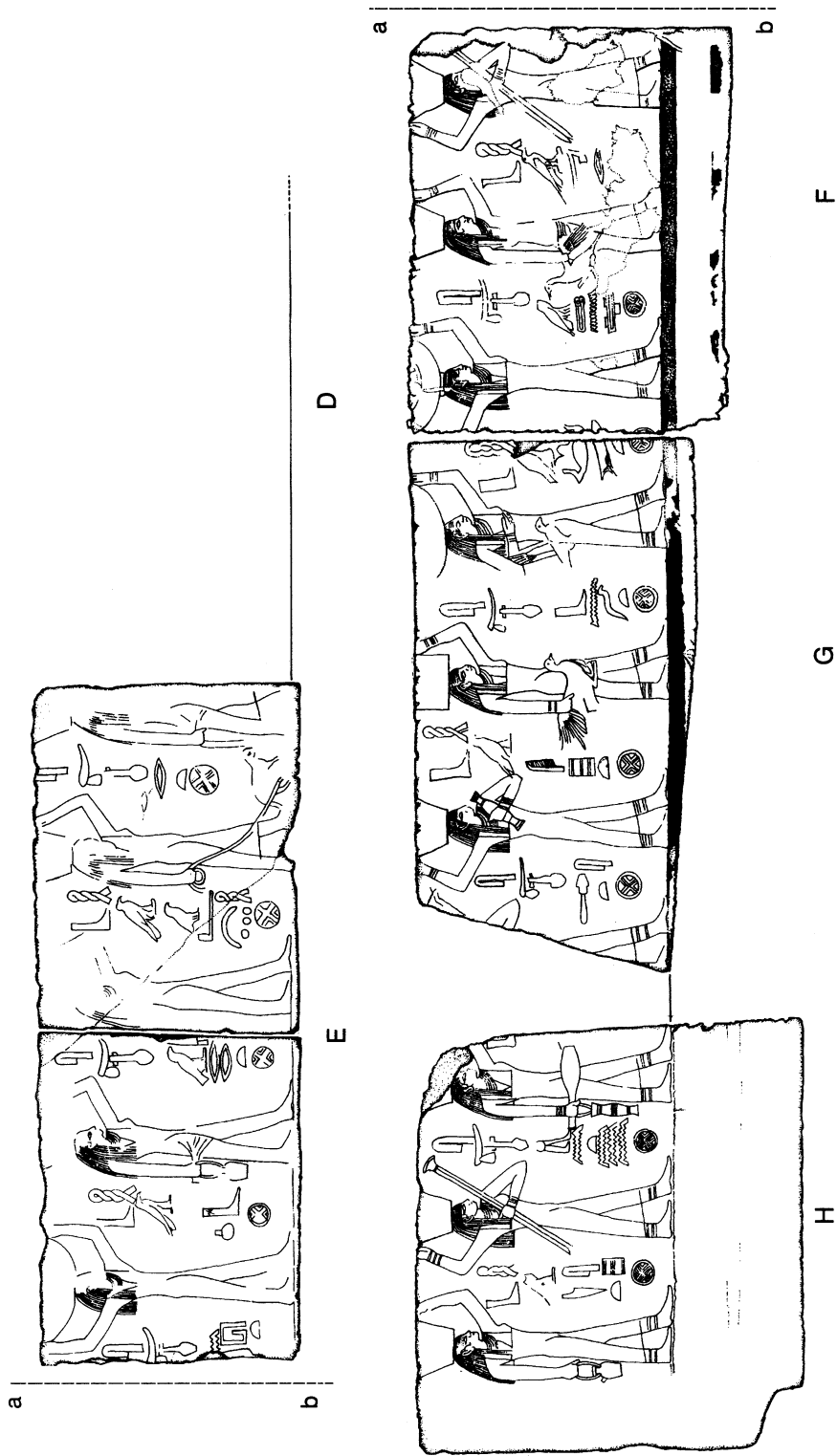


FIG. 3. Restitution du défilé des domaines funéraires de Seshemnefer-Heba. Paroi sud (dessin de Danielle Vandenberghe).

jaunes et des légumes verts. Curieusement, la jambe gauche de la cinquième porteuse, tout le bas du corps de la sixième, ainsi que le corps de la petite gazelle, n'ont pas été sculptés en relief mais indiqués seulement par la peinture. Toutes les porteuses sont vêtues de robes à bretelles unies et moulantes, peintes d'un beau bleu verdâtre pâle, qui tranche sur le jaune orangé de leur peau. Elles sont coiffées de perruques tripartites noires, et parées de colliers larges et de bracelets de poignets et de chevilles, parfois indiqués par de simples incisions, parfois seulement par des traits de peinture bleus verdâtres.

Comme toujours dans ce type de représentations, les noms des domaines sont écrits devant les femmes qui les personnifient. Les signes hiéroglyphiques sont peints exclusivement des trois couleurs vives utilisées pour les représentations humaines du relief, à savoir le noir, le rouge et le bleu verdâtre. Dans cette liste alternent le 'grand nom' (*m.f*ꜣ) de Seshemnefer et son 'petit nom' (*m.f* nḏs) de Heba.⁹ Comme le notait déjà Aubert,¹⁰ les noms du propriétaire ont été gravés à l'emplacement d'un nom plus ancien. La surface de la pierre est abaissée à l'emplacement des noms, les signes étant regravés de manière parfois assez sommaire.

Premier domaine:

Le nom de la première porteuse est perdu. En vertu de l'alternance du nom et du diminutif, il devait contenir le nom de Seshemnefer.

Deuxième domaine: 'le Parasol de Heba' (*šw(t)Hbꜣ*).

Si l'on excepte le domaine de notre Heba, les domaines appelés 'le Parasol de N' sont rares et ils n'apparaissent jamais qu'en association avec un nom royal ou divin.¹¹ Ils sont en outre inconnus dans les tombes de Saqqarah. La graphie du mot est exceptionnelle également; généralement, on trouve le signe S35 de la liste de Gardiner accompagné de l'un ou l'autre complément phonétique et du signe *t*.

Troisième domaine: 'l'Offrande de Seshemnefer' (*htpt Sšm-nfr*).

Les domaines nommés 'l'Offrande de N' sont généralement associés à des noms royaux (de Khephren à Pepi II).¹² Seules deux listes de domaines de la cinquième dynastie intègrent à l'expression le nom d'un particulier: celle de Ptahhotep à Saqqarah et, probablement, mais avec une graphie déroutante, celle de Kaiemnefert à Giza.¹³

Quatrième domaine: 'les Deux buttes de Heba' (*i;ty Hbꜣ*).

Associées à un nom de particulier, 'les Deux buttes' n'apparaissent que dans le mastaba de Ti, à Saqqarah.¹⁴

⁹P. Vernus, 'Name', *LÄ* IV, 322.

¹⁰*Or* 44, 3-4; Strudwick, *Administration*, 140-1; Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 427, signale un autre mastaba usurpé par un certain Mery-Isesi, qu'elle date de la sixième dynastie.

¹¹Ibid. 68.

¹²Ibid. 173, 179, 186, 267, 271, 297, etc.

¹³Ibid. 382 (Ptahhotep), 288 (Kaiemnefert).

¹⁴Ibid. 358, 364.

Cinquième domaine: 'le Bourgeon de Seshemnefer' (*nḥbt Sšm-nfr*).

Rares aussi, les seuls domaines qualifiés de 'Bourgeon de N' sont ceux de Kaipourê à Saqqarah, et de Kaiemnefert à Giza.¹⁵

Sixième domaine: 'le Sanctuaire-*nekhen* de Heba' (*nḥn Ḥbꜣ*).

Associées à des noms de particuliers, les seules mentions de domaines du nom de *Nḥn* se rencontrent chez Ti à Saqqarah, chez Kaiemnefert et, peut-être, chez Nymaâtrê à Giza.¹⁶

Le nouveau relief de Seshemnefer-Heba nous livre ainsi cinq noms de domaines inédits et relativement rares.

Le décor de la chapelle funéraire de Seshemnefer est donc aujourd'hui connu par huit fragments:

Paroi nord

A. Les blocs vus par Mariette, dont le lieu de conservation est inconnu, avec huit noms de domaines funéraires.

B. Un fragment conservé dans une collection privée allemande, avec deux noms de domaines.

C. Le fragment que nous publions ici, sur lequel s'achève la procession, avec six porteuses et cinq noms de domaines.

Paroi sud

D. Un fragment apparu dans le commerce d'art aux Pays-Bas, dont le lieu de conservation actuel est inconnu, et qui, d'après Aubert, portait l'image de trois porteuses.

E. Un fragment vendu à Londres en 1971, dont le lieu de conservation actuel est inconnu, avec cinq porteuses et cinq noms de domaines.¹⁷

F et G. Deux fragments acquis par J.-F. Aubert, avec sept porteuses et six noms de domaines.

H. Un fragment apparu sur le marché de l'art parisien en 1973, dont le lieu de conservation actuel est inconnu, avec trois porteuses et deux noms de domaines marquant la fin de la procession.

Il est à présent possible de proposer une reconstitution partielle du registre inférieur des parois de la chapelle funéraire de Seshemnefer-Heba, en prenant notamment pour base l'alternance rigoureuse entre les noms de Seshemnefer et de Heba (figs. 2-3). Les

¹⁵Ibid. 374 (Kaipourê), 285 (Kaiemnefert).

¹⁶Ibid. 358 (Ti), 286 (Kaiemnefert), 280 (Nymaâtrê: le nom du domaine est écrit avec le signe N5 au lieu du O48).

¹⁷D'après Aubert, *Or* 44, 3, ce fragment aurait été vendu à un collectionneur australien; *Apollo* xciii (109)(March 1971), 27.

porteuses vues par Mariette (fragment A) se trouvaient certainement à l'extrémité ouest de la paroi nord, en contact avec la stèle fausse-porte. Le fragment que nous publions ici (fragment C) termine le cortège de cette même paroi. Les deux porteuses du fragment B se trouvaient donc nécessairement entre les fragments A et C. La première porteuse du fragment B pourrait être la dernière nommée de la liste de Mariette; les quelques vestiges de signes conservés devant elle pourraient correspondre au nom de *hbnnt Hbꜥ*. Entre B et C devaient se trouver quelques porteuses aujourd'hui perdues.

La reconstitution de la paroi sud est plus hasardeuse. Les fragments F et G sont incontestablement jointifs; ils se raccordent probablement au bloc H, qui termine le cortège. Il est plausible que le fragment E se raccorde au bloc F. Le fragment D, malheureusement inédit, pourrait dès lors être replacé à l'extrémité ouest de la paroi.

La chapelle funéraire de Seshemnefer-Heba était donc décorée de deux séries probablement symétriques d'au moins dix-huit domaines funéraires chacune. Comme le remarquait déjà Aubert,¹⁸ cette liste de domaines est donc parmi les plus développées de l'Ancien Empire, avec, par exemple, celles de Seshemnefer III, Mehou, Akhethetep, Pehenouka, Kaiemnefert, Ti, etc. Il est en fait probable que cette procession comptait au total trente-six porteuses; il ne manquerait par conséquent au sud que les trois porteuses vues par Aubert aux Pays-Bas, et au nord que trois porteuses dont le lieu de conservation est inconnu.

L'importance du nombre trente-six dans les listes de domaines funéraires a été soulignée dès 1957 par Van de Walle qui rappelait que, selon une tradition classique, l'Égypte avait connu anciennement une division en trente-six nomes.¹⁹ A l'appui de sa démonstration, Van de Walle citait le cas exemplaire du mastaba de Ti, dont les trois listes de domaines funéraires comptent chacune trente-six porteuses,²⁰ ainsi que les mastabas de Seshemnefer III²¹ et IV à Giza.²² L'examen de la liste de Seshemnefer III est particulièrement révélateur (fig. 4). Répartie en quatre séries, comptant respectivement huit, huit, dix et dix porteurs et porteuses, on n'y relève en réalité que trente-cinq domaines portant des noms. La première série, au registre supérieur, s'achève en effet sur l'image d'un porteur d'offrande anonyme, dont la présence apparemment gratuite permet en fait d'arrondir le total à trente-six. Chez Seshemnefer IV, la liste est répartie en quatre registres de neuf porteuses. Ici aussi, au moins deux porteuses, en tête des défilés cette fois, étaient anonymes, leur présence permettant d'atteindre le nombre de trente-six. D'autres tombes, par d'autres techniques, font encore allusion à ce nombre de trente-six domaines. A Giza, la tombe de Senedjemib-Inti, vizir et architecte d'Isesi,²³ comporte quatre listes de domaines, respectivement de quinze, quinze, dix et dix

¹⁸ Or 44, 4.

¹⁹ B. Van de Walle, 'Remarques sur l'origine et le sens des défilés de domaines dans les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire', *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 288-96.

²⁰ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 357-65. Le mastaba de Ti date certainement du règne de Neouserré: voir B. Schmitz, 'Ti', *LÄ* VI, 552 n. 8. Il est possible, d'après la reconstitution proposée par Kees, que les nomes représentés dans le temple solaire de Neouserré aient été également au nombre de trente-six: voir H. Kees, 'Zu den Gaulisten im Sonnenheiligtum des Neuserré', *ZÄS* 81 (1956), 39-40.

²¹ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 270-4; PM III², 153-4; E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptische Grabkammer Seshemnefers III aus Giza* (Mainz, 1977); H. Junker, *Giza*, III (Wien, 1938), 192-215.

²² Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 306-9; PM III², 223-6; H. Junker, *Giza*, XI (Wien, 1953), 196-202.

²³ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 293-7; PM III², 85-7; G.A. Reisner, 'Preliminary Report on the Work of the Harvard-Boston Expedition in 1911-13', *ASAE* 13 (1913), 248-9, pl. viii.

porteuses, soit au total cinquante porteuses. Mais les quinze porteuses de la deuxième série portent invariablement le même nom, 'le château du ka de Senedjemib' (*hwt-ks Snđmib*), une des dénominations les plus génériques des domaines funéraires. La liste complète comporte donc seulement trente-six noms différents.

Seshemnefer III et IV et Senedjemib-Inti sont en étroite relation, à la fois par leurs fonctions et par leur situation chronologique. Seshemnefer III et Senedjemib-Inti se sont

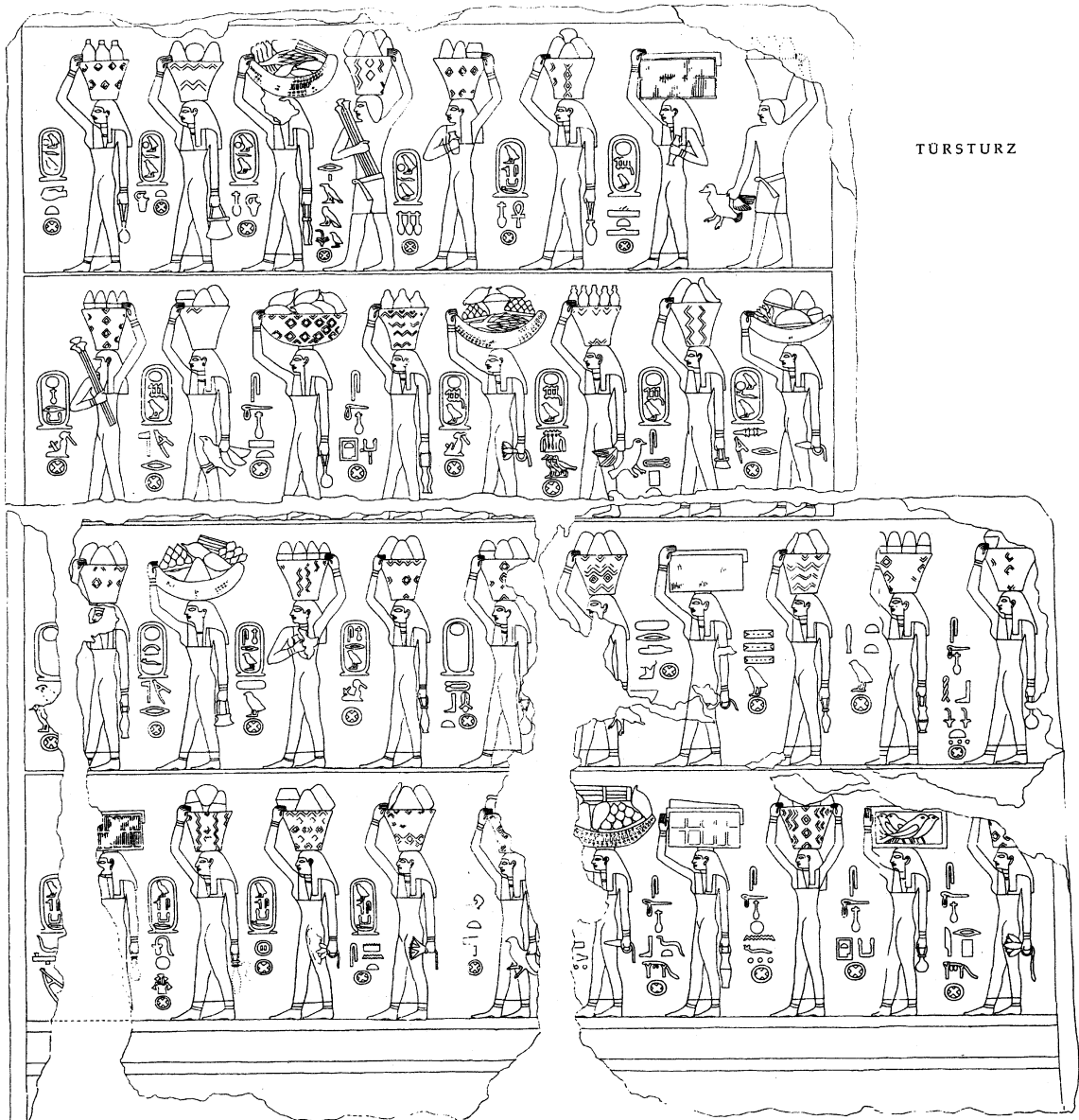


FIG. 4. Domaines funéraires de Seshemnefer III (d'après E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptische Grabkammer Seshemnefers III aus Giza* (Mainz, 1977)).

apparemment succédé au poste de vizir, sous le règne de Djedkarê-Isesi.²⁴ Les tombes de ces deux personnages sont à peu près de mêmes dimensions; leur architecture et leur décor présentent de nombreux points communs et il est évident qu'elles sont chronologiquement très proches. L'inscription biographique de Senedjemib-Inti cite un décret royal daté du seizième recensement, donc de la seconde moitié du long règne d'Isesi.²⁵ Ces mastabas font par ailleurs partie de deux groupes de tombes rassemblant les membres de deux importantes familles dirigeantes. La tombe de Seshemnefer III fut construite près de celles de son père Seshemnefer II (dans laquelle certaines scènes furent en outre copiées)²⁶ et de Rêour qui était probablement son oncle.²⁷ Autour de la tombe de Senedjemib-Inti ont été notamment construites celles de ses fils Khnoumenty²⁸ et Senedjemib-Mehy,²⁹ ce dernier lui ayant succédé au poste de vizir et d'architecte royal à la fin du règne d'Isesi.³⁰ Quant à Seshemnefer IV, 'chef des secrets du roi et chef du Bat' sous Isesi, il était peut-être apparenté à la famille des Seshemnefer II et III.³¹ Par ses fonctions, Seshemnefer-Heba s'intègre bien à cette série de hauts fonctionnaires et ministres. Outre ses titres de prêtre des pyramides de Menkaouhor et de Djedkarê, il est 'scribe de la Cour et chef des secrets, juge, chef de la Grande Salle (*imy-r; hwt-wrt*) et grand des Dix de Haute Egypte'. Ces fonctions font de lui un assistant du vizir qui, à partir du milieu de la cinquième dynastie, a en charge le système judiciaire de tout le pays, avec le titre de *imy-r; hwt wrt* 6.³² D'après la succession de ses titres, Seshemnefer-Heba a pu être daté par Baer du règne de Djedkarê,³³ comme la plupart des autres personnages bénéficiaires de séries de trente-six domaines funéraires. Cependant, sa tombe se trouvait à Saqqarah et non pas à Giza, ce qui s'explique aisément par le fait qu'il était prêtre funéraire dans les pyramides de Menkaouhor et d'Isesi, cette dernière au moins étant érigée dans l'ancienne nécropole de Memphis.³⁴ La zone où se trouvait la tombe de Seshemnefer-Heba semble en outre n'avoir pas été utilisée avant le début du règne d'Isesi, les premières tombes érigées à cet endroit étant celles du vizir Ptahhotep et de sa famille.³⁵ Les noms des domaines de Seshemnefer-Heba évoquent aussi très clairement le milieu de la cinquième dynastie. Plusieurs listes de domaines dans des tombes contemporaines d'Isesi contiennent des noms parallèles: Ptahhotep, autre vizir du règne et sans doute auteur des célèbres *Maximes*,³⁶ Pehenouka,

²⁴N. Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom. Evidence on its Economic Decline* (Warminster, 1977), 10, 12, 35; Strudwick, *Administration*, 12–13.

²⁵A. Roccati, *La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien* (LAPO 11; Paris, 1982), 126, § 95 (avec bibliographie p. 123).

²⁶B. Grdseloff, 'Deux inscriptions juridiques de l'Ancien Empire', *ASAE* 42 (1942), 58–61.

²⁷K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom. The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties* (Chicago, 1960), 132.

²⁸PM III², 87; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 118.

²⁹PM III², 87–9; Reisner, *ASAE* 13, 248–9.

³⁰Strudwick, *Administration*, 12.

³¹C'est l'avis de Junker, *Giza* III, 8–14, une parenté dont doute Baer, *Rank and Title*, 133.

³²Strudwick, *Administration*, 198; c'est aussi sous le règne d'Isesi qu'est créé le titre de *hm-ntr* des pyramides du roi régnant et de son prédécesseur: Baer, *Rank and Title*, 267. Un autre personnage affecté à la pyramide de Djedkarê, Manefer, possédait une stèle fausse-porte analogue à celle de Seshemnefer-Heba, avec, sur la pancarte, la représentation exceptionnelle du défunt debout: Strudwick, *Administration*, 20.

³³Baer, *Rank and Title*, 133, 267.

³⁴PM III², 424; R. Stadelmann, 'Pyramiden', *LÄ* IV, 1248–50; R. Stadelmann, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden* (Mainz, 1985), 180–4.

³⁵Strudwick, *Administration*, 140–1.

³⁶PM III², 596–8; Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 380–5.

également vizir d'Isesi,³⁷ Rêshepses, vizir lui aussi,³⁸ Kaipourê, prêtre de la pyramide de Djedkarê et chef du trésor de la Résidence.³⁹ D'autres parallèles se rencontrent dans des tombes datées avec moins de précision du milieu de la cinquième dynastie: Kaiemnefert à Giza,⁴⁰ Khenou,⁴¹ Ity⁴² et Tepemankh⁴³ à Saqqarah. Il faut aussi mentionner les nombreux noms de domaines parallèles présents dans la tombe peinte de Snefrou-in-Ishetef à Dahchour, datée généralement des cinquième ou sixième dynasties.⁴⁴ Par son nom enfin, Seshemnefer-Heba pourrait se rattacher, sinon à la famille des Seshemnefer II, III et éventuellement IV, au moins au groupe contemporain des hauts dignitaires portant ce nom. Son diminutif de Heba serait dès lors une adjonction commode à son nom, permettant de le distinguer de ses célèbres homonymes. Il faut en outre rappeler que les reliefs des domaines de Seshemnefer-Heba ont manifestement subi un remaniement, les noms du propriétaire ayant été gravés à l'emplacement d'un nom plus ancien. Cette constatation défie jusqu'ici toute interprétation. Il faut cependant rappeler, à titre d'hypothèse, que la famille de Seshemnefer III semble avoir bénéficié d'une promotion assez soudaine vers le milieu du règne d'Isesi, Seshemnefer III lui-même passant sans transition de la fonction de scribe royal à celle de vizir et agrandissant en conséquence son propre mastaba.⁴⁵ Parallèlement à cette ascension sociale, d'autres membres de la famille ou de l'entourage professionnel du nouveau vizir, comme éventuellement Seshemnefer-Heba, auraient pu être dotés de tombes décorées de nombreux domaines funéraires, quitte, peut-être dans l'urgence, à usurper certains mastabas plus anciens. L'explication des remaniements subis par nos reliefs est peut-être cependant plus simple. On constate en effet que ces modifications affectent essentiellement les occurrences du nom de Heba. Les signes du 'petit nom' sont en effet gravés de manière bien plus sommaire que ceux du 'grand nom' de Seshemnefer.⁴⁶ Il pourrait dès lors s'agir d'une simple actualisation des inscriptions du mastaba, suite à l'acquisition par Seshemnefer d'un surnom usuel.

Quoi qu'il en soit, l'usage consistant à placer dans la tombe un défilé de trente-six domaines funéraires semble issu d'un milieu social bien spécifique, celui des vizirs et hauts dirigeants du pays, vers le milieu du règne d'Isesi, et révèle une volonté évidente de systématisation de ce type de décor à nettes connotations géographiques. C'est aussi en cette fin de la cinquième dynastie que l'on divise clairement les domaines en un défilé

³⁷PM III², 491; Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 366–70.

³⁸PM III², 494; Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 371–2.

³⁹PM III², 455; Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 373–4.

⁴⁰PM III², 263 ('Middle Dyn. V or later'); Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 281–9 ('peu après le milieu de la Ve dynastie').

⁴¹PM III², 488 ('Late Dyn. 5 or Dyn. 6'); Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 349–51 ('Ve dynastie').

⁴²PM III², 450 ('Dyn. 5'); Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 378–9 ('probablement de la seconde moitié de la Ve dynastie').

⁴³PM III², 483 ('Middle Dyn.5'); Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 343–4 ('Ve dynastie'); le dernier nom royal présent dans la tombe est celui de Sahourê, voir N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire. Le problème de la datation* (Bruxelles, 1989), tableau p. 227.

⁴⁴PM III², 891; Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 440–1 ('VIe dynastie'); D. Wildung, 'Dahschur', *LÄ* I, 986 ('6. Dyn. '); Cherpion, *Mastabas*, tableau p. 224 (le dernier nom royal présent dans la tombe est celui de Snefrou, *terminus ante quem non* qui ne permet aucunement de dater la tombe).

⁴⁵Baer, *Rank and Title*, 132.

⁴⁶Voir par exemple la forme du signe Gardiner sign-list V28 ou les contours souvent hasardeux du signe Gardiner G1.

du nord et un défilé du sud, comme chez Akhethotep à Saqqarah.⁴⁷ Or, le règne d'Isesi est marqué par de profondes réformes administratives, et notamment par la réorganisation de la gestion des provinces. Un poste de vizir responsable spécifiquement de la Haute Egypte est créé, et des nomarques dépendants de l'administration royale sont nommés dans les dixième, quinzième et vingtième nomes de Haute Egypte, avec la charge de contrôler cette région vitale par ses ressources agricoles.⁴⁸ C'est aussi à partir du règne d'Isesi que des nomarques se font pour la première fois enterrer dans leur province, loin des nécropoles de la capitale.⁴⁹ Cette volonté de réorganisation de la gestion des provinces semble trouver un écho dans la systématisation du nombre des domaines funéraires, du moins dans les tombes de certains des plus hauts personnages de l'Etat. Cependant, il faut certainement se garder de voir dans les trente-six domaines de l'époque d'Isesi le reflet d'une structure administrative réelle. Les nomes d'Egypte, à la cinquième dynastie, étaient certainement déjà au nombre de quarante-deux et aucun document n'atteste une diminution de ce nombre au cours de l'Ancien Empire.⁵⁰ En fait, ces trente-six domaines correspondent non à une géographie réelle, mais plutôt à une géographie imaginaire ou idéale.⁵¹ Ils ne révèlent pas la réalité de remaniements administratifs, mais bien une claire volonté des milieux du pouvoir de repenser le paysage égyptien, tant dans sa gestion politique et économique, que dans sa signification mythique. Dans cette optique, le nombre de trente-six domaines est probablement censé évoquer l'étendue totale du pays et l'universalité des sources d'approvisionnement dont dispose le défunt.⁵²

Il reste cependant difficile de comprendre pourquoi les Egyptiens auraient subitement adopté, sous Isesi ou, en tout cas, vers le milieu de la cinquième dynastie, une géographie mythique composée de trente-six nomes. On a souvent noté que le règne d'Isesi marquait une rupture dans les usages funéraires royaux de la cinquième dynastie et un retour aux idéaux de la quatrième dynastie.⁵³ Le règne est marqué en effet par l'arrêt de la construction des temples solaires, par l'abandon du site d'Abousir et par le déplacement de la pyramide royale au sud de la nécropole de Saqqarah, en direction de l'ancienne nécropole de Dahchour où se dressent les deux pyramides de Snefrou. Or, c'est à Dahchour, dans le temple intermédiaire de la pyramide rhomboïdale, en plein essor durant les cinquième et sixième dynasties, que se trouvent les premiers défilés de

⁴⁷ Van de Walle, *MDAIK* 15, 293. Le plan du mastaba de Akhethotep est très proche de celui de Seshemnefer IV dont nous avons parlé: Baer, *Rank and Title*, 133. Voir aussi l'inscription fragmentaire en tête de la procession des domaines de Seshemnefer IV: Junker, *Giza* XI, 196-8.

⁴⁸ N. Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt* (Warminster, 1980), 11-12; le premier vizir chargé spécifiquement de la Haute Egypte est probablement Rêshepses: PM III², 494-6.

⁴⁹ Un des premiers exemples semble être Ka-Khent de Hammamye, daté sans doute du début du règne d'Isesi: H. Beinlich, 'el-Hemamija', *LÄ* II, 1116; Strudwick, *Administration*, 62; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 2, 11.

⁵⁰ H. Kees, 'Nomos', *RE* 33 (Stuttgart, 1936), cols. 833-40; W. Helck, 'Gau', *LÄ* II, 385-408; E. Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches* (HÄB 1; Hildesheim, 1976), 6-9.

⁵¹ J. Leclant, 'Une géographie de l'Egypte pharaonique', *Or* 28 (1959), 81.

⁵² Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptische Grabkammer Seschemnefers III aus Giza*, 14 ('Auf alle Fälle dürften 36 Stiftungsgüter mehr einem Wunschenken als eine Realität entsprechen').

⁵³ W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Glückstadt, 1954), 136; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 15; H. Rieke, *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reiches*, II (Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde 5; Le Caire, 1950), 83 sqq.

domaines funéraires attestés.⁵⁴ C'est aussi à Dahchour que se trouve le mastaba de Snefrou-in-Ishetef, dont la datation est controversée, mais qui présente un nombre exceptionnel de noms de domaines communs avec la liste de Seshemnefer-Heba.⁵⁵ A l'est de la pyramide rhomboïdale enfin se trouve le mastaba de Iynefer, fils de Snefrou, dont les stèles fausses-portes sont parmi les premières à être décorées de défilés de domaines.⁵⁶ Ces stèles sont aujourd'hui très mal conservées. Pourtant, il semble que la stèle sud comptait quatre séries de cinq domaines funéraires, soit vingt en tout. Seul le registre inférieur de la stèle nord est conservé; d'après les descriptions de Barsanti et Jacquet-Gordon, il semble qu'elle devait comporter deux fois quatre registres de deux domaines, soit seize en tout. Il est donc possible que le mastaba de Iynefer ait été lui aussi décoré de trente-six domaines funéraires. Dès lors, l'attention portée par certains contemporains d'Isesi à la représentation des domaines funéraires, et le recours à une liste normative de trente-six domaines idéaux ne seraient-ils pas d'autres signes d'un retour aux sources de l'Ancien Empire et de cette volonté d'archaïsme qui imprègne plusieurs réalisations du règne?

Les trente-six domaines de Seshemnefer-Heba et de ses contemporains révèlent donc l'existence, dans les sphères du pouvoir à l'époque d'Isesi, d'un milieu de penseurs soucieux à la fois de réorganiser la gestion de l'Etat, et d'affirmer par l'image l'universalité géographique des domaines pourvoyeurs d'offrandes représentés dans leurs mastabas. Lorsqu'ils écrivent que l'Egypte avait connu anciennement une division en trente-six nomes, Strabon et Diodore ne font probablement que transposer dans le réel une géographie qui, pour les Egyptiens, n'est jamais sortie de l'imaginaire des tombes.

⁵⁴Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 125–37; B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization* (London, 1991), 112, 148, fig. 52; B. G. Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt. A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), 95.

⁵⁵Sur les sept noms de domaines de Snefrou-in-Ishetef, cinq sont communs à la liste de Seshemnefer-Heba: Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 440–1.

⁵⁶PM III², 894; A. Barsanti, 'Rapport sur la fouille de Dahchour', *ASAE* 3 (1902), 198–201; Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, 430–3. A noter que Seshemnefer III, lors de sa promotion soudaine au poste de vizir, acquiert aussi le titre de 'fils de roi': Baer, *Rank and Title*, 132.



1. Wooden figure of bovid, H5-2885 [5268]



2. Bronze of juvenile bovid, 74/5-27 [6239]

UNCHARTED SAQQARA: A POSTSCRIPT (pp. 45–56)



3. Relief du mastaba de Seshemnefer-Heba, collection privée (*photographie Marc Jasinski*)

TROIS SESHEMNEFER ET TRENTE-SIX DOMAINES (pp. 57–69)

LA POPULATION *MRT*: UNE APPROCHE DU PROBLÈME DE LA SERVITUDE DANS L'EGYPTE DU III^e MILLÉNAIRE (I)*

Par JUAN CARLOS MORENO GARCIA

Mrt-people are well attested in Egyptian sources from the third millennium BC. Usually considered as serfs, a careful examination of texts and titles reveals nevertheless that *mrt* was the term applied to Egyptians assigned to the periodical compulsory work ordered by the state. The scope of their activities was focused on agricultural labour, and some titles and decrees from the Old Kingdom suggest that they were deeply involved in the foundation of new domains on unproductive land. Finally, as they usually came from peasant communities and from the lower class, *mrt*-people were sometimes put on a par with similar sections of the Egyptian population, like the *rhjyt*-people. In any case, they should not be considered as serfs.

LA population *mrt* figure dans les inscriptions et les titulatures de l'Ancien Empire, et son existence a été invoquée pour affirmer tant l'existence d'esclaves que de paysans libres en Egypte ancienne.¹ Les *mrt* sont, donc, au coeur d'un débat sur le modèle d'organisation sociale et économique de l'Egypte pharaonique. On essaiera ici d'analyser le rôle de cette catégorie sociale au III^e millénaire.

Une approche du problème de la définition des *mrt* consiste à étudier d'autres groupes sociaux mentionnés dans des contextes analogues. C'est ainsi que l'on constate, par exemple, la proximité des catégories de *mrt* et de *rhjyt*, qui sont citées ensemble dans un titre de *Ksj: jmj-r hrp zš nb m pr-hrj-wdb rhjyt mrt*, 'intendant de tout directeur de scribes dans le *pr-hrj-wdb* des *rhjyt* et des *mrt*'.² Le rapprochement entre les deux catégories de population révèle qu'elles devaient partager des caractéristiques communes. Le terme *rhjyt* désigne en général le peuple de basse condition, les 'plébéiens', par opposition aux *prt*, 'les patriciens', et l'ensemble des *prt* et des *rhjyt* constitue les *mrt*, 'les gens'.³ Cette distinction est clairement exprimée, par exemple, dans les textes

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¹ A propos des *mrt* on consultera A. M. Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt* (ASAE Supplément 18; Le Caire, 1952), 22–9; O. D. Berlev, *Trudovoe nasalenie v Egipta v epochu srednego carstva* (Moscou, 1972); J. J. Janssen, 'Prolegomena to the Study of Egypt's Economic History during the New Kingdom', *SAK* 3 (1975), 171–3; W. Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Leiden, 1975), 102; idem, 'Skaven', *LÄ* V, 982–7; I. Hafemann, 'Zum Problem der staatlichen Arbeitspflicht im Alten Ägypten. I.', *AoF* 12 (1985), 7; D. Kessler, 'Tempelbesitz', *LÄ* VI, 365–76; C. Eyre, 'Work and the Organisation of Work in the Old Kingdom', dans M. A. Powell (éd.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven, 1987), 30, 33, 35–6; idem, 'Feudal Tenure and Absentee Landlords', dans S. Allam (éd.), *Grund und Boden in Altägypten* (Tübingen, 1994), 112; A. Loprieno, 'Lo schiavo', dans S. Donadoni (éd.), *L'uomo egiziano* (Rome, 1990), 211–45.

² PM III², 479: milieu de la V^e dynastie.

³ A propos des *rhjyt*, cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), I, 98*–110*; J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures. Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* (Warminster, 1985), 49, 54; P. Kaplony,

tous les patriciens, tous les plébéiens, tous les hommes, tous les castrats (?), toutes les femmes';⁴ mais aussi dans les textes des particuliers: *j srw wrw kttw prt nbt rhjtt nbt hnmmt nbt*, 'ô dignitaires grands et petits, tous les patriciens, tous les plébéiens, tous les hnmmt'.⁵ Le couple *prt/rhjtt* figure aussi dans les inscriptions royales, dans les Textes des Pyramides et dans les Textes des Sarcophages.⁶ Et les fonctionnaires du Moyen Empire se vantent de juger tant les *prt* que les *rhjtt*, d'avoir réuni des millions de *rhjtt* pour bâtir les monuments du roi, d'être à la tête des *rhjtt* ou d'avoir nourri les *rhjtt*.⁷ Or, si les *rhjtt* sont assimilables aux *mrt* et opposés aux *prt*, les *mrt* devraient donc s'opposer aussi aux *prt*; c'est justement le cas dans un hymne à Sésostri III (*tm rdj wrd mrt.f rdj [s]dr prt r šsp*, 'un qui ne permet pas que ses *mrt* soient affaiblis, et qui fait que les *prt* dorment jusqu'au crépuscule')⁸ ainsi que dans certaines formules et expressions stéréotypées.⁹

'Kiebitz(e)', *LÄ* III, 417–22. On a suggéré qu'ils pouvaient être aussi les habitants du Delta occidental du Nil: Ch. Favard-Meeks, 'Le Delta égyptien et la mer jusqu'à la fondation d'Alexandrie', *SAK* 16 (1989), 39–63; C. Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Ahmosis, fondateur de la XVIII^e dynastie* (Bruxelles, 1971), 182; idem, dans A. Nibbi, (éd.), *The Archaeology, Geography and History of the Egyptian Delta in Pharaonic Times* (Oxford, 1989), 301–10; E. Edel, *Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der "Weltkammer" aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre*, II (Göttingen, 1964), 111–15. A propos des *prt/rhjtt* et des conditions ethniques en Egypte pharaonique, cf. J. Baines, 'Contextualizing Egyptian Representations of Society and Ethnicity', dans J. S. Cooper et G. M. Schwartz (éds), *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the 21st Century* (Winona Lake, 1996), 339–84; A. Leahy, 'Ethnic Diversity in Ancient Egypt', dans J. M. Sasson (éd.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1995), I, 225–34. On remarquera que les *mrt* sont opposés aux les *ntrw*, les divinités; cf., par exemple, PT 1101a, 1147c, 1160a, 1423b; *Urk.* I, 204:10; 228:5; 233:15.

⁴G. Posener, *Cinq figurines d'envoûtement* (BdE 101; Le Caire, 1987), 36; cf. un parallèle dans J. Osing, 'Achtungstexte aus dem Alten Reich (II)', *MDAIK* 32 (1976), 153. Ou encore la liste de personnel qui figure dans Gardiner, *AEO* I, [230] *mrt*, [231] *prt*, [232] *rhjtt*, [233] *hmm(t)*.

⁵Stèle Leiden V.1 = *KRI* VII, 27:6–7; J.-M. Kruchten, 'Un sculpteur des images divines ramesside', dans M. Broze et Ph. Talon (éds), *L'atelier de l'orfèvre. Mélanges offerts à Ph. Derchain* (Louvain, 1992), 106–18.

⁶*Urk.* I, 168:13–14; PT 516a; CT V 160; VI 159. Horus est considéré tant le chef des *rhjtt* (*Hr hrj-tp rhjtt.f*: PT 644e) que le seigneur des *prt* (*Hr nb prt*: PT 14d, 737f, 895d, 1258a, 1804b). D'autres mentions des *rhjtt* figurent dans PT 233b, 483b, 654b, 876b, 1058a, 1726b, 1837c.

⁷Hammamat 113, lignes 5–6 = J. Couyat et P. Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât* (Le Caire, 1912), 80, pl. 29. Cf. les expressions *sr m hst rhjtt*, 'dignitaire à la tête des plébéiens' (*Urk.* VII, 60:6; K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht. Texte des Mittleren Reiches* (Leipzig, 1928), 69, ligne 14; A. I. Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi* (Warmminster, 1980), I, 96–7, inscr. n° 149, lignes 9–10; en général, cf. O. Perdu, 'Socle d'une statue de Neshor à Abydos', *RdE* 43 (1992), 150–1), *jmj-jrtj n rhjtt*, 'surveillant des plébéiens' et *scnh rhjtt jfw n.f wrw m ksw r rwjtj pr-nzw*, 'celui qui nourrissait les plébéiens, vers qui les grands venaient en s'inclinant à la double porte du Domaine royal' (CG 20539, lignes 12 et 58 = K. Lange et H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs* (CGC; Le Caire, 1902), II, 153).

⁸Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 66; 9–10.

⁹Cf. l'opposition des *mrt/rhjtt* aux dignitaires dans les expressions suivantes:

— *Urk.* VII, 26:2–4: *srwd.f rn n qnbjw.f smnh hft j:stn mnhw jmjw nw prw.f tww.n.f hnt mrt.f*, 'il rend fleurissant le renom de ses conseillers en (les) anoblissant selon leur fonction, les excellents parmi ceux de sa maisonnée, qu'il fit avancer au-dessus de ses *mrt*';

— BM EA 159, ligne 4 (= *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, I (Londres, 1905), pls. 46–7; R. Faulkner, 'The Stelae of Rudjrahou', *JEA* 37 (1951), 47–52, pl. vii): *stn prt r rhjtt*, 'qui fait avancer les patriciens plus que les plébéiens';

— Hammamat 61, lignes 10–13 (= G. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat* (Paris, 1957), 17–20, 81–5, pls. 23–4; D. Farout, 'La carrière du *whmw* Ameny et l'organisation des expéditions au ouadi Hammamat au Moyen Empire', *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 145–8, fig. 2): *jrr.j m wpt nbt wdjt hm.f n b:k jm m h:b ntr b:k.f mtjj s: b:k n jt(f) hntw n ct n hss.f wj hss.f b:k jr wj r rhjtt nbt*, 'si j'exécutais toutes les missions que Sa Majesté ordonnait au serviteur que voici comme le dieu envoie son serviteur recte, fils du serviteur de son père autrefois, c'est tant il me récompensait et tant il récompensait le serviteur qui m'a engendré, plus qu'aucun *rhjtt*'.

Enfin, considérés comme un élément potentiellement rebelle méritant des châtiments, certains dignitaires se vantent même de repousser les *rhjtt* aux portes du palais, tandis que le palais était, en revanche, l'endroit où les *prt* délibéraient avec le roi.¹⁰

Ces données suggèrent que les *mrt* n'étaient pas de véritables serfs, mais des Egyptiens de condition humble (d'où leur assimilation aux *rhjtt*). Il reste à déterminer quelles étaient les caractéristiques et les fonctions propres à cette catégorie sociale, d'après les titulatures et les documents administratifs du III^e millénaire.

Les titres concernant la population *mrt*

Les titres relatifs à la population *mrt* appartiennent à trois catégories: ceux où les *mrt* sont mentionnés en rapport avec des champs, ceux qui mettent les *mrt* sous le contrôle des scribes et, enfin, ceux portés par certains vizirs et qui évoquent l'existence d'un bureau administratif concernant les *mrt*.

Les titres relatifs aux mrt et aux champs

Plusieurs fonctionnaires de l'Ancien Empire portent des titres qui révèlent l'association des *mrt* aux champs. Voici le répertoire des cas attestés avec un choix de leurs titres les plus significatifs:

- 1) Anonyme (P. Kaplony, *Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reiches* (Mon Aeg 3; Bruxelles, 1981), IIA, 394–5; IIB, pl. 106 (35): règne de Pépi I): *zš šht mrt*, 'scribe des champs et des *mrt*'
- 2) *Bšwj: Bšf-Mnw* (Ashmolean Museum 1911.477 = N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish. The Cemetery of Akhmim*, IX (Sydney, 1989), 58–9: règne de Pépi I ou après): *jmj-r wpt mrt*, 'intendant de missions des *mrt*'
- 3) *Ppjj-snb: Snj: Tjj* (fils de *Mmj*, cité dans sa tombe): *jmj-r wpt mrt [šht] htp-ntr m prwj*, 'intendant de missions des *mrt*, [des champs] et des "offrandes divines" en toute circonscription'; *jmj-r zš n [...]*, 'intendant de scribes de...'; *zš r nzw n [...]* *hft-hr*, 'scribe du document royal de [...] en (sa) présence'; *zš htp-ntr*, 'scribe des "offrandes divines"'; *hrj-sšt: n pr-Mnw mj qd.f*, 'chargé de secrets de tout le domaine de Min'; *sm: Mnw*, 'stoliste de Min'
- 4) *Mmj* (Akhmim B 12 = Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* VII, 18–22: de Merenrê à Pépi II): *jmj-r wpt mr[t šht] m prwj*, 'intendant de missions des *mrt* et des champs en toute circonscription'
- 5) *Mddj* (Akhmim G 66 = Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* IX, 21: fin de l'Ancien Empire): *jmj-r wpt [š]h[t mrt m] prwj*, 'intendant de missions des cha[m]ps et des *mrt* en] toute circonscription'
- 6) *Ndm-jb* (Abydos, PM V, 273: VI^e dynastie): *jmj-r wpt htp-ntr m mrt šht*, 'intendant des missions des "offrandes divines" avec des *mrt* et des champs'; *šhd hmw-ntr*, 'inspecteur de prophètes'
- 7) *Hzzj-Mnw: Zzj* (Akhmim G 42 = Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* VII), 9–13: fin du règne de

¹⁰ *Urk.* VII, 19:8: *jmšhw hr Hr hw rhjtt*, 'le privilégié auprès d'Horus qui frappe les plébéiens'; *Urk.* IV, 257: 10: *mdw n rhjtt m swt nbt nt ch*, 'bâton des plébéiens en tout endroit du palais'. En général, cf. J. C. Moreno García, *Etudes sur l'administration, le pouvoir et l'idéologie en Egypte, de l'Ancien au Moyen Empire* (Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 4; Liège, 1997), 53–4, 83 n. 291, 128, 132, 137–8.

- Pépi II): *jmj-r [wpt] šht [mrt] m prwj*, ‘intendant [de missions] des champs [et des *mrt*] en toute circonscription’; *šhd hmw-ntr*, ‘inspecteur des prophètes’
- 8) *Hzzj-Mnw: Zzj: Dwdj* (Akhmim F 1 = Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* VI, 7–14: règne de Pépi I ou après): *jmj-r wpt šht mrt m prwj*, ‘intendant de missions des champs et des *mrt* en toute circonscription’; *jmj-r wpt htp-ntr m prwj*, ‘intendant de missions des “offrandes divines” en toute circonscription’; *jmj-r wpt m prwj*, ‘intendant de missions en toute circonscription’
- 9) *Hnmw-htp* (PM III¹, 213(4): fin de la V^e dynastie): *jmj-r hrt-htmt n c nzwt n pr-c; n mrt n šht*, ‘intendant des actes scellés relatifs au(x) document(s) royaux du palais, aux *mrt* et au(x) champ(s)’; *(j)r(j) hnbwt n c nzwt*, ‘chargé des documents des limites des champs des documents royaux’; [...] *nt tnwt rmt n c nzwt n pr-c*, ‘...du recensement des gens du document royal du palais’; *zš c nzwt n pr-c*, ‘scribe du document royal du palais’; *zš n c nzwt*, ‘scribe du document royal’¹¹
- 10) *Ghs: Nbj* (Akhmim GA 11 = Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* VII, 39–42: règne de Pépi II): *jmj-r wpt šht mrt*, ‘intendant de missions des champs et des *mrt*’; *jmj-r wpt*, ‘intendant de missions’

Ces titres expriment l’association étroite des champs et des *mrt* dans le cadre de certaines missions accomplies en province par des fonctionnaires au service du palais royal.¹² On constate que plusieurs fonctionnaires du répertoire étaient en même temps intendants de missions des ‘offrandes divines’, une responsabilité très proche de la gestion des champs et des *mrt* à en juger d’après le titre *jmj-r wpt htp-ntr m mrt šht* de *Ndm-jb* ou le titre *jmj-r wpt mrt [šht] htp-ntr m prwj* de *Ppjj-snb*. Or, les décrets de Coptos évoquent justement le processus de création de domaines agricoles sur des terrains incultes, l’assignation de *mrt* pour les cultiver et la production d’‘offrandes divines’ destinées au temple local (cf. la section suivante). En conséquence, les titulatures citées suggèrent une procédure similaire, puisque la plupart provient des provinces (Abydos, Akhmim) et leurs responsables exerçaient des fonctions diverses concernant les temples et leur personnel. Enfin, la titulature de *Hnmw-htp* révèle que l’administration des champs et des *mrt* dépendait du palais royal, et qu’elle était contrôlée par les responsables des archives royales et liée au bornage des terrains et au recensement des gens.¹³ Il semble que les activités de *Hnmw-htp* consistaient à délimiter des terrains cultivables, à créer un parcellaire et à recruter des travailleurs. On remarquera

¹¹ Cet ensemble de titres rappelle celui du scribe de phylé (*zš n s; Tfw* (PM III², 608), qui était *zš tzwt*, ‘scribe d’équipes’, *zš šhtj*, ‘scribe des deux champs’, et *zš htmt ntr nb*, ‘scribe de tout acte divin’.

¹² A propos du titre *jmj-r wpt*, ‘intendant de mission’, cf. E. Martin-Pardey, ‘Gedanken zum Titel *jmj-r wpt*’, *SAK* 11 (1984), 231–51.

¹³ A propos des listes de personnel corvéable élaborées par les fonctionnaires de l’Ancien Empire, cf. *Urk. I*, 282:3–8; 291:5–9, ou des titulatures telles que *jp tzt z k;w/jhw m prwj*, ‘celui qui fait le recensement des équipes et des troupeaux de bétail de la double maison’ (= Berlin-Charlottenbourg, Inv.-Nr, 1/85: H. G. Fischer, *Varia Nova* (New York, 1996), 32–3, pl. 6). Cf. aussi des exemples plus tardifs, du Moyen Empire: *jmj-r pr-hsb rmt wsr d;mw/hrdw*, ‘intendant du département de recensement de gens, riche en nouvelles générations’ (*Z. Zaba, The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia (Czechoslovak Concession)* (Prague, 1974), n° 135), *jmj-r rmt m hcw h;w*, ‘intendant de gens en excès de milliers’ (MMA 12.184 = Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 79; H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom. A Supplement to Wm. Ward’s Index* (New York, 1985), 5 (236a)). Cf. d’autres exemples dans W. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446)* (Brooklyn, 1955), 55. Une inscription de Deir el-Bahari, du Nouvel Empire, exprime l’association des *mrt* avec les corvées (*jrt bh n jth jnr*, ‘accomplir la corvée du transport de pierre’: W. Hayes, ‘A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Dēr el-Bahri’, *JEA* 46 (1960), 32 [2]).

à ce propos que les actes *hrt-htmt* concernent, semble-t-il, des recensements de champs ou de travailleurs.¹⁴ En définitive, la mention de *rmt* et *mrt* dans la titulature de *Hnmw-htp*, dans un contexte où sont évoqués des recensements de gens, des documents de l'Etat et l'administration de champs et de *mrt*, suggère que les *mrt* étaient des Egyptiens ordinaires (*rmt*) recensés et recrutés pour effectuer des corvées agricoles au service de l'Etat.

Les titres des scribes des mrt

Plusieurs fonctionnaires étaient scribes des *mrt*:

- 1) *Jr.n-šhtj* (mentionné dans la tombe du vizir *cnh-m-ḥr*: début VI^e dynastie): *šhd zš mrt*
- 2) *Jdw* (PM III¹, 185–6: Pépi I): *jmj-r zš mrt, zš mrt, jmj-r wpt htp-ntr m prwj, jmj-r wpt htp-ntr, jmj-r hwt-wrt, zš ḥ nzwṯ hft-ḥr, zš ḥ nzwṯ, hrj-sšt; n wdḥ-mdw, sm;ḥ wdḥ-mdw*, etc.
- 3) *Jdw* (fragment 68 = P. Posener-Krieger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï* (*Les papyrus d'Abousir*) (BdE 65; Le Caire, 1976), II, 404; V^e dynastie): *zš mrt*
- 4) *Hr-š.f-nht* (PM III², 544: fin VI^e dynastie): *zš mrt, jmj-r mšḥ, hrp ḥpr n nfrw, rh nzwṯ m;ḥ*
- 5) *Sfhw* (cité dans la tombe du vizir *Pth-htp* [I]; H. G. Fischer, review of S. Hassan, *Excavations of Saqqara, 1937–1938*, *JEA* 65 (1979), 181: règne d'Izézi): *jrj-md;ṯ mrt*
- 6) *Šm;w* (cité dans la tombe du vizir *Mrrw-k;ṯ*: P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, I (OIP 31; Chicago, 1938), pls. 36–7: début VI^e dynastie): *jmj-r zš mrt, hq;ṯ hwt*
- 7) *K;ṯ-m-nfrt* (PM III², 467–8: règne de Niouserrê): *jmj-r zš mrt, hrp zš jrj-spr, jmj-r wsht, hrp wsht, hrp zš m wsht ḥ;ṯ, hrj-sšt; n hwt-wrt, z;ṯ jmj-r zš m d;ṯ;ṯ wrt, hrj-wdb m hwt-cnḥ, wd-mdw n hrjw-wdb*, etc.

On constate que les scribes des *mrt* étaient attachés aux bureaux du vizir, car *Sfhw*, *Šm;w* et *Jr.n-šhtj* sont mentionnés parmi le personnel de trois vizirs, tandis que *Jdw* et *K;ṯ-m-nfrt* contrôlaient la *hwt-wrt*, le bureau central du vizir, et portaient en plus de nombreux titres relatifs aux documents royaux et aux institutions du palais ou de l'administration centrale (*wsht, wsht ḥ;ṯ, hwt-cnḥ, d;ṯ;ṯ wrt*).¹⁵ Le contrôle des *mrt* apparaît ainsi comme une affaire de l'administration centrale, et cette hypothèse est confirmée par le fait que les titres attestés concernent la direction des scribes des *mrt*, et non le contrôle direct des *mrt* (qui serait exprimé par des titres tels que **jmjw-r mrt, *shdw mrt, *hrpw mrt*, etc.), bien qu'il y ait, en revanche, des fonctionnaires responsables d'autres catégories de travailleurs dans les sources du III^e millénaire, comme les *jmjw-nzwṯjw*.¹⁶ Cette situation suggère que les *mrt* n'étaient pas des serfs permanents

¹⁴Les fonctionnaires du décret Coptos B qui recrutaient des *mrt* étaient le scribe des documents royaux (*zš ḥ nzwṯ*), l'intendant des scribes des champs (*jmj-r zš ;ht*), l'intendant des scribes des actes scellés (*jmj-r zš hrt-htmt*) et les fonctionnaires (*jmj st-ḥ*), ce qui rappelle la titulature de *Hnmw-htp*. A propos des *hrt-htmt*, cf. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 50–2.

¹⁵Moreno García, *Administration, pouvoir et idéologie*, 129–44.

¹⁶A propos des *nzwṯjw*, cf. J. C. Moreno García, 'Administration territoriale et organisation de l'espace en Egypte au III^e millénaire avant J.-C. (II): *swnw*', *ZÄS* 124 (1997), 124–6.

surveillés par une catégorie de fonctionnaires propre à eux, mais des gens soumis à des corvées temporaires, recrutés d'après les recensements de personnel élaborés par les bureaux et les scribes du vizir, et contrôlés sur place par des fonctionnaires portant des titres où l'élément *mrt* ne figure pas. Un exemple est *Hr-š.f-nht*, un scribe des *mrt* chargé aussi de la mobilisation de troupes ou d'équipes (*mšc*, *pr n nfrw*) formées, probablement, par des gens recrutés sur place, comme les *mrt* de l'Ancien Empire ou les *hsbw*, 'recensés', du Moyen Empire (cf. ci-dessous).

Les titres des vizirs responsables du bureau des mrt

La plupart des scribes des *mrt* vécurent vers la fin de la V^e dynastie ou le début de la VI^e, tout comme les vizirs qui dirigeaient les départements consacrés aux *mrt*:

- 1) *Ph-n-w(j)-k* (PM III², 491–2: de Niouserrê à Izézi): [...] *jzwwj mrt, jmj-r jzwwj n pr-hrj-wdb*
- 2) *Pth-htp* (PM III², 462–3: règne d'Izézi): *jmj-r jzwwj mrt, jmj-r jzwwj hrt-htmt, jmj-r jzwwj htm nzw*
- 3) *Rc-špss* (PM III², 494–6: règne d'Izézi): *jmj-r jzwwj hrt-htmt mrt*
- 4) *Kj* (PM III², 479: deuxième moitié de la V^e dynastie): *jmj-r jzwwj nww mrt, jmj-r hrp zš nb m pr-hrj-wdb rhjtt mrt, jmj-r jzwwj nww pr-mdt, jmj-r jzwwj nww hrt-htmt c nzw*, *jmj-r jzwwj nww pr-hrj-wdb*

Tous ces vizirs datent, en effet, de la deuxième moitié de la V^e dynastie, ce qui suggère que les réformes administratives de cette période comprenaient la création d'un département consacré aux *mrt*. Cependant, ce département fut supprimé vers la fin de la V^e dynastie et, si l'on tient compte des titulatures des scribes des *mrt*, encore actifs sous la VI^e dynastie, il semble que le contrôle de cette catégorie de travailleurs fut toujours exercé par les vizirs, mais peut-être au moyen d'un autre département (la *hwt-wrt* ou le *pr-hrj-wdb*). Les décrets de Coptos, par exemple, qui mentionnent l'engagement de *mrt*, ne conservent aucune référence à des scribes ou à des bureaux des *mrt*, bien que d'autres départements (*pr-hrj-wdb*, *pr-hrt-htmt*) et certaines catégories de fonctionnaires (comme les *jmjw-r prw*) soient autorisés à les recruter. Le *pr-hrj-wdb*, par exemple, figure en rapport avec les *mrt*, les *rhjtt* et les champs dans les sources de l'Ancien Empire.¹⁷ En général, le rapprochement entre *mrt* et *rhjtt* d'une part, et entre *mrt*, *pr-hrj-wdb*, *hrt-htmt* et champs d'autre part, est un indice en faveur du fait que les *mrt* étaient des gens ordinaires recrutés à partir de listes élaborées par l'Etat afin de labourer les champs de l'Etat. Cette association de gens, *mrt*, champs, actes scellés et documents royaux figurait déjà dans la titulature de *Hnmw-htp*.

Les *mrt* dans les textes de l'Ancien Empire

Les mrt et la mise en valeur des terres d'une institution

Les décrets royaux de l'Ancien Empire évoquent souvent les activités des *mrt*, notamment à propos de l'exploitation des terres (*sk*, *ht*) ou de la mise en culture de terrains incultes (*šc*, *jd*) et de la création d'un parcellaire en présence de dignitaires de la

¹⁷ Moreno García, *Administration, pouvoir et idéologie*, 142–3 nn. 452–3.

couronne, selon une pratique bien attestée dans les sources égyptiennes.¹⁸ Les textes les plus importants sont les suivants:

— décret de Dahchour de Pépi I (*Urk. I*, 209–13; H. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich* (ÄA 14; Wiesbaden, 1967), 55–77, fig. 5)

jw wd.n hm(j) nfr rdjt skꜣ šht nb(t) nt nwt mrwj (j)ptn m st-skꜣ n mrt nt hmt-nzwt nb(t) zꜣ/zꜣt nb nzwt smr sr nb wp-[h]r hntjw-š nꜣ nwt mrwj (j)ptn

‘Ma Majesté a ordonné que l’on interdise de labourer tout champ de ces deux villes de pyramide en tant que corvée-de-labourage des travailleurs-*mrt* de toute épouse royale, de tout fils royal, de tout courtisan ou de tout dignitaire, à l’exception des *hntjw-š* de ces deux villes de pyramide.’

— passages du décret G de Pépi II

stp.f šc.s rmn (?) jr m šht bꜥhwt rnpj (?) [...] r.s jrt(w) rn.s m Mnw-srwd-Nfr-kꜣ-Rc nt pr-šnc mst m zp 10 tꜣ mrt r pr-šnc pn m mrt [...] pr n nzwt šhm.f c.f s(j)p rdj.tw s(jj) mꜣw m wpt nt srw šm [...] šht tn r jrt htp-ntr jm n Mnw m Gbtjw

‘il choisira son (.s renvoie à *dꜣdꜣt*, citée antérieurement) terrain¹⁹ du côté (?) fait dans le champ inondé annuellement [...] pour elle. On établira son nom comme (domaine) “Min affermit Neferkarê” du *pr-šnc*, la corvée de transport²⁰ en dix fois, et on recrutera des *mrt* pour ce *pr-šnc* parmi les *mrt* [...] du Domaine Royal; il ignorera son instruction de faire inspection²¹ que l’on avait accordé (auparavant) en tant que mission des dignitaires envoyés [...] ce champ afin d’y produire des “offrandes divines” pour Min à Coptos’ (*Urk. I*, 294:3–9)

jr.k wpt šht pr-šnc pn hnc hrj-tp hqꜣw nꜣwꜣt dꜣdꜣt nt šht hr mnjt

‘tu feras la division²² du champ de ce *pr-šnc* avec le responsable des chefs des villages (c’est-à-dire, le nomarque) et le conseil du champ avec les équipes de travailleurs (corvéables) *mnjt* et les corvées *snd*’ (*Urk. I*, 294:15–16).²³

¹⁸W. F. Petrie, *Denderah* (MEEF 17; Londres, 1900), pl. vii a = H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B. C. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (New York, 1968), 121: [...] *nw srw jpn m wpt šht hr hꜣt dꜣdꜣt* [...], ‘...de ces dignitaires lors de la division du champ en présence du conseil’. Cf. aussi *Urk. I*, 212:14–15; 296:8–10.

¹⁹Le terme *šc* désigne un type de terrain inondable susceptible d’être transformé en champs, comme l’attestent d’autres expressions: *Enseignement d’Hordjedef*, Brooklyn 37.1394 = G. Posener, ‘Le début de l’Enseignement de Hardjedef (Recherches littéraires, IV)’, *RdE* 9 (1952), 112; idem, ‘Quatre tablettes scolaires de Basse Époque (Aménémopé et Hardjedef)’, *RdE* 18 (1966), 64–5; stèle BM EA 1164, lignes 13–14 = J. J. Clère et J. Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XI^{ème} dynastie* (BAe 10; Bruxelles, 1948), 47–8 (33); *Urk. I*, 212:14–15; *Urk. VII*, 28:4–5. Une attestation douteuse de ce terme figure dans le décret Coptos L (*Urk. I*, 296:4). A propos de *šc*, cf. W. Hayes, ‘Royal Decrees from the Temple of Min at Coptus’, *JEA* 32 (1946), 9–10 (9); D. Meeks, *Le grand texte des donations au temple d’Edfou* (BdE 59; Le Caire, 1972), 106 n. 185; W. Schenkel, *Die Bewässerungsrevolution im Alten Ägypten* (Mainz, 1978), 25–6; A. Gasse, *Données nouvelles administratives et sacerdotales sur l’organisation du domaine d’Amon XX^e–XXI^e dynasties*, I (BdE 104; Le Caire, 1988), 152 n. 42; S. P. Vleeming, *Papyrus Reinhardt, An Egyptian Land List from the Tenth Century B.C.* (Berlin, 1993), 68; A. B. Lloyd, ‘The Great Inscription of Khnumhotpe II at Beni Hasan’, dans A. B. Lloyd (éd.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (EES Occasional Publications 8; Londres, 1992), 32 n. 22.

²⁰A propos de *mst*, cf. H. Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich* (WZKM 5; Wien, 1970), 92 (31).

²¹Pour la lecture *sjp*, cf. des parallèles dans *Urk. I*, 130:13; 296:13.

²²A propos de *wp*, ‘diviser’, cf. par exemple, CT III 285–7; IV 26; *Oasien B I* 331–4 = R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (Oxford, 1991), 42–3.

²³Cf. des parallèles dans *Urk. I*, 293:15–17; 295:16–296:3.

— le décret Coptos B mentionne deux fois les *mrt* en rapport avec les terres *jdr* (*Urk.* I, 280:18; 282:6: *mrt nb(t) nt jdr n pr-Mnw*, ‘tous les *mrt* des terres-*jdr* du domaine de Min’), dans un contexte où le pharaon prend des dispositions destinées à protéger le personnel du temple de Min de Coptos (y compris les *mrt*) de l’intervention des agents de la couronne et de l’imposition de certaines corvées de l’Etat. Un autre passage détaille la nature de ces mesures de protection:

n rdj.n hm(.j) (w)dj.t(w).sn m jdrw nzw t m mrw k3w/jhw mrw 3w 3wt pr mnjw m wnw t nb(t) mdd nb jpt m pr n nzw t m 3wt dt

‘Ma Majesté interdit qu’ils soient mis dans les terres-*jdr* royales, (à savoir) dans les pâturages de bovidés et dans les pâturages d’ânes et du petit bétail de la maison du berger, (à propos de) n’importe quel service ou de n’importe quelle prestation, à propos de ce qui est compté au Domaine Royal dans l’étendue de l’éternité’ (*Urk.* I, 281:2–4).

Ces passages révèlent que les *mrt* étaient assignés au labourage d’un type de terrain appartenant au domaine de Min, et que la couronne possédait des terres similaires dans la même province, cultivées par des *mrt* recrutés par les agents du roi. Le passage traduit suggère en plus que les terres-*jdr* étaient des pâturages (elles sont mentionnées à côté des pâturages) susceptibles de devenir des terrains labourables grâce au travail des *mrt*.²⁴

En effet, le décret Coptos C, qui est une copie presque identique de Coptos B mais rédigée 22 ans après, introduit certains changements significatifs.²⁵ D’une part, la mention des pâturages et des terres-*jdr* du décret Coptos B est maintenue dans Coptos C (*Urk.* I, 284:8–10), mais les références aux *mrt* omettent l’élément *jdr* (*Urk.* I, 284:6; 285:16: *mrt nb(t) nt pr-Mnw*, ‘tous les *mrt* du domaine de Min’). D’autre part, le décret Coptos C introduit un passage nouveau par rapport à Coptos B. On y énumère, en effet, plusieurs types de corvées et de contributions, dont certaines affectaient un champ de 29 aroures et $\frac{5}{8}$ (*Urk.* I, 286:9–14). Or, ces mêmes corvées et contributions figurent dans un passage presque identique d’un autre décret, Coptos D, à propos d’un domaine créé par la couronne dans la province (*Urk.* I, 289:7–13) dont la surface était, d’après le décret Coptos G, de 30 aroures (*Urk.* I, 294:14).²⁶ Si l’on considère l’ensemble des décrets Coptos B, C, D et G, on peut envisager le processus suivant: d’abord, il existait des terres-*jdr* de la couronne et du temple de Min qui étaient des pâturages susceptibles d’être transformées en domaines agricoles (Coptos B); puis, la couronne autorisa la création d’un domaine de 30 aroures environ dans les terres-*jdr* de Min (décrets Coptos D et G); et, finalement, on renouvela les dispositions de protection du décret Coptos B, rédigé 22 ans auparavant, mais en tenant compte de la transformation des terres-*jdr* du temple en un domaine, ce qui rendait obsolète l’addition de l’élément *jdr* à *mrt* (décret Coptos C). Désormais, les *mrt* labouraient un champ (*3ht*) dépendant de ce domaine.

²⁴ Que les terres-*jdr* aient été des pâturages est suggéré par l’existence en égyptien du terme *jdr*, ‘troupeau’, ainsi que du terme *3-jdr*, qui désigne un type de corvée dont on ignore les caractéristiques (*Urk.* I, 171:9; 172:3; etc.). A propos de *jdr*, cf. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 95–7; E. Edel, dans H. B. Rosén (éd.) *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honour of H. J. Polotsky* (Jerusalem, 1964), 378–89; G. P. F. Van Den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier. Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom* (Londres, 1988), 116–17; Ph. Collombert, *RdE* 46 (1995), 205–8; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 218–19.

²⁵ Le décret Coptos B date du 11^e recensement de Pépi II (*Urk.* I, 280:14), tandis que le décret Coptos C est daté du 22^e recensement du même pharaon (*Urk.* I, 284:4).

²⁶ Cf. la correction proposée par Goedicke à la lecture de Sethe dans Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, fig. 10.

Ces documents révèlent l'importance des *mrt* lors de la mise en valeur d'un terrain jadis improductif et de l'exploitation des terres en régime de corvée (*st-sk*), ce qui suggère qu'ils n'étaient pas soumis à une servitude permanente, mais recrutés et contraints d'effectuer des travaux au profit de l'Etat. Le contenu des décrets rappelle aussi les conclusions tirées de l'étude des titres formés avec *mrt* et *šht*, où les *mrt* figuraient en rapport avec des 'offrandes divines'²⁷ et des exploitations agricoles, principalement des temples. En conséquence, tant les titres que les textes indiquent que les *mrt* étaient des Egyptiens recrutés pour effectuer des corvées agricoles au service de l'Etat, soumis aux agents du roi, et actifs surtout en province, ce qui confirme l'association des recensement de gens avec les missions concernant des champs et des *mrt* qui figurait dans la titulature de *Hnmw-htp*.

Les mrt octroyés par le pharaon à des institutions ou des particuliers

Les *mrt* figurent aussi parmi les forces productives (champs, bétail) accordées par le roi à une institution ou un particulier.²⁸ Un passage de l'autobiographie de *šbj* de Deir el-Gebraoui en est un bon exemple: *jr.n(j) nn m nwwt nt dt(j) m wcb m htp-dj-nzwt rdj.n n(j) hm n nb(j) [r] jrt n(j) š[h]t [...n[...]] j n[n] hr mrt nt dt(j) mh m kšw m nšwt m šw*, 'j'ai fait ceci (= la tombe) avec les villages de mon *dt*, avec une prêtrise-*ouab* et avec une offrande-que-donne-le-roi, que la Majesté de mon seigneur m'avait accordé afin de me procurer un champ [...], avec des *mrt* de mon *dt* et rempli de taureaux, de chèvres et d'ânes' (*Urk.* I, 144:11–15). D'autres textes évoquent les *mrt* (*pr-dt*) parmi la dotation d'un particulier.²⁹ Les formules des Textes des Sarcophages et les inscriptions des tombes de l'Ancien Empire mentionnent soit des *mrt* soit des *mrt* parmi les membres de la maisonnée d'un particulier.³⁰ Et les inscriptions du Nouvel Empire précisent que les *mrt* dépendaient du pharaon, et que celui-ci octroyait des *mrt*, des champs et du bétail à des fonctionnaires distingués comme récompense ou aux temples en tant que dota-

²⁷ Les documents de l'Ancien Empire confirment que l'attribution d'offrandes divines aux temples était décidée par l'administration centrale (*Urk.* I, 235–49; 293:17; 294:9). A propos de *htp-ntr*, cf. *Wb.* III, 185, 5; D. Meeks, *ALex.* I, 77.2888; idem, *Grand texte des donations*, 55 n. 15; idem, 'Les donations aux temples dans l'Egypte du I^{er} millénaire avant J.-C.', dans E. Lipinski (éd.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, II (OLA 6; Leuven, 1979), 642–3; idem, 'Une fondation memphite de Taharqa (Stèle du Caire JE 36861)', dans *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, I (BdE 81; Le Caire, 1979), 244 n. 42; D. Devauchelle, 'Le papyrus démotique Louvre E 9415 un partage de biens', *RdE* 31 (1979), 34 (g); Van Den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 272–3; Posener-Krieger, *Archives de Néferirkarê* II, 619–34.

²⁸ *Urk.* I, 144:3–5; 171:7; 172:1; 214:12; 247:9–14; 280:18; 282:6; 284:6; 285:16; 289:4; 291:3, 8; 294:5; 307:11–12; J. Osing et al., *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla — aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Fakhry* (AV 28; Mainz, 1982), 29–33(27), pls. 6, 60.

²⁹ *Urk.* I, 137:8; P. Munro, *Der Unas-Friedhof Nord-West. 1. Topographisch-historische Einleitung. Das Doppelgrab der Königinnen Nebet und Khenut* (Mainz, 1993), pl. 31.

³⁰ Pour les *mrt*, cf. CT II 151 [S1C]; III 174 [TiC]; A. Kamal, 'Fouilles à Dara et à Qoçéir el-Amarna', *ASAE* 12 (1912), 140; A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, IV (ASE 25; Londres, 1924), pl. 9; CG 1571 = C. M. Firth et B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I (Le Caire, 1926), 208–9 (12) = L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, II (CGC; Le Caire, 1964), 43–4. Pour les *mrt*, cf. F. W. von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai*, II (Berlin, 1905), pl. 2; CT VI 173g; *Urk.* I, 2:13–14; 2:17–3:2; 4:2–5; 12:1, 7, 10; 13:6, 11; 14:2; 15:5; 172:6–8; Goedicke, *Privaten Rechtsinschriften*, 81–103, pl. 9. Un exemple plus tardif dans L. Habachi, 'An Inscription at Aswān Referring to Six Obelisks', *JEA* 36 (1950), 13–18, pl. iii. Cf. aussi CG 20503, ligne 3 = Lange et Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* II, 93–4: *jnk mnjw n mrt.f nfr rn m rš n nwt.f*, 'je suis un berger pour mes *mrt*, à la bonne réputation dans sa ville'.

tion.³¹ Que l'on mentionne, dans des contextes parallèles, la donation soit de *rm̄t* soit de *mrt*, suggère à nouveau que les *mrt* n'étaient pas de véritables serfs, mais plutôt des gens obligés d'accomplir des prestations pour l'Etat et, dans certains cas, pour des particuliers ou des institutions en tant que privilège accordé par le roi. Un passage des *Lamentations d'Ipouer* (*ḳwtj sḥw.f m nb mrt*, 'celui qui n'avait pas de dépendants est (devenu) maître de *mrt*')³² confirme cette hypothèse, car il met en parallèle les termes *sḥw* et *mrt*. Le premier est formé à partir de la racine *sḥ*, 'octroyer, donner comme dotation', qui désigne souvent les biens accordés aux fonctionnaires comme rémunération (*sḥ*, 'fournir comme dotation'; *sḥ*, 'champ octroyé'; *sḥw* 'personnel dépendant'),³³ ce qui est un autre indice à faveur de la considération des *mrt* comme des corvéables dont les prestations étaient parfois transférées par l'Etat à des particuliers.

L'origine des *mrt*: recrutement périodique ou servitude permanente ?

Le fait que les *mrt* soient assignés par l'Etat aux champs qu'ils devaient labourer, pose le problème de la définition de leur possible condition servile. Certains passages des décrets de Coptos (*Urk.* I, 299:8; 301:1-2) révèlent que le gouverneur local était aussi le *hrj-tp ḥqḥw nzw̄wt ntjw jm hr hr.k*, 'le responsable des chefs de village qui sont là sous ton autorité'. Or, un passage du décret Coptos G, qui concerne la fondation d'un domaine pour le temple de Min, mentionne l'intervention du *hrj-tp ḥqḥw nzw̄wt* lors de la division du champ et de l'imposition de corvées: *jr[k] wpt ḥt pr-šnc pn hnc hrj-tp ḥqḥw nzw̄wt dḥdḥt nt ḥt hr mnjt sndw [...]*, '[tu] feras la division du champ de ce *pr-šnc* avec le responsable des chefs des villages et le conseil du champ, avec les équipes de travailleurs (corvéables) *mnjt*³⁴ et les corvées-*snd*' (*Urk.* I, 294:15-16). Etant donné que des *mrt* (*Urk.* I, 294:5) et des *nzw̄tjw* (*Urk.* I, 295:4) étaient assignés à ce même *pr-šnc*, et vraisemblablement au même champ, on peut penser que la mention du responsable des chefs de village dans ce contexte s'explique parce qu'il devait fournir la main d'oeuvre

³¹ *Urk.* IV, 185:10-11; 405:14; 465:14; 742:12-17; 1047:6; 1055:3; 1102:11-15; 1147:7-9; 1179:5; 1416:6, 10; 1444:8-10; 1501:20; 1503:14; 1618:18-1619:4; 1711:15-16; 1794:17-18; 1796:14-15; *KRI* I, 50:8. Cf. dans ce contexte la titulature de *Mḥj-nht.f* (*Urk.* IV, 1482-3), qui dirigeait des *mrt* parmi d'autres biens de la couronne (*jmj-r mrt nbt nt nzw̄wt*, 'intendant de tous les *mrt* du roi', *jmj-r pr wr n nzw̄wt*, 'grand administrateur du roi', *jmj-r šnw̄tjw n nzw̄wt r šm̄cw Mhw*, 'intendant du double grenier du roi pour la Haute et Basse Egypte', *jmj-r ḥwt n nb tḥw̄j*, 'intendant des champs du Maître du Double Pays', *jmj-r kḥw n ntr nfr cnh wdḥ snb*, 'intendant des taureaux du dieu parfait—vie, santé, force!', etc.), confirmant ainsi que la gestion des *mrt* dépendait de la couronne, qui pouvait les céder aux particuliers ou aux temples. Les chefs des pays étrangers obligés d'apporter leur tribut au pharaon sont considérés *mj mrt ḥ.f*, 'comme des *mrt* de son palais' (S. Bedier, 'Die Stiftungsdekret Thutmosis III. aus Buto', dans M. Minas et J. Zeidler (éds.), *Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur. Festschrift für Erich Winter* (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 7; Mainz, 1994), 35-50 (ligne 5)).

³² *Ipouer* IX:5 = A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden* (Pap. Leiden 344 recto) (Leipzig, 1909), 68.

³³ A propos de *sḥ*, cf. R. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 210; Van Den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 185 (R 20), 186-7; S. Quirke, *Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom. The Hieratic Documents* (New Malden, 1990), 145-6, 153 n. 31 (= pBrooklyn 35.1446 (insertion C)).

³⁴ A propos de *mnj*, 'troupe de travailleurs (corvéables)', cf. W. K. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I. The Records of a Building Project in the Reign of Sesostri I* (Boston, 1963), 34; U. Luft, *Das Archiv von Illahun. Briefe I* (Berlin, 1992), pBerlin P 10038 C, ligne 11, et pBerlin P 10073, ligne 3. Pour d'autres exemples de création de parcelles en milieu riverain en rapport avec des travailleurs en régime de corvée-*mnj*, cf. pKahoun III.1 A, v° lignes 12-22 (= F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahoun and Gurob* (Londres, 1898), 58-9, pl. xxiii) et pKahoun III.1 C (ibid. 57, pl. xxii). Pour des recensements de gens dans le bureau des champs (*ḥ; n ḥwt*) et la formation d'équipes-*mnj*, cf. pKahoun I.3 = ibid. 19-22, pl. ix; pKahoun XIII.1 = ibid. 52-4, pl. xxi; pKahoun VI.21, r° = ibid. 39-40, pl. xiv.

nécessaire à la mise en valeur du domaine, et parce que cette force de travail était tirée des villages des alentours et contrainte d'effectuer certaines corvées. Le décret Coptos L, qui concerne aussi la division des terrains- $[\delta]r$ affectés à un domaine agricole, évoque également la dotation de corvées *mnjt* et *sndw* (*Urk.* I, 296).

Un passage du décret Coptos G indique que la mobilisation des *mrt* correspondait à l'administration centrale: *tz mrt r pr-šnc pn m mrt [...]* *pr n nzwt*, 'on recrutera des *mrt* pour ce *pr-šnc* parmi les *mrt* [...] du Domaine royal' (*Urk.* I, 294:5–6). Et un autre document, le décret Coptos K, suggère également que les *mrt* étaient recrutés parmi les habitants des villages proches de l'institution ou de l'individu qui les engageait: *jw wd.n hm(j) tzt šhd(w) hmw-k; [...]* *m mrt nt dt.k tz[...]* *šbwt n Bšwj [...]* *nt dt.k jr(j) m-ht rdjt [...]* *r hrt-htmt*, 'Ma Majesté a ordonné de recruter des inspecteurs des prêtres du *ka* [...] parmi les *mrt* de ton *dt*, ainsi que recruter [...] les familles du nome coptite [...] de ton *dt* à ce propos, après que l'on aura donné [...] pour l'acte scellé' (*Urk.* I, 303:6–9). Ce passage révèle, d'une part, que les *mrt* étaient des gens recrutés parmi les familles (*šbwt*)³⁵ de la province et, d'autre part, que les documents *hrt-htmt* concernent l'engagement de gens. Les textes suggèrent donc que les *mrt* étaient des gens recrutés dans les villages où ils habitaient (d'où l'emploi du verbe *tz*) afin d'accomplir des travaux, et que c'était justement à partir de cet instant qu'ils devenaient des *mrt*, ce qui semble correspondre à des corvéables et non à des serfs permanents. D'autre part, le recrutement de *mrt* n'était pas une attribution des particuliers, mais de la couronne.

Conclusion

L'analyse des décrets de Coptos révèle que l'administration centrale préparait des listes avec le personnel local destiné à la corvée, tandis que les chefs de village semblent chargés de livrer ces personnes pour les travaux exigés, en présence de fonctionnaires de la couronne. Cette procédure rappelle celle utilisée durant le Moyen Empire afin de recruter des travailleurs pour les expéditions aux carrières.³⁶ Cette situation expliquerait que les *mrt* soient comparables aux *rmt* et aux *rhjt* dans les sources égyptiennes, c'est-à-dire aux Égyptiens ordinaires. Leur condition serait très proche de celle des *hmw nzwt*, 'serfs du roi', une catégorie de travailleurs qui, d'après les papyrus de Gébélein, n'étaient pas de véritables serfs mais des Égyptiens habitant dans leurs villages et qui pouvaient acquérir et transférer des biens fonciers, mais qui étaient employés dans les travaux pour l'État, comme la construction d'un temple.³⁷ On remarquera à ce propos l'absence de

³⁵ Des familles (*šbwt*) figurent aussi parmi la dotation (?) d'une *hwt-rst* du temple local de Min à Coptos (décret Coptos E: Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 228–30, fig. 31; idem, 'An Inventory from Coptos', *RdE* 46 (1995), 210–12).

³⁶ Cf. le cas des *hsbw* (lit. 'les recensés'), le contingent de travailleurs fournis aux expéditions ou aux travaux du roi par chaque localité ou province, comme dans le cas des 400 et 600 *hsbw* du nome XVI (P. E. Newberry et F. Ll. Griffith, *Beni Hasan*, I (ASE I; Londres, 1893), pl. i), chiffres similaires à ceux du graffiti 6 d'Hatnoub, qui mentionne des contingents de 500, 600 et 500 hommes venus de trois localités respectivement (R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub nach den Aufnahmen Georg Möllers* (AÄ 9; Leipzig, 1928), pl. 11). Un graffiti du Ouadi Hammamat indique que le nombre total de *hsbw* d'une expédition était 17000 (Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions*, 17–20, 81–5, pls. 23–4). Les documents du Moyen Empire évoquent aussi le recrutement de *hsbw* afin d'effectuer des travaux pour l'État (Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 169–71).

³⁷ P. Posener-Krieger, 'Les papyrus de Gébélein. Remarques préliminaires', *RdE* 27 (1975), 211–21; idem, 'Le prix des étoffes', dans *Festschrift Elmar Edel* (ÄAT 1; Bamberg, 1979), 318–31.

titres relatifs au contrôle direct des *mrt* dans les documents du III^e millénaire, y compris les décrets de Coptos (**jmj-r mrt*, **shḏ mrt*, etc.), ce qui suggère que la condition de *mrt* n'était pas permanente et que les fonctionnaires en charge des travailleurs soumis à des corvées temporaires portaient des titres formés avec d'autres éléments, peut-être *prw* ou *tzt*, 'équipes'. Des parallèles du Moyen Empire suggèrent à nouveau des conditions similaires, car le personnel non spécialisé des expéditions est désigné parfois par les termes *hsbw*, 'gens recensés', ou *shḏjw*, 'paysans', ce qui révèle leur origine et, dans le cas des paysans, leur occupation habituelle hors des périodes au service de l'Etat.³⁸ En conséquence, les *mrt* se distinguent des *bskw*, les gens tombés en servitude domestique à la suite de transactions entre particuliers (comme les dettes), et probablement aussi des *nzwjtjw*, les travailleurs attachés à des exploitations et des installations de la couronne (*hwt-ḥt*, *swnw*, etc.) et contrôlés par une catégorie permanente de fonctionnaires (les *jmjw-r nzwjtjw*).³⁹

Quelle fut l'évolution des *mrt* au cours de l'Ancien Empire? Les sources des dynasties IV et V révèlent l'existence d'un réseau de vastes domaines de la couronne labourés par des *nzwjtjw* et contrôlés par des installations comme les tours-*swnw* et les palais-*hwt-ḥt*. Les administrateurs de ces domaines, comme *Mtn*, recevaient parfois de grands champs de dimension uniforme, ainsi que des *nzwjtjw*, comme récompense extraordinaire (*Urk.* I, 2:8; 4:8). Cependant, les titres des responsables des *nzwjtjw*, des *swnw* et des *hwt-ḥt* disparaissent presque entièrement des monuments privés à partir de la fin de la V^e dynastie, tandis que c'est à partir de ce moment que les références à des *hwt* et des *mrt* abondent dans les inscriptions (création de bureaux des *mrt*, association de *mrt* et des champs, augmentation du nombre de *hqꜣw hwt*). L'inscription de *Jbj* de Deir el-Gebraoui confirme l'importance des changements survenus depuis l'époque où vécut *Mtn*: *Jbj* gouvernait une *hwt*, et non une *hwt-ḥt*, et il reçut comme récompense un champ de dimensions similaires à celui de *Mtn* (203 aroures), mais qui était labouré par des *mrt*, et non par des *nzwjtjw*. Il semble que les prestations des *mrt* en tant que corvéables furent utilisées surtout dans la mise en valeur des champs attachés aux temples et aux *hwt*. Il est significatif que l'apparition des titres concernant les *mrt* et les champs, au cours de la VI^e dynastie, ait lieu dans un contexte général d'augmentation de la pression de la couronne sur les ressources provinciales: d'une part, les nomarques et les gouverneurs de Haute Egypte se vantent d'avoir accru les ressources, les corvées et les revenus locaux de la Résidence;⁴⁰ d'autre part, on assiste à l'apparition de titres relatifs à des recensements de gens et de troupeaux ou qui expriment la volonté de contrôle sur l'ensemble des richesses du royaume;⁴¹ enfin, les décrets de Coptos de la VI^e dynastie évoquent souvent la création de domaines agricoles et l'assignation de *mrt* pour les labourer. La disparition de la monarchie unitaire et de son appareil administratif à la fin de l'Ancien Empire entraîna aussi la crise du système de prestations des *mrt* pour la couronne, car

³⁸ Pour les *shḏjw*, cf. par exemple A. H. Gardiner et T. E. Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, I² (revised by J. Černý; Londres, 1952), pls. xxxv (inscr. 106), xxxvi (inscr. 114). Quant aux *hsbw*, cf. la note 36 ci-dessus.

³⁹ A propos des *nzwjtjw* et de leur rapport avec les *hwt-ḥt* et les *swnw*, cf. Moreno García, *ZĀS* 124, 116–30.

⁴⁰ Cf. les exemples réunis dans Moreno García, *Administration, pouvoir et idéologie*, 26–7.

⁴¹ Il s'agit de titres tels que *jp tzt z ks/jhw m prwj*, 'celui qui recense les équipes d'hommes et les troupeaux de bétail dans le Double domaine' (pour d'autres exemples de titres similaires, cf. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 13–42, surtout 20 et 32) ou *jmj-r ddt pt qm:t t:*, 'intendant de ce que donne le ciel et qu'apporte la terre' (idem, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 7 (289d)).

aucun responsable de *mrt* n'est attesté dans les sources du Moyen Empire,⁴² et les textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire relatifs à l'acquisition privée de serfs ne mentionnent jamais des *mrt*.⁴³ Il semble que les travailleurs corvéables furent désignés au moyen d'autres termes (comme *hsbw*) au début du II^e millénaire.

⁴²Cf. S. Quirke, 'The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom', *RdE* 37 (1986), 107–30, tandis que les deux attestations citées par Ward (W. A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beyrouth, 1982), (992) et (1112)) sont très douteuses (la première correspond à un passage difficile des papyrus d'Heqanakhte: T. G. H. James, *The Heqanakhte Papers and other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (MMA Egyptian Expedition 19; New York, 1962), xviii (11); et la deuxième à un texte sans parallèles attestés: G. T. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period* (Oxford, 1971), (625)).

⁴³A propos de l'acquisition privée de serfs durant la Première Période Intermédiaire et ses conséquences historiques, cf. J. C. Moreno García, 'Acquisition de serfs durant la Première Période Intermédiaire: une approche du problème de la servitude dans l'Égypte du III^e millénaire (II)', *MDAIK* 55 (1999), (à paraître).

NEUE FRAGMENTE ZUR
LEHRE EINES MANNES FÜR SEINEN SOHN
 (P. BM EA 10775 UND P. BM EA 10778)*

Von HANS-W. FISCHER-ELFERT

Publication of six hieratic papyrus fragments from Kom Medinet Ghurab (P. BM EA 10775a–d and P. BM EA 10778b–c) with parts of the *Teaching of a Man for his Son* dating to the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasty. EA 10775d and EA 10778b–c bear considerable interest for the reconstruction of the second part of the text. EA 10775e and verso bear part of the *Instruction of Khety*, a transcription of which is presented in the appendix.

DIE hier präsentierten Fragmente der Papyri P. BM EA 10775 and P. BM EA 10778 enthalten z.T. wichtiges Textmaterial für die weitere Rekonstruktion der *Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn*. Neben den bereits gut bekannten Anfangskapiteln helfen sie insbesondere bei der Wiederherstellung des 2. Großabschnittes der *Lehre* entscheidend weiter. Hiervon sind die §§11–14 betroffen sowie bislang noch nicht einfügbare Passagen, die ich provisorisch in einem Anhang zusammengestellt habe.¹

Unter den Nummern EA 10775 (pls. X–XI) und EA 10778 (pls. XII–XIII) werden im einzelnen folgende Fragmente geführt:

EA 10075: Fragm. a–d = *Lehre eines Mannes*, davon entspricht

a = §§3,5–6,8

b = §§1,1–2,9

c = Anhang I

d = §§11,5–14 x + 8

Die Fragmente a und b sind insgesamt blasser als c und d; Fr. b weist geringe Palimpsestspuren auf.

Diese Fragmente stammen nicht alle von derselben Hand, man vergleiche nur die unterschiedliche Ausführung des Wortes *šwj*—‘leer, frei sein (von...)’ in a x + 9 und b x + 8. Alle Fragmente tragen Rubren und sog. Verspunkte. Dagegen gehen c x + 6 und

*Ich verdanke die Kenntnis der im folgenden publizierten Papyrusfragmente der Aufmerksamkeit von Joachim F. Quack, der sie im Juli 1997 als erster identifiziert und transkribiert hat. Ihm und R. B. Parkinson vom British Museum, der für die Identifizierung von EA 10778 mit verantwortlich zeichnet, fühle ich mich für Ihre so umgehende Information über den Fund zu großem Dank verpflichtet. Dem Keeper des Department of Egyptian Antiquities, Vivian Davies, danke ich für die Überlassung dieses Materials zur Publikation. Ich durfte die Stücke persönlich in Augenschein nehmen


Leider war es aus drucktechnischen Gründen nicht mehr möglich, die Fragmente noch rechtzeitig in meine andernorts erscheinende Arbeit *Die Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn—Eine Etappe auf dem ‘Gottesweg’ des loyalen und solidarischen Beamten der frühen 12. Dynastie* (ÄA 60, Wiesbaden 1998) zu inkorporieren. Dies ist umso bedauerlicher, als EA 10778 einen direkten join mit Papyrus Berlin P. 15733 c zu bilden scheint, mithin von ein und derselben Rolle stammen könnte.

¹S. Verf., *Die Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn, Textzusammenstellung, Anhang*.

d x + 7 allein hinsichtlich der Paläographie von *mꜣꜥ.t* so eng zusammen, daß hierfür nur ein und derselbe Kopist verantwortlich gemacht werden kann.


Weitere Beispiele sprechen dafür, daß Fragm. b in einigen Punkten von den übrigen dreien abweicht:

 in a x + 7 (wenn auch zur Hälfte zerstört) vgl. mit b x + 8

 in a x + 9; c x + 4 vgl. mit b x + 5 und x + 8


Im Gegensatz dazu stimmen weitgehend überein:


 in b x + 5 vgl. mit d x + 1, und

 in b x + 10 vgl. mit d x + 2


Es ist also nicht endgültig zu entscheiden, ob alle vier Fragmente von einer einzigen Hand stammen, ich rechne vorläufig mit zwei Kopisten, wobei EA 10775b noch frühe 18. Dynastie sein könnte (s. im folgenden).

Die Datierung der hier präsentierten Fragmente läßt sich auf den Zeitraum der späten 18. bis frühen 19. Dynastie eingrenzen. Dafür sprechen die folgenden Zeichen-(gruppen):²

 in EA 10775a x + 6; d x + 6 (in *ꜣw*; Möller, *ZÄS* 56, 40–1)

 in EA 10775b x + 5 (in *ꜣnm*; Möller, *ZÄS* 56, 41)

Noch 18. Dynastie:


 in EA 10775b x + 4 (in *wꜣꜣ*); x + 7 (in *sbꜣq*) und EA 10778 rt. b + c x + 2 (in *hbꜣ*; Möller, *ZÄS* 56, 41; s.a. R. A. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* (Oxford, 1956), 2.³)


Darüberhinaus umfaßt EA 10775 noch die folgenden Texte:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| Fragm. e | <i>Lehre des Cheti IXb–XIb</i> ⁴ |
| Fragm. f | <i>Lehre des Cheti VIIIc–Xd</i> |
| Fragm. g | zwei Zeilen eines literarischen Textes, dessen Handschrift eher derjenigen von Fragm. e mit Teilen des <i>Cheti</i> ähnelt; kaum lesbar |
| Fragm. h | Reste von 8 Zeilen einer Abrechnung(?); spätes Mittleres Reich |
| Fragm. i | Reste von 6 Zeilen einer Abrechnung; späte 18. Dynastie |

Unter EA 10778 sind diese Fragmente inventarisiert:

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| Fragm. a | rt. und vs. Reste eines Wirtschaftstextes; u.a. eine Personenliste plus nachfolgender Angabe $\frac{3}{4}$ Sack Emmer |
| Fragm. b + c | <i>Lehre eines Mannes</i> auf x + 2 Kolumnen, davon entspricht rt. Kol. x + 1 = §§2,9–3,6. Von Kol. x + 2 sind nur geringe Spuren vom Zeilenanfang erhalten. vs. = §§23 ?–24,4 |

²G. Möller, 'Zur Datierung literarischer Handschriften aus der ersten Hälfte des Neuen Reiches', *ZÄS* 56 (1920), 34–43 mit Taf. i–iii; A. H. Gardiner, 'The Transcription of New Kingdom Hieratic', *JEA* 15 (1929), 48–55, hier 52, zum Vogelzeichen ohne Flügel: 

³Quack transkribiert  (*bꜣ*-Vogel).

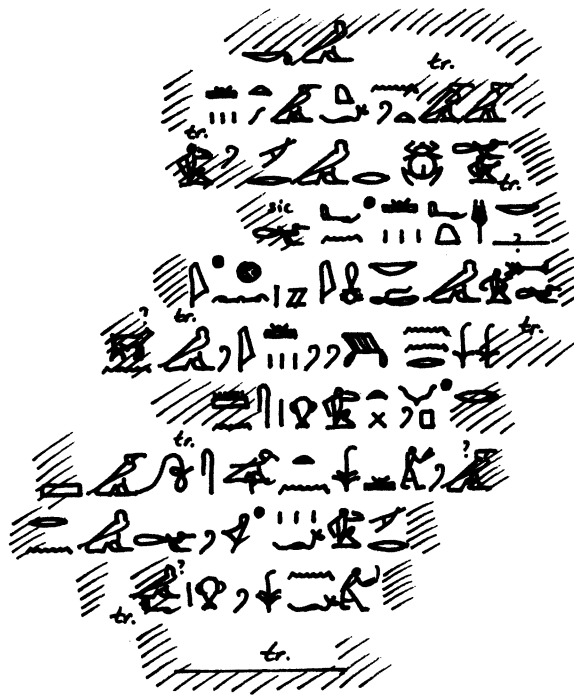
⁴Dieses und das folgende Fragm. f zitiert nach W. Helck, *Die Lehre des Dwꜣ-Hꜣj, Teil I* (Wiesbaden 1970); s. die Transkriptionen im Appendix.

Nach Auskunft von R. B. Parkinson gehören die Stücke zu einem Geschenk Sir Alan H. Gardiners an das British Museum, das unter dem Datum des 16. Mai 1958 registriert wurde. Insgesamt gehören sechs Glasrahmen zu dieser Stiftung (EA 10775–80). Nach den Unterlagen des Egyptian Department stammen sie sämtlich aus Grabungen von W. M. F. Petrie in Kom Medinet Ghurab.⁵

Die folgende Kommentierung beschränkt sich im wesentlichen auf diejenigen Passagen der *Lehre eines Mannes*, die der weiteren Vervollständigung des Wortlautes der Lehre dienlich sind.

EA 10775a

Lehre eines Mannes §§3,5–6,8



Z. x + 2: die Hs stimmt mit DeM 1672 darin überein, daß sie vor *hpr* die Negation *nn* ausläßt. Des weiteren liest sie *m₃₃.n = tw*, DeM 1672 hat ähnlich *m₃₃ = tw*.

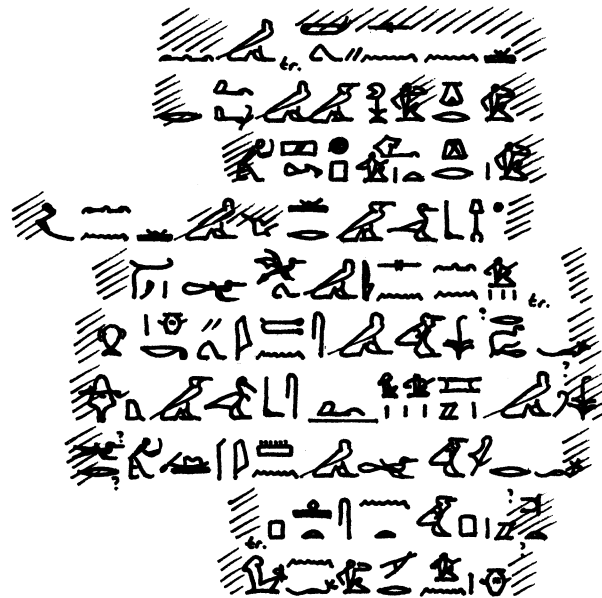
Z. x + 5: Das Negationszeichen \sim unterhalb des letzten Determinatives von *dmj* ist schwer erklärlich.

Z. x + 10: hier wird statt des zweimal belegten *m* die Präp. *hr* verwendet: [*swb₃*].*n = f-sw hr-m*[*yw = f*].

EA 10775b

Lehre eines Mannes §§1,1–2,9

⁵Zu den dabei gemachten Papyrusfunden s. die Bemerkungen A. H. Gardiners, *Rameside Administrative Documents* (Oxford 1948), viii–ix, mit weiteren Angaben. EA 10775–80 sind bislang unpubliziert.

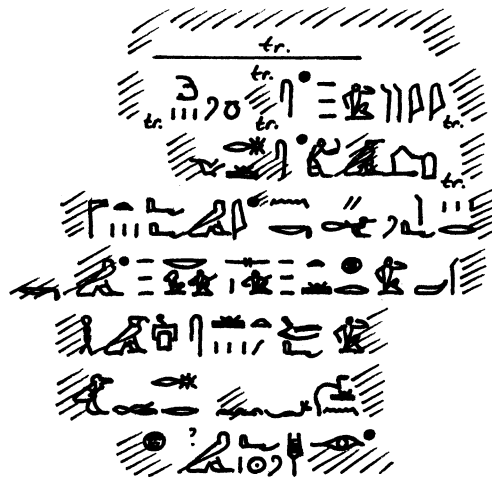


Z. x + 4: neue Lesung *wb₃ r-sdm* statt sonstigem *wb₃/wb₃y = f(m)-sdm*. Die *Wb.* I 290, 5 und 290, 11–13 verzeichneten Bedeutungen lassen sich hier nicht einpassen.

Z. x + 5: die Hs geht mit CGT 54016 x + 1 zusammen: ... *nm-snm-ns* [= *f(?)*]

EA 10775c

Lehre eines Mannes §§? (vor §17,3!); s. Verf., *Die Lehre eines Mannes*, Anhang I.



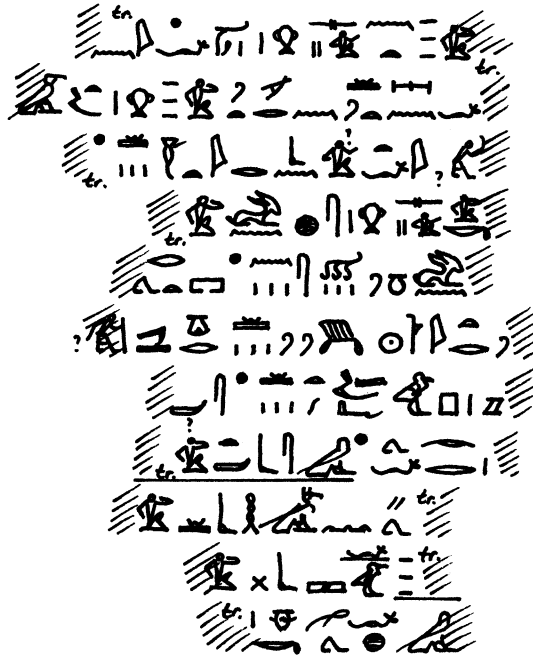
Hier ist besonders das in x+4 erscheinende Wort *db_c*— ‘mit dem Finger (auf jmd.) zeigen’ (*Wb.* V 567, 4–6; Faulkner, *CDME*, 321) von Interesse, wovor Kagemni in P. Prisse (I 5) gewarnt wird.

Das Versfragment könnte bedeuten ‘[...] gegen den, auf den du mit dem Finger gezeigt hast’.

Z. x + 7 erlaubt jetzt an dieser Stelle das Einhängen der Hs OIFAO 2719 vs., s. dort
 Z. x + 3: *swd.n = f n-hrd.w [=f]*.

EA 10775d



Lehre eines Mannes §§11,5–14 x + 8



Z. x + 1: der Versrest erweist die Synopse in §11,5 in einem Punkt als falsch. IFAO 2363,2 (*ns = f**) gehört nicht an diese Stelle. Die neue Hs EA 10775d x + 1 zeigt, daß dem als §11,6 gezählten Vers noch mindestens ein weiterer vorangegangen sein muß. Mangels Versanfang bleibt unklar, wie die Anzahl 'zweier Männer' mit dem Singular in *ns = f* zu korrelieren ist.

Z. x + 2: diese Zeile, wohl mit §11,8 zu parallelisieren, spricht erneut von der *tm₃*—'Matte'. Die Lesung *ꜣ* in Turin 58006, 3 müßte am Original überprüft werden, ob nicht mit *qn.tw* (< *qn*-(trans.) 'vollenden; ausstatten (mit)') in EA 10775 identisch. Eine Übersetzung wage ich wegen fehlenden Versbeginns nicht. Ob es um die Erwerbung oder 'Vervollständigung von Beliebtheit auf der Matte', also bei Ausübung des Schreiber- und Richteramtes geht? Vgl. §9,9: ... *jt-mnh.t hr-tm₃*—'...erwirb Perfektion auf der Matte!'

Z. x + 3: ist das (nach R. B. Parkinson sichere) *jtj*—'Vater' Variante für *jt* der übrigen Hss. oder neues und zusätzliches Wort *nach jt*, von dem nur der 'schlagende Mann' erhalten wäre?

Z. x + 6: entspricht §13,3, wo das in OIC 16997 rt. x + 11 anfangs fragliche  sicher jetzt *ꜣw*—'lang' gelesen werden sollte. Das Zeichen nach *grg* könnte der Stab des  von *wr.w* sein.

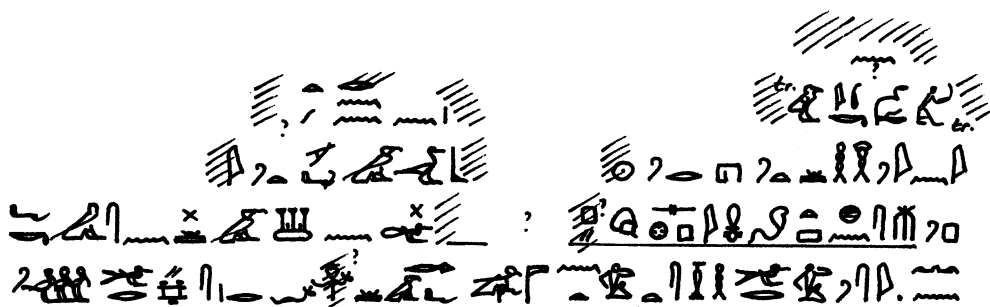
Z. x + 7: die Zeichenreste nach dem Verspunkt stimmen nur z.T. mit dem Beginn von §13,7 nach OG 341 (*ꜣs*) überein.

Z. x+9: einstweilen nicht parallelisierbar, wohl nicht mit §14 x+3—[n(?)]-*snm.n = tw m-nhnw* identisch. *nhb* hier vielleicht im Sinne von 'anschirren'; vgl. §18,3: *m-nhb <.w> • n-nty-m rd.t m-bt;w = f*— 'schirre dich nicht mit jemandem an, der sich durch seine Verbrechen hervortut/zeigt (*rdj*)!'.

Z. x+10: falls *wšb* §14 x+7 entspricht, könnte es infolge des in EA 10775 vorangehenden Rubrums eine neue Strophe einleiten.

EA 10778b + c rt.

Lehre eines Mannes §§2,9–3,6



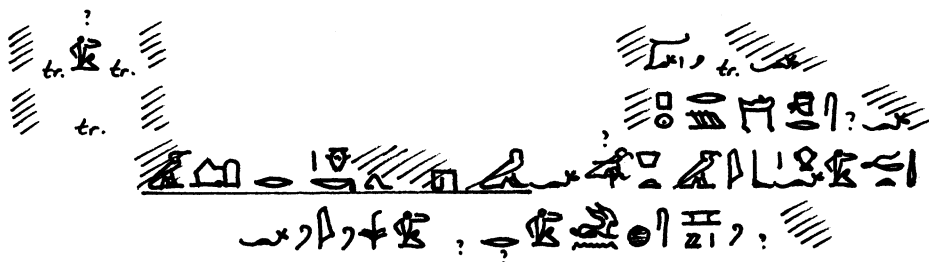
Z. 2: leider macht die neue Lesung *dd.t = k* den Vers auch nicht wesentlich verständlicher, ob ursprünglich **š;w <-tj/tw> dd.t = k r-wh;sw*—'hüte <dich>, was du sagst gegen den, der ihn (=den König) sucht'. Zugegeben, eine derartige Warnung klingt nicht sehr plausibel.

Z. 4: die Determinierung von *š;j*— 'bestimmen' durch ^x kann J. Quaegebeur, *Le Dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique* (OLA 2, Leuven 1975), 49–54, nicht nachweisen; vgl. aber *ibid.*, 50 n. 3 und 62 mit n. 8.

Z. 5: *mk-nn-jsw* ... ist dem in EA 10258 überlieferten *mk-js* deutlich unterlegen.

EA 10778b + c vs.

Lehre eines Mannes §§22/23(?)–24,4



Z. x+1: *ns = f* ist einstweilen nicht unterzubringen, also nicht in einer der §24 unmittelbar vorangehenden Strophen zu lokalisieren.

Z. x+3: bestätigt meine Platzierung von OG 574,4 als letzten Vers vor §24,1 und ergänzt den Wortlaut geringfügig.

Z. x+4: das erste Wort (*wdb*) scheint zu *wdb* + Determ. von *wdb*—'Ufer' verderbt zu sein. Quack schlägt vor, zu Beginn der Zeilen x+3–x+4 einen direkten join mit Papyrus

Berlin P. 15733c vs. vorzunehmen. Dies müßte idealiter durch Zusammenfügen der Originale überprüft werden, zumindest mittels 1:1 Photos. Der Handschriftenduktus spricht jedenfalls eindeutig zugunsten eines solchen joins.

Bekanntlich werden die einleitenden Kapitel längerer literarischer Werke nicht nur rein statistisch am häufigsten kopiert, sondern in aller Regel auch in recht einheitlicher Gestalt. Aus diesem Grunde bieten die Fragmente a und b von EA 10775 wenig Neues. Je länger aber ein literarischer Text, desto geringer die Überlieferungsdichte besonders seiner mittleren, weniger seiner abschließenden Strophen. Dies gilt auch für die *Lehre eines Mannes*. So war der 1. oder loyalistische Abschnitt (Prolog + §§1–8) schon lange weitgehend bekannt und verständlich, nicht so dagegen der 2. Teil. Von diesem war bis vor kurzem nichtmals sein ursprünglicher Umfang auch nur annähernd zu erahnen. Einzig die von G. Posener als ‘Section finale d’une sagesse inconnue’⁶ bestimmte Partie macht hier eine Ausnahme.

Die neuen Fragmente bestätigen dieses Bild insofern, als auch sie z.T. Altbekanntes bringen. Erfreulicherweise bieten sie aber auch entscheidend Neues. So kann jetzt das von mir im *Anhang I*⁷ synoptisch versammelte Material an einigen Stellen komplettiert werden. Dagegen bleibt aber die exakte Position dieses mehrere Strophen umreißenden Textteils innerhalb des 2. Großabschnitts der Lehre weiterhin unbekannt. Nur soviel scheint mir gesichert, die Passage muß *vor* der von mir als §17 gezählten Strophe lokalisiert werden. Unterm Strich dürfte sich—unabhängig von der Plazierung—eine Gesamtlänge von *mehr als 24 Strophen* ergeben. Trifft diese Annahme zu, dann wird unter inhaltlichen Aspekten einmal mehr deutlich, eine wie große Relevanz der 2. Textpartie von seiten ihres Verfassers beigemessen worden sein muß. Das Generalthema ‘Orthopraxie von Maat-Sagen’ (*dd-mꜣꜥ.t*) nimmt, verglichen mit dem ersten Thema ‘Loyalismus’, einen ungleich größeren Stellenwert ein als die ebenfalls in der anschließend gelehrten bzw. gelesenen *Loyalistischen Lehre* behandelte Königstreue und ‘Orthopraxie von Maat-Tun’ (*jrj-mꜣꜥ.t*).⁸

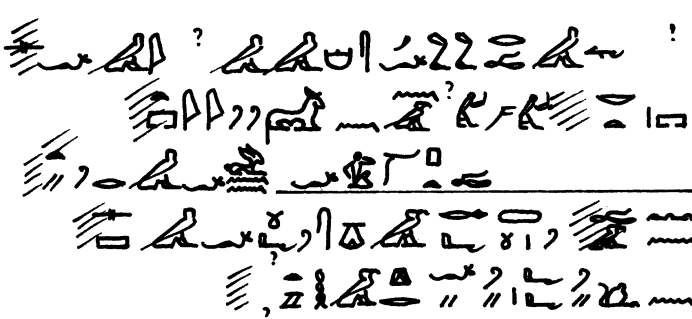
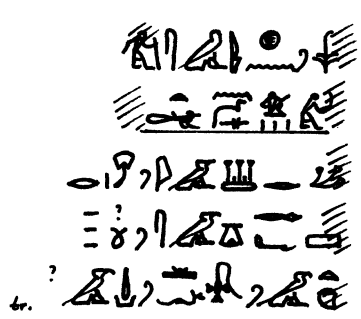
⁶In *RdE* 7 (1950), 71–84.

⁷Verf., *Die Lehre eines Mannes, Textzusammenstellung*.

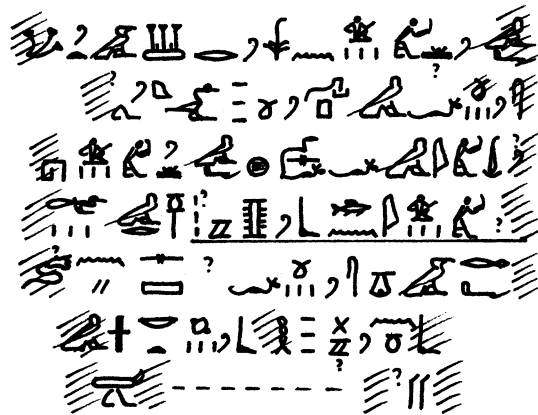
⁸Zur Sequenz des von mir rekonstruierten Texttrios *Lehre des Cheti*→*Lehre eines Mannes*→*Loyalistische Lehre* s. Verf., *Die Lehre eines Mannes*, 381–98.

Appendix

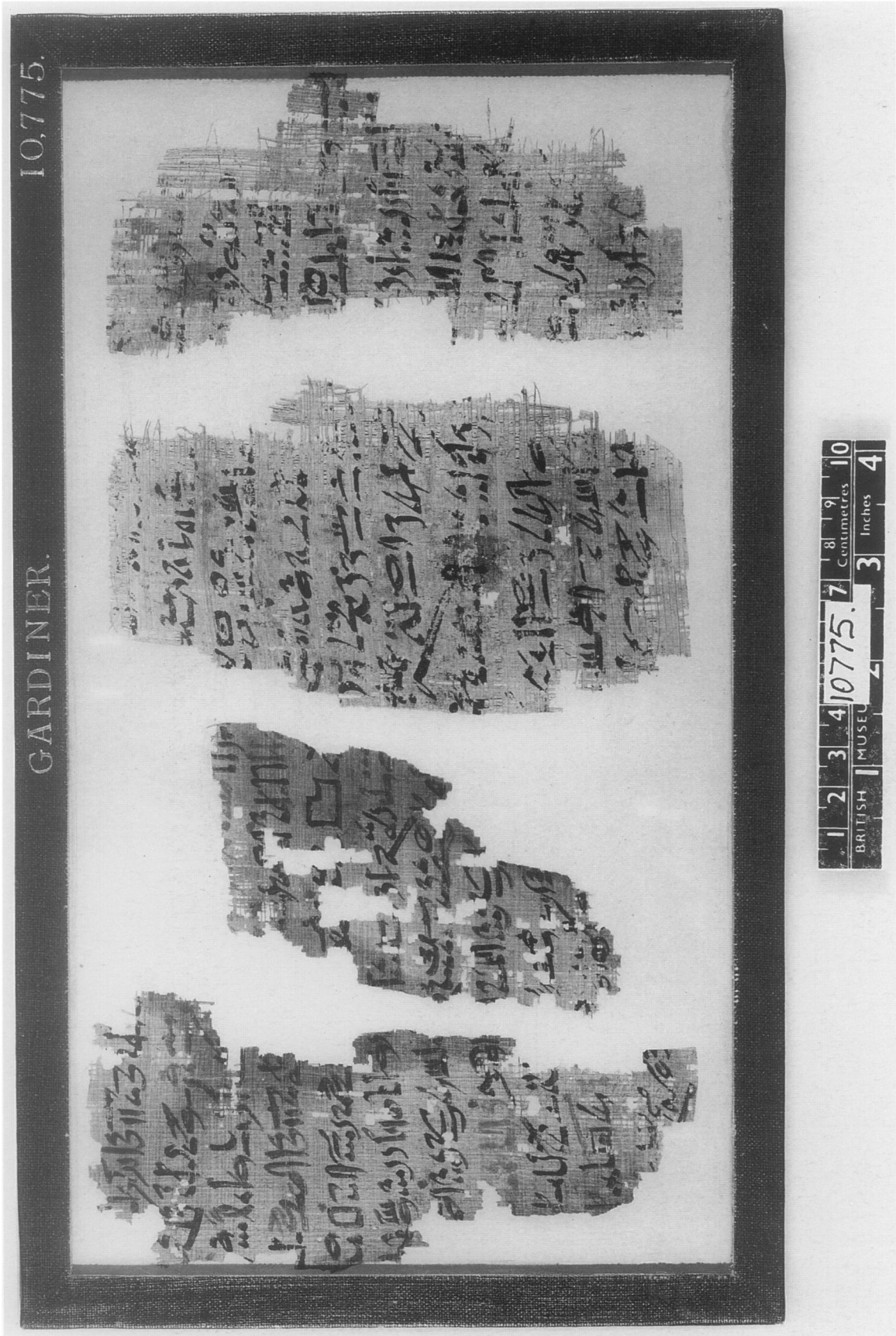
Transkriptionen von EA 10775e verso und EA 10775f verso mit Teilen der *Lehre des Cheti*

x+2	x+1
	

EA 10775e vs. = *Lehre des Cheti* VIIIc-Xd

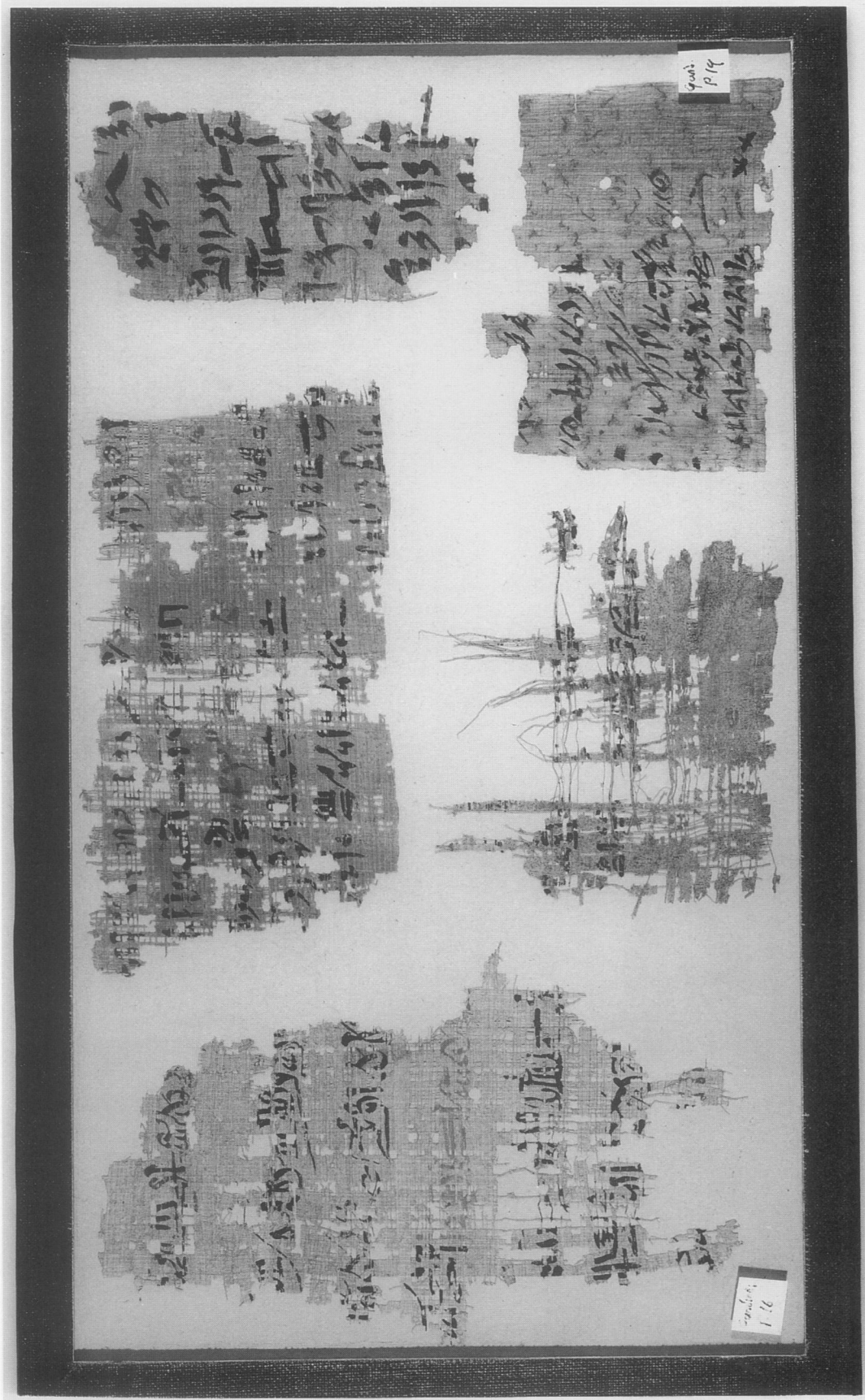


EA 10775f vs. = *Lehre des Cheti* IXb-XIb



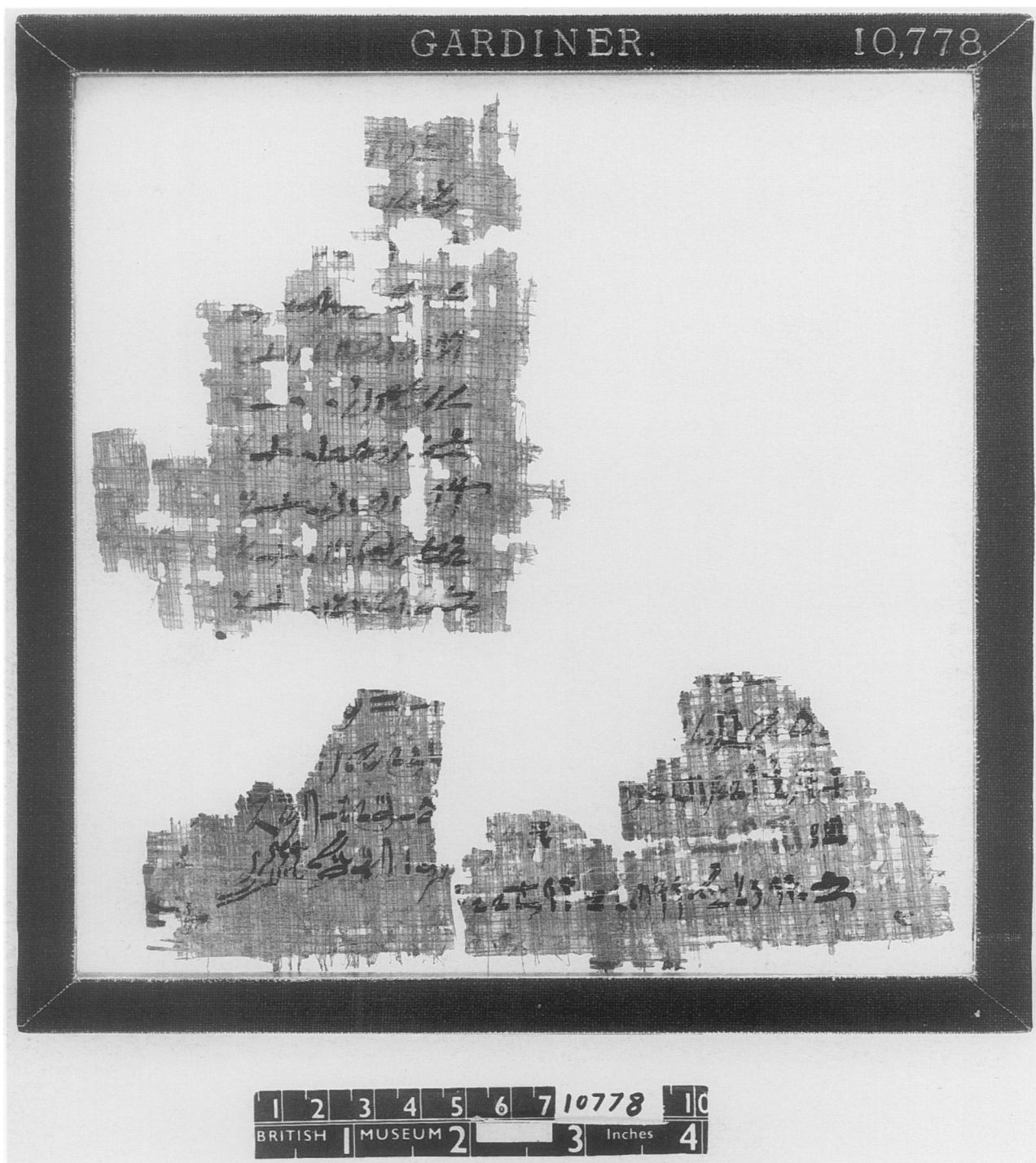
P. BM EA 10775 recto, Fragmente a-d (Copyright the British Museum)

NEUE FRAGMENTE ZUR LEHRE EINES MANNES FÜR SEINEN SOHN (pp. 85-92)



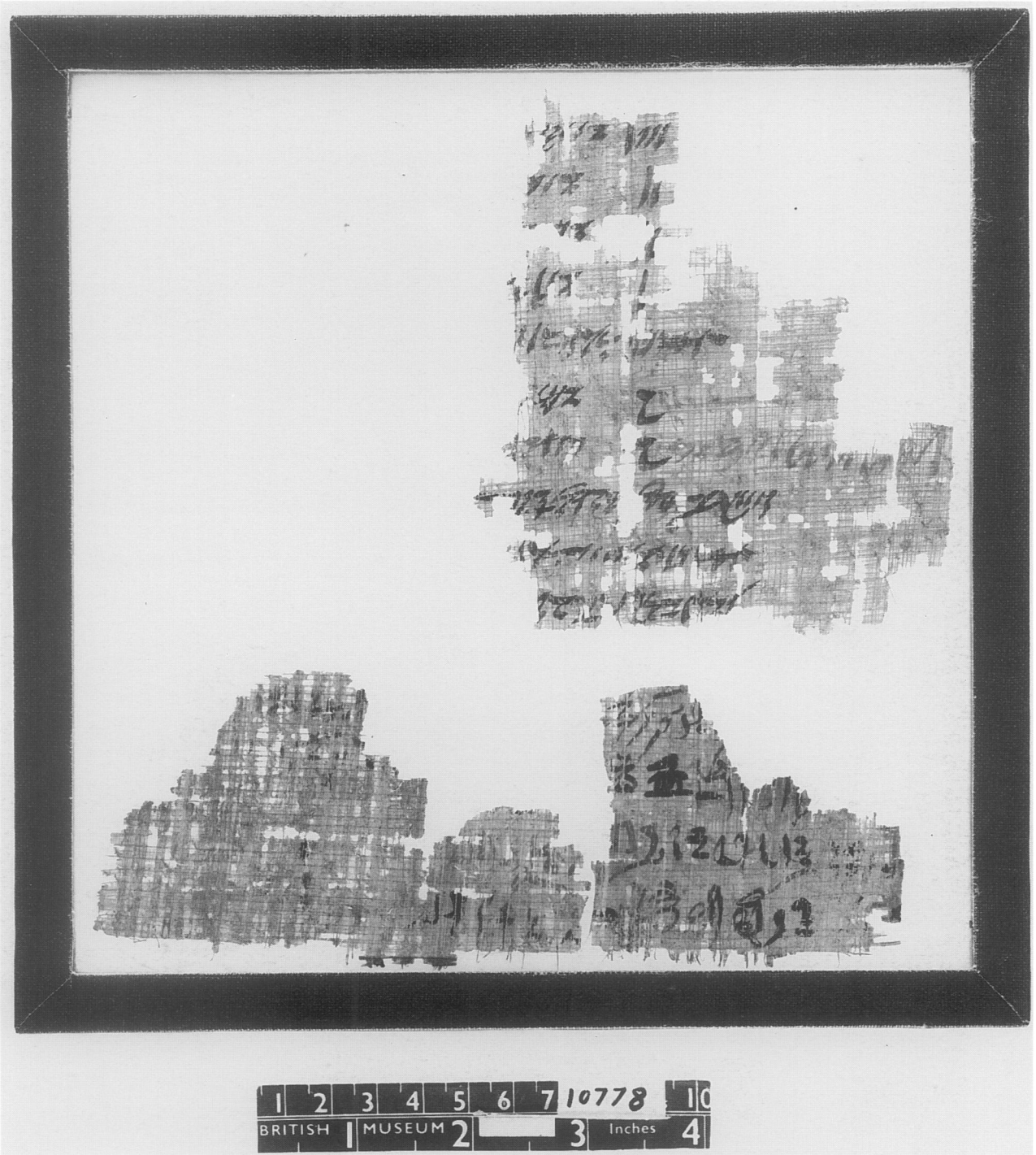
P. BM EA 10775 verso, Fragmente e-i (Copyright the British Museum)

NEUE FRAGMENTE ZUR LEHRE EINES MANNES FÜR SEINEN SOHN (pp. 85-92)



P. BM EA 10778 recto, Fragmente a-c (Copyright the British Museum)

NEUE FRAGMENTE ZUR LEHRE EINES MANNES FÜR SEINEN SOHN (pp. 85-92)



P. BM EA 10778 verso, Fragmente a-c (*Copyright the British Museum*)

NEUE FRAGMENTE ZUR *LEHRE EINES MANNES FÜR SEINEN SOHN* (pp. 85-92)

A FUNERARY MASK IN DURHAM AND MUMMY ADORNMENT IN THE LATE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

By AIDAN DODSON

The publication of a mummy mask of the early Eighteenth Dynasty in the Oriental Museum, University of Durham. It is discussed in relation to several other masks datable to the period from the Seventeenth Dynasty through to the earlier years of the New Kingdom.

AMONGST the items ceded to Durham University's Oriental Museum at the division of the Wellcome Collection during the 1960s was a cartonnage mummy-mask (pl. XIV, 1–2). As is the case with the vast majority of items from that source, nothing now appears to be known of its mode of acquisition, although much of Sir Henry Wellcome's collection was certainly purchased on the antiquities market.¹ Since arriving in the museum it has been held in reserve and has hitherto escaped any notice.²

However, the piece proves to be of uncommon interest, being one of the extremely small number of such masks to survive from the early years of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Its details are as follows:

Inventory number: W.Eg.F.1

Provenance: Unknown: ex-Wellcome Collection.

Dimensions: Height: 45 cm. Width: 33 cm. Depth: 25 cm. Height of face: 8 cm. Width of face: 7.5 cm

Material: Painted and gilded cartonnage.³ The latter is of quite considerable thickness, with a natural greyish colouration, and fairly coarse core-linen visible where the mask has broken. Both paint and gilding have been applied directly to the finished, plastered, surface of the cartonnage, without any additional preparation of the ground.

Description: A helmet mask, with a relatively small gilded face. The face is quite well modelled, with the cosmetic eye-lines painted in a dark blue-black paint, and the pupils and eyebrows rendered in dead black. The eyes do not show any caruncles. The ears are

¹ Cf. W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*³, revised by M. L. Bierbrier (London, 1995), 436–7.

² My thanks are due to John Ruffle for bringing the Durham mask to my attention, providing facilities for its examination and permission to publish. I am also most appreciative of the hospitality shown by his staff while visiting the museum.

³ On the making of cartonnage masks, cf. J. H. Taylor, 'An Egyptian Mummy-mask in the British Museum', *Apollo* (July 1996), 36.

placed almost flat against the wig, the dominant colour of which is greenish-blue. Its gold striping runs uniformly in an inverted U-shape, from the front of the head to the rear. It is finished off at both lappets with gilded end-pieces.

The painted stripes of the collar are divided by thin gilded bands. The top one is greenish-blue; it is separated into eleven sections by thin, black, vertical lines. The bands below are successively red, black, blue, red, and black; all but the black examples are split into eleven sectors. The edge of the collar is adorned with a series of gilded drop-pendants. The outside edge of the collar is outlined in black. A 'tongue' originally protruded below the lower margin of the collar.

The inside of the mask broadly conforms to the contours of the exterior. The front portion of the interior displays the natural colour of the cartonnage, but from the crown of the head backwards it is coloured a dark brown, clearly resulting from the exudations of the mummy. These extend considerably further forward on the right-hand side than the left, implying that the masked mummy might have lain for a period angled slightly to its right.⁴

At certain points, the gilding has flaked away, allowing the original 'marking up' of the decoration to be observed. It may also be faintly discerned around the pendants of the collar, and probably elsewhere. This marking up was done in red ink directly on the natural surface of the cartonnage. As on gilded 'black' coffins of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the gilding was the first element of the decoration to be applied, the paint being added subsequently.⁵ This can be seen in a number of places on the Durham mask, where the paint clearly overlies the very thin gold sheet used for the gilding.

Condition: Generally good, but with the lower 'tongue' at the front broken off, exposing the linen interior of the cartonnage. The entire rearmost part of the lower section of the mask is also missing, together with the central part of the wig at the rear. Some small areas of gilding have also disappeared, but the paint is essentially intact. There are a number of cracks in the surface, penetrating into the upper layer of the cartonnage. There is some evidence of modern repair to the lower part of the front 'bib', in line with the bottom of the wig-lappets.

The loss of the 'tongue' at the lower edge of the unpainted 'bib' which extends below the collar has probably deprived us of the name of the owner of this fine mask. Comparable damage has been suffered by other masks of similar general form, for example, British Museum EA 29770,⁶ on which the former presence of the deceased's name is proven by the surviving start of *hṯp di nsw* formulae.

Although rather more richly gilded than the Durham piece, EA 29770 (pl. XIV, 3) shows many points of similarity. Apart from the 'tongued' design with an almost identically shaped 'bib', the underlying form of the headdress and colouring/gilding is identical, with the exception that the British Museum piece lacks the gilded end-pieces

⁴I.e. certainly not lying on its left-hand side, which had been standard until the later part of the Middle Kingdom.

⁵Cf. A. Dodson, 'On the Burial of Maihirpri and Certain Coffins of the Eighteenth Dynasty', in C. J. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists* (Louvain, 1997), 331–8.

⁶The owner has now been identified by John Taylor as the Lady Sitdjehuty, on the basis of mummy-cloth (British Museum EA 37104–5) which seems to have come from the same burial. The lady is given the title of *hs* of Queen Ahmes-Nefertiri: Taylor, *Apollo* (1996), 33–8; id., 'Tracking Down the Past', *British Museum Magazine* 21 (1995), 8–11.

to the lappets.⁷ The face is also gilded and finely modelled, albeit in a rather softer manner, and is proportionately considerably larger. The face of W.Eg.F.1 is particularly small, a point which will be considered below. These areas of affinity would suggest that W.Eg.F.1 and EA 29770 should be similarly dated. The latter has been placed by John Taylor in or just before the reign of Tuthmosis I on the grounds of the title of its probable owner.⁸ In any case, there can hardly be any doubt that the masks belong within the reigns of Amenophis I and Tuthmosis I.⁹

The most obvious difference between the two masks is the gilded wings that overlie the upper front part of the wig on EA 29770. Such an adornment is found on a fairly restricted group of masks, all no earlier than the later part of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The earliest example would seem to be Cairo CG 28109, belonging to the Lady Nubhiredi, allegedly from Deir el-Bahari, and datable to the very end of the Thirteenth Dynasty.¹⁰ In this case, rather than merely forming a frame around the forehead and face, the entire head is covered with feathers: 'body feathers' around the temples, full wing-feathers over the rest, extending two-thirds of the way down the collar (pl. XIV, 4).¹¹ The mask is otherwise similar to earlier Middle Kingdom examples in the treatment of the face, but radical changes are to be seen on a number of masks that should probably be dated somewhat later, during the Seventeenth Dynasty proper.

The feathering seen on CG 28109 is a clear precursor of the *rishi* patterning that is characteristic of the anthropoid coffins of the Seventeenth Dynasty, which depict the deceased as a human-headed bird, its wings folded protectively along the body.¹² The same basic pattern is seen on a mask from Beni Hasan tomb 287 (pl. XV, 1).¹³ It was

⁷ However, darkened bands at the bottom of the lappets on EA 29770 indicate that some covering or colouring had been applied in these areas.

⁸ See n. 6, above.

⁹ Certainly neither can be later than the early years of Tuthmosis III, by which time the form of masks had changed appreciably. Rather than projecting down the front and back of the mummy and terminating in tabs (and being partially incorporated into the bandaging; cf. pl. XIV, 4), mid-Eighteenth Dynasty pieces completely surround the upper part of the wrapped body. The earliest dated example is that of Hatnefer, dating to Year 7 of Tuthmosis III (New York MMA 36.3.1: PM I², 669). The type continues until at least the reign of either Amenophis II or Tuthmosis IV, depending on how one dates the mask from the tomb of Maihirpri (KV 36; Cairo CG 24096: G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois* (CCG; Cairo, 1902), 57, pl. xvi). On the question of this sepulchre's dating, cf. C. N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings* (London, 1990), 146–7; B. Nolte, *Glasgefäße im alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1968), 50–1; C. Lilyquist and R. H. Brill, *Studies in Early Egyptian Glass* (New York, 1994), 30; Dodson, *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 334. The masks from KV 46 (Yuya: Cairo CG 51008, D. C. F[orbes], 'Yuya's Mummy Mask Debuts in Cairo', *KMT* 7/2 (1996), 40–5; and Tjuiu: CG 51009, PM I², 563) revert to a design that cuts away the shoulders but does not reinstate the ventral tabs. Further changes occur at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, leading to the development of full-length mummy-boards during the Nineteenth Dynasty (cf. the material from TT 1: PM I², 4; cf. n. 44, below).

¹⁰ PM I², 657. The coffin in which the mummy and mask were found (CG 28030) is very similar to CG 28028 and 28029, assignable to the reign of King Sewahenre Senebmiu (O. Berlev, 'A Contemporary of King Swah-en-Rê', *JEA* 60 (1974), 106–13), and should be similarly dated to the cusp of the Thirteenth/Seventeenth Dynasties (A. Dodson, 'On the Internal Chronology of the Seventeenth Dynasty', *GM* 120 (1991), 34–5).

¹¹ See P. Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire* (CCG; Cairo, 1904), I, pl. xxiii.

¹² Not as the deceased protected by the wings of Isis and Nephthys (as, e.g. J. H. Taylor, *Egyptian Coffins* (Princes Risborough, 1989), 28): it is clear that the wings sprout from the shoulders of the coffin itself. However, the wings of these two goddesses do appear later, as auxiliaries *overlying* the now-stylised *rishi* pattern on the inner and the outer coffins of Tutankhamun.

¹³ Present location unknown, (School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool [LUSACOS], negative B297). My thanks go to Sara Orel for making her analysis of the material from this tomb available to me, and to Pat Winker for access to the Garstang archive on numerous occasions and the provision of photographic prints.

found inside a rectangular coffin,¹⁴ with a large assembly of equipment.¹⁵ The coffin¹⁶ is of an anomalous type, and the edges are adorned with polychrome rectangles, motifs reminiscent of late Seventeenth/early Eighteenth Dynasty coffins from Asasif tomb HC 37.¹⁷ The pottery found makes it possible to date the tomb. The diagnostic pieces are Ashmolean E2001, a Palestinian-style juglet of Second Intermediate Period type, and E4145, a bowl whose parallels range from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties.¹⁸ The tomb itself seems to have been a reused sepulchre of the late Old Kingdom, with a rock-cut upper chamber, as well as a burial shaft — in contrast to most tombs in the Beni Hasan Lower Necropolis.¹⁹

The striking thing about the Beni Hasan mask is the size of the face. It is absolutely minuscule, and is completely out of keeping with the proportions of the rest of the mask. This bizarre appearance is shared by a number of others. Cairo JE 45629 (pl. XV, 2)²⁰ derives from Asasif MMA Pit 3, in the court of HC 37, a Middle Kingdom sepulchre that contained many late Second Intermediate Period/early Eighteenth Dynasty intrusive burials.²¹ It has a gilded face, with green as the predominant colour of its extensive feathered head-covering, which closely resembles that seen on the Beni Hasan mask (and on CG 28109). A pair of mourning female figures is shown directly above each of the shoulders of the mask, a hawk hovering above them. These groups occupy the quadrants between the wing-feathers that fall either side of the face and the bird's legs that sprout from the body-feathers a little way behind the wings. Cairo JE 45629 measures 54 × 32 cm, and was found enclosing the head of a mummy in a rectangular coffin in Chamber E in Pit 3. Nothing closely datable appears to have been found in that specific room, but Chambers B and D of the same tomb contained anthropoid coffins of late *rishi*²² and 'white' (?)²³ types. These coffin types indicate that these chambers cannot

¹⁴J. Garstang, *Burial Customs of the Ancient Egyptians as Illustrated by Tombs of the Middle Kingdom* (London, 1907), 174–6, 181, fig. 189. Its present location is unknown.

¹⁵See Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 222. I owe to Dr Orel the following list of material and present locations: throwing stick (Fitzwilliam E.223.1902); wooden dish (Fitzwilliam E.7.1903: *ibid.*, fig. 109); seated male figure (Fitzwilliam E.187.1903); kohl box (Fitzwilliam E.W.30: *ibid.*, fig. 108); wooden kohl pot with lid (Ashmolean E2287: *ibid.*, fig. 109); boat model (MacGregor Collection: [P. E. Newberry], *Catalogue of the MacGregor Collection of Egyptian Antiquities. Which will be sold by auction by ... Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge ... the 26th of June, 1922 ... and ... the 3rd of July, 1922* (London, 1922), 79–80, lot 621); part of a 'hair curler' of copper or bronze (Ashmolean E2291); linen cutting knife (Ashmolean E2292); dagger of bronze and wood (Ashmolean E2293); head rest (Ashmolean E2004); pottery vessels (Liverpool Museum 56.22.617, Ashmolean E2001, E4145). Although only one coffin is listed by Garstang, the tomb photograph shows a number of others, plus a body wrapped in a reed mat: indeed, he dubs it the 'Tomb of Senu-Atef and Others'.

¹⁶LUSACOS neg. B211.

¹⁷PM I², 616. The Beni Hasan coffin is decorated with only a single column of text at the centre of each long side, reading *imꜣhy hr Dwꜣ-mwt.f Wsir[...?]*.

¹⁸Orel, personal communication, April 1996.

¹⁹Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 35–6.

²⁰PM I², 618: I am grateful to Christine Lilyquist for additional information on this object.

²¹PM I², 615–16.

²²This particular coffin, found within a rectangular outer coffin, had modelled arms and inscribed bands over the *rishi* pattern, (A. Lansing, 'The Egyptian Expedition, 1915–16', *BMMA Supplement* (May 1917), 22), a combination that marks out Eighteenth Dynasty variants.

²³Lansing fails to describe the coffin properly, only stating that it was 'of the Eighteenth Dynasty type, but to date it more closely than between the beginning of that dynasty and the reign of Hatshepsut is impossible' (*ibid.* 21). By this he presumably intends to state that it was not of *rishi* type; the only other design of anthropoid coffin current during the stated period is the 'white'.

be later than the early years of Tuthmosis III,²⁴ nor earlier than the reign of Amosis.²⁵ Since the entire Pit 3 complex would seem to be of one broad period,²⁶ JE 45629 can probably be dated within the same limits, or only marginally outside them.

That it should be placed at the earlier end of the span is suggested by the pottery evidence from Beni Hasan tomb 287, although one must be careful of making too direct comparison between such widely-separated locations. One would thus suggest that these particular 'micro-faced' masks should date from the late Seventeenth Dynasty to Amosis' reign — the end of the period of the dominance of the *rishi* coffin.

A second piece in Cairo is known to me only from an illustration in Valdemar Schmidt's *Sarkofager* (reproduced here as plate XV, 3).²⁷ Its shape is rather different from that of the other masks just discussed, while its decoration also differs in including the depiction of a large pendant-winged scarab, and a much wider 'tongue' bearing no less than six columns of inscription. Unfortunately, the identity of the owner is not clear.²⁸

Faces small in proportion to the rest of the masks to which they were originally attached are not uncommon from Second Intermediate Period contexts.²⁹ One of the largest groups of such pieces is from the Nubian site of Mirgissa.³⁰ Over 50 had faces smaller than 'normal',³¹ although only one displayed a face as minuscule as those just described.³² Headdresses displayed a range of options, including a full *rishi* pattern covering the whole head,³³ although no specimen quite reproduces the aspect of the Beni Hasan and Cairo examples.³⁴

It is important to distinguish between these full *rishi* masks and those where the feathered element is clearly an auxiliary component, i.e. not forming an integral part of the head, but merely superimposed over some other head ornamentation. A good example of this is from Serra East, where a hawk is shown on the top of the head, its wings over the rear part of the braided head-covering depicted.³⁵ The hawk's head is clearly shown,

²⁴The latest datable private *rishi* coffin, that of Rennefer from tomb MMA 729, dates to the time of Hatshepsut's regency (W. C. Hayes, 'The Tomb of Nefer-khewet and his Family', *BMAA* 30, Part II (1935), 18). 'White' coffins were being superseded by the 'black' type by the time that Senenmut's mother, Hatnefer, was buried outside TT 71 around Year 7 of Tuthmosis III: hers (Cairo JE 66196) was of the latter colouration, while that of her previously-deceased spouse, Ramose (JE 66197), was 'white' (PM I², 669–70).

²⁵Although it is difficult to pinpoint the time of origin of the 'white' coffin, none seem to be known from clear Seventeenth Dynasty contexts.

²⁶Allowing for two or three generations in what would seem to be a family sepulchre.

²⁷V. Schmidt, *Levende og døde i det gamle Ægypten: Album til ordnung af Sarkofager, Mumiekister, Mumie-hylstre o. lign* (Copenhagen, 1919), 87 (457). No reference is given and one may, in fact, question its Cairene location, since the adjacent figure is stated to depict an object in 'Kairo', but is in fact the anthropoid coffin of Khnumhotpe from Deir Rifeh, now Edinburgh RMS 1909.713.5.

²⁸Schmidt's photograph cuts off the lower part of this feature, so that its termination remains obscure.

²⁹A useful summary of examples is given in T. Säve-Söderberg and L. Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites* (SJE 5/2–3; Uppsala, 1991), 65.

³⁰A Vila, 'Les masques funéraires', in J. Vercoutter, *Mirgissa, III. Les nécropoles* (Paris, 1976), 151–268, pls. H–T.

³¹*Ibid.* 160–1.

³²From tomb T. 105 (T. 105–13): *ibid.* 214–15, fig. 23 (76).

³³*Ibid.* 165–7. One of the best-preserved examples, from T. 23, is now Louvre E.25702 (in colour: B. Gratien and F. Le Saout (eds.), *Nubie: les cultures antiques du Soudan, à travers les explorations et fouilles français et franco-soudanaises* (Lille, 1994), 133 (283)).

³⁴Although full comparison is hampered by the fragmentary state of the material from Mirgissa.

³⁵Site 280/244:1; Säve-Söderberg and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites*, 68, 72, pls. ii–iii).

facing right, and the whole motif obviously follows the prototype of the head of the king protected by Horus, as in the case of the well-known statues of Khephren and Nefer-efre.³⁶

On the pure *rishi* masks, the arrangement of the feathers is such that the human face actually seems to occupy the place that should be occupied by the bird's head. Of course, the life- or near-life-size faces seen on most masks are so out of proportion that it would be difficult to insist upon a definite representational intention. However, with the 'micro-faced' masks, one is confronted with the real possibility that their singular appearance was derived from an attempt to provide a miniaturised version of the *rishi* coffin. On this basis, could the disposition of wing feathers down the sides of the face, and body feathers over the crown of the head, culminating in a face broadly in proportion, indicate that the entire mask was meant to be a complete *ba*, perched upon the shoulders of the wrapped mummy?

Masks such as British Museum EA 29770, by the arrangement of their residual feathering, would appear to be developments (or, rather, degenerations) of this type. Judging by the absence of any other head, the avian image can hardly be that of a protective deity.³⁷ On the other hand, they combine this aspect with the traditional tripartite wig and a more naturally-sized face. Appearing alongside wholly conventional masks, the degeneration of their avian aspect parallels the situations seen with Eighteenth Dynasty *rishi* coffins, which adopt lateral and longitudinal banding and visible hands, both of which are at odds with the Seventeenth Dynasty prototype of a human-headed bird.³⁸

On the basis of this scheme, the unpublished cartonnage mask Manchester Museum 7931 (pl. XV, 4), acquired in 1925 from the Sharp Ogden collection and, like the Durham piece, of unknown original provenance,³⁹ ought perhaps to be placed slightly earlier than EA 29770. Around the upper part of the face is painted the same kind of residual feathering as is depicted in gold on the British Museum piece, but the remainder of the head-covering is plain white. Although the gilded face is relatively small, its workmanship is unlike that seen on early New Kingdom masks, and is more akin to masks of the Middle Kingdom, which might point to a significantly earlier date.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the form of the feathering makes it difficult to place the piece in the earlier period, while the treatment of the collar is very reminiscent of that on the coffin used for Inyotef VII,⁴¹

³⁶ Cairo JE 10062 = CG 14 and JE 98171: conveniently, M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo: Official Catalogue* (Mainz, 1987), nos. 31, 38. Taylor, *Apollo* (1996), 38, suggests that the Serra East mask's arrangement provides a clue to the origins of the *rishi* masks; the differences in the arrangement of the feathers would seem to make this unlikely.

³⁷ Unless, of course, we have here a combination of the two originally separate motifs, a phenomenon not unknown in Egyptian art.

³⁸ Compare, for example, the 'pure' coffins of Inyotef V–VII (BM EA 6652; Louvre E 3019–20: PM I², 602–3) with MMA 23.3.461 (with hands, from Wadi S, MMA 1013: W. C. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, II (New York, 1959), 221), BM EA 54350 (with bands, from Asasif HC 41: N. Reeves and J. H. Taylor, *Howard Carter before Tutankhamun* (London, 1992), 100), and that from Asasif MMA Pit 3 (with both: n. 22, above). Looked at logically, the lateral strapping on the last two coffin variants would have held their wings immobile — hardly what was intended!

³⁹ Information on this piece was kindly supplied by Rosalie David. It measures 24.5 × 22 cm and lacks its rear section and the ventral tab below its painted collar.

⁴⁰ As has been pointed out to me by John Taylor.

⁴¹ See above, n. 38.

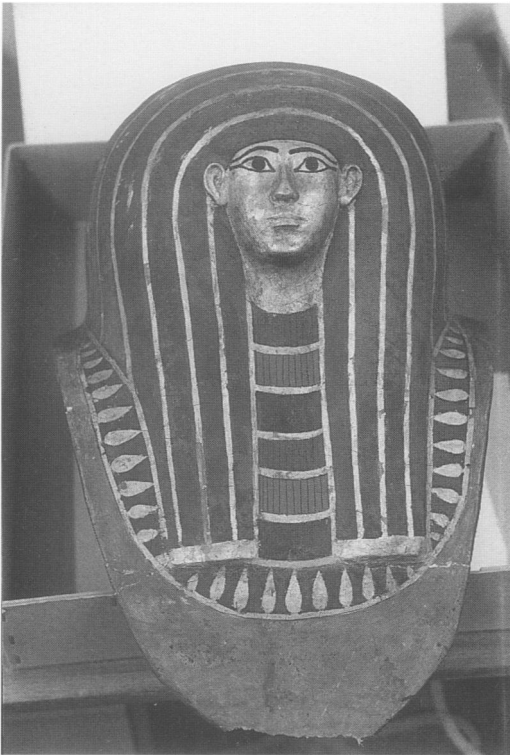
who should probably be dated to the beginning of the final third of the Seventeenth Dynasty.⁴²

These developments in funerary masks seem to go hand-in-hand with the final replacement of rectangular coffins by those of anthropoid form. Until the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, it would seem that masks and anthropoid coffins were alternatives, the latter being in essence an extended version of the former.⁴³ Certainly, no Seventeenth Dynasty *rishi* coffin is known to have held a masked mummy. The early Eighteenth Dynasty saw the emergence of the mummy mask and anthropoid coffin as wholly separate elements of the burial ensemble, where the presence of one did not exclude the occurrence of the other.⁴⁴ The Durham mask is a significant piece of evidence in piecing together the nature of the material involved.

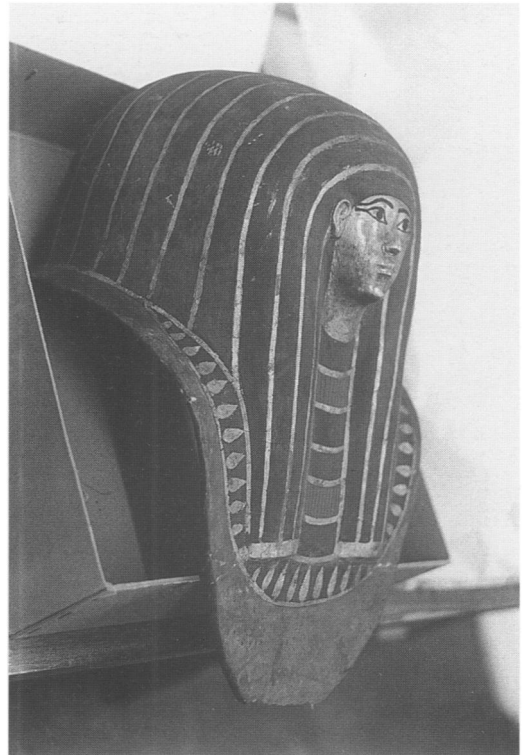
⁴²Dodson, *GM* 120, 36–7; cf. K. Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800–1550 B.C.* (Copenhagen, 1997), 167–71.

⁴³The development can be seen to begin with the extended front panels of such masks as that of Iyni, to allow for the inclusion of extensive texts (Cairo CG 28073: PM IV, 257). Next, we find a variant form of mask extended below the chest to cover the whole front of the mummy (e.g. from Beni Hasan tomb 140, present location unknown: Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 173, fig. 179), thus providing a prototype for the early mummiform coffin, typified by Fitzwilliam E.88.1903 (J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1988) 91–2).

⁴⁴Analogous ‘growth’ and metamorphosis of the mummy-mask such as had been seen during the Middle Kingdom may subsequently be observed during the Ramesside and Third Intermediate Periods. By Sethos I’s reign, masks were sometimes growing into full-length mummy-boards (e.g. that of Sennedjem, from TT 1), which became standard by the Twenty-first Dynasty (cf. A. Niwifski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies* (Mainz, 1988)). The whole-body cartonnages of the Twenty-second Dynasty were clearly a further extension of this concept, much as the anthropoid coffins of the Middle Kingdom had been. Separate masks were not readopted until after the abandonment of the cartonnage in the Saite Period, when a very small, front-only, mask was employed (e.g. Cairo CG 53668: PM III², 650). The exception is the case of the mummy of Shoshenq II, which wore a mask (Cairo JE 72163A) within its hawk-headed cartonnage (JE 72196A), perhaps integrated into the mummy’s outer wrappings in the manner of BM EA 20745, the mummy of Irthoriru (early Late Period) (see W. R. Dawson and P. H. K. Gray, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, I. *Mummies and Human Remains* (London, 1968), 27, pl. xiii (50), where it is misdated to the Ptolemaic Period).



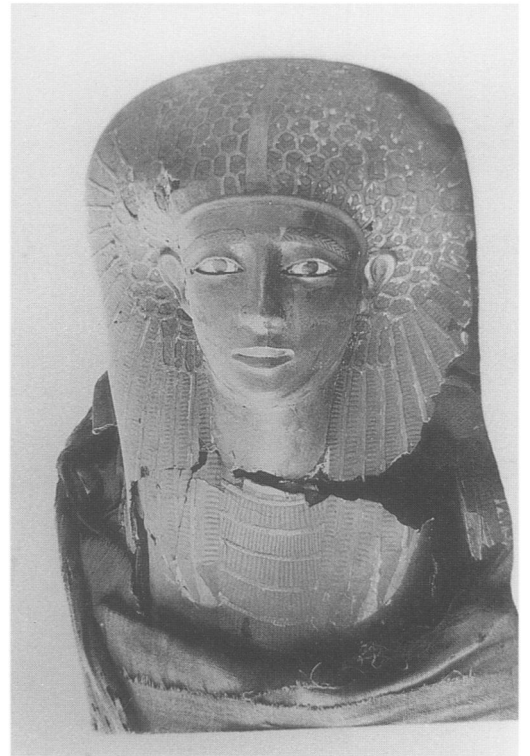
1. Durham W.Eg.F1 (*Courtesy of the Durham University Oriental Museum*)



2. Durham W.Eg.F1 (*Courtesy of the Durham University Oriental Museum*)



3. British Museum EA 29770 (*Copyright the British Museum*)



4. Cairo CG 28109 (from *P. Lacau, Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire (CCG), I, pl. xxiii*)



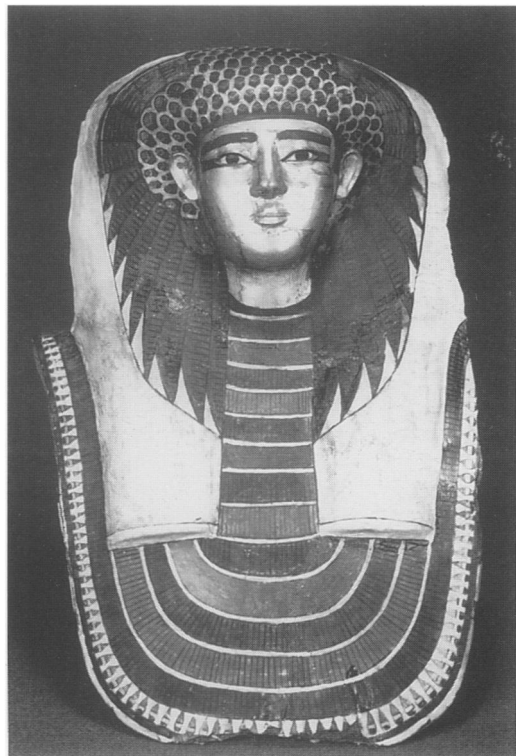
1. Mask from Beni Hasan tomb 287 (*Courtesy of the School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool*)



2. Cairo JE 45629



3. Mask in Cairo (?) (*from Schmidt, Sarkofager, fig. 457*)



4. Manchester Museum 7931 (*Courtesy the Manchester Museum*)

FRIENDSHIP AND FRUSTRATION: A STUDY IN PAPYRI DEIR EL-MEDINA IV–VI*

By DEBORAH SWEENEY

Papyri Deir el-Medina IV, V and VI illustrate different problems between friends in the Ramesside Period. This article presents new translations of these texts and discusses them in the context of friendship, social obligation and reconciliation in ancient Egypt. Although these three letters have sometimes been presented as a group, they are probably the work of three distinct correspondents. The hieratic palaeography of these texts is analysed in an appendix.

ALTHOUGH Papyri Deir el-Medina IV, V and VI have been published, translated and included in anthologies of Egyptian texts,¹ their interest is by no means exhausted. Not only do these texts contain interesting observations on friendship, which help us understand how the ancient Egyptians understood this relationship, they also increase our awareness of what the Egyptians actually did when they quarrelled and made up. This study forms part of a wider research project on the themes of sin, forgiveness and punishment in ancient Egypt as reflected in everyday texts such as personal correspondence.

P. DeM IV is concerned with the addressee's failure to keep in touch with the sender, whereas P. DeM V and VI deal with the addressee's failure to respond to a friend's requests to send ointment. A further fragment, P. DeM XXII, has also been mentioned in this connection, since it describes a similar dispute between friends. Hitherto, scholars have tended to assume that these texts form a group or sequence. If that were so, we might be able to see the relationship between the correspondents change or deteriorate. However, this connection is not self-evident.

The document known as P. DeM IV was addressed by the scribe Nakhtsobk² to the

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¹J. Černý (G. Posener (ed.)), *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh I[N^{os} I–XVII]* (Documents de Fouilles 8; Cairo, 1978), 15–19, pls. 19–22a; E. F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta, 1990), 150–1. See also A. McDowell, *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs* (Oxford, forthcoming). The translations of the texts discussed in this article and McDowell's book owe a certain amount to our discussions in Oxford in the summer of 1996. It has not been possible to re-collate the papyri.

²Nakhtsobk styles himself 'scribe of the Necropolis' in the colophon he wrote to P. Chester Beatty I, where he jotted down a number of love songs (E. Iversen, 'The Chester Beatty Papyrus, No. 1, Recto XVI, 9 – XVII, 13', *JEA* 65 (1979), 78–88). However, Nakhtsobk is poorly attested in Deir el-Medina and may well have lived elsewhere: A. McDowell, 'Contact with the Outside World', in L. H. Lesko (ed.), *Pharaoh's Workers: The Villagers of Deir el Medina* (Ithaca, 1994), 55, suggests that 'it is clear that he is not in the same place as Amen-nakhte, because he urges the latter to write to him by the hand of the policeman Bas (sic)'. Admittedly, this might

crew member Amennakhte,³ whereas the correspondents of the other letters are unknown. In his original publication of the papyri, Černý attributed all three letters to the scribe Nakhtsobk, a position followed by Pestman in his article tracing the ownership of the Chester Beatty papyri archive.⁴ Wentz, who included all three letters in his *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, left the issue open by grouping the texts together without attributing P. DeM V and VI to any specific correspondent. McDowell discusses P. DeM IV in the context of the workmen's freedom of movement in and out of the village, but is uncertain whether P. DeM VI belongs together with this letter.⁵ Fischer-Elfert has recently mentioned P. DeM XXII as a possible member of this group,⁶ a suggestion adopted by Quack.⁷ Most of the papyri discovered in Deir el-Medina were found in a cache of documents buried in the necropolis of the village. Posener suggests that 'on peut avec confiance attribuer à cette trouvaille la grande majorité, probablement tous les papyrus publiés dans ce volume'.⁸ This archive was quite extensive, however, spanning more than a century, and including literary works, magical texts and private letters.⁹ Even though P. DeM IV, V and VI probably came from this group, this does not necessarily suggest that they formed a related group.

In order to see whether all four letters were written by the same hand, I have applied the criteria of handwriting analysis for hieratic suggested by Jac. J. Janssen.¹⁰ After consulting modern handwriting experts, Janssen concluded that the best criterion for assessing hieratic texts is a comparison of the commonest words, such as the definite article, which people write almost automatically, taking no especial care to form the signs.

reflect a temporary absence on business; however, if Nakhtsobk did not live in Deir el-Medina, it is unlikely that he was the author of P. DeM VI, since the author of that text does seem to have been based in Deir el-Medina. Pestman is probably correct in his guess that Nakhtsobk gave P. Chester Beatty I to his friend Amennakhte, which is how it came to be in the Naunakhte family archive: P. W. Pestman, 'Who Were the Owners, in the "Community of Workmen", of the Chester Beatty Papyri?', in R. J. Demarée and J. J. Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina* (Egyptologische Uitgaven 1; Leiden, 1982), 155–72. Černý dates P. Geneva MAH 15274 (= KRI VI.144), where Nakhtsobk is also mentioned (vs. 4.2), to Year 6 of Ramesses IV: J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (BdE 50; Cairo, 1973), 165.

³Amennakhte, son of Khaemnun and Naunakhte, is attested from Year 1 of Ramesses IV to Year 3 of Ramesses V: M. Gutgesell, *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medineh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation. I: Die 20. Dynastie* (HÄB 18; Hildesheim, 1983), 43–5, 240–1. He was an ordinary workman at Deir el-Medina (Černý, *Community*, 196–7; Pestman, *Gleanings*, 161). He did, however, learn to read and write since he inscribed his name on his copy of the 'Dream Book', P. Chester Beatty III.

⁴Pestman, *Gleanings*, 161–2. A. Gasse, 'Les ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Medina: nouvelles orientations de la publication', in R. J. Demarée and A. Egberts (eds.), *Village Voices: Proceedings of the Symposium "Texts from Deir el-Medina and their Interpretation" Leiden, May 31-June 1, 1991* (CNWS Publications 13; Leiden, 1992), 67, also follows Černý in attributing P. DeM V to Nakhtsobk.

⁵McDowell, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 161, n. 77.

⁶H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, 'Vermischtes', *GM* 127 (1992), 36–7.






⁷J. F. Quack, *Die Lehren des Ani* (OBO 141; Freiburg and Göttingen, 1994), 172. Strictly speaking, Quack's remarks bracket P. DeM. XXII together with P. DeM IV–VI as examples of disagreement between friends: 'ein relativ gutes Beispiel liefern die pDeM 4–6 und 22, in denen jemand einem alten Freund schreibt, dabei auch über unfreundliches Verhalten klagt ...' It is not entirely clear whether the papyri are claimed to belong to a single group, although one could interpret his remarks in this vein.

⁸In Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques*, vii.

⁹Pestman, *Gleanings*, 165–6.

¹⁰J. Janssen, 'On Style in Egyptian Handwriting', *JEA* 73 (1987), 161–7. See also C. J. Eyre, 'A "Strike" Text from the Theban Necropolis', in J. Ruffle et al. (eds), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman* (Warminster, 1979), 86–7; A. Gasse, *Village Voices*, 51–70.

In the course of writing a text, a person's handwriting may vary considerably,¹¹ so it is important to compare all the occurrences of a given word in the text.

The definite article written in P. DeM V is clearly different from those in P. DeM IV and VI (See Table 1). Once it is written ¹² and once ¹³ but most often ¹⁴. In P. DeM IV¹⁵ the wing-tips of the *pj*-sign are still distinct, , whereas in P. DeM VI¹⁶ they have fused into one single line . On the basis of the *pj*-sign alone, then, P. DeM IV, V and VI are in three distinct hands, although P. DeM IV and VI are closer to one another than either of them is to P. DeM V. Some of the *pj*-signs in P. DeM XXII resemble those of P. DeM IV,¹⁷ some resemble those of P. DeM V,¹⁸ but most resemble neither,¹⁹ so that P. DeM XXII is probably by the hand of a fourth correspondent. A more detailed discussion of the hieratic palaeography of these texts can be found in the Appendix.

I discuss each text separately.²⁰ Instead of following Černý's order of publication, this paper opens with the relatively mild irritations of P. DeM VI, escalating to the angry crescendo of P. DeM IV, where the friendship itself is in jeopardy.

P. Deir el-Medina VI

Translation

(rt.1) As follows: I say every day^a to Ptah, to [Sokar] amidst the secret shrine, and to Pre in the daytime, (rt. 2) 'Give you life, health, [long] life, great old age, whilst you are with me < like > a brother forever when [I am like] (rt. 3) a grown-up orphan^b with you.' Furthermore [...] ^c my message to you yesterday, saying, 'Send (rt. 4) me a *hin* of ointment for your (female?) eating companion.'^d Now look, she/it^e has (rt. 5) arrived and you won't send(?) it.^f If you have none, you are not in the habit of selling (rt. 6) your clothing^g and sending the thing about which I wrote to you. When my letter (rt. 7) reaches you, you shall send the ointment about which I wrote you. Watch it, watch it! (rt. 8) Don't make the man wait^h whilst you [...]

(The woman) [X] has run awayⁱ to the village.^j (vs. 1) Now look, I have taken charge of her. I didn't let her know that I wrote (vs. 2) to you, saying, 'She's here.' It was because

¹¹ For example, fatigue may set in towards the end of a long text, so that the scribe forms the signs less carefully.

¹² P. DeM V vs. 3.

¹³ P. DeM V rt. 4.

¹⁴ P. DeM V rt. 2, rt. 3, rt. 5, vs. 2.

¹⁵ P. DeM IV rt. 4 (×2) rt. 5, rt. 6, rt. 11, vs. 1, vs. 2 (×3), vs. 4.

¹⁶ P. DeM VI rt. 1 (×2), rt. 3, rt. 6, rt. 7, rt. 8 (×2), vs. 3.

¹⁷ P. DeM XXII vs. 1 (×2).

¹⁸ P. DeM XXII vs. 2.

¹⁹ P. DeM XXII rt. 1, rt. b2, vs. 2, vs. a, vs. b2, vs. b3.

²⁰ One could argue that the papyri were composed by the same sender but dictated to different scribes. This is unlikely, however; it is difficult to believe that the scribe Nakhtsobk, the sender of P. DeM IV, would have chosen to dictate his letters rather than pen them himself.

of a dream^k that she came here to consult (the goddess) Nefertari.¹ (vs. 3) Look after her and don't do what you (vs. 4) have usually done! It is I who write to you continually but you never write (vs. 5) to me. May your health be good.

Notes

(a) *rc nb* is generally assumed to continue the initial verb of speech: J. Černý and S. I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*³, (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 4; Rome, 1985), 8.9.1.ii. C. Peust, *Indirekte Rede in Neuägyptischen* (GOF IV 33; Wiesbaden, 1996), 77–8, doubts whether this is true, since in Egyptian elements of a formula which introduces speech generally do not follow the quotation. E. F. Wente, *Late Egyptian Letters* (Chicago, 1967), 76 n. b, points out that in *LRL* 62.6 *rc nb* follows a blessing which is not introduced by a verb of speech. A. M. Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-First Dynasty* (BdE 48; Cairo, 1970), 56, and H. Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten*, III (Berlin, 1941), 81–2, understand *rc nb* as qualifying the contents of the prayer. However, A. H. Gardiner, 'A Protest against Unjustified Tax-demands', *RdE* 6 (1951), 126, points out that this interpretation of *rc nb* does not fit instances where the sender asks the gods to grant the recipient a great and good old age. Peust (*Indirekte Rede*, 77–8) concludes that our present state of knowledge does not allow us to solve this problem. He remarks that it is clear, however, that *rc nb* marks the transition between the complimentary preamble and the body of the letter.

(b) D. Meeks, *ALex* I, 77.2112.

(c) Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 151, restores '[Pay heed to] my communication'.

(d) Cf. J. F. Borghouts, 'A Deputy of the Gang Knows his Business (*Hier. Ost.* 67, 1)', *Gleanings*, 75. In other words, this lady used to share meals with the addressee, which implies that they are friends or family.

(e) Černý and Wente prefer this option, which is more appropriate since the *t* ending of the stative is far more typical of a third person female subject, although it does appear very occasionally with a male subject: J. Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien*, 1. *La morphologie verbale* (Liège, 1992), 111–17. On the other hand, this would involve reading *sw* as referring to the third person feminine singular, although this does occur sometimes: Winand, *Morphologie*, 428–9. There is a similar confusion between *sw* and *st* as dependent pronouns; see Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*³, 2.3.1.

(f) Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 151, translates: 'You shall not let her be in [need]'.

(g) Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 151, translates this sentence as a rhetorical inflexion question: 'If you are broke, can't you sell your clothes and send that about which I've written you?'

(h) Or 'stand up, accuse'.

(i) An unusual writing of this verb, with metathesis of the final *c* and *r*.


(j) I.e. Deir el-Medina. The text reads *wrc n.s r dmj*, which we can either read as a dative, 'run off for her to the Village', as Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 151, does, or as the reflexive dative following a first present construction: [*st*] *wrc n.s r dmj*. Pestman, *Gleanings*, 162, suggests that the woman ran away to Thebes ('*Nht-Sbk* interested himself, in Thebes, on behalf of one of the women of '*Imn-nhtw*'s family who apparently had run away from home'), but she is said to have run away to *dmj* (Deir el-Medina), not to *Njw.t* (Thebes). Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques*, 19, paraphrases as 's'enfuir chez elle en ville', which might imply that she had returned to her own parents.

(k) Maybe the woman had dreamt a puzzling or frightening dream which she wanted the goddess to interpret. Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques*, 19, and Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 151, translate *ptr.s* as a relative form, 'a dream she had seen', for which she presumably wanted a divine explanation. Alternatively, the woman may have wanted to ask the goddess for a healing or helpful dream. On the whole, however, *ptr s(jj)* is more appropriately translated 'Look after her', since otherwise the conjunctive which follows it is left hanging isolated.

(1) Nefertari was venerated at Deir el-Medina: M. Gitton, 'Ahmose Nofretere', *LÄ* I, 109, n. 52.

Discussion

In this text, the sender complains that the addressee has failed to send him the ointment which he had already requested on the previous day.²¹

Černý reconstructs 'your female eating companion' as the one who is to benefit from this ointment. If so, the sender would be asking for extra rations to help support her while she is in his care.²² The letter is very damaged at this point; however, since the signs  are clear, the text does seem to refer to a woman.

We also learn that this woman has run away to Deir el-Medina. The sender has taken her under his wing and writes to the addressee to let him know where she is. The fact that he has kept this message secret from her, and that he warns the addressee, 'Look after her and don't do what you have usually done!' may indicate that family relations are not particularly happy.

We find a parallel in O. Ashmolean 1945.39²³ in which Khnummose²⁴ reminds Ruty of the favours he has done for him, including providing supplies for Ruty's wife, who had been living in Khnummose's house. Admittedly, the circumstances were not quite the same, since Khnummose was carrying out extensive renovations in Ruty's house and his wife might well have wanted to live elsewhere during the rebuilding. Subsequently, however, Ruty throws her out (i.e. divorces her?) and she lives at Menna's house for a while. During that time, Khnummose also gives her supplies:

²¹R. J. O' Shaughnessy, 'Forgiveness', *Philosophy* 42 (1967), 343, remarks that an injury can either be an expression of ill-will, or a defect of goodwill, as in this instance. Egyptian wisdom texts stress the importance of generosity and sharing: *The Instruction of Any* B 18.12: 'What is given small returns augmented, / [What is replaced brings abundance]' (M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, II (Berkeley, 1976), 139; I follow the line numbering of Quack, *Ani*); *Any* B 21.3-4: 'Do not eat bread whilst another stands by / Without extending your hand to him' (Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 141); *Any* B 21.5-6: 'One man is rich, another is poor, / But food remains so it may be shared' (see Quack, *Ani*, 111); *The Instruction of Amenemope* 26.11-12: 'Do not refuse your beer pot to a stranger. / Double it before your brothers' (see I. Grumach, *Untersuchungen zur Lebenslehre des Amenope* (MÄS 23; Munich, 1972), 170); *The Teaching of Ptahhotep* (ed. Devaud) 300: 'Beware of the selfish man's deed!'; *Ptahhotep* 318: 'Do not be selfish against your neighbours'; *Ptahhotep* 339: 'Gratify your close friends with what comes to you' (translations from Ptahhotep follow R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and other Ancient Egyptian Poems, 1940-1640 BC* (Oxford, 1997), 256, 257); O. Petrie 11 rt. 3: 'Do not sate yourself alone if your mother is a have-not' (J. Černý and A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I (Oxford, 1957), pl. i; translation: M. Lichtheim, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context* (OBO 52; Freiburg and Göttingen, 1983), 7). Cf. P. Lansing rt. 12.5, 14.1, 14.2 and 15.3, with particular reference to helping one's dependents: R. A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954), 412-13, 420-1.

²²Fischer-Elfert, *GM* 127, 37, suggests that the sender is asking for a cone of ointment, such as women wore on their heads at banquets during the New Kingdom, but this seems less likely to me, since a specific quantity of ointment is mentioned.

²³Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. lxxii.1.

²⁴Ruty is attested from Year 13 of Ramesses III to Year 2 of Ramesses VI (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, 268) and Khnummose from Year 15 of Ramesses III to Year 3 of Ramesses V (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, 246). Another Khnummose and another Ruty appear during the reign of Ramesses IX (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, 246, 248). The text opens: 'For information: everything which Khnummose gave to Ruty'. After a list of objects, the text continues in the first and third persons. Following Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, 21, I assume that the continuation of the text refers to favours which Khnummose did for Ruty, rather than Ruty's work for Khnummose to pay for the objects which Khnummose gave him.

‘And I plastered three places on the top of his house and likewise the staircase of his tomb and his wife spent 40 days dwelling with me in my house and I looked after her and gave her a sack of emmer and ten assorted loaves, and he threw her out again and she spent twenty days at Menna’s house and I gave her $\frac{3}{4}$ (of a sack of) barley, one *jnt*-garment and *ht* for a *stj*-garment.’

This incident might lend itself to a malicious interpretation — maybe Ruty threw her out because she and Khnummose were growing too close. On the other hand, however, if Khnummose were a relative of hers or an in-law, it would not be unusual that the woman would choose to stay with him if the situation at home were strained.

The scenario in P. DeM IV might be imagined as follows: the woman in the letter could be the wife of the addressee, who has run away from home because of her husband’s ill-treatment of her. The sender of this letter, probably a male relative of hers, is now looking after her. He intervenes on her behalf, arguing that the addressee should amend his behaviour, (‘Don’t do what you have usually done!’). He also maintains that her husband should contribute to her upkeep (‘Look after her!’). We might infer that if the husband does not fulfil his husbandly duty of providing for his wife, the force of any request that he might make for her to return to him would be substantially weakened.

The sender remarks that this woman has come to consult the goddess Nefertari because of, or in order to obtain, a dream; we might perhaps connect this to problems in the family. It is conceivable that Nefertari acted as an oracle for women in private matters, parallel to the better-known oracles of her son, the divinised Amenhotep I, but we have no evidence for this. We might place this consultation in the more conventional setting of pilgrimage and personal piety, wherein the worshipper resorts to a favourite deity or a patron of one particular area of concern, such as fertility, to enlist their help with some problem.

P. Deir el-Medina V

Translation

(rt. 1) As follows, I say to all the gods of heaven and earth every day, ‘Give you life and health.’ Furthermore (rt. 2), what’s the matter with you? Please write me your state of mind so that I may enter (rt. 3) into it. Indeed, since I was a child until today, when I am (rt. 4) with you, I can’t understand your character. (rt. 5) Will it be good^a for a man when he has to say something to his friend twice (rt. 6) and he doesn’t listen, like the *hin* of ointment (rt. 7) which I asked from you and you told me, ‘I will send it to you, (vs. 1) and you will not lack’?^b

Write to me how you are instead of^c (vs. 2) the ointment.

May Amun be before you!^d You will find benefit (vs. 3) in it.^e What you have continually done to me isn’t nice at all. Moreover^f — (vs. 4) soak a bit of bread. Send it [to me] quickly, at top speed. (vs. 5) May your health be good.

Notes

(a) Third future, *jw.s* < *r* > *nfr* < *n* > *rmt*, used as an inflexion question. Cf. Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques*, 18; Wentz, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 151.

(b) Alternatively, the verb *stjj* may be interpreted as 'to take care', in which case the actor expression refers to the addressee, and this remark is made in criticism of his conduct. Cf. Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques*, 18: 'mais (dont) tu ne t'es pas soucié!'; Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 151: 'but didn't even bother about ...'

(c) D. Meeks, *ALex* II, 78.3224.

(d) Literally, 'Amun is before you'. Cf. *LRL* 22.2; 69.14. I suggest this is a blessing, similar to the wish that Amun will guide (*ṛš h3.t n*) the addressee (*LRL* 64.9–10).

(e) I.e. the presence of Amun will benefit the addressee.

(f) Sometimes *kjj dd* introduces a remark which elaborates on preceding subject matter; see Borghouts, *Gleanings*, 54–5.

Discussion

The sender of this letter complains that he has asked the addressee twice for ointment, but despite the latter's promises, he has not sent him any. The sender stresses the importance of friendship. He presupposes that friends care for each other, help one another out and comply with each other's requests²⁵ — especially requests they have promised to fulfil.

Intimacy can prove surprisingly full of misunderstandings. Here, the sender complains that he cannot understand the addressee. More typically, senders of letters remark that the addressee fails to understand them,²⁶ as in *LRL* 68.8–9: 'You don't know my state of mind, that (it) is worried about you, that my desire is to cause you to recall memories of me every day'. In P. Leiden I 371, the sender complains that the addressee cannot tell good from evil. Since he makes this remark whilst reminding her how he has cared for her and treated her well all these years, he implies that she fails to appreciate his concern for her.

The sender may also stress that he has been with the addressee ('since I was a child'). *LRL* 68.6–7 also refers to the lifelong friendship of the correspondents: 'Look, it was when I was in the house that you were born'.

Borghouts conjectures that the sender of P. DeM V eventually suggests that his correspondent send a symbolic gift as a compromise to restore relations:²⁷ 'In comparison with the sizeable item A has first unsuccessfully asked of B, the morsel of bread he is now expecting and going to consume has every chance of possessing a mere symbolic

²⁵The ideal of reciprocity was a familiar one in the correspondents' cultural world (see J. J. Janssen, 'Gift-giving in Ancient Egypt as an Economic Feature', *JEA* 68 (1982), 253–8). Reciprocity is mentioned in several wisdom texts known to the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina: *The Instruction of Any* B 18.7–9: 'Befriend one who is straight and true. / One whose actions you have seen, / when your rightness matches his, / so the friendship will be balanced' (cf. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 138; Quack, *Ani*, 99); *The Teaching of Ptahhotep* 490–2: 'Do not be vile-natured to your friends: they are a riverbank which is fertile, are greater than its riches!'; O. Petrie 11 vs. 6: 'Do not shun your neighbours in the days of their need, then they will surround you in [your moment]'; O. Petrie 11 vs. 7: 'Do not make your feast without your neighbours; then they will surround you with mourning on burial day' (Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. i; Lichtheim, *Wisdom Literature*, 8). The theme of mutual aid and reciprocity is also discussed, for instance, by Lichtheim, *Wisdom Literature*, 31–4 (in a discussion of the Golden Rule) and J. Assmann, *Marat: Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1995), 60–9, 111.

²⁶Cf. Assmann, *Marat*, 73–6, on the art of listening.

²⁷Cf. J. Beatty, 'Forgiveness', *American Philosophical Quarterly* 7 (1970), 246, for the importance of ritual gestures of appeasement, such as the exchange of small gifts or favours, when making up quarrels.

value'.²⁸ In addition, the addressee is asked to resume the correspondence: 'Write to me how you are instead of the ointment'.²⁹

By contrast, in the following letter, P. DeM IV, the correspondence itself is at stake. To some extent, 'the medium is the message' here, since correspondence is not only the channel by which the friendship is communicated, but the sign and proof thereof.

P. Deir el-Medina IV

Translation

(rt. 1) The scribe Nakhtsobk to the crew member Amennakhte, in life, prosperity and health, in the favour (rt. 2) of Amun-Re King of the gods, as follows: I say every day to Amun, Mut, Khons and [all] the gods of Thebes (rt. 3) and every [god] and goddess who [rest]s in the west of Thebes, 'Give you life, give you health, give [you] (rt. 4) long [life] and great old age when you are in the favour of Amunhotep the lord of the [village], (rt. 5) your lord who looks after you.'

Furthermore — Now what? What offence have I done against you?^a (rt. 6) Aren't I your old eating companion?^b Will (rt. 7) the hour come^c that^d you reject your [...]?^e What will I do?^f Please^g write to me (rt. 8) the offence [I] did [against you via] the policeman B[asa].^h Now if (rt. 9) it is only to meⁱ that you don't send anything whatsoever, really this is a (rt. 10) rotten [...] day. < I > won't ask anything from you.^j A man is happy^k (rt. 11) when he is with his old eating companion (rt. 12). Possessions are good new, but friends are better old.^l

When my letter (vs. 1) reaches you, write me how you are via the policeman Basa. Show (vs. 2) me the [...] ^m today. Don't let < them > say to me, 'Don't enter yourⁿ (vs. 3) house and don't (even) make [...] road < to > the interior to the watchposts.^o Run away^p [...] of (vs. 4) the village and don't [...] ' [...] ^q to me. I will go < to > enter (vs. 5) the^r house and go out from [it]. I will^s enter my own place. May Amun be before you! Will he (vs. 6) live? (Then) I will live. When I die, may Amun still be before you.^t (vs. 7) May your health be good.

Notes

(a) These sentences may be divided either *jjj jh jrjj.j | jh bt < .j > r.k*, or *jjj jh Ø | jr.j jh < m > bt r.k*. I follow the interpretation of Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques*, 16, and F. Neveu, *La Langue des Ramsès* (Paris, 1996), 215, in order to highlight the similarity with P. DeM XXII rt. 1.

(b) Cf. Wenté, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 150, and Fischer-Elfert, *GM* 127, 36. Contra Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*³, ex. 1524, this is an inflexion question.

(c) Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques*, 16, and Wenté, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 150, render 'Has the time come?', but since there is no past active *stp.f* form of verbs of motion in Late Egyptian, we would expect to see *t; wnw.t jj.tj*.

(d) Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques*, 16.

²⁸ Borghouts, in *Gleanings*, 55.

²⁹ Conceivably, *h;b n.j r.k hr s.t n p; sgnn*, 'write to me how you are in exchange for the ointment', might belong to the quotation and be a request made by the addressee. On the other hand, since messages have already been exchanged by this point, presumably the addressee is already informed about the sender of this letter. I understand this remark as part of the sender's scaling down his request to make it easier for the addressee to make some sort of reciprocal gesture: instead of the ointment, he is prepared to settle for a token piece of bread and news of his correspondent.

(e) Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques*, 17, n. f, points out that 'you reject me' would be *j.jrj.k ḥꜣꜣ < .j >*. Since *ḥꜣꜣ* is followed by a short gap and the suffix pronoun *.k*, we expect a very brief noun to fill the gap.

(f) Wenté, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 150.

(g) The particle *mj* is fairly rare in Late Ramesside letters, appearing here and in J. J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications (Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum VI)* (London, 1991), V rt. 8, *LRL* 68.7 (twice), *LRL* 72.8 and P. DeM V rt. 2.

(h) Basa is also known from the reigns of Ramesses III's successors. See Černý, *Community*, 272. He appears in O. Gardiner 137 rt. 3 (Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca I*, pl. lvi.3), which Gutgesell attributes to Year 3 of Ramesses V (*Datierung*, 240-1). Given that Nakhtsobk is only attested under Ramesses IV, P. DeM IV is probably a few years earlier than those texts.

(i) Cf. L. Depudyt, 'On Distinctive and Isolating Emphasis in Egyptian and in General', *Ling Aeg* 1 (1991), 38-9; P. Vernus, 'Le rhème marqué: typologie des emplois et effets de sens en Moyen Égyptien (Temps Seconds, Cleft Sentences et constructions apparentées dans les stratégies de l'énonciateur)', *Ling Aeg* 1 (1991), 344-5, for the use of the second tenses in restrictive contexts. The exclusive nuance of the second tense is not picked up by Wenté, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 150, or Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*³, ex. 1618. One of the *JEA*'s referees suggested that *n.j* is not sufficiently marked to be the stressed adverbs here, and that *nfr m-r pw bjn* would be a more suitable candidate. However, *nfr ... bjn* is a common merismus (e.g. *LRL* 3.11-12; P. Nevill vs. 3-4) meaning 'anything at all', and the two terms should probably not be contrasted. I suggest that Nakhtsobk is asserting that Amennakhte has chosen to ignore him whilst pointedly maintaining friendly relations with everyone else and exchanging gifts and information with them.

(j) Initial prospective *stp.f* negated by *bn ... jwnꜣ*. Sarah Groll once suggested to me that this negation was formed by analogy from the second tense *bn... jwnꜣ* and is a second tense transformation of the prospective, stressing that only, or precisely, in circumstances X, or referring to Y, will a given action not apply. For a second tense transformation of the third future, see *LRL* 74.2: *bn jw.j r gr n.k jwnꜣ hr tꜣꜣ md.t n nꜣ njw*, 'It is precisely about this matter of the spears that I will not desist from (reminding) you'. Here the writer returns to the topic of the spears after a discussion of other matters and stresses that, by contrast, this particular issue is precisely the one which the writer is eager to have settled. The article of J. Winand, 'La négation *bn... jwnꜣ* en néo-égyptien', *Ling Aeg* 5 (1997), 223-36, reached me too late to include.

Similarly, in O. CGC 25752 rt. 2-vs. 3 (J. Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques*, I (CG; Cairo, 1935), pl. 91), there is a definite contrast between the addressee and the person who has already been appointed to sing: *bn jw.j < r > dj.t jrj.k ḥꜣ jwnꜣ < hr > Pꜣsn dj.w.f < r > pꜣ ḥꜣj n Mr.tsgr*, 'I will not let you do the singing *instead of* Pasen. He has been appointed as the singer of Meretseger'.

(k) I read *nfr rmt*, but Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques*, 16, may be right in assuming a missing *n*: *nfr Ø [n] rmt*.

(l) *nfr nkt ... n mꜣw.t nfr jrjj n js*. I paraphrase, following Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques*, 17: 'pour les autres choses il est préférable qu'elles soient neuves, mais un compagnon, il vaut mieux que ce soit un vieil ami'. Similarly Wenté, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 150.

(m) Wenté, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 150, restores 'situation'.

(n) This remark is introduced by a negative causative imperative, so Nakhtsobk is not quoting a real or imaginary remark by Amennakhte in person. We may imagine a scenario where other villagers warn Nakhtsobk against entering Amennakhte's house. In this case, the second person pronouns are adapted to the current communicative context; see Peust, *Indirekte Rede*, 53-9.

(o) See R. Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead* (OBO 69; Freiburg and Göttingen, 1986), 120-44. In other words, Nakhtsobk is not only being warned to refrain from entering Amennakhte's house, but he is ordered to keep away even from the watchposts which define the outer boundary of Deir el-Medina.

(p) McDowell, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 55, translates 'stay away from the village'.

(q) Wenté, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 151, renders '[turn a deaf ear(?) to me]'

(r) Following Wenté, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 151, and McDowell, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 55.

Although one could restore ‘< my > house’, I suspect that the text refers to Amennakhte’s house, since Nakhtsobk probably did not live in Deir el’Medina (see n. 2 above).

- (s) Wentz, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 151, suggests ‘I must have access [to] ...’
 (t) The text reads ‘him’.

Discussion


In P. DeM IV, by contrast, the problem is not that Amennakhte has failed to send Nakhtsobk something the latter had requested, but that Amennakhte is giving Nakhtsobk the cold shoulder. Not only is he neglecting him, which is bad enough, but he is actively trying to drive him away, to the extent of trying to bar him not only from his (Amennakhte’s) house, but from the entire village. This scenario is reminiscent of P. Salt 124 (P. BM EA 10055), in which Paneb debars his rival from entering his family chapel, makes him swear an oath not to enter it, and even intimidates those rash enough to approach the chapel by hurling missiles at them:³⁰

‘Charge about his forcing me to swear < about > the upper part³¹ of the chapel of my mother and my father, saying, “I will not enter it”, and he caused the crewman Pashed to come and he started to call out < in > the village, saying, “Don’t let (any) member of the chief workman Nebnefer be seen going to sacrifice to Amun their god”, so he said. Now when the people went to make sacrifice [on the]³² side [...] they were afraid of him and he began to throw stones at the servants of the village.’

The philosopher Berel Lang³³ points out that there is a qualitative difference between forgiving someone who seems merely to have been negligent (as in P. DeM VI and V) and forgiving someone who has acted in a deliberately malicious manner, such as Amennakhte forbidding Nakhtsobk to enter the village. This step seems a drastic enough action to put their friendship in jeopardy. In P. DeM V and VI, by contrast, it does not seem that the future of the friendship is at stake.

However, Nakhtsobk stresses that Amennakhte’s threats do not impress him in the least. Nakhtsobk tries to restore good relations by referring to their past friendship: ‘Aren’t I your old eating companion?’³⁴ With remarks such as ‘A man is happy when he is with his old eating companion’, and ‘[Something] new is good. An old friend is good (too)’,³⁵ Nakhtsobk may be quoting proverbs, invoking wider social support for the attitudes he expresses.

³⁰P. Salt 124 vs. 1.13–17.

³¹Written *hrjj* , an unusual writing for the preposition. From the determinative, the word might refer to an ‘upper part’ of the chapel.

³²Following A. Théodorides, ‘Dénonciation de malversations ou requête en destitution? (Papyrus Salt 124 = Pap. Brit. Mus. 10055)’, *RIDA* 28 (1981), 57.

³³B. Lang, ‘Forgiveness’, *American Philosophical Quarterly* 31 (1994), 111–12. Cf. H. J. N. Horsbrugh, ‘Forgiveness’, *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 4/2 (1974), 279.

³⁴Beatty, *American Philosophical Quarterly* 7/3, 251, describes how offenders may represent the past they have shared with the offended party in a positive light, representing themselves as lovable and forgivable, in order to help the offended party forgive them. In other words, the offender invites the offended party to believe that the offender transcends his or her misdeeds.

³⁵J. North, ‘Wrongdoing and Forgiveness’, *Philosophy* 62 (1987), 506, remarks that the injured party may overcome their resentment more easily if they choose to focus on their friend’s attractive features rather than their defects. Similarly, C. Calhoun, ‘Changing One’s Heart’, *Ethics* 103 (1992), 87, explains: ‘Any story enabling us forgivingly to overcome resentment must portray the wrongdoer as the sort of individual who continues to be an appropriate object of reactive attitudes because she is capable of caring about our well-being’.

Nakhtsobk also seems prepared to admit that he may have done something to offend Amennakhte, since he frequently makes remarks such as, 'Now what have I done; what is my offence against you? Has the hour come that you reject me? ... Please write me my crime against you'. Although in other texts (for example, in P. DeM V above) the sender may pose such questions rhetorically, it seems that Nakhtsobk is quite sincere, since he is prepared to hear Amennakhte's views on the topic.³⁶ He asks the latter to reply via the policeman Basa — perhaps by return post since the same messenger is named when Nakhtsobk says, 'When my letter reaches you, you will write me how you are via the policeman Basa'.

As in P. DeM V, the sender suggests a conciliatory action which the *addressee* should perform in order to make up, rather than the sender offering to perform such an action himself. Note, however, that what is asked in both cases is remedial action, not an appropriate apology.³⁷ In Egyptian terms, this is entirely appropriate: the offense has ruptured the reciprocal exchange of gifts, information and favours which is the basis of Egyptian social life, and these token gestures bridge the gap and allow the exchange to resume. At every level in Egyptian society, giving and receiving mark social solidarity and mutual support.

P. Deir el-Medina XXII

This text is so fragmentary that little information may be gleaned from it, but a translation is included for the sake of completeness.

Translation

(rt. c) [I say to gods X, Y and Z,] 'Give you life and health^a [...] carrying [...] (rt. 1) Now what? As for the message [...] (rt. 2) quarrel. Now what? [...] (rt. 3) the message which I sent to you saying [...] (rt. 4) eating companion < to > say to him^b [...] (rt. 5) Won't^c I know that^d [...] (rt. a) [...] not^e [...] (rt. b) [...] so you said^f to me. You [...] quarrel < about? > the [...] friend [...]

³⁶A better understanding of the offender's motives and the circumstances surrounding the injury may at times help the offended party forgive, or realise that their resentment is inappropriate — for instance, if the offender acted out of ignorance or under constraint. See R. S. Downie, 'Forgiveness', *Philosophical Quarterly* 15 (1965), 130; P. F. Strawson, *Freedom and Resentment and Other Essays* (London, 1974), 7–9.

³⁷In ancient Egypt, a verbal apology might have been problematic; it could have involved submission and a loss of face to a greater degree than the modern reader understands it. In current Western philosophy, however, it is generally felt that an apology is an essential element of asking for forgiveness. See Strawson, *Freedom and Resentment*, 6; M. P. Golding, 'Forgiveness and Regret', *The Philosophical Forum* 16 (1984–5), 134, and B. Lang, 'Forgiveness', *American Philosophical Quarterly* 31 (1990), 106. However, O'Shaughnessy, *Philosophy* 42, 350, cautions that 'apologising and genuinely asking forgiveness cannot always be safely equated', since one may go through the motions of apologising without the slightest trace of genuine contrition. North, *Philosophy* 62, 503, J. G. Haber, *Forgiveness* (Savage, MD, 1991), 90, 94, and N. Richards, 'Forgiveness', *Ethics* 99 (1988), 87–9, insist that the necessary precondition for forgiveness is that the offender repent. According to Strawson, *Freedom and Resentment*, 6, Haber, *Forgiveness*, 94, and Lang, *American Philosophical Quarterly* 31, 106, it is also essential that the offender promise not to treat the offended party in that way again. The extent to which an unrepentant offender can be forgiven is, of course, a moot point. M. R. Holmgren, 'Forgiveness and the Intrinsic Value of Persons', *American Philosophical Quarterly* 30 (1993), 341–5, gives an attractive description of the process of forgiveness from the victim's viewpoint. When the process has been worked through completely, the victim can, and even should, forgive even unrepentant wrongdoers. However, this process involves the victims reaffirming their self-worth despite the wrong done to them, recognising and opposing this wrong, accepting and working through their feelings of pain and anger, and if appropriate, telling the wrongdoer about them and obtaining suitable redress. This process is certainly not a 'soft option'.

(vs. 1) Now Papa^g is taking [...] (vs. 2) from me. He is the one who will belong^h to the [...] (vs. 3) [send]ⁱ me the bad words again [...] (vs. 4) which Amun gave. Now as for/if [...] (vs. 5) Look, Hori [...] (vs. 6) [May Amun be] before you [...] (vs. c) Now what? If I [...] this^j one *deben* [...] in not^k speaking [...] (vs. a) [...] the [one who] [...] (vs. b) [...] you/your [...] Now [...] to you for^l the man [...]

Notes

- (a) The blessing on the recto of fragment c precedes the body of the letter.
- (b) Or, 'who says to him'.
- (c) Rhetorical question particle. See Neveu, *La Langue des Ramsès*, 285–7.
- (d) Or 'Won't I be able to say?', reading {r}-*dd* as a faulty writing of *dd*.
- (e) Negative second tense.
- (f) Reading [j].*n.k.*
- (g) Perhaps a personal name. Cf. the foreign name *P3t3r*, for which see T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches* (OBO 114; Freiburg and Göttingen, 1992), 122, 253.
- (h) Relative third future whose predicate is the dative *n*. Neveu, *La Langue des Ramsès*, 97.
- (i) Verb of motion, from the determinative.
- (j) See J. Winand, review of J. Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques*, II, *CdE* 68 (1993), 85.
- (k) *Ibid.*
- (l) *Ibid.*

Discussion

This letter mentions a previous message by the sender of this letter, 'bad words' which were sent to him, and which the sender probably insists he is not prepared to accept again, 'arguments' and an 'eating companion'.

The suggestion of Fischer-Elfert that there is a connection between P. DeM XXII and P. DeM IV–VI³⁸ was probably due to the phrases they have in common. The fragment P. DeM XXII uses *jh*-questions,³⁹ as P. DeM IV and V do;⁴⁰ the term ... *h3.t.[k]*⁴¹ is probably part of the phrase *jmn r-h3.t.k*, also in P. DeM IV and V.⁴² Like P. DeM IV and VI,⁴³ P. DeM XXII includes the phrase *wnm ʕq.w*.⁴⁴ It shares specifically with P. DeM IV the phrase *jj3 jh*.⁴⁵ The term *jrjj* appears in P. DeM XXII,⁴⁶ but since the papyrus is broken directly after it, it is not clear whether this is part of the phrase *jrjj n wnm ʕqw*, shared by P. DeM IV and VI, or whether *jrjj* stands alone, as in P. DeM IV rt. 12 and P. DeM V rt. 5.

Discussion

In all these letters, the sender complains of coldness on his correspondent's part, epitomised by his failure to exchange favours and information, and his disregard for the norms of reciprocity. As the philosopher R. J. O'Shaughnessy points out, between people

³⁸ *GM* 127, 36.

³⁹ P. DeM XXII rt. 1, rt. 2, vs. c.

⁴⁰ P. DeM IV rt. 5; V rt. 2.

⁴¹ P. DeM XXII vs. 6.

⁴² P. DeM IV vs. 5; V vs. 2.

⁴³ P. DeM IV rt. 6; VI rt. 4.

⁴⁴ P. DeM XXII rt. 4.

⁴⁵ P. DeM IV rt. 5; XXII rt. 1, rt. 2.

⁴⁶ P. DeM XXII vs. b3.

who are close to one another, 'the mere withdrawal of love can constitute an injury'.⁴⁷ Whereas in P. DeM VI the sender is merely irritated by the addressee's lack of co-operation, in P. DeM V he seems definitely worried, and in P. DeM IV, something has gone seriously awry between the correspondents.

In P. DeM V and especially in P. DeM IV, what is desired is the resumption of the previous friendship.⁴⁸ The sender of the letter wants to be re-accepted.⁴⁹ On the other hand, his friend's conduct makes it impossible for the friendship to continue in its current state. To some extent, we could define these letters as letters of accusation, where the offended party expresses his resentment to the wrongdoer.⁵⁰ However, the resentment is expressed not merely to make the wrongdoer recognise his responsibility,⁵¹ but explicitly to clear the air between the friends, as a move towards reconciliation.

In what setting do the senders of these letters frame their attempts at reconciliation? All the discussions of forgiveness in these letters are completely secular. There is no mention of the gods, *maat*, or divine commandments to forgive. The basis of reconciliation is human solidarity, and old times' sake.⁵² On the basis of their past friendship, the victim may reappraise the offender as basically decent despite his offence, and initiate or accept token gestures which will restore the momentum of reciprocal exchange.

Appendix: Hieratic palaeography⁵³

Certain hieratic groups in these letters, such as *hr*⁵⁴ (Table 2), *n.j*⁵⁵ (Table 3), *hjb*⁵⁶ (Table 4), *ꜥq.w*⁵⁷ (Table 5), *ꜥd*⁵⁸ (Table 6), *jmj*⁵⁹ (Table 7), *snb*⁶⁰ (Table 8), *n.k*⁶¹ (Table

⁴⁷ *Philosophy* 42, 343. Failure to help one's friends is felt to be much more blameworthy than failure to help a stranger: D. B. Annis, 'The Meaning, Value, and Duties of Friendship', *American Philosophical Quarterly* 24 (1987), 352; J. O. Grunebaum, 'Friendship, Morality, and Special Obligation', *American Philosophical Quarterly* 30 (1993), 51.

⁴⁸ Golding, *Philosophical Forum* 16, 134–5.

⁴⁹ P. Twambley, 'Mercy and Forgiveness', *Analysis* 36 (1976), 89, summarizing Aurel Kolnai, 'Forgiveness', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 74 (1973–4), 91–106.

⁵⁰ Beatty, *American Philosophical Quarterly* 7/3, 248, points out that by getting offended the victim can make the offender feel guilty, which to some extent is what the sender is trying to do here. By expressing his resentment, the sender tries to make the other party accept responsibility for his misconduct.

⁵¹ Beatty, *American Philosophical Quarterly* 7/3, 250, remarks that in some cases 'the offended reveals the offense to the offender in the hope that he will deny or affirm it'. Cf. Holmgren, *American Philosophical Quarterly* 30, 343–4, although in this case the explanation forms part of the victim's working through the process of forgiveness, and the wrongdoer's acknowledgement of his wrongdoing is secondary.

⁵² Cf. J. G. Murphy, 'Forgiveness and Resentment', in J. G. Murphy and J. Hampton (eds), *Forgiveness and Mercy* (Cambridge, 1988), 24, and Hampton, 'Forgiveness, Resentment and Hatred', in *ibid.* 84 n. 33. However, Haber, *Forgiveness*, 106, finds this reason inadequate, and Richards, *Ethics* 99, 95, is also dubious. He remarks that it is possible to forgive too much for old times' sake.

⁵³ The signs in these tables are not to scale. Groups which are too fragmentary to yield significant information have been omitted.

⁵⁴ P. DeM IV rt. 8, vs. 3; V rt. 4; VI rt. 4, vs. 1; XXII vs. 4.

⁵⁵ P. DeM IV rt. 9, vs. 2 (×2); V rt. 2, rt. 7, vs. 1; VI rt. 2; XXII rt. b1, vs. 3.

⁵⁶ P. DeM IV rt. 9, vs. 1; V rt. 2, vs. 1; VI rt. 3, rt. 7; XXII rt. 3.



⁵⁷ P. DeM IV rt. 6; V vs. 4; VI rt. 4; XXII rt. 4. The greater similarity is between V and VI, and IV and XXII.

⁵⁸ P. DeM IV rt. 2, rt. 5, vs. 2; V rt. 1, rt. 5, rt. 7, vs. 3; VI rt. 1, rt. 3, vs. 1, vs. 2; XXII rt. 4, rt. 5. P. DeM XXII is most similar to V rt. 1 or IV vs. 2. (The *nk*-group of *nk.t* is included here, since it is not significantly different from the dative *n.k*.)

⁵⁹ P. DeM IV rt. 3 (×3); V rt. 1; VI rt. 2, rt. 3; XXII rt. c1.




⁶⁰ P. DeM IV rt. 3; V rt. 1; VI rt. 2; XXII rt. c1. *snb* is fairly similar in all four cases, but identical in none.

⁶¹ P. DeM IV rt. 3 (×2), rt. 10, rt. 12; V rt. 1, rt. 5, rt. 7, vs. 4; VI rt. 2, rt. 3, rt. 6, rt. 7 (×2), vs. 2; XXII rt. 3, rt. c1, vs. b2.

9), and *nh*⁶² (Table 10), are similar in all four texts. This includes groups which can be written in more than one way, such as *dd*, *n.k* and *n.j*, where similar variants appear in all four texts. In the group *dd*, the cobra-sign may either come to an end level with the base of the hand-sign, or it may have a very long tail; the hand-sign may have a flat base , or it may loop behind underneath itself.⁶³ In the group *n.k*, the tail of the *.k*-sign may have either a short sharp slope or a longer, more gradual incline. *n.j* may be written either as a ligature or as two separate signs. In this group, the tail of the -sign in P. DeM XXII curves up quite sharply, as it does to some extent in P. DeM IV.

Most of the above groups are fairly simple, so their likeness is not necessarily significant. The same is true of certain simple words which appear in only two or three texts, such as *c*⁶⁴ (P. DeM IV and V; Table 11), *bn*⁶⁵ (P. DeM IV, V and XXII; Table 12), *jnj*⁶⁶ (P. DeM V and VI; Table 13), and *dj.t*⁶⁷ (P. DeM V and VI; Table 14).

Other groups are written differently in each text, such as the preposition *hr*⁶⁸ (in all four texts; Table 15), *rmt*⁶⁹ (in all four texts; Table 16), *tm*⁷⁰ (in all four texts; Table 17), *ptr*⁷¹ (P. DeM IV, V and XXII; Table 18), *jj*⁷² (P. DeM IV, VI and XXII; Table 19) and *nfr* (P. DeM IV, V and VI; Table 20). In P. DeM IV rt. 9, 11, 12 and vs. 7 the base of the *nfr*-sign curves upwards; in P. DeM VI it has a flat base (vs. 2), as it does in P. DeM V (vs. 3, vs. 5). However, P. DeM V also includes the only *nfr*-sign with a round base (rt. 5). In the group in P. DeM VI (vs. 2) the head of the *f*-sign begins directly above the vertical stroke of the *nfr*; in the other papyri the *f* begins behind and above the crossbar.

Certain groups appear to contrast one pair of papyri with another. Such is the prothetic *j* (Table 21), which shows two distinct patterns of use: P. DeM IV and V use the short hieratic form of the -sign⁷³ , P. DeM VI and P. DeM XXII the full one .

However, this pattern does not remain constant. Apart from the words listed above, P. DeM IV and V have little else in common. Indeed, certain words in both texts are written entirely differently, such as *jwn*⁷⁵ (Table 22) and *nb* (Table 23). The *nb*-sign of P. DeM

⁶²P. DeM IV [rt. 3], vs. 6 (×2); V rt. 1; VI rt. 2; XXII rt. c1. The *nh*-sign in P. DeM XXII, however, is more like those in P. DeM V and VI.

⁶³Both variants appear in P. DeM IV, V and VI. The groups in P. DeM XXII have a long-tailed cobra and a flat hand.

⁶⁴P. DeM IV vs. 1; V vs. 1.

⁶⁵P. DeM IV rt. 6, rt. 10; V vs. 3; XXII rt. a.

⁶⁶P. DeM V rt. 7; VI rt. 4.

⁶⁷P. DeM V rt. 7; VI rt. 7, rt. 8. In P. DeM VI vs. 1, however, the *t*-sign has a long tail which curves back underneath it.

⁶⁸P. DeM IV rt. 2; V rt. 1; VI rt. 1, rt. 6, rt. 7 (×2); XXII vs. 1.

⁶⁹P. DeM IV rt. 1, rt. 11; V rt. 5; VI rt. 8; XXII vs. b2. However, the plural signs of P. DeM IV rt. 11 and VI rt. 8 resemble each other.


⁷⁰P. DeM IV rt. 9; V rt. 6, vs. 1; VI rt. 5, vs. 3; XXII vs. c3. The *tm*-signs themselves in P. DeM V and VI are similar, but the second half of the word is different.

⁷¹P. DeM IV rt. 5; VI rt. 7, vs. 1, vs. 3; XXII vs. 5.

⁷²Unlike P. DeM IV rt. 5, rt. 9 and V rt. 3, the *j*-sign in the word *jj* in P. DeM XXII rt. 1, rt. 2, vs. 1, vs. c1 is written with a long tail curving back below the sign. In P. DeM V the sign has a flat base, in P. DeM IV the base curves under very slightly. The top of the *j*-sign curves backwards dramatically in P. DeM XXII.

⁷³P. DeM IV rt. 7, rt. 9; V rt. 4, vs. 3.

⁷⁴P. DeM VI vs. 2, vs. 4; XXII rt. 3.

⁷⁵P. DeM IV rt. 10, V vs. 3. Amongst other differences, P. DeM V is written with the full hieratic form for , whereas P. DeM IV is written with the short form.

V rt. 1 has a number of short vertical strokes sprouting from the upper edge of the sign; by contrast, the *nb*-signs of P. DeM IV consist of a semi-circle with a slanting lid.⁷⁶ The group *rc nb* (Table 24), which appears in P. DeM IV, V and VI, is similar in P. DeM V and VI,⁷⁷ but different in P. DeM IV. In P. DeM IV rt. 5 the *nb*-sign has no horizontal stripe, but a long tail instead, and the *rc*-sign is formed differently from P. DeM V and VI. The word *mj*,⁷⁸ which appears in both texts, is also dissimilar, although this dissimilarity stems mostly from the fuller spelling with two $\beta\beta$ used in P. DeM V (Table 25).

As we have already seen, the *pj*-sign is somewhat similar in P. DeM IV and VI; the same is true of the *jrj*-sign⁷⁹ (Table 26). By contrast, the *jrj*-signs in P. DeM V have long tails curling upwards from the right-hand corner of the eye.⁸⁰ Little remains of the *jrj*-sign in P. DeM XXII rt. 3, but it apparently had a long flat base.

The word *spr*⁸¹ (Table 27), and the conjunctive preformative *mtw.k*⁸² (Table 28), which appear in P. DeM IV and VI, are also somewhat similar. However, as we have seen above, the two hands also differ significantly.

P. DeM V and VI share a similar writing of the word *cm*,⁸³ (Table 29). However, the eye-determinative is open much wider in P. DeM V than in P. DeM VI. They also share other small similarities, such as the initial sign in the word *tm* and the first group of signs in the word *rm̄t*.

P. DeM XXII has certain similarities to P. DeM IV in the words *jh*⁸⁴ (Table 30), *bjn*⁸⁵ (Table 31), and to some extent *wnm*⁸⁶ (Table 32). It seems to have no points of contact with P. DeM VI and very few with P. DeM V. The determinative of the word *jrww* is similar⁸⁷ (Table 33), and the *mn*-group in the name of the god Amun in P. DeM XXII also resembles the group in P. DeM V more than any of the examples in P. DeM IV⁸⁸ (Table 34). However, *jh*, *jj* and *wnm* differ between P. DeM V and XXII. Similarly, P. DeM XXII differs from P. DeM IV to some extent in the writing of *jrww* and *fmn*.

Thus, there seems to be no consistent pattern of similarity which would lead us to identify any two of these texts as written by the same hand. The importance of these results, I suggest, lies in their opening up wider questions about hieratic palaeography: Which factors are significant? How great a degree of variation is to be expected within one person's handwriting?

⁷⁶P. DeM IV rt. 3 (×2), rt. 4, rt. 5.

⁷⁷P. DeM IV rt. 5; V rt. 1; VI rt. 3.

⁷⁸P. DeM IV rt. 7; V rt. 2.

⁷⁹P. DeM IV rt. 5, rt. 7, vs. 2, vs. 3 (×2), vs. 5; VI rt. 5 (×2), rt. 8, vs. 3, vs. 4 (×3).

⁸⁰P. DeM V rt. 4, vs. 3. This element also appears, in a more attenuated version, in P. DeM IV rt. 9 and P. DeM VI vs. 3.

⁸¹P. DeM IV vs. 1; VI vs. 7.

⁸²P. DeM IV vs. 4; VI rt. 5, [rt. 6], vs. 3.

⁸³P. DeM V rt. 4; VI vs. 1.

⁸⁴P. DeM IV rt. 5 (×2), rt. 7. P. DeM XXII vs. c1 writes the book-roll-determinative with a dot above it, as does P. DeM IV, whereas P. DeM V rt. 2 does not.

⁸⁵P. DeM IV rt. 9; XXII vs. 3. In both instances, the toe of the foot curves back under the sole, and the bottom half of the bird-determinative is similar. The word is incomplete in both cases.

⁸⁶P. DeM IV rt. 6, rt. 11; VI rt. 4; XXII rt. 4. The long tail of the *wnm*-sign appears in both P. DeM IV and P. DeM XXII but the central signs of both words are different.

⁸⁷P. DeM IV rt. 6, rt. 11, rt. 12; V rt. 5; XXII rt. b3.

⁸⁸P. DeM IV rt. 2, rt. 4, vs. 5, vs. 6; V vs. 2; XXII vs. 4.

TABLE 1-3






















































	P. DeM IV	P. DeM V	P. DeM VI	P. DeM XXII
1. <i>pʹ</i>	 rt. 4	 rt. 2	 rt. 1	 rt. 1
	 rt. 4		 rt. 1	
	 rt. 5	 rt. 3	 rt. 3	 rt. b2
	 rt. 6		 rt. 6	 vs. 1
	 rt. 11	 rt. 4	 rt. 7	 vs. 2
	 vs. 1	 rt. 5	 rt. 8	 vs. 2
	 vs. 2	 vs. 2	 rt. 8	 vs. 2
	 vs. 2		 vs. 3	 vs. 2
	 vs. 2	 vs. 3		 vs. 2
	 vs. 4			 vs. b2
				 vs. b3
2. <i>hr</i>	 rt. 8	 rt. 4	 rt. 4	 vs. 4
	 vs. 3		 vs. 1	
3. <i>n.j</i>	 rt. 9	 rt. 2	 rt. 2	 rt. b1
	 vs. 2	 rt. 7		 vs. 3
	 vs. 2	 vs. 1		

TABLE 4-8


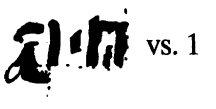





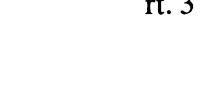

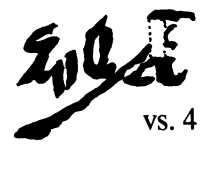
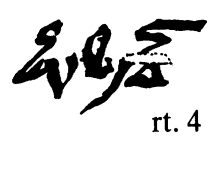

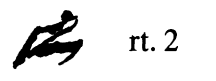
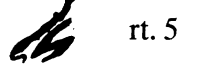
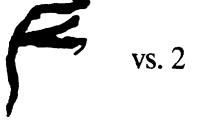







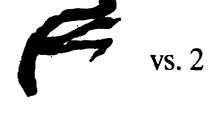
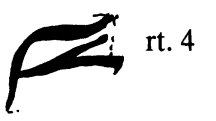
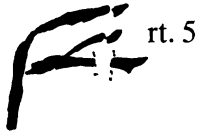


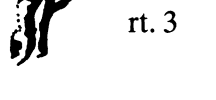

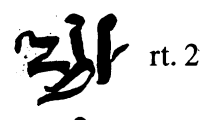
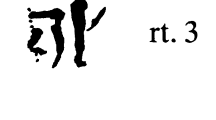
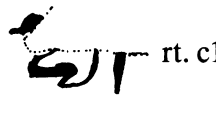
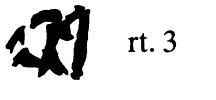
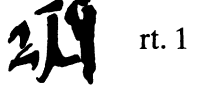
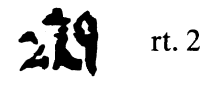
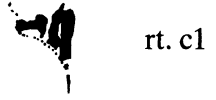
	P. DeM IV	P. DeM V	P. DeM VI	P. DeM XXII
4. <i>hzb</i>	 rt. 9  vs. 1	 rt. 2  vs. 1	 rt. 3  rt. 7	 rt. 3  rt. 3
5. <i>sq.w</i>	 rt. 6	 vs. 4	 rt. 4	 rt. 4
6. <i>dd</i>	 rt. 2  rt. 5  vs. 2	 rt. 1  rt. 5  rt. 7  vs. 3	 rt. 1  rt. 3  vs. 1  vs. 2	 rt. 4  rt. 5
7. <i>jmj</i>	 rt. 3  rt. 3  rt. 3	 rt. 1	 rt. 2  rt. 3	 rt. cl
8. <i>snb</i>	 rt. 3	 rt. 1	 rt. 2	 rt. cl

TABLE 9-14




































	P. DeM IV	P. DeM V	P. DeM VI	P. DeM XXII
9. <i>n.k</i>	 rt. 3  rt. 3  rt. 10  rt. 12	 rt. 1  rt. 5  rt. 7  vs. 4	 rt. 2  rt. 3  rt. 6  rt. 7  rt. 7  vs. 2	 rt. 3  rt. c1  vs. b2
10. <i>nh</i>	 rt. 3  vs. 6  vs. 6	 rt. 1	 rt. 2	 rt. c1
11. <i>c</i>	 vs. 1	 vs. 1		
12. <i>bn</i>	 rt. 6  rt. 10	 vs. 3		 rt. a
13. <i>npj</i>		 rt. 7	 rt. 4	
14. <i>djt</i>		 rt. 7	 rt. 7  rt. 8  vs. 1	

TABLE 15-19















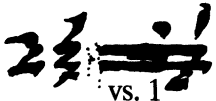
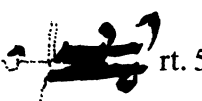
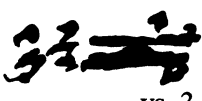















	P. DeM IV	P. DeM V	P. DeM VI	P. DeM XXII
15. <i>hr</i>	 rt. 2	 rt. 1	 rt. 1  rt. 6  rt. 7  rt. 7	 vs. 1
16. <i>rmt</i>	 rt. 1  rt. 11	 rt. 5	 rt. 8	 vs. b2
17. <i>tm</i>	 rt. 9	 rt. 6  vs. 1	 rt. 5  vs. 3	 vs. c3
18. <i>ptr</i>	  rt. 5		 rt. 7  vs. 1  vs. 3	 vs. 5
19. <i>jj</i>	 rt. 5  rt. 9	 rt. 3		 rt. 1  rt. 2  P  vs. 1  vs. c1

TABLE 20-25




























	P. DeM IV	P. DeM V	P. DeM VI	P. DeM XXII
20. <i>nfr</i>	 rt. 9  rt. 11  rt. 12  vs. 7	 rt. 5  vs. 3  vs. 5	 vs. 2	
21. <i>j-</i>	 rt. 7  rt. 9	 rt. 4  vs. 3	 vs. 2  vs. 4	 rt. 3
22. <i>jwn:</i>	 rt. 10	 vs. 3		
23. <i>nb</i>	 rt. 3  rt. 3  rt. 4  rt. 5	 rt. 1		
24. <i>rr nb</i>	 rt. 5	 rt. 1	 rt. 3	
25. <i>mj</i>	 rt. 7	 rt. 2		

TABLE 26-30


















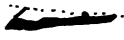






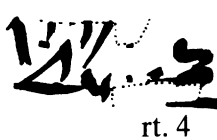
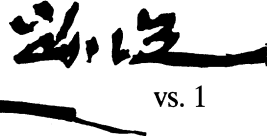















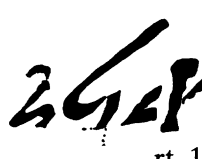

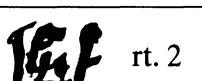



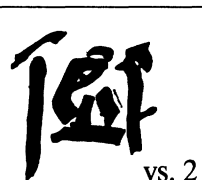
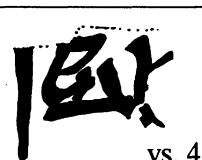
	P. DeM IV	P. DeM V	P. DeM VI	P. DeM XXII
26. <i>jrj</i>	 rt. 5  rt. 7  rt. 9  vs. 2  vs. 3  vs. 3  vs. 5	 rt. 4  vs. 3	 rt. 5  rt. 5  rt. 8  vs. 3  vs. 3  vs. 4  vs. 4  vs. 4	 rt. 3
27. <i>spr</i>	 vs. 1		 rt. 7	
28. <i>mtw.k</i>	 vs. 4		 rt. 5  rt. 6  vs. 3	
29. <i>cms</i>		 rt. 4  vs. 1		
30. <i>jh</i>	 rt. 5  rt. 5  rt. 7	 rt. 2		 rt. 2  vs. c1

TABLE 31-34

	P. DeM IV	P. DeM V	P. DeM VI	P. DeM XXII
31. <i>bjn</i>	 rt. 9			 vs. 3
32. <i>wmm</i>	 rt. 6  rt. 11		 rt. 4	 rt. 4
33. <i>jrw</i>	 rt. 6	 rt. 5		 rt. b3
	 rt. 11			
	 rt. 12			
34. <i>jmn</i>	 rt. 2  rt. 4  vs. 5  vs. 6	 vs. 2		 vs. 4

UN MONUMENT D'ORIGINALITÉ*

Par OLIVIER PERDU

First publication of a private statue of a kneeling man named Pairkap, son of Ankhef(en)khonsu and Khausuenaset. The monument probably dates of the Twenty-ninth Dynasty and comes from the great temple of Bubastis where its owner held two priesthoods: *it-ntr imy hrw.f* and *hry sst; Sht-ntr*. In addition to a wish for its remaining in position, this statue bears a very original appeal to the priests with allusions to local religious conceptions, especially those concerning the dangerous aspect of the mistress of the city.

IL y a quelques mois, les aléas du marché de l'art ont permis de découvrir à Paris une statue privée que sa date, son origine et ses inscriptions incitent à ne pas laisser plus longtemps inédite.¹ Le monument représente un homme simplement vêtu d'un pagne-*shendjyt*, agenouillé sur un socle rectangulaire, mains à plat sur les cuisses, au dos duquel s'élève un appui oblong à sommet plat s'arrêtant au niveau de sa nuque (pls. XVI–XVIII). Taillé dans une roche métamorphique noire et homogène, très vraisemblablement du basalte, l'objet ne devait pas excéder une quarantaine de centimètres de haut à l'origine.² Aujourd'hui, sa tête a disparu mais on distingue encore, à l'arrière, le bas de la 'perruque à bourse' qui la recouvrait et, sinon, il n'y a à déplorer que l'altération du coin antérieur droit de la base et quelques éclats çà et là.

Particularités stylistiques et époque

L'allure trapue de la représentation n'est pas sa seule caractéristique même si elle en est la plus saillante. Plusieurs détails dans le traitement du corps méritent en effet d'être remarqués, notamment en ce qui concerne le torse (pl. XVIII, 1). Cette partie se signale d'abord par son étroitesse, une taille peu marquée et un net raccourcissement de la portion comprise entre le haut du thorax et le bassin. Elle se distingue ensuite par la manière dont on a voulu restituer les détails anatomiques. Partagée verticalement en deux moitiés par un sillon surtout creusé de l'extrémité du sternum au nombril, elle est traversée horizontalement par deux autres sillons qui séparent une poitrine bien pleine, une zone médiane délicatement bombée et un abdomen à la rondeur accusée.³ On a

* En hommage à Bernard Von Bothmer.

¹ Avant de gagner la France où son actuel propriétaire m'a très obligeamment accordé toutes les facilités pour en assurer la publication, elle figurait dans une collection privée espagnole. Auparavant, comme me l'indique H. De Meulenaere, elle est passée deux fois en vente publique à Londres: chez Sotheby's le 28 juillet 1958 sous le n° 94, puis chez Christie's le 26 avril 1961 sous le n° 157 B. Jusqu'à présent, elle n'était connue que par une seule photographie reproduite en couverture de la brochure concernant la vente d'archéologie du 29 septembre 1995 à Drouot-Richelieu, ainsi que dans le catalogue *Tefaf Basel 96, Messe Basel – Switzerland, 26 October – 3 November*, 63. Voir la fin de cet article.

² Les dimensions exactes de l'objet peuvent se décliner comme suit: hauteur actuelle 30,9 cm; socle 4,5 × 12,2 × 21,5 cm; appui dorsal 23,8 × 4,8 cm.

³ Ces procédés, respectivement appelés 'bipartition' et 'tripartition', ont été étudiés dans la statuaire tardive par B. V. Bothmer, 'Ptolemaic Reliefs III.', *BMFA* 51 (Feb. 1953), 6–7; J. D. Cooney, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian*

d'autre part poussé le réalisme jusqu'à indiquer la pointe des seins avec de petites protubérances et les clavicules par de très fines saillies inclinées vers le bas du cou. À propos des membres, on peut au moins retenir l'allongement des avant-bras et le développement des mollets dont la musculature est imperceptiblement soulignée par une longue arête allant du pli du genou à la malléole externe de la cheville. À ces diverses particularités, il convient encore d'ajouter la façon dont est rendu le vêtement du personnage. Habituellement, le pagne-*shendjyt* présente des plis fins et serrés et, sur une statue agenouillée, il s'arrête bien avant les genoux en conservant un plissé parallèle aux cuisses.⁴ Or, ici, il descend non seulement jusqu'au creux des genoux, mais il est en outre pourvu de plis épais et écartés qui coupent sur les côtés l'axe des cuisses pour s'infléchir vers le bas en suivant un mouvement rappelant celui des bras (pl. XVIII, 2).

Parmi les traits qui viennent d'être énumérés, on peut en relever deux qui permettent de dater le monument avec quelque précision. Le premier est le mélange de bipartition et de tripartition observé dans le torse. Cette tendance ne s'affirme avec vigueur que du début de la XXIX^e dynastie à la fin du II^e siècle avant J.-C.,⁵ période où, comme ici, elle va de pair avec une accentuation de la rondeur du ventre. Auparavant, si le goût pour ce genre de combinaison est déjà perceptible, ce n'est que dans quelques oeuvres de la deuxième moitié de l'époque saïte où il ne se manifeste cependant pas avec autant de netteté, la bipartition ayant tendance à s'estomper devant la tripartition, conformément à la prédilection marquée pour cette dernière à partir du règne de Psammétique II.⁶ Quant à l'autre indice, il est à rechercher dans la forme du pagne qui confirme ce que révèle le précédent critère tout en apportant une indication plus précise. Les diverses caractéristiques du vêtement ne se trouvent en effet réunies que sur un nombre très restreint de statues agenouillées, toutes attribuables au IV^e siècle avant J.-C.,⁷ l'une pouvant même être datée avec certitude de la XXIX^e dynastie.⁸

Les critères stylistiques ayant ainsi permis de situer la statue à l'époque des dernières dynasties indigènes,⁹ il est maintenant possible d'affiner cette datation en considérant la

Art (Brooklyn, 1956), 14; B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* (Brooklyn, 1960), xxxv (= *ESLP*); K. Levin, 'The Male Figure in Egyptian and Greek Sculpture of the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B.C.', *AJA* 68 (1964), 19-20; R. S. Bianchi, dans *Cleopatra's Egypt*, Catalogue of an exhibition Brooklyn-Detroit-Munich 1989 (Brooklyn, 1988), 69-70.

⁴ L'exemple le plus représentatif est celui de la statue Baltimore, WAG 22.79 (début XXVI^e dynastie), reproduite dans *ESLP*, pl. 34, figs. 80-1.

⁵ Cf. H. De Meulenaere, 'Une statue de prêtre héliopolitain', *BIFAO* 61 (1962), 39 et, surtout, B. V. Bothmer et H. De Meulenaere, 'The Brooklyn Statuette of Hor, Son of Pawen (with an Excursus on Eggheads)', dans L. H. Lesko (éd.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of R. A. Parker* (Hanover, 1986), 8.

⁶ Cf. *ESLP*, xxxv; Levin, *AJA* 68, 20.

⁷ Trois en l'occurrence: Chicago, Art Institute 10.243 (*ESLP*, 114-16, pl. 85, figs. 226-7, n° 91); Londres, BM EA 48037 (B. V. Bothmer, 'Apotheosis in Late Egyptian Sculpture', *Kémi* 20 (1970), 46, pl. xiii, fig. 29, n° xxi); Rome, Antiquarium Comunale 2411 (S. Bosticco, 'Un frammento di statuette saïtica dell'Antiquarium comunale di Roma', *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini*, II (Pisa, 1955), 3-7, pls. 1-2).

⁸ Il s'agit du dernier exemple de la note précédente, dont l'époque a été précisée par H. De Meulenaere, 'Trois monuments de basse époque', *OMRO* 44 (1963), 5.

⁹ On peut d'ailleurs remarquer que le matériau du monument est souvent employé dans la statuaire de cette période; cf. Th. De Putter et Chr. Karlshausen, *Les pierres utilisées dans la sculpture et l'architecture de l'Égypte* (Bruxelles, 1992), 53. On peut également ajouter que ce qui subsiste de la coiffe de Pairkap permet d'imaginer une perruque à bourse d'une rondeur semblable à celle qu'on observe sur les exemples de la XXX^e dynastie ou, du moins, postérieurs à l'époque saïte; voir e.g. R. el-Sayed, 'Un document relatif au culte dans Kher-aha (statue Caire CG 682)', *BIFAO* 82 (1982), pls. xxviii, a-b, xxix, a-b et xxxi, a; E. Rogge, *Statuen der Spätzeit* (CAA Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien Lief. 9; Mainz, 1992), 95-6, 103-4.

façon dont les textes se présentent. Les hiéroglyphes sont profondément gravés mais leur tracé reste approximatif, peu soucieux des détails ou des proportions, et plutôt indifférent à la régularité en cas de répétition. En outre, beaucoup sont disposés de travers et, en bout de colonne ou à l'approche d'un changement de côté, ils ont plus qu'ailleurs tendance à rapetisser et à s'entasser, rompant ainsi l'équilibre de l'ensemble. Autour du socle, on constate d'autre part que les signes sont répartis en groupes réguliers mais serrés, réunissant souvent l'équivalent d'un et demi ou deux quadrats, ce qui confère à cette partie un aspect assez dense. La somme de ces maladresses et de ces défauts incite en fait à écarter l'éventualité de la XXX^e dynastie dont les inscriptions se distinguent par une constance dans la qualité,¹⁰ pour retenir, comme hypothèse la plus vraisemblable, la dynastie précédente où les quelques témoignages à notre disposition permettent d'observer une certaine disparité dans le soin apporté à la gravure des textes.¹¹ Le monument pourrait ainsi être ajouté aux deux seules statues privées dûment datées des rois mendésiens.¹²

Si l'on admet que la statue remonte à la XXIX^e dynastie, on peut d'ailleurs voir dans son attitude le reflet de la tendance dite 'archaistic' qui se manifeste dès cette époque par des choix rompant avec les usages de la Première Domination Perse pour renouer avec ceux de la période saïte.¹³ En effet, après avoir joui d'un grand succès à la XXVI^e dynastie, la position agenouillée mains à plat sur les cuisses ne connaît un certain regain de faveur qu'au IV^e siècle avant J.-C.,¹⁴ quand les oeuvres saïtes sont prises pour modèles. Cette analyse se révèle d'autant plus pertinente qu'elle peut également être faite à propos du pagne-*shendjyt* que porte le personnage, accessoire réapparu dans la statuaire privée

¹⁰Voir e.g. les documents n° 72, 74, 75, 80 et 88 dans *ESLP*.

¹¹Pour s'en tenir à des témoignages comparables, confronter les inscriptions soignées de la stèle étudiée par De Meulenaere, *OMRO* 44, 3–5, pl. 4, et celles assez négligées d'une autre stèle signalée dans Mohammed Ibrahim Aly et al., 'Présentation des stèles nouvellement découvertes au Sérapéum', *BSFE* 106 (1986), 39, 41–2 (objet encore inédit connu grâce à des photographies aimablement communiquées par D. Devauchelle). De telles différences sont également sensibles sur un même édifice; cf. Fr. Le Saout, dans Cl. Traunecker et al., *La chapelle d'Achôris*, II (Paris, 1981), 202.

¹²Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum 77.50 (Bothmer et De Meulenaere, *Egyptological Studies in Honor of R. A. Parker*, 1–15 avec 2 pls.); Rome, Antiquarium Comunale 2411 (déjà citée *supra* n. 7).

¹³Cette mode, encore peu étudiée, a été notamment mise en lumière par Bothmer (*ESLP*, xxxvii); voir aussi E. R. Russmann, *An Index to Egyptian Sculpture* (Bruxelles, 1971), 7. Son influence sur le choix de l'attitude a déjà été remarquée; voir Bothmer et De Meulenaere, *Egyptological Studies in Honor of R. A. Parker*, 8; retenir aussi Bothmer, *Kémi* 20, 46, n° xxi.


¹⁴Les statues tardives adoptant cette attitude sont assez nombreuses; cf. B. V. Bothmer, 'The Brussels-Brooklyn Statue of Bakenrenef (Membra Dispersa VI)', *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* (BdE 97; Le Caire, 1985), I, 102–3. La plupart appartiennent à l'époque saïte, période au début de laquelle les statues agenouillées font leur réapparition; cf. K. Bosse, *Die menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik der ägyptischen Spätzeit von der XXII. bis zur XXX. Dynastie* (Äg. Forsch. 1; Glückstadt, 1936), 34–5; *ESLP*, 44. Quant aux autres, elles se limitent à plusieurs exemples postérieurs à la XXVII^e dynastie dont le nombre se réduit à quelques unités au-delà de la conquête d'Alexandre: Rome, Antiquarium Comunale 2411, datée avec certitude de la XXIX^e dynastie (déjà citée *supra* n. 7); Chicago, Oriental Institute 13953 (*ESLP*, 112, pl. 84, figs. 220–1, n° 89) et commerce New York 1997 (Royal-Athena Galleries) = Caire JE 36976 = coll. Omar Pacha Sultan n° 398 (signalée dans *ESLP*, ad 'Page 96 R' dans les additions et corrections insérées au début de l'ouvrage), attribuées à la XXX^e dynastie; Chicago, Art Institute 10.243, assignée à la XXXI^e dynastie (déjà citée *supra* n. 7); Paris, vente d'archéologie du 7.12.95 à Drouot-Richelieu, n° 317, attribuable au IV^e siècle av. J.-C. (reproduite dans le catalogue de cette vente); Paris, Louvre A 96 attribuable à l'époque ptolémaïque, sinon aux dernières dynasties indigènes (inédite); Alexandrie, Musée Gréco-Romain 22986, située à l'époque romaine (signalée dans *ESLP*, xxxvi).

à l'époque éthiopienne.¹⁵ Après avoir été très prisé sous les Saïtes,¹⁶ ce vêtement ne redevient effectivement en vogue que sous leurs émules des dernières dynasties indigènes.¹⁷ Dans l'intervalle, les contemporains de la domination achéménide préfèrent au pagne court la tenue longue sans doute introduite sous Amasis,¹⁸ comme ils préfèrent à la simple statue agenouillée celle qui présente un naos.¹⁹

Propriétaire et origine

Chacun des deux textes gravés sur la statue débute par une présentation de son propriétaire dont le développement varie en fonction de leur longueur respective. Le plus long est aussi le plus prolixe sur l'identité de l'individu dont il fait connaître les fonctions, le nom et les parents, alors que l'autre, beaucoup plus court, se contente de mentionner son premier titre, son nom et celui de son père.

L'homme est un certain Pairkap,²⁰ fils d'Ankhef(en)khonsou (ou Ankhef(en)iah ?)²¹ et de la dame Khaousouenaset, auquel sont attribués deux titres religieux en rapport avec Bubastis:

 (2 ex.), 'père du dieu dans son jour'²²

 (1 ex.), 'initié au(x) secret(s) de la Campagne-du-dieu'

¹⁵ Cf. Bosse, *Die menschliche Figur*, 84; H. Brunner, 'Ein assyrisches Relief mit einer ägyptischen Festung', *Afo* 16 (1953), 259, n. 43; J. Yoyotte et P. Chuvin, 'Le Zeus Casios de Péluse à Tivoli: une hypothèse', *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 170, n. 21.

¹⁶ Cf. E. R. Russmann, 'The Statue of Amenemope-em-hat', *MMJ* 8 (1973), 38. Voir e.g. *ESLP*, n° 36, 37 et 52.

¹⁷ Voir e.g. *ESLP*, n° 75 et 80 (mode se poursuivant d'ailleurs à l'époque ptolémaïque; voir e.g. *ESLP*, n° 81, 97, 102, 129 et 135); consulter également Russmann, *MMJ* 8, 38, où la réapparition de ce vêtement au IV^e siècle av. J.-C. est précisément tenu pour un signe de la tendance 'archaïstic'.

¹⁸ Cf. Russmann, *MMJ* 8, 38. Sur ce prétendu 'habit perse' et son succès pendant la XXVII^e dynastie, voir en dernier lieu R. S. Bianchi, 'The Striding Draped Male Figure of Ptolemaic Egypt', *Das ptolemäische Ägypten, Akten des internationalen Symposions 27.-29. September 1976* (Mainz, 1978), 95-102; A. Leahy, 'The Date of Louvre A.93', *GM* 70 (1984), 45; V. Laurent, 'Une statue provenant de Tell el-Maskoutah', *RdE* 35 (1984), 142-5.

¹⁹ Cf. Bothmer et De Meulenaere, *Egyptological Studies in Honor of R. A. Parker*, 8. À la XXVII^e dynastie, il est rare de rencontrer une statue agenouillée comme celle de Yale, University Art Gallery 957.7.11 (G. D. Scott III, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale* (New Haven, 1986), 142-4, n° 78).

²⁰ Anthroponyme bien attesté au IV^e siècle avant J.-C. dont on trouve des exemples dès l'époque saïte; sa lecture a été établie par H. De Meulenaere, 'Quatre noms propres de Basse Époque', *BIFAO* 55 (1955), 141-2, § 1, qui cite plusieurs références auxquelles il est possible de joindre: id., 'Cultes et sacerdoces à Imaou (Kôm el-Hisn) au temps des dynasties saïte et perse', *BIFAO* 62 (1964), 154-5, doc. 8; J.-F. et L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes* (Paris, 1974), 259, 263; R. el-Sayed, 'Deux aspects nouveaux du culte à Saïs', *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 93, II; M. Dewachter, 'Nubie — Notes diverses III', *Bulletin du Centenaire, suppl. BIFAO* 81 (1981), 7, n. 4.

²¹ Se reporter à la discussion *infra* n. (b).

²² La tournure *imy hrw.f* figure à la suite d'autres titres où elle indique le fait d'être en fonction; cf. *Wb.* II, 500, 20. Il existe notamment plusieurs exemples de *wb rj imy hrw.f*; voir A. Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier* (Paris, 1902), 7-8; M. Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou*, I (BdE 20/1; Le Caire, 1949), 5; D. Lorton, 'The Invocation Hymn at the Temple of Hibis', *SAK* 21 (1994), 169. En faisant un parallélisme avec l'expression *imy ,bd.f* souvent appliquée aux prêtres, on peut se demander si *imy hrw.f* ne s'applique pas à des catégories de personnel travaillant par tranches d'une journée; cf. *Wb.* I, 65, 6; G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXI^e dynastie* (Paris, 1929), 21-2; H. Kees, 'Die Phylen und ihre Vorsteher im Dienst der

Le premier se retrouve sur une statue de la XXVI^e dynastie provenant du temple de cette localité.²³ Son propriétaire cumule plusieurs responsabilités sacerdotales sur place dont celle de 'père du dieu dans son jour' écrite $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{z}}$ (2 ex.) ou $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{z}}$ (1 ex.). Interpellant d'autre part les prêtres locaux pour qu'ils lui souhaitent des offrandes, ce même personnage ne manque d'ailleurs pas de mentionner 'les pères du dieu dans son (sic) jour', $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{z}}$, confirmant ainsi leur présence dans le temple de Bubastis.

Quant au deuxième titre, son lien spécifique avec Bubastis ressort de son propre énoncé, *Sht-ntr* étant le nom donné au territoire agricole de cette ville.²⁴ Ce lieu-dit est d'ailleurs connu jusque dans l'onomastique qui en conserve la trace dans l'anthroponyme *T;-nt-Sht-ntr* en usage dans la région.²⁵ Diverses épithètes rattachant les grandes divinités bubastites à cet endroit révèlent son implication dans les traditions religieuses locales,²⁶ ce que confirme l'existence d'une charge d' 'initié au(x) secret(s) de la Campagne-du-dieu'. Repérée pour la première fois à la XVIII^e dynastie, cette fonction est depuis cette date régulièrement revendiquée par les prêtres intervenant à Bubastis, que ce soit au Nouvel Empire²⁷ ou aux époques tardives.²⁸ Quand les titulatures où elle apparaît ne sont pas trop fragmentaires, on peut d'ailleurs observer qu'elle succède généralement au titre de 'père du dieu' avec lequel débute l'énumération des responsabilités sacerdotales,²⁹ comme sur la statue de Pairkap; dans ces exemples toutefois, la mention d' *it-ntr* n'est jamais suivie de l'expression *imy hrw.f* et si une précision l'accompagne, elle concerne la déesse avec laquelle le titre est en rapport, Bastet en

Tempel und Totenstiftungen', *Orientalia* 17 (1948), 71 sq. et 314 sq. Toutefois, l'apparition de cette tournure après *nsw*, 'roi', montre bien qu'elle peut être uniquement employée pour signaler une personne en activité, indépendamment de tout lien avec un rythme de travail; voir l'exemple de *nsw imy hrw.f* sur la statue inédite Turin, Museo Egizio n° cat. 3024 (signalé d'après la fiche *Wb.* Turin 74, 2). Considérer également, dans M. B. Reisner, 'Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal', *ZÄS* 70 (1934), 40, A.3, l'emploi de *imy hrw.f* après *ntr* pour évoquer le dieu dont c'est le tour de recevoir des offrandes.

²³ Statue Caire JE 41671 trouvée à l'endroit même où elle devait jadis figurer; publication dans G. Daressy, 'Quelques inscriptions provenant de Bubastis', *ASAE* 11 (1911), 186-7.

²⁴ Cf. H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, V (Le Caire, 1928), 54; P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, I (Paris, 1957), 180.

²⁵ Cf. M. Thirion, 'Notes d'onomastique [Septième série]', *RdE* 42 (1991), 230-1; id., 'Notes d'onomastique [Neuvième série]', *RdE* 45 (1994), 188. Aux attestations déjà repérées, on peut ajouter celle incertaine mais probable de la statue inédite New York, MMA 1993.161, provenant sans doute de Léontopolis.

²⁶ Cf. L. Habachi, *Tell Basta* (CASAE 22; Le Caire, 1957), 121; Ph. Derchain, *Elkab*, I (Bruxelles, 1971), 63, n. 72; D. Kessler, 'Herodot II, 65-67 über heilige Tiere in Bubastis', *SAK* 18 (1991), 271, 287, n. 25.

²⁷ Voir H. Wild, 'Deux stèles d'origine bubastite (?) dans des musées soleurois', *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 497, fig. 1 (XVIII^e dynastie); E. Naville, *Bubastis* (MEEF 8; Londres, 1891), 43, pl. xxxvi, m; Fr. Von Känel, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet et les conjurateurs de Serket* (Paris, 1984), 54-5, doc. 27 a et b (XIX^e dynastie).

²⁸ Voir A. Wiedemann, 'Stela at Freiburg in Baden', *PSBA* 13 (1890-91), 36; G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, II (Leipzig, 1924), 204 (XXII^e dynastie); Naville, *Bubastis*, 55, pl. xliii, a; Daressy, *ASAE* 11, 186; P. F. O'Rourke, 'A Late Period Naophoros from Bubastis', *BES* 10 (1989-90), 116, IV.2, pl. 4 (XXVI^e dynastie); retenir également O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuette égyptiennes, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* (Copenhague, 1950), 65, à propos du n° 109 daté 'Basse époque'.

²⁹ Voir Wild, *MDAIK* 37, 497, fig. 1; Von Känel, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet*, 54, doc. 27 a; Wiedemann, *PSBA* 13, 36; Roeder, *Äg. Inschr. Berlin* II, 204; Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuette égyptiennes, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, 65. Une exception dans Von Känel, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet*, 55, doc. 27 b, où 'initié au(x) secret(s) de la Campagne-du-dieu' vient après 'premier prophète de Bastet qui réside à Bubastis'; une autre dans Daressy, *ASAE* 11, 186, où *hm Wsr.t* vient s'insérer entre *it-ntr imy hrw.f* et *hry sst; Sht-ntr*.

l'occurrence.³⁰ À propos de la fonction d' *hry sšt; Šht-ntr*, il faut encore souligner qu'à l'instar des 'pères du dieu dans son (sic) jour', les 'initiés au(x) secret(s) de la Campagne-du-dieu' figurent parfois à l'inventaire des prêtres locaux dont on sollicite le concours sur les statues privées laissées dans le temple de Bubastis.³¹

Ces indications sur la situation de Pairkap sont particulièrement appréciables car elles aident à situer et à expliquer l'origine de sa statue. Dans les textes qui accompagnent les mentions du personnage, on ne trouve à ce sujet que des allusions plus ou moins claires à partir desquelles on peut seulement préciser que le monument se dressait dans un sanctuaire voué à une déesse,³² sans doute une lionne redoutable.³³ Connaissant l'appartenance de Pairkap au clergé de Bubastis, on est dès lors enclin à penser au temple de cette localité dont la patronne, Bastet, apparaît précisément comme une forme de la terrible Sekhmet,³⁴ ce qui permettrait de justifier l'emplacement de la statue par le simple fait que son propriétaire était en activité à l'endroit même où elle a été déposée. À l'appui de cette hypothèse, il convient aussi de signaler que les passages les plus obscurs se rapportant au lieu où le monument prenait place pourraient se comprendre dans un contexte bubastite.³⁵

Inscriptions

Les textes gravés sur le monument sont au nombre de deux, l'un assez développé et l'autre très bref. Le premier, un appel du propriétaire aux passants, débute sur l'appui dorsal par une colonne livrant son identité (fig. 1, a). La suite, avec l'indication de sa prise de parole et sa déclaration elle-même, s'étend sur une ligne continue faisant le tour du socle en commençant par l'avant (fig. 1, b–e). Cette disposition permet de mettre étroitement en contact le signalement de Pairkap avec sa représentation, sans doute pour mieux faire ressortir l'identification du personnage à sa statue, telle qu'elle est explicitement admise dans les inscriptions. Néanmoins, un tel choix présente aussi l'avantage de réserver au devant du socle, l'emplacement le plus en vue, le passage où il est précisé que Pairkap interpelle les passants. Ces derniers sont ainsi à même, au premier coup d'oeil, de saisir que le texte les concerne, ce qui ne peut que les inciter à en prendre connaissance.

Quant au second texte, un vœu souhaitant à Pairkap, assimilé à sa statue, de demeurer dans le temple, il se réduit à deux petites lignes courant sur le dessus de la base, le long de son bord antérieur, et orientées de façon à être lisibles par le passant (fig. 2).

³⁰Voir Wild, *MDAIK* 37, 497, fig. 1 (*it-ntr Bšst*); Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuettes égyptiennes*, *Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, 65 (*it-ntr Bšst-Šhmt*).

³¹Voir Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. xliii, a; Daressy, *ASAE* 11, 186.

³²Considérer la façon dont, à la fin de sa déclaration, Pairkap interpelle les prêtres locaux, en les désignant comme les serveurs de 'cette déesse'; voir la discussion *infra* n. (ae).

³³Considérer la mention de la 'Dame des Deux Terres', déterminée par une figure léontocéphale, dans une promesse de Pairkap relevant de conceptions propres à l'endroit où sa statue apparaissait, promesse qui révèle d'autre part la nécessité de se protéger de cette divinité; voir la discussion *infra* n. (s).

³⁴Se reporter notamment à J. Yoyotte, 'Religion de l'Égypte ancienne', *Annuaire EPHE V^e section* 92 (1983–84), 206–10; id., 'Artémis de Bubaste: réflexions sur l'*interprætatio graeca* d'une divinité égyptienne', *Bulletin de la Société Ernest Renan* 33 (1984), 17–18.

³⁵Voir la référence à un dieu capable de protéger contre la 'Dame des Deux Terres' dans la promesse évoquée *supra* n. 33, ainsi que le nom attribué au temple où se trouvait la statue dans un vœu formulé en faveur de son maintien en place; commentaires *infra* n. (p) et (ag).

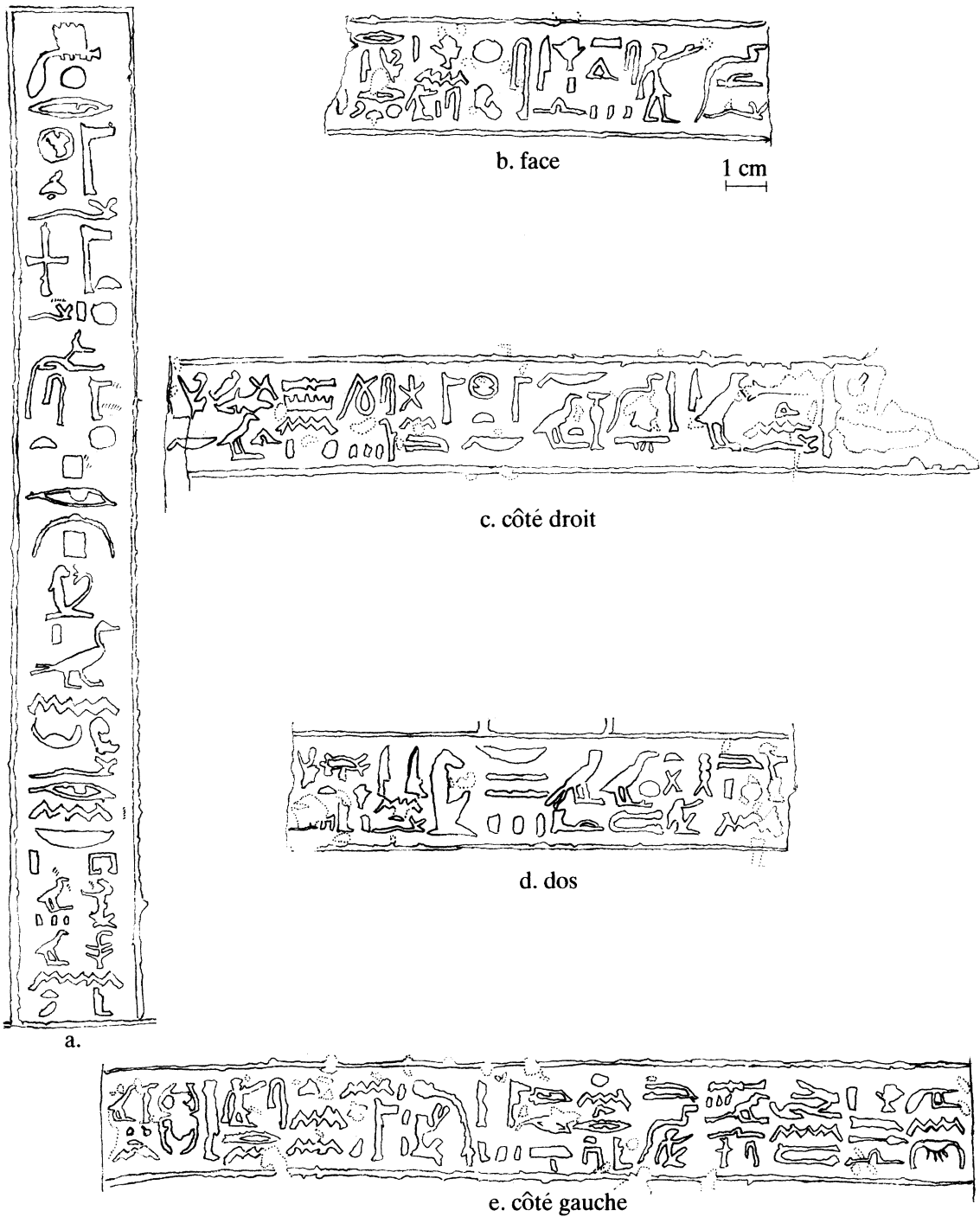


FIG. 1. Inscriptions de l'appui dorsal (a) et du poutour du socle (b-e).

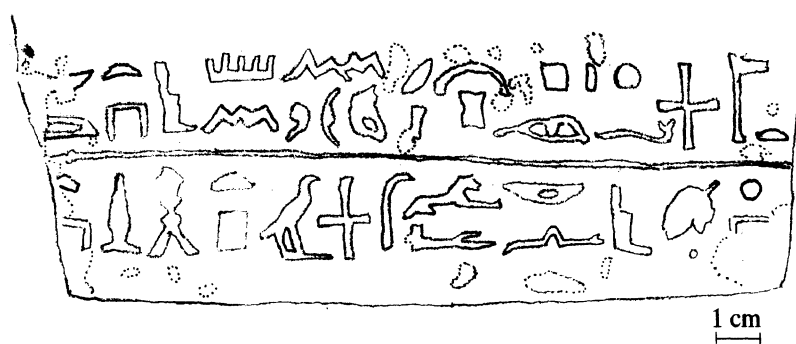


FIG. 2. Inscription du dessus du socle.

L'appel

¹ L'hôte auprès de la divinité de sa ville,^a
 père du dieu dans son jour et initié au(x) secret(s) de la Campagne-du-dieu,
 Pairkap, fils d'Ankhef(en)khonsou^b et qu'a conçu la maîtresse de maison Khaousouen-
 aset,² il dit:

'Ô^c ceux qui passent^d près de moi !^e

Ne sois^f pas indifférent^g

et prononce^h mon nom devantⁱ [... ...] après qu'il m'a introduit,^j

alors ton descendant prospérera^k

et la divinité de ta ville te récompensera,^l

rends(-moi) hommage^m en prolongeant (mes) annéesⁿ

et en maintenant en place (mon) fils et (mon) héritier,^o

alors le dieu^p viendra à toi^q le jour de solliciter protection^r contre la Dame des Deux

Terres^s quand celle-ci est allée à^t l'endroit [...]^u

La Déesse-d'or^v (m')^w guidé^x de sorte que^y j'ai été reconnu juste;^z

il n'y a pas eu de reproches à (mon) égard^{aa}

et aucune accusation à (mon) encontre n'a été portée;^{ab}

si (je) me suis posé à (ma) place,^{ac} c'est en pratiquant la justice.^{ad}

Prophètes et prêtres-ouâb de cette déesse !^{ae}

Prononcez mon nom

et vos récompenses arriveront.'

Le voeu

¹Père du dieu dans son jour, Pairkap fils d'Ankhef(en)khonsou !






Puisse ta place être préservée dans^{af} ²la maison de la Pupille,^{ag} sur la place de fête,^{ah}

sans que te repoussent^{ai} ceux qui fréquentent la Caverne-obstruée.^{aj}


Notes

(a) La divinité dont Pairkap se déclare l'hôte est celle auprès de laquelle il a laissé sa statue, soit la patronne de Bubastis, Bastet; voir *supra* p. 128. Contrairement aux apparences, *ntr nîwt.f* est susceptible de se rapporter à une déesse car, dans cette expression, le mot *ntr* désigne la

divinité en général (par opposition aux autres créatures), indifféremment de son sexe; cf. E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt, 1971), 38, citant le cas du titre *hm-ntr* où *ntr* est toujours invariable en genre; considérer également G. Posener, 'Sur le monothéisme dans l'ancienne Égypte', dans A. Caquot et M. Delcor (éds.), *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. H. Cazelles* (AOAT 212; Neukirchen, 1981), 347-51, évoquant l'emploi de *ntr* dans une acception générique. On est ainsi en mesure de citer des exemples de la formule *imꜥḥw ḥr ntr nīwt.f* où *ntr* concerne indubitablement une divinité féminine; voir notamment la statue Paris, Louvre E 26022 reproduite dans J. Vandier, 'Nouvelles acquisitions', *Revue du Louvre* 19/1 (1969), 46, fig. 5, l. 9 du texte, où son propriétaire se présente comme 'l'hôte auprès de la divinité de sa ville' (*ntr nīwt.f*), celle-ci étant l'Hathor de Dendara d'après l'origine du monument. Ce sens de *ntr* se retrouve d'ailleurs dans toutes les autres façons d'évoquer la divinité locale, que ce soit avec *ntr* + suffixe ou avec *ntr* + *nīwt.y*, où le mot reste invariablement au masculin, même à propos d'une déesse; cf. *Wb.* II, 359, 4 et 7 (au sujet de *ntr* + suffixe); R. Anthes, 'Der Berliner Hocker des Petamenophis', *ZÄS* 73 (1937), 26-7, 94-7; E. Otto, 'Zur Bedeutung der ägyptischen Tempelstatue seit den Neuen Reich', *Orientalia* 17 (1948), 448-66; H. De Meulenaere, 'Trois membres d'une famille sacerdotale thébaine', *CdE* 68 (1993), 63-4 (au sujet de *ntr* + *nīwt.y*); voir e.g. J. Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoces et les sanctuaires égyptiens à l'époque dite 'éthiopienne'*, (BdE 17; Le Caire, 1954), 48, B.6-7, 59, E.1, où *ntr.tn* et *ntr nīwt.y* renvoient à la Mout thébaine; retenir également J. J. Clère, 'Une statuette du fils aîné du roi Nectanebô', *RdE* 6 (1951), 138, l.1 et pl. 1, a, mentionnant, à la XXX^e dynastie, un exemple de *ntr nīwt.y* se rapportant à l'Isis de Behbeit el-Hagar dans l'expression *imꜥḥ(w) ḥr ntr.f nīwt.y*.

(b) Ce qui est écrit  réapparaît sur le dessus du socle sous la forme . Cet anthroponyme correspond en fait à une formation du type *ꜥnh.f + n + nom de divinité* où la préposition *n* est souvent omise; cf. Ranke, *PN* I, 67, 5, 8 et 9. Dans ce genre de construction en effet, quand le nom de la divinité se réduit à un seul signe comme ici, celui-ci peut occasionnellement précéder le suffixe *f*; voir les trois exemples de  — où la divinité est malheureusement difficile à identifier avec certitude — sur la statue inédite Paris, Louvre E 20358, datable de la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque (à rapprocher de  dans G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), pl. 118, 227.2). Un tel phénomène s'explique sans doute par le souci de disposer les signes de façon harmonieuse; pour la première graphie et les exemples relevés sur la statue du Louvre, comparer avec *iw.f ꜥnh* écrit  dans le nom *Dd-ꜥst-ꜥw.f-ꜥnh* sur la statue Caire CG 1058 publiée par L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, IV (CGC; Le Caire, 1934), 42; pour celle du socle, observer que son agencement permet de répartir autour d'un signe étiré en hauteur deux plus petits dont les formes se répondent symétriquement.

La seule incertitude concerne le nom de la divinité qui se réduit, quelle que soit la graphie, à un croissant lunaire. En effet, si ce signe sert généralement dans l'anthroponymie tardive à écrire le mot *ꜥḥ*, 'lune', il peut éventuellement être employé pour noter le nom du dieu Khonsou; voir H. De Meulenaere, 'Notes d'onomastique tardive (Quatrième Série)', *BiOr* 38 (1981), 256. On peut donc hésiter à lire *ꜥnh.f-(n)-ꜥḥ* ou *ꜥnh.f-(n)-ḥnsw*, et il est d'autant plus difficile de trancher que chacune de ces lectures correspond à un nom attesté par ailleurs, même si la première ne peut être rapprochée que d'un exemple daté de la XXI^e dynastie; voir M. Thirion, 'Notes d'onomastique [Sixième série]', *RdE* 39 (1988), 141. À Bubastis néanmoins, on est plutôt enclin à marquer une préférence pour la seconde solution, ce qui permettrait de voir dans le nom du père de Pairkap une référence à une divinité locale, Khonsou étant en effet une figure du panthéon bubastite dont on a d'ailleurs trouvé trace sur place dans l'onomastique dès l'Ancien Empire; voir Yoyotte, *Annuaire EPHE V^e section* 92, 208 (évoquant un Khonsouhotep dont la table d'offrandes a été depuis reproduite dans *Les Dossiers d'Archéologie* 213, mai 1996, 49); consulter aussi V. Rondot, 'Une monographie bubastite', *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 266-9.

Détail remarquable commun aux deux mentions du nom, le verbe 'vivre' n'est pas écrit au moyen du noeu'd habituel () mais avec une oreille humaine, autre signe investi de la valeur *ꜥnh*; cf. *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine*, I (Montpellier, 1988), 155, n^o 193; plusieurs exemples dès la XXVI^e dynastie dans des noms du type *Dd + nom de*

divinité + *iw.f* (ou *.s*)-*rnḥ*: A. Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis*, I (Le Caire, 1942), 49; A. Leahy, 'The Earliest Dated Monument of Amasis and the End of the Reign of Apries', *JEA* 74 (1988), 184, fig. 1, l. 4; statue inédite Marseille, Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne n° 214 que je dois publier prochainement. Cette particularité peut être rapprochée de la façon dont on a déterminé le verbe *sh*, 'être sourd', au début de l'appel, en préférant à la traditionnelle oreille de vache celle d'un homme; cf. *Wb.* III, 473, 16–474, 10. Il semble en fait qu'on ait voulu profiter de toutes les occasions, qu'elles se fondent sur une équivalence phonétique ou graphique, pour introduire le signe de l'oreille humaine, la multiplication de cette image pouvant être considérée comme un moyen de susciter l'attention des passants sur le texte, à l'instar de ce qui se produit dans le domaine de la piété où le même procédé est censé provoquer l'écoute des divinités; cf. G. Wagner et J. Quaegebeur, 'Une dédicace grecque au dieu égyptien Mestasyntis de la part de son synode', *BIFAO* 73 (1973), 56–7; R. Schlichting, 'Ohrenstelen', *LÄ* IV, 562–6; A. I. Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom* (*HÄB* 27; Hildesheim, 1988), 245–67; G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford, 1993), 246–53, § 2.8.1–3; D. Devauchelle, 'Un archétype de relief culturel en Égypte ancienne', *BSFE* 131 (1994), 42–4; Y. Koenig, *Magie et magiciens dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1994), 119–21.

(c) Si un signe se distingue sur le devant du socle, c'est bien celui qui marque l'interjection. En effet, non seulement l'homme debout bras gauche tendu occupe à lui seul tout un quadrat, mais ses membres supérieurs ont été distendus pour rendre plus perceptible le geste significatif qu'ils esquissent; exemple comparable dans R. el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 77 (1977), pl. xvi, a, l. 2 du texte sous le naos. Il faut sans doute voir dans cet arrangement une volonté de renforcer le poids de l'interjection, ce que la traduction peut exprimer par un 'ô' en gras; cf. O. Perdu, 'L'avertissement d'Aménirdis I^{ère} sur sa statue Caire JE 3420 (= CG 565)', *RdE* 47 (1996), 62, n. z, signalant un cas où l'importance d'un passage est soulignée par la dimension de ses signes. On peut d'ailleurs citer des exemples de 'mise en vedette' de cette interjection par d'autres procédés graphiques qui doivent s'expliquer de la même façon; voir e.g. H. Wild, 'Statue d'un noble mendésien du règne de Psamétik I^{er} aux musées de Palerme et du Caire', *BIFAO* 60 (1960), 53, fig. 2, à rapprocher de H. G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, Part I, Egyptian Studies II* (New York, 1977), 60.

(d) Quand on interpelle les passants aux époques tardives (XXII^e dynastie – époque ptolémaïque), il arrive parfois, mais plutôt aux périodes éthiopienne et saïte, qu'on omette de préciser leur catégorie en se contentant de les définir d'après ce qu'ils sont en train de faire au moment où il sont confrontés à l'appel; voir E. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom* (MEEF 1; Londres, 1903), pl. v, a.2; B. Tourajev et V. Malmberg, *Statues et statuettes de la collection Golémischeff* (Pétrograd, 1917), 47 [en russe]; G. Daressy, 'Description des monuments épigraphiques trouvés à Karnak en 1921–1922', *ASAE* 22 (1922), 261, devant, l. 2; B. Gunn et R. Engelbach, 'The Statues of Harwa', *BIFAO* 30 (1931), 803, VI.5; Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* IV, 5, CG 960, col. 2 de l'appui dorsal; E. Jelinková-Reymond, 'Quelques recherches sur les réformes d'Amasis', *ASAE* 54 (1957), 277, col. 11 du texte; R. el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités* (BdE 69; Le Caire, 1975), 101, G.16.

D'autre part, quand on décrit la situation des passants au moment de les interpeller, on peut éventuellement ne pas les envisager comme des personnes se déplaçant dans le temple mais comme des personnes circulant près de la statue; voir Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, pl. v, a.2; B. Turajeff, 'Einige unedierte Saïtica in russischen Sammlungen', *ZÄS* 48 (1910), 161, a.2; Gunn et Engelbach, *BIFAO* 30, 805, VI/VII.2–3; M. Lichtheim, 'The High Steward Akhamenru', *JNES* 7 (1948), pl. 15, a.2; J. Leclant, *Montouemhat* (BdE 35; Le Caire, 1961), 18, I.1; R. el-Sayed, 'Deux statues inédites du Musée du Caire', *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 150, C.7–8. Plus rarement, on peut aussi les présenter comme des personnes circulant près de la statue après les avoir signalés comme des personnes se déplaçant dans le temple, ce qui révèle de manière explicite le caractère secondaire de cette autre façon de situer les passants; quelques exemples aux IV^e et III^e siècles av. J.-C.: De Meulenaere, *CdE* 68, 46, fig. 1, b.1–2; statue inédite Paris, Louvre A 96.

Enfin, pour évoquer dans les appels tardifs le fait de 'passer' près de leur support, on recourt parfois au verbe *sni* (généralement écrit *sš*, comme ici), mais cette éventualité reste peu fréquente; seulement un petit nombre d'exemples entre la XXII^e dynastie et l'époque ptolé-

maïque: Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, pl. v, a.2; Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoces*, 48, B.8; id., *Montouemhat*, 6, B.6 et 94, A.3; el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 84, 150, C.7-8; K. Jansen-Winkeln, 'Ein Würfelhocker des Amunpropheten Djedbastetufanch (Kairo JE 37597)', *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 64, fig. 5, col. 4; statues inédites Caire JE 36908, JE 37398 et Paris, Louvre A 96.

(e) Le texte mentionne ceux qui passent auprès de Pairkap et non près de sa statue, suivant un phénomène observable dans d'autres appels tardifs, notamment sous les dynasties éthiopienne et saïte; voir Turajeff, *ZÄS* 48, 161, a.2; Gunn et Engelbach, *BIFAO* 30, 812, C.2; Lichtheim, *JNES* 7, pl. 15, a.2; Rogge, *Statuen der Spätzeit*, 11, col. 28. Cela traduit l'identification du personnage à son monument, principe dont les inscriptions des statues peuvent se faire largement l'écho sans l'appliquer systématiquement pour autant; se reporter à l'exemple significatif publié dans el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 84, 127-46, pls. 37-9. Dans le cas présent, l'idée de cette fusion est admise sans aucune réserve, Pairkap prenant à son compte tout ce qui concerne son effigie; cf. *infra* n. (j), (n) et (af).

(f) Parfois aux époques tardives, après avoir interpellé les passants individuellement en usant d'une tournure à caractère distributif (nom ou équivalent + *nb* + *sdmtj.fy*), on les considère ensuite collectivement en employant à leur propos le suffixe pluriel *.tn*; plusieurs exemples dont la plupart remontent aux XXV^e et XXVI^e dynasties: Tourajev et Malmberg, *Statues et statuettes de la collection Golénisheff*, 47; G. Lefebvre, 'Le grand prêtre d'Amon, Harmakhis et deux reines de la XXV^e dynastie', *ASAE* 25 (1925), 28, iii.1-2; G. Daressy, 'Remarques sur la statue n° 888 du Musée Égyptien du Caire', *Mélanges Maspero*, I/1 (MIFAO 66; Le Caire, 1934), 87, II.2-4; S. Pernigotti, *La statuaria egiziana nel Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna* (Bologna, 1980), pl.17, fig. 2, N 23.1-4; A. Roccati, 'Un statua cubo dell'età tarda (oggetti smarriti, I)', *Oriens Antiquus* 21 (1982), 218; M. Page-Gasser et A. B. Wiese, *Ägypten, Augenblicke der Ewigkeit, Ausstellung Basel Genève* (Mainz, 1997), 234-5, n° 154. Pareil changement apparaît également dans les avertissements contemporains; voir R. A. Caminos, 'A Record of Nesbanded Son of Onkhperkhrod in the Cairo Museum', *Ancien Orient, Mélanges Korostovtsev* (Moscou, 1975), 56, fig. 3, cols. 11-14 [titre en russe], à rapprocher de P. Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past* (Londres, 1994), 12-14; A. Bey Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines*, I (CGC; Le Caire, 1905), 140, CG 22151.18-20.

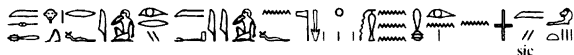
Ici on observe un glissement comparable, mais dans un ordre inverse, les passants étant d'abord envisagés dans leur ensemble puis séparément. Cette particularité apparaît clairement quand on compare la façon dont Pairkap les apostrophe, en les désignant comme 'ceux qui passent', et celle avec laquelle il les met en cause au moment de leur promettre des avantages, en recourant aux pronoms singuliers *.k* ou *.tw*. Au sujet des impératifs exprimant ce qu'il leur demande juste après les avoir interpellés et avant de les appâter par des promesses, on peut éventuellement hésiter à les analyser comme des singuliers, l'absence de toute marque du pluriel n'étant pas en soi significative. Néanmoins, il n'y a pas de doute à avoir à ce propos car si un appel parle de ses destinataires à la fois au singulier et au pluriel, le changement intervient habituellement après l'interpellation. Si ce scénario est bien respecté ici, Pairkap doit donc cesser d'évoquer les passants au pluriel dès la première prière qu'il leur adresse.

(g) Le verbe *sh* (écrit ici *sh*), 'être sourd', en vient très rapidement à ne plus être employé qu'associé au mot *hr*, 'visage', pour former une expression signifiant 'être négligent, être indifférent'; cf. S. Morschauser, *Threat-Formulae in Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore, 1991), 60, avec réf. 307; on pourra également consulter Y. Volokhine, *Le visage dans l'Égypte ancienne* (thèse de doctorat soutenue le 4 juillet 1998 à l'université de Genève).

En voyant simplement dans \neg la négation *n(n)*, on pourrait éventuellement comprendre 'ô ceux qui passent près de moi sans être indifférents'; cf. K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie* (ÄAT 8/2; Wiesbaden, 1985), 450, f.7, dont on peut rapprocher un passage de la stèle de Naucratis: 'celui qui opère conformément à ce qu'ils disent sans être indifférent (*nn sh/sh hr*) à leurs paroles' (texte dans H. Brunner, *Hieroglyphische Chrestomathie* (Wiesbaden, 1965), pl. 24, col. 5). Toutefois, on obtient un meilleur sens en considérant \neg comme une façon originale d'écrire \neg , l'impératif du verbe de négation *imi* qui exprime une défense suivie d'un verbe à l'infinitif ancien. En raison de l'assimilation des nasales, on peut tout à fait concevoir qu'un *m* ait été noté *n*, à l'instar des nombreux exemples où la préposition *m* est

écrite $\overline{\text{m}}$; aux références que j'ai réunies dans 'Le monument de Samtoutefnakht à Naples [Première partie]', *RdE* 36 (1985), 93, n. 36, joindre R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text* (SAOC 52; Chicago, 1992), 13. Ici, afin de rappeler ce qu'exprime l'impératif de *imi*, on aurait seulement pris soin de préférer à un banal filet d'eau ou à n'importe quel autre signe ayant la valeur *n*, celui auquel est précisément attachée l'idée de négation.

Aux époques tardives, on trouve d'ailleurs quelques appels débutant par une exhortation contre l'indifférence formulée au moyen de l'expression *sh hr* précédée de l'impératif négatif *m*: Statue Caire CG 42222 (XXII^e dynastie); G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, II (CGC; Le Caire, 1909), 51, c.6-7, inscription en rétrograde.



'Ne soyez pas indifférents à lui et faites-lui, s'il vous plaît, encensement et libation comme j'ai fait pour (mes) prédécesseurs!'

Statue Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum 69. 115.1 (époque ptolémaïque); reproduite dans R. A. Fazzini et al., *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum* (New York, 1989), s.v. n° 89, col. 2 de l'appui dorsal.



'Ô tout homme qui regarde vers moi, ne sois pas indifférent à mon égard car je suis un juste de coeur!'

C'est une façon de solliciter l'attention des passants qui peut prendre d'autres formes; quelques exemples à l'époque ptolémaïque: 'tournez vos regards vers cette statue' dans G. Roeder, 'Der "Torso Simu" einer Priesterin aus Sais', *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (Londres, 1932), 333, col. 2 (sur une statue de temple); 'arrêtez-vous donc et écoutez (ma) déclaration' dans W. Wreszinski, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem K. K. Hofmuseum in Wien* (Leipzig, 1906), 86, l. 7 du texte; 'puissiez-vous écouter la prière que je vous ai adressée humblement' dans M. Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies* (OBO 120; Freiburg-Göttingen, 1992), 193, l. 3 du texte (sur des stèles de tombe).

(h) Ceux qui lancent les appels font souvent allusion à leur espoir de voir les passants prononcer leur nom, mais pour évoquer cette action, ils préfèrent de loin les verbes *dm* ou *dd* à leur synonyme le verbe *nis* qui apparaît ici; cf. P. Vernus, *Athribis* (BdE 74; Le Caire, 1978), 204-5, n. g.

(i) Probablement faut-il reconnaître la préposition *r-hft-hr* (*Wb.* III, 276, 1-3). En effet, après le groupe *r-hft*, on distingue encore le long de la cassure deux traces pouvant appartenir à un visage et à un trait.

Si une préposition exprimant une relation de proximité est employée après une expression signifiant 'prononcer le nom', c'est plutôt *r-gs* ou *m-b;h* que suit habituellement la mention du dieu auprès duquel le support de l'appel a été déposé; cf. Vernus, *Athribis*, 204-5, n. g.

(j) On peut lire *bs.n.fwi* mais aussi *ibs.n.fwi* en rattachant au verbe le *i* qui précède, comme cela est envisageable dans l'éventualité d'une graphie archaïsante; cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, § 426. Ce passage pourrait faire allusion à la consécration de la statue dans le temple, le pronom dépendant renvoyant alors au monument auquel Pairkap s'assimile, suivant ce qui a été précisé *supra* n. (e); comparer avec une évocation du fils 'qui fait vivre son nom sur sa statue, après qu'il l'a introduite dans le temple' dans Bothmer, *Kêmi* 20, 41 et pl. vii, fig. 3. Bien que cela ne soit pas signalé dans J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak* (OLA 42; Leuven, 1989), 147-204, parmi les emplois du verbe *bs(i)*, ce terme peut effectivement s'appliquer à l'introduction d'une statue dans un temple; voir l'exemple de *bs.n(i) ssmw r st.sn*, 'j'ai introduit les statues à leur place', dans la troisième colonne de l'inscription reproduite dans J. D. Cooney, 'The Portrait of an Egyptian Collaborator', *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* 15/2 (1953), 6, fig. 3, 8, fig. 4.

Le problème posé par cette interprétation concerne le suffixe *f* dont on ne sait à qui il se rapporte d'après ce qui précède. En admettant la possibilité d'un référent non explicité en raison

de son caractère évident, il faudrait supposer que le dédicant de la statue est le fils du propriétaire, le premier susceptible d'assumer ce rôle après lui; cf. R. el-Sayed, 'Formules de piété filiale', *Mélanges Mokhtar I*, 289. Cependant, si le monument n'avait pas été dédié par Pairkap lui-même, on l'imagine mal ne pas conserver trace de son commanditaire à travers une dédicace; or, il n'en porte aucune.

(k) L'aspect déconcertant de ce passage tient seulement à la façon dont on a écrit le verbe *wꜣd*, ' prospérer ', en répercutant l'amuissement du *aleph* à la médiale; cf. J. Vergote, *Phonétique historique de l'égyptien* (Louvain, 1945), 97. Cela relève du goût manifesté aux époques tardives pour les graphies phonétiques; voir en dernier lieu Perdu, *RdE* 47, 50–1.

On doit en fait reconnaître dans 𓂏 la même promesse qu'on retrouve, mais exprimée dans le style indirect imposé par le genre (à la 3^e pers. du sing. et non à la 2^e comme ici, dans un appel), dans deux avertissements très proches l'un de l'autre où elle apparaît avec les mêmes graphies: 𓂏 ; ces textes figurent sur des statues du milieu de la XXVI^e dynastie appartenant peut-être au même personnage: l'une est la statue New York, MMA 66.99.68 + Caire CG 895 dont le passage évoqué ici est reproduit dans *ESLP*, pl. 49, fig. 118; l'autre, inédite, est conservée depuis 1991 dans une collection privée alsacienne. Contrairement à ce qui a été envisagé à leur propos par H. De Meulenaere, '*nt(r)* et *nf(r)*', *Hommages à J. Leclant* (BdE 106; Le Caire, 1994), IV, 68–9, ex. iii.2, qui comprend 'il prospérera sur terre', le pronom *f* ne se rattache pas à 𓂏 ; comme le suggère la disposition, il se greffe sur 𓂏 qui correspond en fait à l'expression *tp(y)-tꜣ*, 'descendant', devenue un mot à part entière (cas de lexicalisation) où le suffixe possessif ne s'intercale plus entre ses deux éléments comme dans ses premières attestations; cf. *Wb.* V, 292, 9–11; J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *L'appel aux vivants dans les textes funéraires égyptiens des origines à la fin de l'Ancien Empire* (RAPH 9; Le Caire, 1938), 125, addit. au texte n° Xb; comparer avec *tp(y)-tꜣ.i* dans *Urk.* IV, 1925, 20.

Une promesse de prospérité concernant la descendance n'est pas habituelle; autre promesse de prospérité exprimée avec *wꜣd*, 'être florissant', dans W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos* (Londres, 1896), pl. xviii, 3.2–3, mais à propos des biens immobiliers. On peut néanmoins penser qu'elle évoque le résultat de l'hérédité des charges qui, elle, est régulièrement promise en matière de postérité; considérer l'exemple de *swd.tn iꜣwt.tn n msw.tn wꜣd(w)* — pseudoparticipe à valeur résultative — *tp tꜣ* dans Tourajev et Malmberg, *Statues et statuettes de la collection Golénischeff*, 47.

(l) Tant dans les appels que dans les avertissements, quelle que soit leur époque ou leur destination, temple ou tombe, il n'y a pas plus banal que cette promesse de récompense; il est significatif que parmi les cinquante textes rassemblés dans Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies*, 156–89, on en dénombre pas moins de seize exemples. Elle est ici formulée sur le modèle d'une phrase verbale qui est généralement adopté, sauf dans quelques avertissements qui lui préfèrent la forme d'une phrase à prédicat nominal; voir e.g. L. Sist, 'Una statua di scriba nel Museo Archeologico di Siracusa', *Vicino Oriente* 1 (1978), pl. avec fig., cols. 8–9 (*hs tn 'Imn-Rc nb ns(w)t tꜣwy*), dans un appel; Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, pl. 114, 159 C (*hs s(w) ntr rꜣ*), dans un avertissement; exemple de l'alternative admise dans ce dernier genre de texte avec G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, III (CGC; Le Caire, 1914), 87, i.2 (*hs(sw) pw n ntr niwt.f*).

Dans les appels ou les avertissements des temples, la divinité susceptible de récompenser reste celle vénérée sur place, comme cela ressort des différentes manières de la signaler aux époques tardives:

— en la désignant explicitement comme la divinité de l'endroit; un exemple, concernant un appel, dans H. Ranke, 'Statue eines hohen Beamten unter Psammetich I.', *ZÄS* 44 (1907), 45, l. 5 du texte (*hs tn ntrw ntr(w)t imywt st (t)n*).

— en mentionnant tout simplement la divinité locale par son nom ou une épithète caractéristique; d'assez nombreux exemples comme ceux de Bothmer, *Kēmi* 20, 41, pls. vi–vii (en comprenant 'Osiris-Onnôphris vous récompensera', à la place de 'vous louerez Osiris-Onnôphris', sur une statue dont l'inscription précise elle-même qu'elle a été 'introduite dans le temple d'Osiris'), ou H. De Meulenaere, 'La statue du général Djed-ptah-iouf-anck (Caire JE 36949)', *BIFAO* 63 (1965), 23, l. 6 du texte (*hs tn nb ntrw = Amon*), dans des appels; Perdu, *RdE*

47, 45, col. 2 (promesse d'être 'un favori d'Osiris-maître-de-la-vie' sur une statue provenant d'une chapelle consacrée à ce dieu), dans un avertissement.

— ou en la présentant comme la divinité des personnes auxquelles on s'adresse, étant entendu que celles-ci se limitent au clergé local; cf. Perdu, *RdE* 36, 112, n. a. Il en existe de multiples exemples où cela est indiqué de trois façons, en parlant de:

1. 'votre dieu / son dieu'; ainsi dans P. Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée du Louvre*, I (Paris, 1874), 37 (*hs tn ntr.tn*), ou Tourajev et Malmberg, *Statues et statuettes de la collection Golénischeff*, 64, côté g. (*hs tn ntrw.tn*), dans des appels; ou sur les deux statues citées dans la note précédente (*hs s(w) ntr.f*), dans des avertissements.

2. 'votre dieu local / son dieu local'; ainsi dans E. Brunner-Traut et H. Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen* (Mainz am Rhein, 1981), 40, col. 14 du texte (*hs tn ntr.tn niwtj*), ou Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. xviii, 3.1 (*hs tn ntr-niwtj.tn*), dans des appels; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* III, 5, CG 42196.a.3 (*hs sw ntr-niwtj.f*), dans un avertissement.

3. ou 'le dieu de votre ville / le dieu de sa ville', solution retenue ici et dans d'autres cas comme: Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* III, 87, h.1 (*hs tn ntr niwt.tn*), dans un appel; statue inédite Caire JE 37881 (*hs sw ntr niwt.f*), dans un avertissement.

Dans 'la divinité de ta ville' dont Pairkap promet des récompenses, il faut donc voir une référence à la déesse auprès de laquelle il a laissé sa statue, en l'occurrence Bastet, en reconnaissant dans cette tournure un nouvel exemple où elle concerne une divinité féminine; voir celui de *ntr niwt.f* rencontré précédemment et la discussion *supra* n. (a).

Promettre des récompenses du dieu après avoir fait une promesse concernant la descendance n'a pas d'équivalent mais l'inverse, en revanche, est fréquemment attesté; pour les appels, voir *infra* pp. 147-9 et les références réunies n. 55; à propos des avertissements, se reporter au texte repris sur les deux statues mentionnées *supra* n. (j), qui, outre la permutation des promesses, ne se différencie de celui de Pairkap que par l'emploi du style indirect voulu par la nature même du passage: *hs s(w) ntr.f w3 d tp(y)-t3.f*.

(m) Ce qui signifie littéralement 'adorer dieu pour quelqu'un' peut être compris comme le fait de remercier cette personne ou de lui témoigner de la reconnaissance; cf. E. Edel, 'Inchriften des Alten Reiches. V. Die Reiseberichte des *Hrw-hwjf* (Herchuf)', dans O. Firchow (éd.), *Ägyptologische Studien* (IfO 29; Berlin, 1955), 53. Cette action suppose en effet de la part de son bénéficiaire une démarche ou des dispositions qui l'en rendent digne; considérer notamment, parmi de multiples témoignages, W. Helck, *Die Lehre des Dw3-Htj*, (Wiesbaden, 1970), II, 148, XXX.f, et, pour les époques tardives, G. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Pétoisiris*, II (Le Caire, 1923), 54-5, inscr. 81.41-2 et 77, inscr. 106.13. Ici, en appeler à la gratitude des passants trouve sa légitimité un peu plus loin, dans un plaidoyer où Pairkap se présente comme un homme irréprochable; dans l'ensemble des appels, on peut d'ailleurs observer la régularité avec laquelle ce genre de requête est accompagné d'un éloge où le solliciteur vante ses mérites, un cas comme celui présenté par De Meulenaere, *CdE* 68, 46, fig. 1, b, demeurant exceptionnel.

Même si cela se manifeste souvent par un discours, 'rendre hommage' à quelqu'un peut prendre différentes formes; comparer H. De Meulenaere, 'Bij het graf van een egyptisch priester (Stèle Leiden AP. 1)', *Orientalia Gandensia* 3 (1966), 109 et pl., l. 11 du texte, et K. Jansen-Winkel, 'Neue biographische Texte der 22./23. Dynastie', *SAK* 22 (1995), 173, fig. 3. Comme ici, les indications sur la façon dont l'hommage se traduit sont souvent exprimées par un verbe à l'infinitif introduit par la préposition *m*, du moins aux époques tardives; voir Wreszinski, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus dem K. K. Hofmuseum in Wien*, 88, 11-7; De Meulenaere, *Orientalia Gandensia* 3, 109 et pl., l. 12 du texte; P. Vernus, 'Inscriptions de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire (IV). Le texte oraculaire réemployé dans le passage axial du III^e pylône dans le temple de Karnak', *Cahiers de Karnak*, VI (Le Caire, 1980), 217, l. × + 9 (auparavant, *r* se substitue à *m* devant l'infinitif; voir Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 76, 13; I. Harari, 'Nature de la stèle de donation de fonction du roi Ahmôsis à la reine Ahmès-Nefertari', *ASAE* 56 (1959), pl. 2, col. 19). Dans les appels laissés sur les statues de temple comme dans les autres textes en général, de telles précisions demeurent toutefois assez rares; un exemple dans Jansen-Winkel, *SAK* 22, 173, fig. 3.

(n) En dépit des apparences, ce qui est écrit *srwd* ne correspond pas à *srwd*, 'consolider', mais à *srd*, 'faire croître', qui adopte souvent cette graphie tardivement; cf. *Wb.* IV, 205, 1. Ce dernier verbe, comme son synonyme *swsd*, 'faire prospérer', peut en effet être employé pour évoquer la multiplication des années de vie; comparer W. Spiegelberg, 'Horus als Anzt', *ZÄS* 57 (1922), 70, A.3, avec A. Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou* (BdE 44; Le Caire, 1968), 16, texte 4. Il n'est guère surprenant de voir le prolongement de l'existence exprimé en des termes rappelant le développement de la végétation car, en matière de croissance, celle des plantes s'impose comme un modèle; cf. R. H. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art* (London, 1992), 118–19, remémorant l'image de la 'tige des millions d'années' le long de laquelle les jeunes pousses prolifèrent pour en faire un symbole de longévité.

Les années en cause ici ne sont pas tant celles de Pairkap lui-même, que celles de son effigie avec laquelle il ne fait plus qu'un désormais (voir *supra* n. (e)); même valeur à accorder à l'évocation de 'mes années' sur une statue d'époque libyenne où *scš; mpwt.i* signifie, dans la bouche de son propriétaire, maintenir en place le monument, comme l'a précisé S. Sauneron, 'Une statue-cube de l'époque bubastite', *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 24, 27. Dans ces conditions, les prolonger revient aussi bien à prononcer le nom de Pairkap, comme le demande l'appel, qu'à assurer la conservation du monument dans le temple, souci dont le voeu inscrit sur le dessus du socle révèle la réalité; voir *infra* n. (af).

(o) Ce passage doit être rapproché d'un extrait de la biographie de Rekhmiré qui confirme son rapport avec le maintien de l'héritier à la place de son père; consulter la copie donnée dans *Urk.* IV, 1078, 7, de préférence à celle d'A. H. Gardiner, 'The Autobiography of Rekhmirer', *ZÄS* 60 (1925), 70, k (*smn[.n].i s; iwꜣ(w) hr nst it.f*).

Apposer *iwꜣw* à *s;* est d'usage quand il s'agit de signaler le successeur légitime d'une personne; considérer l'expression *m s; n s; iwꜣw n iwꜣw*, 'formule héréditaire' évoquée par A. H. Gardiner, 'The Dakhleh Stela', *JEA* 19 (1933), 27, n. ad l. 14–15, H. Gauthier, 'Une fondation pieuse en Nubie', *ASAE* 36 (1936), 63–4, n. d, D. Kessler, 'Einer Landschenkung Ramses' III. zugunsten eines "Grossen der *thrw*" aus *mr-mšꜣf*', *SAK* 2 (1975), 114, n. ad l. 9, O. D. Berlev, 'Un don du roi Rahotep', *OLP* 6/7, (1975–76), 38–9, et encore attestée dans H. W. Fairman, 'Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Sesebi (Sudla) and Amārah-West Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1937–8', *JEA* 24 (1938), pl. xi, fig. 3, l. 4, et K. A. Kitchen, 'A Donation Stela of Ramesses III from Medamūd', *BIFAO* 73 (1973), 195, fig. 1, l. 8. Aux trois exemples d'apposition cités à propos de *Wb.* III, 408, 4, tous du Moyen Empire, on peut en ajouter plusieurs, allant du Nouvel Empire aux époques tardives, dont le nombre et la diversité sont révélateurs de l'étendue de cette pratique; retenir U. Verhoeven, 'Textgeschichtliche Beobachtungen am Schlusstext von Totenbuchspruch 146', *RdE* 43 (1992), 172, 185, § F (à propos d'un dieu); *KRI* II, 542, 2; VI, 13, 4–5; 728, 12 (à propos d'un roi); Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 92, B; statue inédite Caire JE 26427 (à propos d'un particulier).

(p) Après deux promesses se rapportant à des aspirations très banales, celle-ci se distingue par son originalité. S'adressant aux membres du clergé bubastite comme le précise la fin de sa déclaration, Pairkap a choisi, sans doute pour mieux éveiller leur intérêt, de répondre à une préoccupation qui leur est plus personnelle en leur promettant une protection contre un péril relevant des traditions religieuses locales; autres promesses retenues pour coïncider avec les aspirations propres au public particulier auquel on s'adresse dans Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée du Louvre* I, 36–7; el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 84, 138, D.1–3 (deux exemples où, à des lettrés, il est précisément question de promettre les faveurs de leur patron, Thot). Le caractère bubastite de cette promesse ressort non seulement de la nature des divinités auxquelles elle fait référence, mais aussi de la façon même dont elle en parle, sans les citer nommément, ce qui suppose, pour qu'elles soient identifiables par les destinataires du message, qu'elles leur soient familières, donc qu'elles se rattachent à leur ville dans la mesure où, à l'évidence, aucune ne correspond à une figure du panthéon de dimension nationale; voir le commentaire sur *ntr* qui suit et, *infra*, celui de la note (s) à propos de *Nbt-tꜣwy*.

Le 'dieu' évoqué ici peut être défini, d'après la suite, comme un spécialiste de la protection contre les fureurs de la forme locale de la Déesse dangereuse, à savoir Bastet; voir *infra* n. (s). Plusieurs divinités sont connues pour assumer ce rôle, mais de manière occasionnelle et auprès

de la Déesse agressive indépendamment de toute attache particulière avec Bubastis; cf. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 57, 70, A.6, à compléter avec Y. Koenig, 'Deux amulettes de Deir el-Médineh', *BIFAO* 82 (1982), 287, n. a (Horus); P. Leyde I 347, 4, 3-7, traduit dans Vernus, *Athribis*, 318, doc. 296 (forme locale d'Horus); *Edfou* VI, 300, 14-15, commenté dans Ph. Germond, *Sekhmet et la protection du monde* (AH 9; Basel, 1981), 247 (Rê). Dans cette ville, l'évocation d'un tel dieu conduit plutôt à opérer un rapprochement avec une équipe de sept divinités locales chargées de contenir les débordements dévastateurs de la Déesse dangereuse symbolisés par autant de flèches; cf. Rondot, *BIFAO* 89, 266-70. En effet, cette troupe est menée par un chef qui peut éventuellement la représenter et assurer à lui seul la protection contre les méfaits causés par la lionne redoutable; cf. S. Sauneron, 'Le nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle du dieu Toutou-Tithoès', *JNES* 19 (1960), 270-2, 283; V. Rondot, 'Le naos de Domitien, Toutou et les sept flèches', *BIFAO* 90 (1990), 315, 319, figs. 6-7. Aux époques ptolémaïque et romaine, quand l'équipe commence à devenir célèbre et à intervenir en dehors de Bubastis, son meneur est alors le fils de Neith, le lion Toutou; cf. Sauneron, *JNES* 19, 283. Néanmoins, on s'est demandé si, conformément aux origines de la bande, cette place n'avait pas été préalablement occupée par une divinité de Bubastis, en l'occurrence l'homologue de Toutou dans cette localité, le lion Mahès, le propre fils de Bastet, auquel cas celui-ci pourrait bien être le dieu impliqué ici; cf. Rondot, *BIFAO* 89, 270, n. 45.

En tout cas, il ne serait pas surprenant de voir le fils attitré de Bastet à Bubastis jouer un rôle prépondérant dans la protection contre les agissements de sa mère. Du fait même de sa filiation, il n'a en effet rien à redouter d'elle car on ne conçoit pas qu'elle puisse attenter à la vie de celui auquel elle l'a précisément donnée; cf. J.-Cl. Goyon, 'Sur une formule des rituels de conjuration des dangers de l'année. En marge du papyrus de Brooklyn 47.218.50. II', *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 80. Lion lui-même, il dispose en outre d'une force destructrice qui peut être mise à profit pour lutter contre les manifestations malfaisantes; cf. L. V. Žabkar, *Apedemak, Lion God of Meroe* (Warminster, 1975), 57-sq.; voir A. Piankoff, 'Le naos D 29 du musée du Louvre', *RdE* 1 (1933), 166, fig. 6 et 167, montrant Mahès fils de Bastet dévorant un ennemi; considérer également L. Pantalacci, 'Compagnies de gardiens au temple d'el-Qal'a', dans D. Kurth (éd.), *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung* (AAT 33; Wiesbaden, 1995), 191, évoquant un Mahès qui monte la garde face aux intrus; ce cas est à rapprocher de celui d'un autre lion, Toutou, présenté comme un dieu 'qui détruit le messenger funeste' dans Sauneron, *JNES* 19, 270, A.1°; sur le dieu puissant en général, à la fois terrifiant et bienfaisant, consulter J. Quaegebeur, 'Divinités égyptiennes sur des animaux dangereux', *Les Cahiers du CEPOA* 2 (1985), 137-8. Ce sont là des idées communément admises dont on relève de multiples échos dans le domaine de la magie où, pour échapper à un danger, notamment les miasmes répandus par Sekhmet, on n'hésite pas à s'identifier au fils de la Déesse dangereuse ou à requérir son aide; cf. J. F. Borghouts, 'The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348', *OMRO* 51 (1971), 66-7, n. 94; Th. Bardinot, *Les papyrus médicaux de l'Égypte pharaonique* (Paris, 1995), 242, 518, 520.

Si cette promesse implique bien le chef des responsables des sept flèches de la Déesse dangereuse, on peut d'autre part observer qu'elle intervient peu de temps avant l'époque où l'activité architecturale déployée dans le temple de Bubastis consacre l'importance de sa troupe dans la vie religieuse locale; cf. Rondot, *BIFAO* 89, 269-70, rapportant la réalisation sous Nectanébo II de plusieurs naos destinés à abriter ses différents membres.

(q) D'un dieu qui se porte au secours d'une personne ayant réclamé son assistance, on dit généralement qu'il 'vient' à elle, en recourant au verbe *ii*; cf. J. Quaegebeur, 'L'appel au divin: le bonheur des hommes mis dans la main des dieux', dans J.-G. Heintz (éd.), *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité, Actes du colloque de Strasbourg 15-17 juin 1995* (Paris, 1997), 24, et ajouter aux références citées n. 37 : S. Sauneron, 'Un hymne à Imouthès', *BIFAO* 63 (1963), 77, n. d; G. Posener, 'La plainte de l'échanson Bay', dans J. Assmann, E. Feucht et R. Grieshammer (éds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur, Studien zu Gedenken an E. Otto* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 388-9; Y. Koenig, *Le papyrus Boulaq* 6 (BdE 87; Le Caire, 1981), 17, n. b; nombreux exemples dans les documents de la piété personnelle évoqués par H. P. Blok, 'Remarques sur quelques stèles dites "à oreilles"', *Kémi* 1 (1928), 129, Vernus, *Cahiers de Karnak*, VI, 222, n. s, et W. Guglielmi et J. Dittmar, 'Anrufungen der persönlichen Frömmigkeit auf Gans- und Widder-

Darstellungen des Amun', dans I. Gamer-Wallert et W. Helck (éds), *Gegengabe, Festschrift für E. Brunner-Traut* (Tübingen, 1992), 135-sq.; voir surtout le témoignage significatif apporté par M. Tosi et A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina* (Torino, 1972), 95, N. 50058, cols. 6 et 10; pour les époques tardives, retenir la légende du vingt-cinquième génie de Pharbaïthos dans G. Maspero, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, II (CGC; Le Caire, 1914), 209, et Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Pétoisiris II*, 79, inscr. 110.b.5-7 (autres références dans S. Cauville, 'À propos des 77 génies de Pharbaïthos', *BIFAO* 90 (1990), 119); considérer également la déesse nommée 'Ii-n- $\text{r}\text{-n.s}$ dans K. P. Kuhlmann, 'Zur angeblichen Lokalgöttin *Ĵin- ins-mhj.t* ', *GM* 31 (1979), 58-62, ainsi que l'épithète divine *ii n rš n.f* dans J. Quaegebeur, 'Le temple romain de Chenhour. Remarques sur l'histoire de sa construction et de sa décoration', dans *J. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 212, n. 43, à rapprocher de Thirion, *RdE* 42, 223-4.

(r) Cette indication peut aussi bien être considérée comme une référence à une date particulière du calendrier bubastite que comme une simple précision sur le moment où le dieu doit intervenir, à chaque fois que l'on éprouve le besoin de se protéger contre la Déesse dangereuse; considérer le sens de *hrw n* + infinitif dans *Urk.* IV, 64, 1; voir également les références réunies dans J. C. Moreno García, *Études sur l'administration, le pouvoir et l'idéologie en Égypte, de l'Ancien au Moyen Empire* (Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 4; Liège, 1997), 128, n. 399. Seule une meilleure compréhension de la fin de cette promesse permettrait de dissiper cette incertitude mais on sait, en tout cas, que la menace que représente cette lionne redoutable est permanente, rendant toujours pressante la nécessité de la conjurer; cf. J. Yoyotte, 'Une monumentale litanie de granit: les Sekhmet d'Aménophis III et la conjuration permanente de la déesse dangereuse', *BSFE* 87-88 (1980), 64-70; S. Aufrère, 'Le coeur, l'annulaire gauche, Sekhmet et les maladies cardiaques', *RdE* 36 (1985), 28.

(s) Accompagnée de l'image d'une figure léontocéphale, cette épithète sert à elle seule de dénomination à une divinité que la nature même de son déterminatif et le contexte désignent comme la Déesse dangereuse qui prend à Bubastis la forme de Bastet (voir *supra* n. 34); autres exemples de *nb(t) tꜣwy* déterminé par une figure assise à tête de lionne sur divers sistres votifs tardifs, pour désigner — en parallélisme avec *nb(t) šhmw*, 'Dame des sistres' — la déesse qu'on apaise par l'hommage musical, ainsi dans Chr. Ziegler, *Catalogue des instruments de musique égyptiens* (Paris, 1979), 40-1, n° 20 et 42, n° 24 (deux exemples datés respectivement d'Apriès et d'Amasis).

Employer le qualificatif de 'dame des Deux Terres' pour évoquer cette divinité n'est pas indifférent. En effet, bien qu'il puisse s'appliquer à diverses déesses comme son sens assez général le permet, il s'impose à travers plusieurs sources comme une épithète de prédilection de la lionne redoutable :

— Ainsi, au début du grand rituel destiné à l'apaiser, on l'interpelle en la qualifiant d'abord de 'Grande, Dame des Deux Terres' (*wrt nb(t) tꜣwy*); voir *Edfou* III, 290, 16, à compléter avec Derchain, *Elkab* I, 58, 16*.

— Ensuite, dans un chant permettant également de la conjurer, on l'invoque à deux reprises sous une seule appellation la définissant comme 'La Dame des Deux Terres' (*tꜣ nb(t) tꜣwy*); voir U. Verhoeven et Ph. Derchain, *Le voyage de la déesse libyque* (Rites Égyptiens 5; Bruxelles, 1985), 80, L.3 et P.4, en réexaminant le sens de cette composition à la lumière des remarques de J. Yoyotte, 'Religion de l'Égypte ancienne', *Annuaire EPHE V^e section* 95 (1986-87), 168-9.

— En outre, dans un hymne de bienvenue gravé sur une statuette à son effigie, on fait appel à elle en la désignant uniquement comme 'La Dame des Deux Terres' (*tꜣ nb(t) tꜣwy*); voir I. A. Lapis et M. E. Mathie, *Sculpture de l'Égypte ancienne dans la collection nationale de l'Ermitage* (Moscou, 1969), pl. 4, 124.a.1 [en russe].

— Puis dans une vieille 'formule funéraire' conservée sur deux monuments tardifs, après l'avoir mentionnée par son nom de Sekhmet, on fait un peu plus loin à nouveau référence à elle en se contentant de la signaler comme la 'Dame des Deux Terres' (*nb(t) tꜣwy*); voir Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Pétoisiris II*, 39, inscr. 63.6, et C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchnesneferibre* (Copenhague, 1937), 58, [136-7], en se reportant au commentaire de J. Yoyotte, 'Héra d'Héliopolis et le sacrifice humain', *Annuaire EPHE V^e section* 89 (1980-81), 39.

— D'autre part, parmi les multiples formes sous lesquelles il convient de l'exorciser quotidiennement, on compte une 'Dame des Deux Terres', une 'Sekhmet dame des Deux Terres' ainsi qu'une 'Oudjyt dame des Deux Terres'; voir respectivement *Dendara* VII, 62, n° 46; I, 120, n° 45; VII, 55, n° 51 (ces mentions appartiennent toutes à un ensemble défini comme la 'litanie A' par Yoyotte, *BSFE* 87-88, 60-3).

— On peut sans doute aussi faire état de la présence d'un 'Oeil de Rê, dame des Deux Terres et régente de l'Île-de-l'embrassement' parmi les émissaires de la déesse diffusant ses miasmes durant chacun des mois de l'année, plusieurs d'entre eux faisant en effet partie de ses avatars; voir B. H. Stricker, 'Spreuken tot beveiliging gedurende de Schrikeldagen naar Pap. I 346', *OMRO* 29 (1948), 61, I.2; P. Vernus, 'Omina calendériques et comptabilité d'offrandes sur une tablette hiéroglyphique de la XVIII^e dynastie', *RdE* 33 (1981), 120, fig. 2, l. 14, avec un commentaire sur cette équipe pp. 105-6.

— Peut-être faut-il également retenir comme significatif le fait de la présenter comme une 'Dame des Deux Terres', avant même de la citer nommément, au moment de lui adresser une offrande liquide rappelant ses rites d'apaisement; voir L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'ahur-re*, I (Leipzig, 1910), 126, en considérant les observations de Germond, *Sekhmet et la protection du monde*, 340.

— À ces extraits de compositions religieuses, il faut encore joindre plusieurs mentions de Sekhmet locales où le nom de la déesse est suivi de l'épithète 'dame des Deux Terres', parfois précédée d'un adjectif la décrivant comme une 'grande'; voir É. Chassinat et al., *Les fouilles de Qattah* (MIFAO 14; Le Caire, 1906), 73 (Ouest du Delta); Von Känel, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet*, 100, doc. 46, l. 2, 101, n. h et pl. xiv; 104, doc. 47, l. 4 et pl. xv (région memphite?); 220, doc. 39, a.1 (Héliopolis?). Dans la région de Kom Firin où la dévotion envers Sekhmet est attestée par de nombreux témoignages où elle apparaît régulièrement comme une 'dame des Deux Terres', il semble même que cette qualité soit indissociable de la déesse; voir J. Berlandini, 'Une stèle de donation du dynaste libyen Roudamon', *BIFAO* 78 (1978), 153, fig. 1 et pl. 49 (*Shmt nb(t) t:wy*); S. Quirke et J. Spencer, *The British Museum Book of Ancient Egypt* (Londres, 1992), 201, fig. 155 (*Shmt r:(t) nb(t) t:wy*); A. M. Bakir, 'A Donation Stela of the Twenty-second Dynasty', *ASAE* 43 (1943), pl. 1 (*Shmt r:(t) nb(t) t:wy nb(t) imnt*); De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 62, 161, pl. xxxii, doc. 17, et commentaire pp. 170-1; K. A. Kitchen, 'Two Donation Stelae in the Brooklyn Museum', *JARCE* 8 (1969-70), 64, fig. b et pl. (*Shmt wrt nb(t) t:wy*).

(t) Ou 'revenue de', suivant un autre sens de l'expression *ii hr*; cf. *Wb.* I, 37, 23 et 25.

(u) Après *iw n.k ntr m hrw nht hwt m-r Nb(t)-t:wy ii.n tf: hr st*, la promesse s'achève sur un quadrat abîmé dont la lecture s'avère incertaine. Sous un *n* correspondant éventuellement à celui du génitif indirect, on se heurte à une lacune pouvant nous priver d'un petit signe et au bas de laquelle apparaît une trace légèrement oblique, peut-être le corps d'une vipère dont les cornes auraient disparu (à droite, avec un peu d'attention, on distingue encore une pointe susceptible de convenir à la base de l'une d'elles).

(v) La 'Déesse-d'or' qui a guidé Pairkap durant son existence ne peut être que Bastet, la patronne de sa ville et celle au service de laquelle il a voué son existence; cf. *supra* pp. 127-8. Un tel qualificatif est généralement dévolu à l'aimable Hathor; cf. Fr. Daumas, 'La valeur de l'or dans la pensée égyptienne', *RHR* 149 (1956), 1-17; J. Yoyotte, 'Religion de l'Égypte ancienne', *Annuaire EPHE V^e section* 86 (1977-78), 165-sq.; A. Barucq et Fr. Daumas, *Hymnes et prières de l'Égypte ancienne* (LAPO 10; Paris, 1980), 433-sq.; L. V. Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis in her Temple at Philae* (Hanover, 1988), 32; témoignage significatif dans Diodore de Sicile, *Livre I, XCVII.8*, mentionnant 'Aphrodite Dorée'. Étendu à une déesse dangereuse, il pourrait évoquer son aspect apaisé; autre cas concernant cette fois Mout dans A. M. Donadoni Roveri, 'Una statua cubo del Museo Egizio di Torino', *Oriens Antiquus* 6 (1967), 115, l. 4 du texte.

(w) Lire *sšm.n (wi) Nbt*. Il est difficile de trouver un sens à ce passage sans admettre l'omission d'un complément d'objet, auquel cas il ne peut être question que d'un pronom dépendant 1^{ère} pers. sing. renvoyant à Pairkap; cas à rapprocher de *rdi.n.f (wi) r hry hryw* dans *Urk.* IV, 1425, 17, et de *tn.n.f (wi) mm wndw(t).f* dans H. Gauthier, 'A travers la Basse-Égypte', *ASAE* 23 (1923), 174, sur une statue contemporaine de Nectanébo I^{er}; autre exemple d'une telle omission, après un *sdm.f* prospectif, sur une statue ptolémaïque dans A. Eggebrecht, *CAA. Geschichte, Ziele,*

Richtlinien und Arbeitsbeispiele (HÄB 12; Hildesheim, 1981), 71, fin (10). Cette absence peut s'expliquer comme une extension de la possibilité d'omettre le suffixe .i (𓂏) dans un discours auquel est associée une représentation de celui qui parle, conformément au principe de complémentarité entre le texte et l'image; cf. H. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, Part I*, 4; id., *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1986), 27; exemple d'application dans G. Roquet, 'Le nom de l' "ânon" en égyptien et en copte', *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 40–5. Un tel phénomène pourrait avoir été facilité par la propension qu'a le pronom *wi*, notamment à partir de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire, à se réduire graphiquement au personnage assis; voir en particulier G. Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon Romê-Roÿ et Amenhotep* (Paris, 1929), 11, n. b; P. Vernus, 'Inscriptions de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire (I). Les inscriptions de la cour péristyle nord du VI^e pylône dans le temple de Karnak', *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 46, n. aaq; K. Jansen-Winkel, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit* (ÄAT 34; Wiesbaden, 1996), 136, § 223.

(x) Le passage se rattache au thème bien connu du dieu guidant les humains; depuis S. Morenz, *La religion égyptienne* (Paris, 1962), 94–8, de nombreux commentaires à ce propos dont, en dernier lieu, celui de D. Devauchelle, 'Le chemin de vie dans l'Égypte ancienne', dans R. Lebrun (éd.), *Sagesses de l'Orient ancien et chrétien, Conférences I.R.O.C. 1991–1992* (Paris, 1993), 98–sq. Comme toujours, c'est le verbe *sšm*, 'conduire', qui est choisi pour exprimer cette action; voir e.g. J. Zandee, 'De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350', *OMRO* 28 (1947), pl. iv, l. 14 et v, l. 20–1; É. Drioton, *Pages d'égyptologie* (Le Caire, 1957), 126; un témoignage à la XXX^e dynastie dans Vernus, *Athribis*, 174, col. 2 du texte (*p(ꜣ) nb ntrw ... sšm mry.f hr wꜣt nfrt*); un autre d'époque ptolémaïque, particulièrement évocateur, dans P. Barguet, *La stèle de la famine* (BdE 24; Le Caire, 1953), 27, n. 6 et pl. v, col. 20 du texte (*sšm s nb r wmwꜣt.sn*).

Au IV^e siècle, il n'est pas rare qu'un personnage signale que sa conduite lui a été suggérée par son dieu; voir Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Pétoiris II*, 32, inscr. 59.2, 82, inscr. 115.2–3; J. Vercoutter, 'Les statues de général Hor, gouverneur d'Hérakléopolis', *BIFAO* 49 (1950), 88, § 2; E. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-her-le-sauveur* (BdE 23; Le Caire, 1956), 93, col. 10 du texte; E. J. Sherman, 'Djedhor the Saviour Statue Base OI 10589', *JEA* 67 (1981), 86, fig. 1, cols. 11–12; un précédent à la XXVI^e dynastie dans O. Perdu, 'Une "autobiographie" d'Horiâa revisitée', *RdE* 48 (1997), 166, fig., b.3.

(y) La préposition *hr* se substitue en fait à *r*, conformément à un phénomène dont les exemples sont à la fois nombreux et variés, du moins à partir du Nouvel Empire; voir A. H. Gardiner, 'The Origin of Certain Coptic Grammatical Elements', *JEA* 16 (1930), 224, n. 1, et J. Černý, 'Troisième série de questions adressées aux oracles', *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 51, n^o 40 (*hr* pour *r* dans un Futur 3); R. A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (AnOr 37; Roma, 1958), 43, n. g (*hr* pour *r* à sens final devant un infinitif, cas assez fréquent; voir aussi *Dendara III*, 33, 5–6, devant un *sšm.f*); id., 'Gebel es-Silsilah No. 100', *JEA* 38 (1952), 52, n. ad l. 14 (*hr* pour *r*, 'vers', devant une indication de lieu); P. Vernus, 'Litterature et autobiographie. Les inscriptions de *Sꜣ-Mwt* surnommé *Kyky*', *RdE* 30 (1978), 122 et 129, ainsi que Perdu, *RdE* 48, 179, n. af (*hr* pour *r* dans diverses expressions).

(z) En supposant un suffixe .i omis derrière *hrw* et en voyant dans ce mot le sujet de *mꜣr*. Conformément à son sens initial, cette expression peut faire allusion à une décision de justice; cf. R. Anthes, 'The Original Meaning of *mꜣr hrw*', *JNES* 13 (1954), 21–51. Ici, d'après le contexte, elle pourrait bien se rapporter au verdict prononcé par le tribunal de l'au-delà à l'issue de l'existence de Pairkap; cf. J. Assmann, *Maât, l'Égypte pharaonique et l'idée de justice sociale* (Paris, 1989), 87–8; voir également le témoignage offert par J. J. Clère, 'Un passage de la stèle du général Antef (Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, Copenhague)', *BIFAO* 30 (1931), 425–6.

(aa) Après *tsw*, le sens incite à nouveau à envisager l'omission d'un suffixe .i. Dérivant du verbe *tsi*, 'reprocher, blâmer', ce mot *ts* signifie fondamentalement 'reproche, blâme'; rapprocher *Wb.* V, 408, 8 de *Wb.* V, 408, 4–7 en suivant P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon* (OLA 78; Leuven, 1997), 1176, et considérer les remarques de P. Tresson, 'Sur deux monuments égyptiens inédits de l'époque d'Amasis et de Nectanébo I^{er}', *Kémi* 4 (1933), 135–7. On a néanmoins proposé de le traduire par 'faute' les quelques fois où il est, comme ici, accompagné d'un suffixe possessif dans lequel il serait absurde de voir l'auteur du reproche; voir *Wb.* V, 408, 9–10; sens retenu entre

autres, par J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* (Mainz, 1976), II, 584, n. 497, et D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, I (Paris, 1980), 431, 77.4983. Pour comprendre ces exemples, il n'est pourtant pas nécessaire de dévier du sens habituel de *ts*, du moins si l'on admet que le pronom concerne en fait le destinataire du reproche, ce qui est parfaitement concevable. Comme tout substantif désignant un procès susceptible d'impliquer un agent et un patient, celui-ci peut être suivi d'un suffixe se rapportant aussi bien au sujet de l'action qu'il évoque (génitif subjectif), qu'à son objet (génitif objectif), le contexte permettant seul de décider; si dans Tresson, *Kémi* 4, 130–1, cols. 27–8 du texte, le *f* de *ts.f* renvoie à celui qui adresse le reproche, en l'occurrence le roi, en revanche dans N.-Chr. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(cankh)y* (MIFAO 103; Le Caire, 1981), 163, l. 137 du texte, le même pronom associé au même mot renvoie cette fois à celui qui est l'objet du reproche, en l'occurrence le serviteur. Cette alternative est bien illustrée par un graffiti ptolémaïque contenant un passage assez proche du texte de Pairkap, mais plus précis, d'où son intérêt: *n wn ts(.i) hr hm.k*, 'il n'y a pas de reproche à mon égard de la part de ta majesté' (à comparer avec *Urk.* IV, 1847, 1); copie dans G. Daressy, 'Notes et remarques', *RT* 14 (1893), 34, lv, a.3. Le cas de ce substantif est d'ailleurs comparable à celui de *dbc* (*Wb.* V, 567, 4–8), un synonyme dérivant également d'un verbe signifiant 'reprocher' (*Wb.* V, 567, 2–3) et auquel on a parfois attribué l'acception erronée de 'faute'; ainsi dans Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Pétoisiris*, I (Le Caire, 1924), 106, repris par B. Menu, 'Le tombeau de Pétoisiris (3) Culpabilité et responsabilité', *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 354–5, où les exemples de l'expression *iri dbc*, 'commettre une faute', les seuls susceptibles d'accréditer une telle traduction, sont en fait empruntés à des textes où il est clairement écrit: *nn/n ir.n.i* (ou *ir.i*) *dbc.k*, 'je n'ai pas fait ce que tu réproves'.

(ab) Lire *n schc md(t).i* en analysant le suffixe de *md(t)* comme le précédent, tel un génitif objectif, et en remarquant la manière dont ce substantif a d'autre part été écrit: en recourant uniquement à des unilittères, avec \curvearrowright pour noter *d* comme le permet l'assimilation des dentales, et en n'indiquant pas le *t* final disparu longtemps dans la prononciation; cf. Perdu, *RdE* 47, 49–50.

L'expression *schc mdt* est connue, mais par un unique exemple dans un passage obscur du papyrus magique Leyde I 345, r° F 5, x + 2; voir *Wb.* IV, 54, 6, se référant à un texte publié depuis dans A. Massart, *Suppl. OMRO* 34 (1954), 26 et 90 (*schc.n.s mdt.i r.k*). On peut néanmoins la comparer à *schc hn* où, à la place de *mdt*, on trouve un synonyme; voir *Wb.* IV, 54, 6, citant une seule référence empruntée à R. Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1842), pl. lxxviii, 163, 17 (*nn schc.tw hn nb r.f*). Or cette autre expression est également attestée dans une variante abrégée de la 'formule du coeur' où son sens apparaît très clairement; voir M. del C. Perez-Die et P. Vernus, *Excavaciones en Ehnasya el Medina* (IA/E 1; Madrid, 1992), 132, fig. 20, doc. 28 (*m schc hn r.i m-b3h iryw-mh3t*) à confronter avec F. Ll. Griffith, 'The Teaching of Amenophis the Son of Kanakht. Papyrus B.M. 10474', *JEA* 12 (1926), 200, n. 7. Dans cette tournure, le verbe *schc* revêt la même signification que devant *bt3*, 'faute, crime'; voir J.-M. Kruchten, *Le décret d'Horemheb* (Bruxelles, 1981), 89, n. 276, en retenant également A. H. Gardiner, 'A Lawsuit Arising from the Purchase of Two Slaves', *JEA* 21 (1935), 144, n. 17. Quant au mot *hn*, il peut être traduit dans ce contexte par 'accusation', acception qu'il admet parfois, tout comme *mdt* d'ailleurs; considérer le point de vue de R. A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Londres, 1954), 365–6, sur *hn*, dont on peut rapprocher celui de A. Théodoridès, 'De la prétendue expression juridique *prc r mdt*', *RdE* 19 (1967), 115–sq., sur *mdt*.

Quand, commentant sa 'justification', Pairkap affirme ne pas avoir subi de reproches ni été l'objet d'aucune accusation, peut-être se réfère-t-il à son existence; comparer avec *n hpr shr/srh.f n wnt tsst im.f hr wctw nw stp-s3 cnh wd3 snb* dans A. Varille, 'L'appel aux visiteurs du tombeau de Khaemhèt', *ASAE* 40 (1940), pl. lxxv, col. 6. Toutefois, il est aussi possible qu'il songe à sa comparution lors du jugement dernier; comparer avec *nn bt3.f nn shr/srh.f hr.n* dans E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead, Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum*² (Londres, 1894), pl. 3, dont on peut sans doute rapprocher *nn wn.i n wnt srh.i* dans A. Varille, 'La stèle du mystique Béky (N° 156 du Musée de Turin)', *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 131 et pl., l. 4 du texte. Dans ce contexte, un passage comme *n tsw(.i)* apparaît en tout cas parfaitement opportun, le tribunal de l'au-delà s'intéressant plus aux mauvaises actions qu'aux bonnes; cf. Clère, *BIFAO* 30, 431–2,

et considérer les multiples allusions à l'absence de reproches dans cette circonstance: G. Maspero, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, I (CGC; Le Caire, 1914), 9, l. de dr. (*nn dbr.tw n.f m wsh't nt Mꜣꜣty*), 141, 4° (*nn dbr im.k m wsh't nt mꜣꜣtyw*); II (1939), 128 (*nn dbrw iw/r.i r-gs mhꜣꜣt*); J. Monnet Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb* (Paris, 1970), 167, col. 14 du texte (*n dbr(.i) hr.tn*); rapprocher de ces exemples celui de G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind* (Leipzig, 1913), 30, VI.3 (*iw nn ts — hꜣꜣr* dans la version démotique — *n ntr im.k*). Concernant *n sꜣꜣr md(t)(.i)*, la même constatation peut également être faite car il est permis de voir dans cette tournure une référence à la procédure accusatoire observée pour juger les défunts; cf. J. Yoyotte, 'Le jugement des morts dans l'Égypte ancienne', dans *Le jugement des morts* (Sources Orientales 4; Paris, 1961), 26, 34, 40, 48–9, 59–61 (nombreux témoignages dont, pour les époques tardives, Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Pétoisiris II*, 39, inscr. 63.5 et 7), et remarquer d'ailleurs l'emploi de son synonyme, *sꜣꜣr hn*, à propos du passage devant le tribunal de l'au-delà, comme le précise J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (Leiden, 1960), 261, C.1.j.

(ac) En admettant l'omission d'un suffixe *.i* aussi bien derrière *hn* qu'après *st*.

Par *st.i*, 'ma place', on désigne l'endroit où la statue a été déposée, cette formulation s'expliquant par l'identification du propriétaire à son effigie, phénomène déjà signalé n. (e); autre exemple de *st.i* avec la même signification sur la statue inédite Caire JE 36579, dans un avertissement mentionné *infra* n. (ai).

En fait, il faut voir dans *hn(.i) r st(.i)* une allusion au moment où Pairkap a rejoint son monument, en rapprochant cet exemple de *hni* des nombreux autres où ce verbe indique le fait pour un dieu de retrouver sa représentation; outre L. V. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* (SAOC 34; Chicago, 1968), 39–41, voir en dernier lieu Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 730, citant notamment l'exemple de *hn.f r pr.f hnm.f hwt-ntr.f hpt.f bs.f m hd.f* dans *Edfou I*, 328, 10–11, qui peut être rapproché de ce passage de l'appel de Pairkap. Pour un homme qui rejoint sa statue, il est également indiqué de recourir à un terme signifiant étymologiquement 'se poser' — à propos d'un volatile — car, comme une divinité, celui-ci est censé faire le déplacement sous la forme d'un oiseau-*ba*; cf. J.-L. de Cenival, *Le livre pour sortir le jour* (Bordeaux, 1992), 22–3; voir également les témoignages signalés dans A. H. Zayed, 'Réflexions sur des statuettes inédites de l'époque ptolémaïque', *ASAE* 57 (1962), 145 n.b.

En interprétant ainsi ce passage, il devient clair que le poids rhématique de la phrase ne porte pas sur lui mais sur ce qui l'accompagne. On comprend en effet que le but de l'énoncé n'est pas de s'apesantir sur la rencontre de Pairkap avec sa statue mais plutôt de souligner que c'est après avoir pratiqué la justice qu'il a rejoint son monument; comparer avec les nombreux textes cités dans Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies*, 9–sq., où les défunts ne mentionnent leur arrivée à la nécropole que pour préciser qu'ils y sont parvenus après s'être bien conduits. C'est d'autant moins douteux que cette déclaration vient en conclusion d'un bref plaidoyer où le personnage proclame sa droiture. Dans ces conditions, on est enclin à reconnaître dans ce qui est écrit *hn(.i)* un *hn.n.i* emphatique permettant de mettre *m ir(t) mꜣꜣt* en vedette; cf. Fr. Junge, 'A Study on Sentential Meaning and the Notion of "Emphasis" in Middle Egyptian', dans G. Englund et P. J. Frandsen (éds), *Crossroad, Chaos or the Beginning of a New Paradigm, Papers from the Conference on Egyptian Grammar, Helsingør 28–30 May 1986* (Copenhague, 1986), 220. Une telle éventualité est tout à fait concevable car on sait que la désinence du *sdm.n.f* est susceptible de fusionner avec la racine d'un verbe se terminant par un *n*; voir Clère, *RdE* 6, 143, n. O, citant trois exemples du IV^e siècle av. J.-C.

(ad) En lisant *m ir(t) mꜣꜣt*; dans un contexte différent mais comparable, cf. J. J. Clère, *Les chauves d'Hathor* (OLA 63; Leuven, 1995), 90, fig. 31c (g.10) et 92, n. g (dont on peut rapprocher KRI I, 299, 15). Cette possibilité, conforme à une formulation bien attestée, semble préférable à celle consistant à reconnaître dans le verbe, non un infinitif, mais un participe actif et à traduire: 'c'est en (homme) qui a pratiqué la justice'.

(ae) Les prêtres sollicités étant logiquement ceux qui officient à l'endroit même où se dressait la statue, il faut reconnaître dans 'cette déesse' dont ils sont les serviteurs une référence à la divinité locale; voir *supra* p. 128.

D'un point de vue sémantique, il est possible d'analyser *ntrt tn* sans envisager de lien avec les diverses allusions que l'inscription vient de faire à la patronne de Bubastis (voir *supra* n. (a), (l),

(s) et (v)). Parallèlement à ses emplois non déictiques où il renvoie anaphoriquement à un référent précédemment mentionné, le démonstratif *pn / tn* connaît des emplois déictiques où il se rapporte cette fois à un référent présent non dans le texte lui-même mais dans son contexte; cf. Vernus, *RdE* 33, 100, n. az, citant un cas de *ntrt tn* sans référent explicite. Cette autre possibilité est souvent illustrée par des exemples concernant des référents inanimés, la plupart associant le démonstratif à une désignation de lieu au contact de laquelle il en vient à traduire un rapport d'identité avec l'endroit même où le texte prenait place; voir e.g. *bw pn* et *st tn* dans Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 60, B.2 et 4. Elle est néanmoins bien attestée à propos de référents animés, avec lesquels le démonstratif établit une relation pouvant aussi bien être fondée sur une proximité spatiale que temporelle; voir e.g. *nsw pn* sur la statue inédite Caire JE 36908, dans *mr tn nsw pn* où *nsw pn* équivaut à *nsw.tn / nsw nty tn hr.f / nsw n hrw.tn / nsw n rk.tn* où *nsw imy hrw.f* dans les autres versions de cette promesse. Ainsi, *ntrt tn* pourrait simplement signifier 'la déesse ici présente' (dans le temple où se trouvait la statue de Pairkap), ce qui est la façon la plus directe de se référer à la divinité locale.

(af) Au bout de la ligne, après *mn st*, on distingue la pointe d'une corbeille à anse notant le suffixe *.k* et, en dessous, les deux premiers tiers d'une côte écrivant la préposition *m*.

Pour bien saisir le sens de ce deuxième texte, dans chacun des pronoms renvoyant à Pairkap (ici le suffixe *.k* et, un peu plus loin, le dépendant *tw*), il convient de reconnaître des allusions à sa statue avec laquelle le personnage se confond désormais; voir *supra* n. (e), (j) et (n). L'ensemble du vœu peut en fait être rapproché de trois passages figurant sur des statues tardives et souhaitant à ces dernières de demeurer là où elles avaient été déposées:

Statue New York, MMA 08.202.1 (fin XXX^e dynastie—début époque ptolémaïque); De Meulenaere, *CdE* 68, 48, fig. 2, C, col. à g. des pieds.



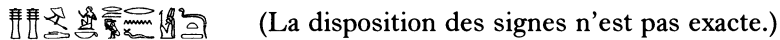
'Sois et demeure bien dans le temple; puisse ta place être auprès du dieu et que tes statues demeurent dans le temple d'Amon-Rê, seigneur du trône des Deux Terres !'

Statue Turin, Museo Egizio n° cat. 3070 (même époque approximativement que la précédente); Donadoni Roveri, *Oriens Antiquus* 6, 116, pls. 39–40, l. 8 du texte (où le monument est curieusement daté de la XXII^e dynastie).



'Puisse ta statue demeurer dans cette cour, sans en disparaître, éternellement !'

Statue Caire JE 37076 (époque ptolémaïque); Zayed, *ASAE* 57, 155, c.fin, pl. 6.



'Puisse ton effigie perdurer auprès de Celui-dont-le-nom-est-caché éternellement !'

Il n'est pas fréquent de lire sur le dessus d'un socle de statue un vœu en faveur de son maintien en place, mais le cas n'est pas isolé; déjà un autre exemple avec la statue New York, MMA 08.202.1 mentionnée ci-dessus (se reporter plus particulièrement à la photographie reproduite dans *ESLP*, pl. 78, fig. 204, n° 81), à rapprocher de celui de la statue Caire JE 47277 conservant 'sur le devant du socle' cette brève mention: 'Montou-Rê, seigneur de Thèbes, puisse-t-il permettre que la statue du père du dieu Nesmin J.V. demeure dans sa ville éternellement !' (voir Daressy, *ASAE* 22, 266, fin § 4). On peut d'ailleurs se demander si ce genre de texte n'est pas disposé à un tel emplacement pour s'offrir à la vue des passants et pouvoir ainsi être récité par eux dès qu'ils se présentent devant le monument; comparer avec les souhaits qu'on demande à ces mêmes personnes de répéter dans certains appels inscrits sur des statues de temple, notamment aux alentours du IV^e siècle avant J.-C.: e.g. H. W. Fairman, 'A Statue from the Karnak Cachette', *JEA* 20 (1934), 4, pl. 1, fig. 2, l. 6–10 du texte; H. Wild, 'Statue de Hor-néfer du Musée

des Beaux-Arts de Lausanne', *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 206–7, pl. iii, col. 9; J. Leclant et H. De Meulenaere, 'Une statuette égyptienne à Délos', *Kémi* 14 (1957), 36, pl. iii, fig. b et c, cols. 2–3.

(ag) Au début de la deuxième ligne, près du coin antérieur gauche du socle, le signe de la maison convient le mieux aux traces encore visibles. Au-dessus, on distingue nettement un point identifiable à une pupille qui pourrait ici, sur un monument bubastite, être interprétée comme une évocation de la déesse locale; cf. Yoyotte, *Bulletin de la Société Ernest Renan* 33, 17; considérer d'autre part le témoignage de la statue inédite Paris, Louvre E 18834, attribuable au début de la XXVI^e dynastie et sans doute originaire de Léontopolis, interpellant les prêtres qui entreront 'dans le temple de Bastet dame de Bubastis pour adorer la pupille (*dfd*) de l'Oeil de Rê'. Il est ainsi possible de lire \square , *pr dfd*, en expliquant l'antéposition de la pupille comme une marque de respect imposée par le caractère divin qu'elle revêt dans ce passage; comparer notamment avec les exemples de *pr Rr* écrit \square dans H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, II (Le Caire, 1925), 100–1. D'après le contexte, il s'agit clairement d'une appellation donnée au sanctuaire dans lequel la statue de Pairkap prenait place.

(ah) Il faut probablement voir dans *st hb* une façon de désigner une partie de la 'maison de la Pupille' comparable à *st hb tpy*, 'place de la première fête', nom générique de la *ouâbet* des temples tardifs; cf. Cl. Traunecker, 'Les *ouabet* des temples d'el-Qal'a et de Chenhour. Décoration, origine et évolution', dans 3. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 270–2, § 4.3. En considérant la préposition qui l'introduit (*tp*), on imagine non un endroit fermé *dans* lequel on est, mais un espace ouvert *sur* lequel on se trouve. Suivant le sens même de cette appellation, on peut maintenant penser qu'il est plutôt question d'une cour, ce genre d'emplacement se présentant habituellement dans les sanctuaires comme un lieu de festivités privilégié; cf. P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple, A Lexicographical Study* (Londres, 1984), 77–85; J.-M. Kruchten, *Le grand texte oraculaire de Djéhoutymose* (MRÉ 5; Bruxelles, 1996), 333. C'est aussi ce que suggère le passage dans lequel cette 'place de fête' apparaît puisqu'il fait allusion à sa capacité d'accueillir des statues privées, monuments dont on sait précisément qu'ils occupaient traditionnellement les cours des temples.

(ai) Ce qui doit être lu *n šnr tw*, en analysant 𓂏 comme une graphie du pronom dépendant 2^e pers. masc. sing. Compte tenu de ce qui a été précisé *supra* n. (af), il faut sans doute voir dans ce passage une allusion au risque d'un déplacement de la statue, préjudice aussi redouté que la destruction pour ce genre de monument; cf. Morschauser, *Threat-Formulae in Ancient Egypt*, 43–4; voir e.g. Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 68, Ca.7; Caminos, *Ancien Orient, Mélanges Korostovtsev*, 56, fig. 3, cols. 9–10; Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*, 498, l. 12; retenir surtout le témoignage de la statue inédite Caire JE 36579, contemporaine de l'époque ptolémaïque, qui évoque ce problème dans un avertissement qui rappelle le texte de Pairkap (identification du personnage à son effigie et emploi d'un synonyme de *šnr*): 'celui qui me chassera de ma place (*dr (w) i m st. i*), il n'aura pas de place dans sa ville' (col. 3 de l'appui dorsal).

(aj) Cette désignation est connue par des attestations aussi nombreuses que variées qui permettent deux remarques. Si elle se rapporte généralement à un lieu sacré de la région memphite encore difficile à déterminer, elle ne lui est pas exclusivement réservée; voir la mise au point de J. F. Borghouts, *OMRO* 51, 194–8 et surtout 195–6. D'autre part, d'après une épithète attribuée à un membre du personnel sacerdotal memphite, *qb nmtt m Tph̄t-dst*, 'se déplaçant discrètement dans la Caverne-obstruée', elle est susceptible de s'appliquer à un endroit régulièrement fréquenté par le clergé; voir W. Spiegelberg, 'Demotische Miscellen', *RT* 30 (1908), § 52, l. 5–6 du texte, et se reporter au commentaire de H. De Meulenaere, 'Une formule des inscriptions autobiographiques de basse époque', dans *Ägyptologische Studien*, 226–8. Dès lors, il est permis de penser que, comme le contexte le suggère, la 'Caverne-obstruée' mentionnée ici concerne le temple de Bubastis, et que ceux qui la fréquentent ne sont autres que les prêtres locaux qu'on peut supposer les mieux placés pour être en mesure de déplacer la statue de Pairkap. Désigner les membres du clergé comme 'ceux qui sont dans' le temple se retrouve d'ailleurs dans un autre texte, au début d'un appel, sur la statue inédite Caire JE 36908: *i im(yw) pr ntr* ($\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$) *irt(y).sn ht m hwt-ntr*.

Conclusions

Que ce soit l'appel de Pairkap aux passants ou le voeu en faveur du maintien de sa statue, chacun de ces textes s'avère, à sa façon, très original. Si pour le second cela tient seulement à sa présence, pour le premier en revanche, cela se manifeste dans son contenu. Comme le révèle sa comparaison avec les multiples déclarations de ce genre, ce dernier est même d'une telle singularité à cet égard qu'il mérite un intérêt tout particulier.

À l'instar des appels de tombe dont ils dérivent, ceux des statues de temple témoignent généralement d'un grand conformisme.³⁶ Destinés à évoquer les *mêmes* préoccupations auprès des *mêmes* catégories de gens, ils ont tendance à adopter le *même* plan pour présenter leurs requêtes et à recourir aux *mêmes* formules, regroupées de la *même* façon, pour les exprimer.³⁷ Ainsi, quand ils ne se ressemblent pas au mot près, comme c'est parfois le cas,³⁸ ils ne se distinguent le plus souvent que par des variations limitées à la fois en quantité et en importance;³⁹ les détails insolites y sont assez rares et si des différences doivent être remarquées, elles se résument essentiellement à leur longueur et à leur développement plus ou moins circonstancié.⁴⁰

Comparée à ces textes, la déclaration de Pairkap offre bien certaines affinités par delà les inévitables similitudes inhérentes au genre:⁴¹ ici comme dans la plupart des appels, après avoir interpellé les passants, le locuteur leur fait part de ses désirs en leur précisant les avantages qu'ils retireront à répondre à son attente; en outre, comme souvent, l'une de ses demandes concerne la récitation de son nom et, parmi ses promesses, deux touchent respectivement la descendance des passants et les récompenses que ces derniers peuvent espérer de la divinité locale. D'autre part, comme dans beaucoup d'autres exemples, Pairkap ajoute à son appel une sorte de plaidoyer où il se présente comme une personne méritant qu'on agisse pour elle. Néanmoins, plus que ces quelques analogies, ce sont les divergences qui attirent l'attention, tant leur nombre et leur nature sont significatifs d'une volonté délibérée de se démarquer.

Cette démarche est d'abord sensible dans deux choix portant sur l'ensemble de la déclaration, le plus important ayant trait à la façon dont Pairkap énonce ce qu'il souhaite des gens qu'il interpelle. Au lieu d'opter pour la procédure la plus suivie — mais la moins directe — qui consiste à intéresser les passants en commençant par leur promettre des avantages et, ensuite seulement, à les avertir de ce qui est attendu d'eux en faisant de cela le préalable à l'accomplissement de toute promesse,⁴² il choisit de les informer de

³⁶ Comparer avec ceux provenant de sépultures de l'Ancien et du Moyen Empire réunis respectivement dans Sainte Fare Garnot, *L'appel aux vivants*, 1–79, et Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 87–9.

³⁷ Considérer l'éventail d'exemples assez représentatif qu'on trouve dans Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies*, 177–89; consulter également, en l'absence d'une étude plus approfondie sur le sujet, Chr. Müller, 'Anruf an Lebende', *LÄ* I, 297–8.

³⁸ Comparer e.g. les appels d'Haroua et d'Akhamenrou évoqués par Lichtheim, *JNES* 7, 175–6.

³⁹ Confronter par exemple l'appel de la statue inédite Caire JE 36908 et ceux signalés dans K. Jansen-Winkel, 'Eine Schreiberstatue der frühen 26. Dynastie', *SAK* 24 (1997), 109, fig. 8 ('JE 37398' et 'Sockel Karnak').

⁴⁰ Comparer deux cas extrêmes comme celui de Rogge, *Statuen der Spätzeit*, 44, appel se résumant à une demande, et celui de Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. xviii, 3, appel comprenant neuf promesses et une condition.

⁴¹ Sa confrontation avec les exemples cités dans la première référence de la note 37 est à cet égard significative.

⁴² Voir e.g. Daressy, *ASAE* 22, 266, g. 5–7 et dr. 6–8, pour s'en tenir à un témoignage peu éloigné chronologiquement de la statue de Pairkap, conformément à un principe qui sera d'ailleurs observé pour tous les monuments mentionnés à titre d'exemples dans les notes suivantes.

ses besoins en leur demandant d'emblée de les satisfaire. En outre, alors que cette autre façon d'opérer se conçoit généralement sans l'accompagnement d'aucune promesse,⁴³ lui n'hésite pas à joindre à ses exigences des précisions sur ce que chacun gagnera en s'y soumettant.⁴⁴ Plus original encore, plutôt que de regrouper demandes d'un côté et promesses d'un autre comme c'est régulièrement le cas,⁴⁵ le personnage imagine de les mêler: ainsi, après un appel à l'attention et une première prière, il introduit deux promesses immédiatement suivies d'une nouvelle prière qu'accompagne une troisième promesse. D'autre part, à la fin de son discours, après avoir proclamé sa droiture, il va jusqu'à lancer un ultime et bref appel où il hèle à nouveau les passants, leur réitère sa première demande et les assure de récompenses.

Quant à l'autre choix, il se rapporte à la manière de considérer les personnes interpellées. Habituellement, celles-ci sont appréhendées dans leur ensemble, le pluriel étant alors de mise pour tout ce qui les concerne d'un bout à l'autre de l'appel.⁴⁶ Éventuellement, on peut aussi les approcher séparément en ne les évoquant qu'au singulier, mais cela reste exceptionnel.⁴⁷ Or ici, d'une façon aussi inattendue que paradoxale, Pairkap les envisage sous ces deux angles à la fois. Cette pratique est suivie par plusieurs autres textes⁴⁸ mais, là encore, le personnage parvient à se singulariser: contrairement à eux, il considère les passants *collectivement* au moment de les interpellier et *individuellement* tout au long de la suite, avant d'en revenir à sa première attitude dans son ultime appel.

La distance prise vis-à-vis des modèles habituels qu'on observe dans la présentation de l'appel se remarque également dans son contenu. Ici, cette tendance ne se manifeste pas seulement par la présence d'éléments peu ordinaires comme la mise en garde contre l'indifférence ou la promesse inspirée par les conceptions religieuses locales.⁴⁹ Dans les autres passages où sont abordés des thèmes traditionnels, on relève en effet quantité de détails dans la forme qui rompent avec les usages les plus répandus. Ainsi au début, quand il interpelle ceux auxquels il s'adresse, Pairkap ne précise pas quelle catégorie d'individus est visée;⁵⁰ en outre, il ne les décrit pas simplement comme des personnes se déplaçant dans le temple⁵¹ et, pour les définir comme des 'passants', il ne recourt pas à *swj*, le verbe le plus courant dans ce contexte.⁵² Ensuite, au moment de les prier de prononcer son nom, il évite une nouvelle fois d'employer un verbe fréquemment utilisé

⁴³Voir e.g. R. el-Sayed, 'Deux statues de la cachette de Karnak', *BIFAO* 87 (1987), 172, A.2-3.

⁴⁴À l'instar de quelques rares exemples comme: Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 6, B.6-7 (XXV^e-XXVI^e dynastie); G. Maspero, 'Rapport sur une mission en Italie', *RT* 4 (1883), 150, xlv.dos; H. De Meulenaere, 'Un notable mendésien de la 26^e dynastie', *Mélanges Mokhtar* I, 191, IIa.2-3 (XXVI^e dynastie); id., *CdE* 68, 46, fig. 1, B.2-4 (début époque ptolémaïque); dans ces trois derniers, il faut d'ailleurs noter la présence du proclitique *ih* explicitant le lien de cause à effet entre ce qui est demandé et ce qui est promis.

⁴⁵Voir e.g. el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 84, 143, F.1-2.

⁴⁶Voir e.g. Zayed, *ASAE* 57, 147, B.

⁴⁷Un cas dans Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 6, B.6-7 (XXV^e-XXVI^e dynasties).

⁴⁸Se reporter aux exemples rassemblés *supra* au début de la note (f), la majorité datant des époques éthiopiennes et saïtes.

⁴⁹Cf. *supra* n. (g) et (p).

⁵⁰En l'occurrence les prêtres locaux, comme le précise l'appel final; comparer e.g. avec Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, pl. 114, n° 159 c, col. 1.

⁵¹Comparer e.g. avec Leclant et De Meulenaere, *Kémi* 14, 36, pl. 3, fig. c, col. 1.

⁵²Rien que pour le début de l'époque ptolémaïque, plusieurs exemples peuvent être énumérés: Daressy, *ASAE* 22, 266, g. 8; Eggebrecht, *CAA. Geschichte, Ziele, Richtlinien und Arbeitsbeispiele*, 71, (10); De Meulenaere, *CdE* 68, 46, fig. 1, B.2; statue inédite Los Angeles, County Museum of Art A 5141.48.372.

comme *dm* ou *dd*.⁵³ Un peu plus loin, quand il leur expose les bénéfices qu'ils retireront en lui donnant satisfaction, en matière de descendance, il ne leur promet pas explicitement de 'transmettre leurs fonctions à leurs enfants';⁵⁴ mieux encore, pour énumérer les deux premières promesses, il ne suit pas l'ordre habituel — et d'ailleurs logique — qui veut qu'on cite celle qui intéresse directement les passants avant celle qui touche leur postérité.⁵⁵ Enfin, dans sa dernière requête, il ne se contente pas de demander qu'on lui 'rende hommage'⁵⁶ mais prend soin d'indiquer comment cela doit se concrétiser.

Si l'ensemble de ces particularités permet à l'appel de Pairkap de ne ressembler à aucun autre, ce n'est cependant pas leur seul intérêt. À certaines d'entre elles, on devine en effet, au-delà d'un simple souci d'originalité, la volonté de donner au texte un parfum de spontanéité pouvant donner l'impression qu'il traduit les pensées mêmes du personnage, alors qu'il se confine pour l'essentiel à des banalités. Parmi les éléments les plus significatifs, il faut au moins retenir la manière directe d'interpeller les passants et celle percutante de formuler les requêtes, sans oublier la façon de mêler demandes et promesses qui favorise le ton alerte du discours en évitant la monotonie des énumérations. Par ce biais, Pairkap semble en fait chercher à établir avec ses interlocuteurs, les prêtres de Bubastis, un contact plus personnel, démarche d'autant plus naturelle qu'il s'agit de ses pairs. Même si son inclination à s'adresser à chacun d'eux en particulier en reste la plus belle illustration, le caractère pressant de cette préoccupation se laisse entrevoir à d'autres signes: on le voit ainsi faire preuve d'une grande attention à leur égard, ajoutant à ses promesses une troisième relevant des croyances bubastites, spécialement choisie pour leur convenir;⁵⁷ il va même jusqu'à témoigner d'une certaine 'connivence' dans sa façon de leur parler, n'usant que de sous-entendus pour évoquer ce qui touche la vie religieuse locale,⁵⁸ comme pour mieux signifier ce qui les réunit et, notamment, leur commune appartenance au clergé bubastite. Il faut d'ailleurs observer que ce désir de rapprochement coïncide avec une identification systématiquement

⁵³ Cf. Vernus, *Athribis*, 205, n. g.

⁵⁴ Ce qui est la promesse la plus banale dans ce domaine; voir les textes 19, 20, 21, 26, 27 et 30 du chapitre IV de Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies*; pour les époques tardives, consulter Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée du Louvre* I, 37, Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. xviii, 3.3, et statue inédite Marseille, Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne n° 210, dont on peut rapprocher M. Benson et J. Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher* (Londres, 1899), 365, col. 2 du texte, Ranke, *ZAS* 44, 45, l. 5–6 du texte, et De Meulenaere, *CdE* 68, 46, fig. 2, B.4.

⁵⁵ Comme dans *Urk.* IV, 1197, 15–16, ou *HTBM* V, pl. 29; aux époques tardives, considérer Benson et Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 365, col. 2 du texte, et Ranke, *ZAS* 44, 45, l. 5–6 du texte; retenir également, en ce qui concerne les avertissements, les textes signalés *supra* à la fin de la note (l). D'un point de vue plus général, on peut d'ailleurs constater que la promesse relative à la transmission des fonctions aux enfants a tendance à figurer après toutes celles se rapportant à l'existence même des passants; pour les époques tardives, voir Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée du Louvre* I, 25; Tourajev et Malmberg, *Statues et statuettes de la collection Golénisheff*, 47; Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* IV, 159, CG 1292, l. 5; Lichtheim, *JNES* 7, pl. 15, a.3; Sist, *Vicino Oriente* 1, pl. avec fig., cols. 9–10; Rogge, *Statuen der Spätzeit*, 11, cols. 29–30; Page-Gasser et Wiese, *Ägypten, Augenblicke der Ewigkeit*, 234–5, n° 154, l. 3; statues inédites Paris, Louvre A 96 et E 22022.

⁵⁶ Comparer, au IV^e siècle av. J.-C., avec K. Piehl, 'Deux inscriptions de Mendès', *RT* 3 (1883), 28, 30; Clère, *RdE* 6, 147, iii.2; De Meulenaere, *CdE* 68, 46, B.3.

⁵⁷ Cf. *supra* n. (p).

⁵⁸ Cf. *supra* n. (a), (l), (p), (s) et (v). Lui-même n'en attend pas moins de leur part puisque ce genre d'allusion réapparaît dans le vœu qu'ils sont censés lui adresser à propos du maintien de son monument; cf. *supra* n. (ag) et (aj).

affirmée du personnage à sa statue qui met l'accent sur sa présence effective devant les gens vers lesquels il se tourne.⁵⁹

En instaurant ce genre de rapport avec ses interlocuteurs, Pairkap entend sans doute attirer plus facilement leur attention sur son appel. Ne serait-ce qu'à la façon dont il le présente, on perçoit combien cet objectif lui importe: il est en effet révélateur qu'il prenne soin de disposer ses premiers mots, ceux qui résument l'essentiel de son message, là où ils sont visibles au premier coup d'oeil, sur le devant du socle;⁶⁰ c'est d'autant plus évident qu'il s'applique également à 'mettre en vedette' l'interjection ouvrant son discours, comme pour mieux signifier aux passants qu'il les interpelle.⁶¹ Tous les aménagements conçus par le personnage dans ce sens sont à la mesure de sa crainte de voir les prêtres côtoyer sa statue sans prêter le moindre intérêt à la requête qu'il leur adresse. De cette inquiétude, il se fait clairement l'écho quand il débute son propos par une mise en garde contre l'indifférence ou quand, pour inciter à l'écouter, il en vient dans son inscription à multiplier l'image de l'oreille humaine.⁶²

Pairkap n'est certes pas le seul dont l'appel s'efforce de prévenir le désintérêt qu'il pourrait rencontrer⁶³ et c'est d'autant moins surprenant qu'on imagine la lassitude que devait susciter auprès du lecteur la caractéristique répétitive de ce genre de texte. Sa déclaration mérite néanmoins de notre part la plus vive attention car pour parvenir à ce but, il consent des efforts rarement égalés, n'hésitant pas à prendre des dispositions aussi originales que variées.

[Depuis la remise du manuscrit à l'impression, la statue a été acquise par le Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes où elle porte le numéro d'inventaire 98.5.1; cet achat sera d'ailleurs salué dans un prochain fascicule de la *Revue du Louvre*.]

⁵⁹ Cf. *supra* n. (e), (j), (n) et (af).

⁶⁰ Cf. *supra* p. 128.

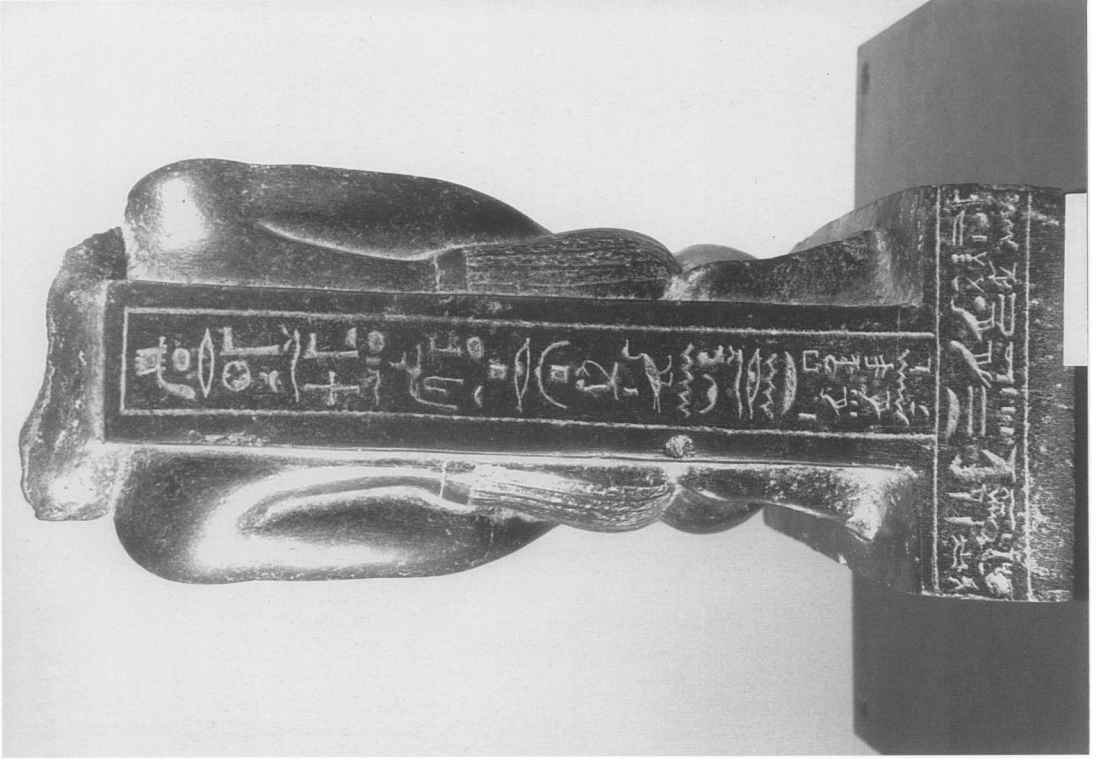
⁶¹ Cf. *supra* n. (c).

⁶² Cf. *supra* n. (b).

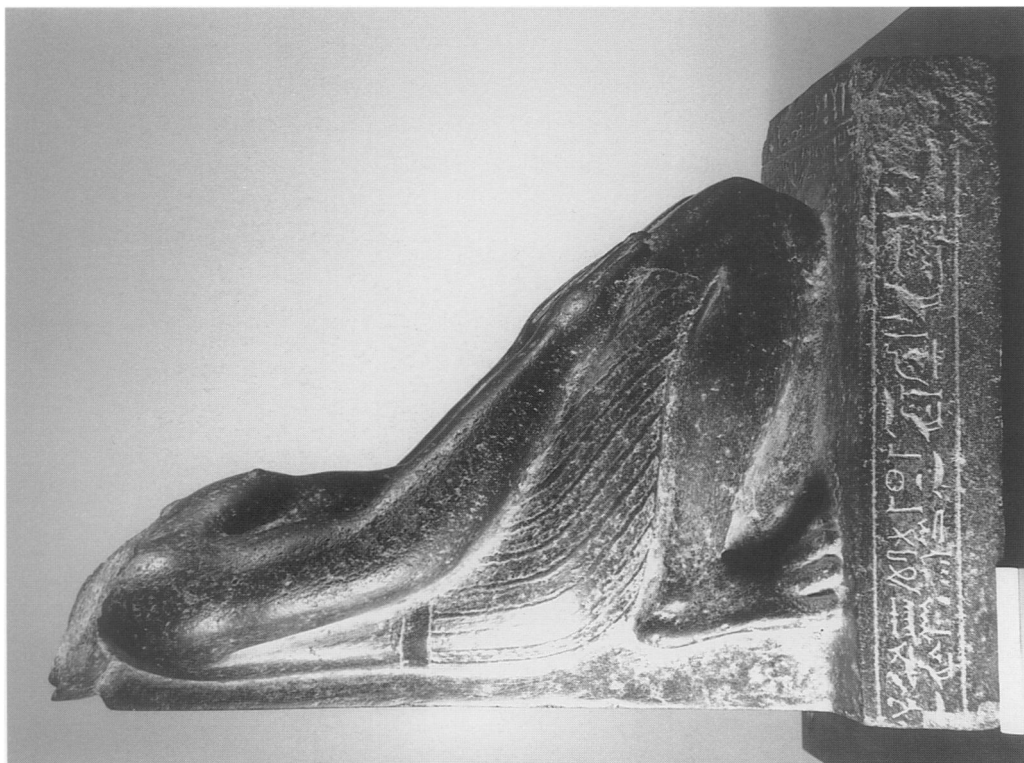
⁶³ Voir en particulier les exemples comportant des exhortations comme celles évoquées *supra* n. (g) qui pressent les gens de se montrer attentifs.



1. Statue de Pairkap, face



2. Statue de Pairkap, dos



1. Statue de Pairkap, côté droit



2. Statue de Pairkap, côté gauche

UNE MONUMENT D'ORIGINALITÉ (pp. 123-49)



1. Statue de Pairkap, torse



2. Statue de Pairkap, pagne (détail)



3. Statue de Pairkap, dessus du socle

A PARALLEL TO THE INAROS STORY OF P. KRALL
(P. CARLSBERG 456 + P. CtYBR 4513): DEMOTIC
NARRATIVES FROM THE TEBTUNIS TEMPLE
LIBRARY (I)*

By KIM RYHOLT

First publication of a fragmentary papyrus housed in the Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Copenhagen University, P. Carlsberg 456 (together with a small fragment of the same papyrus housed in the Beinecke Library, Yale, P. CtYBR 4513), which preserves parts of the opening sections of the Demotic narrative 'The Battle for the Armour of Inaros'. This is otherwise known only from a substantial papyrus housed at Vienna, P. Krall = P. Dem. Vindob. 6521-6609, the beginning of which is severely damaged. The two versions are here edited with parallel transliterations, and parallel or combined translations. A partial reconstruction is offered of the early part of the story, which has so far remained obscure.

THIS article presents the first of a series of studies in which fragmentary Demotic narratives from the Tebtunis Temple Library are published. The publications can all be regarded as preliminary in so far as they focus mainly on the larger and more coherent texts and, initially at least, mainly on the papyri at the University of Copenhagen. This approach has been thought useful because the extensive Tebtunis material, consisting of tens of thousands of fragments belonging to hundreds of manuscripts, is scattered around the world and is very fragmentary. Since the fragments are not only mixed together, but divided among different collections, considerable resources are needed in order to try to identify all the fragments of any single manuscript and thereafter to try to reconstruct it in a publication. It goes without saying that such projects are both very time-consuming and costly. For this reason, only a few of the hundreds of literary texts that have been known since the 1930s, when the bulk of the Tebtunis papyri were purchased, have so far been published. What is more, each of these texts has been published as isolated fragments belonging to a particular collection. The literary texts published within the last 65 years amount to less than one per cent of the known material.

The series will initially focus mainly on the papyri belonging to the University of Copenhagen, which represent the vast majority of the Tebtunis finds. Because of the time needed to go through the thousands of fragments in order to identify all pieces of any individual text, only those fragments that can readily be discerned will be published. Presently, six instalments in addition to the present one are being prepared, and it is hoped that more will follow. These six instalments include a Demotic version of 'Nectanebos' Dream', a Demotic version of Herodotus' Pheros story (Book II 111), and

*I would like to express my sincere thanks to Dr Friedhelm Hoffmann, Dr Joachim Quack, and Prof. John Tait for their many valuable comments on this paper, and to the last also for kindly revising my English.

a story in which we find the first explicit reference to the *hry-tp*, 'chief ritualist' (Biblical *hartummim*), as an interpreter of dreams at the royal court, just as in the Biblical stories of Joseph (Gen. 41:8, 24) and of Daniel (Dan. 1:20; 2:2).

P. Carlsberg 456 (pl. XIX)

The Demotic narrative material from the Tebtunis Temple Library includes several manuscripts belonging to the cycle of stories that speak of the deeds of Inaros and his associates. One of these manuscripts is P. Carlsberg 456 (+ P. CtYBR 4513), which preserves parts of three columns from the beginning of a story known otherwise only from P. Krall (= P. Dem. Vindob. 6521-6609): 'The Battle for the Armour of Inaros'.¹ P. Krall, of which a complete reedition has just appeared from the hand of F. Hoffmann,² was originally at least 6 m long, and the present Inaros story is thus the largest Demotic narrative published to date.

Although the Tebtunis manuscript is sadly fragmented, it is nevertheless of some interest. It positively confirms Hoffmann's view that at least one column is missing from the beginning of the story as preserved in P. Krall, since columns X+2 and X+3 of the Tebtunis manuscript correspond to the first two columns of P. Krall.³ Unfortunately, only a few words of the first column survive in the new manuscript. More importantly, the Tebtunis version allows us partially to reconstruct a number of episodes which are very damaged in P. Krall, and which have previously been poorly understood for this reason. One of these scenes, in fact, turns out to have a very interesting literary motif.

The Tebtunis manuscript is roughly contemporary with P. Krall. The latter can be dated with some certainty to AD 137/138 by its colophon, whereas the former can be dated to the second century AD by its context and palaeography. The Tebtunis manuscript is not parallel to P. Krall word-for-word, however, but is partly paraphrased. Such is apparently the case with most of the narratives from Tebtunis of which other versions are known.⁴ While this in itself is interesting, it causes some difficulty in the reconstruction of the damaged sections, since it is not possible simply to 'combine' the two manuscripts.

¹The larger fragments of P. Carlsberg 456 were originally identified by Dr A. Volten and Dr G. Botti, who included it in the Inaros material which they prepared for publication. Their unpublished and provisional transliteration, however, only includes one of the larger pieces. Three further fragments of the manuscript were identified in 1995 by J. F. Quack who, together with F. Hoffmann, identified it as a parallel to P. Krall. The fragments of the text have been joined partly by J. F. Quack and F. Hoffmann and partly by myself. A further search through the material in the collection has not revealed any further portions, but a single minor fragment was found by me in the Beinecke Library (P. CtYBR 4513). This piece joins left of lines 21-2 of col. X+2 and provides the signs $\dot{t}=fr$ (line 21) and $\dot{g}m^1.t=f$ (line 22). The Carlsberg papyrus was formerly referred to as 'P. Tebt. IX'. This designation is now obsolete.

²F. Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros* (MPER NS 26; Vienna, 1996) (hereafter simply Hoffmann). The previous standard edition was E. Bresciani, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros* (MPER NS 8; Vienna, 1964) (hereafter simply Bresciani). For the history of work upon the text, see Hoffmann, pp. 16-18.

³A misunderstanding of the first line of the first preserved column of P. Krall led Bresciani to believe that this contained the introduction to the narrative and hence that this column was the original first column.

⁴E.g. parallels to the Inaros story of P. Spiegelberg (P. Carlsberg 433 + P. Tebt. Tait 2, and P. Carlsberg 434): W. J. Tait, in *The Carlsberg Papyri, 3. Demotic Texts from the Collection* (CNI Publications 22; Copenhagen, in press), and also P. Carlsberg 483 in a forthcoming volume; a parallel to the story of 'Onch-Sheshonqy (P. Carlsberg 304 + PSI inv. D 5 + P. CtYBR 4512 + P. Berlin P 30489): K. Ryholt, *ibid.*; and parallels to P. Dem. Saq. 4 (P. Carlsberg 165 + PSI inv. D 4 + P. CtYBR 4514, and P. Carlsberg 389 + PSI inv. D 3): K. Ryholt, *The Carlsberg Papyri, 4. The Story of Petese Son of Petetum and Seventy other Good and Bad Stories* (CNI Publications 23; Copenhagen, in press).

Brief description of the manuscript

The height of the papyrus is 29.1 cm. The text is written along the fibres and the reverse is blank. No guidelines were used, and cols. X + 2 and X + 3 contain a total of 28 and 30 lines respectively. This specific hand has not been noted among the other texts from the temple library. Only a single correction to the text is preserved in the extant parts (col. X + 2/22). Here the scribe has corrected $iw = f gm.t = f$ to $i.ir = f gm.t = f$.

Outline of the contents

From what survives of P. Krall and the Tebtunis manuscript, the beginning of the narrative may be divided into the following sections, of which the first is entirely lost:

1. [Introduction and the cause of the events that follow]
2. The council of the gods: decision to bring about war and unrest in Egypt
3. The story of the scribe-of-the-god's-book
4. The story of the kalasiris

The council of the gods

In their present state, both manuscripts commence in the middle of a council of the gods. For reasons that are not entirely clear, the gods decide to cause war and unrest in the land of Egypt. Having reached agreement, Osiris, as the chief of the gods, summons two pairs of demons: 'Lover-of-Battle' ($Mr-;h$) and 'Vengeance-of-Horus' ($Tb;-Hr$), and 'Maker-of-Unrest' ($Ms-hnyny$) and 'Misery-of-Amun' ($S.t-tb;-Imn$).⁵ The first pair is told to go to Heliopolis, to possess Pamy-the-Younger, the son of Inaros, and to make him wish to fight Wertepamunniut, the arch-enemy of Inaros and his allies. The second pair is told to go to Mendes, to possess general Wertepamunniut, and to make him wish to fight Pamy-the-Younger.

For the two humans, the motive for their battle is the desire to possess the armour of Inaros. In the present story, Inaros is dead and Wertepamunniut has somehow appropriated his armour which he has brought to his fortress at the Island of Mendes.

The story of the scribe-of-the-god's-book

The scene now shifts from the divine sphere to 'the temple of Memphis'.⁶ Here, a skilled scribe-of-the-god's-book performs a feat of magic ($sp n sh$) and suddenly gains insight into the divine world. He is not only able to see (nwe) the 'hidden things' and the gods in the underworld, but even to understand (sdm) them. However, while he is spying upon the gods, Anubis catches sight of him. He immediately leaps onto earth, and wrings the neck of the scribe in one version (P. Krall), while he appears to tear out his heart in the other (P. Carlsberg). The scribe then falls to the ground dead.

⁵In the names $Tb;-Hr$ and $S.t-tb;-Imn$, the divine element is written first. Hoffmann (p. 132, n. 487; p. 134, n. 495) points out that divine names in honorific transposition are not attested elsewhere in the papyrus, and therefore interprets these two names as 'Horus ist Rache' and 'Amun ist Unheil'. Nevertheless, the names would seem to make better sense when the divine elements are interpreted as being honorifically transposed. It may be noted that the element $s.t-tb;$ is the common Demotic writing of stb , old sdb .

⁶The changes of scenes are introduced by the formula $i.ir n:y dr = w hpr$.

In a change of scene, we find Pharaoh giving orders to prevent war and unrest from arising in his reign, when he is suddenly told of the death of the scribe-of-the-god's-book. This upsets Pharaoh and he hurries to the place where the scribe lies dead. What takes place next is somewhat unclear. Pharaoh is still concerned that war and unrest may arise. Teos, the Chief of the Army (*wr-m-šs* < *wr-mšr*), then addresses him and states something. Somebody, perhaps Teos, requests that a spell should be cast on Inaros. This is somewhat curious. One would rather expect the spell to be cast upon the scribe-of-the-god's-book, judging from what follows. Next, the scribes of the House of Life advise Pharaoh that the scribe-of-the-god's-book should be made to tell Pharaoh what he has experienced. A few lines later, one of the scribes of the House of Life 'reveals' the dead priest and casts a spell upon him. Being temporarily resurrected through magic, the scribe-of-the-god's-book tells his story before Pharaoh. Afterwards, he is provided with a fine burial and laid to rest in his tomb.

The story of the kalasiris

The scene now shifts to Heliopolis, where the two demons Lover-of-Battle and Vengeance-of-Horus enter Pamy-the-Younger while he is making feast with his 40 men. Immediately, Pamy declares his wish to do battle, and he boasts: 'Is there any warrior who can equal our military skills, like me, except perhaps a man from my clan?' A kalasiris named Petehel immediately steps forward and asks Pamy, seemingly in a provocative manner, if he really wants to know.⁷ Pamy answers that he does not wish to listen to him, but the kalasiris assures him that what he has to tell is no lie.

The story of the kalasiris follows. He relates that he was ill one day and that he was in Mendes making medicaments for his disease. During his stay in Mendes, the residence of Wertepamunniut, he experienced certain things that have to do partly with Wertepamunniut and partly with someone referred to as 'the strong bull'. It would seem appropriate that the latter epithet designates the man whose military skills the kalasiris believes to equal those of Pamy, and, since Pamy ends up fighting Wertepamunniut, this general is presumably the person to whom the epithet is applied. Unfortunately, this part of the story is badly damaged and it is difficult to combine the two manuscripts. It is, however, clear that a battle or duel between 'the strong bull' and someone else is described (see the isolated passages mentioning 'his weapons', 'went to fight against him', 'will he be able to triumph?' and 'the [strong] bull charged'). Presumably, the kalasiris went on to relate to Pamy that his peer, Wertepamunniut, has come into possession of the armour of the deceased Inaros, Pamy's father, since this armour is the reason for the battle which follows.

Transliteration

In the following transliteration, the corresponding parts of P. Krall have been transliterated interlinearly. P. Carlsberg 456 and P. Krall are abbreviated as PC and PK

⁷For this class of soldiers, see J. K. Winnicki, 'Die Kalasirier der spätdynastischen und der ptolemäischen Zeit', *Historia* 26 (1977), 257–68.

respectively. It should be noted that lines 33-7 of P. Krall are numbered 31-5 in the previous editions.⁸ The column numbers pertain to PC.

Col. X + 1

Illegible traces of the very end of four lines in the middle of the column.

Col. X + 2

- PK X + I/1 ...] *mh*₃*w.w wn ... wn n-im = w hn s p*₃ *ntr* [...
- PC X + II/1 ... *hn*] *yny nty iw = w iy r* [*p*₃ *t*₃ ...
- PK X + I/2 ... *iy r*] *p*₃ *t*₃ *mtw = w di*{ = *w*} *s n h*₃ *t p*₃ *nty iw = f rh* *r qn*[*qn ...*]..[...]
- PC X + II/2 ... *n*₃ *y*] = *f hrt.t.w dl*₃ *hr p*₃ [*t*₃ ...
- PK X + I/3 ...] *t*₃ *dl*₃ *nty iw = w dit n = f* *sl gn*⁹ [...
- PC X + II/3 ...] *p*₃ *t*₃ *iw = w dd tw = n mt*[*ry ...*
- PK X + I/4 ...] *mtry* *čš Wsir r Mr-ih irm Tb*₃-*Hr p*₃ *h*₃ *t* 2
- PC X + II/4 ... *m-ir ir hlyl*] *r p*₃ *t*₃ *m-šm r 'Iwnw* [*my hpr* *šh n h*₃ *t P*₃-*my p*₃ *šm*]
- PK X + I/5 [*dd = f m-ir ir hlyl r p*₃] *t*₃¹⁰ *my šm r 'Iwnw my hpr* *šh (n) h*₃ *t P*₃-*my p*₃ *šm s* *'Ir.t-*
- PC X + II/5 [*s*₃ *'Ir.t-Hr-r-r = w r*] *Wr-ty-'Imn-Niw.t dd = f* [*Ms-hnyyny irm 'Imn-s.t-*]
- PK X + I/6 [*-Hr-r-r = w r Wr-ty-*]'*Imn-Niw.t s*₃ *čnh*₃-*Hr Ms-hnyyn irm 'Imn-s.t-tb*₃ *m-ir ir hlyl*
- PC X + II/6 [*-tb*₃ *m-ir ir hlyl*] *r t*₃ *m*[*y*] *my hpr* *šh n h*₃ *t* [*n Wr-ty-'Imn-Niw.t r P*₃-*my*]
- PK X + I/7 [*r t*₃ *m*₃ *y n Pr*]-*b-tty*¹¹ *my hpr* *šh mlh* *n h*₃ *t n* [*Wr*]-*ty-'Imn-Niw.t r P*₃-*my p*₃ *šm*
- PC X + II/7 [*s*₃ *'Ir.t-Hr-r-r = w wt*] *y = w st* [*r*] *p*₃ *t*₃ *bn-p Mr-šh* [*irm Tb*₃-*Hr ir hlyl r 'Iwnw*]

⁸As noted by Hoffmann (pp. 140–1, n. 548–9), Bresciani (p. 20) skipped two lines between her lines 31 and 32. Hoffmann nevertheless retains Bresciani's incorrect line numbering, but this seems impractical and has therefore not been followed here.

⁹The meaning of the two final words preserved in this line remains very obscure. Because of its position after *n = f, sl* can hardly be regarded as a verb. If the sense was 'the strong land to which they will let victory (*gn < qny*) be taken (*sl > Ωλ*)', then the passage should read *nty iw = w dit sl n = f gn*. Rather, *sl* and *gn* (or *gn*[..]) must be regarded as objects of *dit*.

¹⁰Hoffmann (p. 132) suggests [*dd? = f? n? = w? m-ir ir hlyl r p*₃] *t*₃, but if the beginning of the other lines is correctly restored, then there would seem to be room only for [*dd = f m-ir ir hlyl r p*₃] *t*₃. The sense remains exactly the same.

¹¹Hoffmann (p. 134) suggests the restoration [*r p*₃ *t*₃ *my-šm r Pr*]-*b-tty*, but we can now confidently restore the beginning of the line after the Tebtunis manuscript, since the size of the lacuna will suit this restoration perfectly.

- PK X + I/8 [s₃ 'Ir.t-Hr-r-r = w dd = w bn-*iw*]-n₃.w = n¹² (N̄NEN) dit w₃y¹³ md.t r.bn-p (M̄ΠE) Ms-*h*¹⁴ irm Tb₃-Hr ir hly
- PC X + II/8 [tw = w hpr *sh* n h₃t¹⁵ P₃]-my p₃ hm r Wr-ty-['Imn-Niw.t bn-p Ms-hn]¹y¹ [n]¹y¹
- PK X + II/9 [r 'Iwnw ir = w dit-hpr¹⁶ *sh*] mlh n h₃t P₃-my p₃ sm r Wr-ty-'Imn-Niw.t bn-p Ms-hny-
- PC X + II/9 [irm S.t-tb₃-'Imn ir] hlyl r t₃ m₃y tw = f¹⁷ 'hpr¹ [*sh*¹⁸ n h₃t Wr-ty]-'Imn-Niw.t
- PK X + I/10 [-n ir hlyl r t₃ m₃y] n Pr-b-tty ir = f dit-hpr hnyny n h₃t Wr-ty-'Imn-Niw.t r
- PC X + II/10 [r P₃-my¹⁹ s₃ 'Ir.t]-Hr-r-r = w i.ir n₃y dr = w hpr hn h_w.t-ntr [Mn]-nfr iw = f
- PK X + I/11 [P₃-my p₃ sm i.ir n₃]y dr = w hpr r p₃ nb Wsir hn h_w.t-ntr M[n-nfr]²⁰ r.iw = f hr p₃ we
- PC X + II/11 ... [... ...]²¹ 'Ir.t-Hr-r-r = w m-b₃h nsw Ndm-ib-n-pa-Rc [... p₃] sh mdy-ntr²²

¹²Hoffmann (p. 134) suggests the restoration [s₃ 'Ir.t-Hr-r-r = w dd = w m-šs bn-*iw*]-n₃.w = n, but if the restoration of the other lines is correct then there cannot possibly be room for more than [s₃ 'Ir.t-Hr-r-r = w dd = w bn-*iw*]-n₃.w = n. It may also be noted that, despite Second Setna IV/18–19, the formula *bn iw = y dit w₃y md.t* might be more common directly after *dd = f* than with an intervening *m-šs*. Cf., e.g., P. Carlsberg 207, x + 2, 21 (cf. also x + 2, 9); P. Petese Tebt. A, 5, 14.

¹³The reconstruction is certain, *bn iw = y dit w₃y md.t* being a standard formula.

¹⁴Sic. *Ms-h* is certainly a mistake for *Mr-sh*, perhaps through confusion with *Ms-hny*.

¹⁵Restored after PC X + 2, 9, and X + 2, 6.

¹⁶Hoffmann (p. 135) suggests [r 'Iwnw r dit-hpr *sh*] mlh, but the parallel passage in col. I/10 of the same manuscript has *ir = f dit-hpr*, and we may therefore assume that the same construction was used here.

¹⁷There seems to be an error in both manuscripts here. Earlier Osiris commanded two pairs of demons to possess Pamy and Wertepamunniut. First, Lover-of-Battle and Vengeance-of-Horus were sent to Pamy. However, now that orders are given concerning Wertepamunniut, only Maker-of-Unrest seems to be sent off in PK, and Misery-of-Amun seems to have been forgotten. The beginning of the line is lost, but there is not room enough to restore the name of the latter and it may also be noted that the manuscript has *ir = f dit-hpr* in the singular in the following line. PC similarly has a lacuna in this place, and here the restoration of both names would fill the lacuna perfectly. However, this manuscript also continues in the singular, *tw = f hpr*. If this error had only been present in PC, an emendation of *tw = f hpr* to *tw = w hpr* would have been obvious, but since P. Krall also has the singular in exactly the same place, matters are less clear.

¹⁸The word *sh* would fill the lacuna much better than *mlh* or *hnyny*, and this restoration corresponds to the orders given in col. I/6, where the demons are told to let *sh* arise in the heart of Wertepamunniut. It may, however, be noted that in PK the demons are told to let *sh mlh* arise (I/7), but in the corresponding passage they let *hnyny* arise (I/10).

¹⁹There is not enough room to restore *p₃ sm* after the name of *P₃-my*.

²⁰PC shows that the restoration *M[n-nfr]* suggested by Bresciani (p. 18) is correct. Hoffmann (p. 135) does not read the traces.

²¹The lacuna is much too small to accommodate the passage *iw = f hr p₃ we* [... (etc.) ...] *mwr 'Ir.t-Hr-r-r = w* of PK.

²²There is not enough room to restore *smn n₃.w* [...] before [*p₃*] *sh mdy-ntr* after PK, and it is unclear how the two manuscripts correspond.

- PK X + I/12 ...].w [...] *m̄w r 'Ir.t-Hr-[r-r=w] smn n̄s.w [...]*²³ *p̄s sh̄ md̄y-ntr*
- PC X + II/12 ... [... ...] ... *p̄s̄y = f sp̄ (n) sh̄ n̄we = f r md̄.t nb̄.t r n̄s ntr.w [...]*
h̄pr = f iw̄ = f sdm̄
- PC X + II/13 *r-r = w 'nwe'* [*'Inp*]²⁴ *r-r = f iw̄ = f 'nwe'* *r md̄.t nb̄.t nty. h̄p̄ irm̄ p̄s̄ sp̄ n*
< n̄s > ntr.w r [wn-n̄s.w] ḥ̄r̄ iw̄ = w s-
- PK X + I/13 ...] = f [*sdm̄ n*]²⁵ *hr̄w = w n̄w in̄p̄ p̄s̄ ntr̄ r̄ r-r = f [r̄.iw̄ = f sdm̄] n*
hr̄w = w r̄.iw̄ = f n̄w
- PK X + I/14 [*r md̄.t nb̄.t nty h̄p̄*] *i[rm̄]*²⁶ *p̄s̄ sp̄ n* *n̄s ntr.w r wn-n̄s.w ḥ̄r̄ r̄.iw̄ = w sd̄ny*
p̄s̄y in̄p̄ r̄ < p̄s̄ > t̄s̄
- PC X + II/14 -*dny 'p̄s̄'* [*y 'Inp*] *r p̄s̄ t̄s̄ di = f iw̄ dr̄.t̄ = f m-s̄ t̄s̄y m̄hy r wn-[n̄s].w [n*
d̄s̄d̄s̄].t̄ = f n̄ p̄s̄
- PK X + I/15 ... *m]*-*s̄s̄ pr̄ m[hy]*²⁷ *r wn-n̄s.w n d̄s̄d̄s̄.t̄ = f n̄ p̄s̄ sh̄ [md̄]y-[ntr] di = f dit-*
šm̄
- PC X + II/15 *sh̄ m[dy-ntr] 'di'* = f [*šm̄*] [*dr̄.t̄ = f (?)*]²⁸ *r-h̄ly hn̄ t̄s̄y = f ms-h̄t*²⁹ *r tm̄ [fy*
n̄s̄]
- PK X + I/16 ...] ...³⁰ *t̄s̄y = f nh̄by r̄.iw̄ = f dd̄ ih̄s̄ p̄s̄ s̄b̄ ih̄ p̄s̄ dit̄ h̄st̄.t̄ = k r̄ ir̄ = k*
- PC X + II/16 *md̄.t r-'bnr'* [... ...]³¹ *i.ir̄ = k .[.]*³² *i.ir̄ = k ḥ̄h̄ h̄s̄y = f r̄ p̄s̄ 'itn'* *iw̄ = f*
mwt̄.t̄ t̄s̄y h̄[ty n̄ rn̄] = s̄

²³The divine-determinative is preserved before *p̄s̄ sh̄ md̄y-ntr*. The words *smn n̄s.w [... ...]* plus divine-determinative occupy the same position and almost exactly the same amount of space as the word *m-b̄h̄ n̄sw Ndm-ib-n-pa-Rr* of PC, which similarly end with the divine-determinative. Is it possible that one of the manuscripts is here garbled in relation to the other? Since the groups *smn* and *pr-r̄s̄* can bear some resemblance to each other, we might have a sequence of errors such as *smn > pr-r̄s̄ > n̄sw*, or *vice versa*.

²⁴The size of the lacuna and the divine-determinative before *r-r = f* suggests that just *nwe 'Inp r-r = f* should be restored, and not *nwe 'Inp p̄s̄ ntr̄ r̄ r-r = f* as in PK (X + 1/13).

²⁵This part can confidently be restored after PC, since the *= f* seems clear in the photograph and *sdm̄ n* would fill the lacuna perfectly.

²⁶The determinative of *h̄p̄* and part of the vertical stroke of *irm̄* seem to be preserved at the beginning of the line.

²⁷The scribe seems to have written *m-s̄ pr̄ m̄hy* instead of the expected *m-s̄ t̄s̄y m̄hy*. It seems difficult to read the group read *pr̄* as *t̄s̄y* in the present manuscript, but the two groups do have some resemblance in certain manuscripts and this may have been the cause of the error, if the passage is correctly understood.

²⁸The *= f* seems certain and the stroke before it may conceivably be part of *di*. The traces after *= f* would seem compatible with *šm̄*. Given the width of the lacuna between *šm̄* and *r-h̄ly*, it would not be impossible to restore *dr̄.t̄ = f*.

²⁹W. J. Tait points out to me that the compound *ms-h̄t* represents an unetymological writing of Coptic **MECΘHT, MECTN̄ZHT**, 'breast' (W. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939) 187b), which is derived from Late Egyptian *msti n̄ h̄st*, lit. 'basket of the heart' (J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1976), 92). The word is not included in Erichsen, *DG*.

³⁰The traces are too indistinct in the published photographs to be made out. M. Smith (apud Hoffmann, p. 44, n. 105) seems to suggest the restoration *di = f dit-šm̄ [iw̄ dr̄.t̄ = f m-s̄] t̄s̄y = f nh̄by*. This restoration would suit the context very well, but it is too short to fill the lacuna.

³¹Restore perhaps *iw̄ = f dd̄* in the lacuna, since the following words are spoken by Anubis.

³²I cannot make out the trace after *i.ir̄ = k*. It certainly does not suit *mwt* in the form in which it is written further on in this line.

- PK X + I/17 ...] *hb*₃ = *f*³³ *h*₃*t.t* = *f r tm fy n*₃ *md.t r-bnr*³⁴ *r.nw.t* = *f r-r = w h*₃
- PK X + I/18 ...]³⁵ *iy* [...] ... [...] *i.ir n*₃*y*] *dr* = *w*³⁶ *hpr r w*₃*h* *p*₃ *pr-c*₃
 PC X + II/17 *i.ir n*₃*y* [*dr* = *w hpr r w*₃*h*] *pr-c*₃ [*P*₃]-*di* = *w-B*₃*st.t ir ssw* (?)³⁷ [*n*]^r-*dr.t*
*n*₃*y* = *f h.t.t.w* [...]
- PC X + II/18 ... *wh*[... ..] *hpr*] *h* [*ml*]*h hn hw.t-ntr* ^r*m-ir*³⁸ *dit* ... [...]
 PK X + I/19 ...] *mlh m-ir dit ir rmt*
- PC X + II/19 *r hw.t-ntr* [*hn* (?)] = *f r tm dit hpr mlh* ^r*ir*^r *pr-c*₃ [*r*]^r*n*^r-[*s*]*my* [...]
- PK X + I/20 ... *n-im*] = *s*³⁹ *i.ir-hr p*₃ *pr-c*₃
 PC X + II/20 *i.w* [... ..] *ir* (?) *hpr*⁴⁰ *ir* = *w cn-šmy n-im* = *s i.ir-hr* [*pr-c*₃ ...]
- PK X + I/21 ...] *wn pr-c*₃ *r*₃*t* = *f*
 PC X + II/21 *htb* [^r*Inp p*₃ *ntr c*₃ (?)]⁴¹ *p*₃ *sh mdy-ntr wn pr-c*₃ *r*₃*t* = *f r* [*p*₃ *itn r*]

³³Hoffmann (p. 138, n. 534) doubts Stricker and Bresciani's reading *sb*₃ = *f*, and comments that *sb*₃, 'enemy' (so Bresciani), is elsewhere written *s*₃*b*, and that the fallen-warrior-determinative would be inappropriate for the verb *sb*₃ (so Stricker). Instead he suggests that *hb*₃ should be read and that this verb should be compared with Erichsen, *DG*, 299, *hb*, 'erniedrigen, demütigen'. In Second Setne, the context suggests the meaning 'humiliate' for this verb. It is important to note that it occurs in a transitive use there, since in Coptic, where the form is **ⲚⲓⲈ**, it is intransitive and has the meaning 'be low, short' (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 655b). While Hoffmann's reading is attractive and has been preferred here, that of Stricker should not be dismissed out of hand. The verb *sb*₃ has the dual meanings of 'teach' and 'punish', obviously because teaching sometimes involved a sound thrashing. Seen in this light, the determinative is not quite inappropriate and it cannot be altogether excluded that we might read *sb*₃ = *f h*₃*t.t* = *f*, 'he punished his heart'.

³⁴The expression *fy r-bnr* clearly has the sense 'bring out, reveal' in the present context. Anubis wants to prevent the scribe-of-the-god's-book from revealing what he has learned about the gods and the hidden things. The expression is found similarly used in P. Petese Tebt. A II/18 where, unfortunately, the context is damaged: ...] *fy md.t iw = s hp r-bnr*, '... reveal a thing which is hidden'. For the latter manuscript, see Ryholt, *The Story of Petese Son of Petetum*, in press.

³⁵Restore perhaps *h*₃] = *f r p*₃ *itn r.iw = f mwt n t*₃*y hty n rm = s*] after PC.

³⁶There seem to be clear traces of *dr* = *w* before *hpr r w*₃*h*, and Bresciani's restoration [*i.ir n*₃*y*] *dr* = *w hpr r* ... therefore seem certain. The passage is presumably parallel to that in the Tebtunis manuscript.

³⁷I owe this reading of the name Petubast here to J. F. Quack. It may be noted that the person-determinative is partly written over the end of the cartouche after the element *B*₃*st.t*. The passage is somewhat problematic, and the interpretation depends on whether P. Carlsberg and P. Krall were parallel at this point. The difficulty lies in the interpretation of the signs following *ir*, which look like the pronoun *s* written twice and followed by a sign that might represent a damaged writing of *sh*. If, however, the sense was 'Pharaoh Petubast had had this put into writing', we would only expect [*w*₃*h*] *pr-c*₃ [*P*₃]-*di* = *w-B*₃*st.t ir = s* (*n*) *sh*. Alternatively, P. Carlsberg could have had *dit* instead of *w*₃*h*, in which case the reading is [*dit*] *pr-c*₃ [*P*₃]-*di* = *w-B*₃*st.t ir = s* (*n*) *sh*, 'Pharaoh Petubast let her put it into writing'. This would require no emendation, but no female character to which the feminine pronoun might refer seems to have been mentioned. It also seems difficult to combine either of these interpretations with the words that follow: [*n*]^r-*dr.t*^r *n*₃*y* = *f h.t.t.w*. A reading that would seem to suit the context better is to interpret the signs after *ir* as an unusual writing of *ssw*, 'time'. The passage would then read 'Pharaoh Petubast had spent time with his leaders'. To read the signs after the two *s*'s as the 'time'-determinative (i.e. sun-disc and vertical stroke) is unproblematic, but the group is usually written with the two vertical *s*'s.

³⁸There is a trace of the descending vertical stroke of *m-ir* in the line below.

³⁹Hoffmann's restoration (p. 139) [... *sd*₃ *n-i*]*m = s i.ir-hr p*₃ *pr-c*₃ must probably be rejected in light of the Tebtunis manuscript which has *ir = w cn-sm*₃ *n-im = s i.ir-hr* [*p*₃ *pr-c*₃].

⁴⁰It does not seem possible to restore the formula *i.ir n*₃*y dr = w hpr*, since this requires a following circumstantial sentence.

⁴¹This restoration would suit the width of the lacuna, and something along these lines seems to be required by the context.

- PK X + I/22 [r pʒ itn n skp cʒ⁴² dd pr]-cʒ my cš nʒ.w = y (NΔI) r
 PC X + II/22 [sg¹ [p⁴³ cʒ] ⁴⁴ bn-p = f hlʒl r pʒ mʒ nty iw = f n-im = f
 iʃ.irʃ = f gm.tʃ = f [iw = f mwt (?) dd (?)]
- PC X + II/23 [pr-cʒ my cš = w nʒy (NΔI) r Pʒ-my (?) ⁴⁵ pʒ] wr-m-šs hn tʒ mte n hʒt
 [...]
- PK X + I/23 ...] ... = s (?) nʒw pr-cʒ
- PC X + II/24 ... Pʒ-ql]lw iw = f iw.tʒ tʒy hty (n) rn = s [...]⁴⁶ pr[-cʒ (?) ...
- PK X + I/24 ...] r tm dit hpr
 PC X + II/25 ... ʒh] (det.) hnyny wʒh = k dit cʒ [...]
- PK X + I/25 ...]. r.m-šs pʒy
 PC X + II/26 ...] m-šs pʒy dd Dd-Hr pʒy = y nb cʒ [...]
- PK X + I/26 ...] tw = y-s tʒy = k
- PC X + II/27 ...] tʒ mhy wr-m-šs [...]
- PK X + I/27 ...] cʒc n rt.tʒ
- PC X + II/28 ...].⁴⁷ my cš = w sh r 'Ir.t-Hr-[r-r = w ...

Col. X + 3

- PC X + III/1 [sh].w [pr-¹ [cnh]⁴⁸ my sdy = f m-bʒh [...]
- ? PK X + I/28 ...] pʒ cwy ir

⁴²This restoration, proposed by Hoffmann (p. 139), is confirmed by PC.

⁴³The two determinatives of *sgp* — the bad-bird and fallen-warrior — are also preserved.

⁴⁴The lacuna is rather short. Restore perhaps *iw = f dd wy bty*, 'saying "woe and misery!"'

⁴⁵The part [*dd pr*]-cʒ my cš nʒy r is tentatively restored after PK. The title 'general' usually applies to Pamythe-Younger and Wertepamunniut. If the proposed restoration is correct, then there is only room for the name 'Pamy' without the specification 'the younger'.

⁴⁶The size of the lacuna would accommodate *r pr*, i.e. *iw = f iw.tʒ tʒy hty (n) rn = s [r pr] pr*[-cʒ], 'and he went this very instant to the royal [palace]'.

⁴⁷The traces before *my* are clearly the abstract determinatives (book-roll and man-with-hand-to-mouth).

⁴⁸The traces of the house-determinative (i.e. the group *pr*) at the beginning of this line and the next, followed by the book-determinative, person-determinative, and the plural strokes, suggests that *sh.w pr*[-...] should be read, cf. also the end of line 5 and beginning of line 11. The obvious restoration would seem to be *sh.w pr-cnʒ*.

- PC X + III/2 [sh].w 'pr-¹[cnh] i.ir-hr.t = f dd = f n = w my [...
- PK X + I/29 ...] mwt r.ir = f cn
- PC X + III/3 [i.ir]-hr = y n p; g; y n mwt r.ir = f [...
- ? PK X + I/30 ...].. ir.t [...
- PC X + III/4 [...] 'Imn-R^c nsw ntr.w p; ntr c; n . [...
- ? PK X + I/31 ...] ... [...
- PC X + III/5 [...] cš; .w wnh⁴⁹ s w^c sh 'pr-cnh¹ [...
- ? PK X + I/32 ...] ... [...
- PC X + III/6 [...] cš = f sh r-hr = f n t; mte n pr 'i;bt¹ (?) [... ... p; sh mdy-]
- ? PK X + I/33 (line entirely lost)
- ? PK X + I/34 ... šc]y nty di
- PC X + III/7 ntr tw = f sdy = f m-b;h pr-c; [...
- PC X + III/8 [t;] mhy [r wn]-n; .w d; d; .t = y [...
- PK X + I/35 ...] htb
- PC X + III/9 'm-ir⁻¹50 htb^r.t = y tb;¹.t = s⁵¹ m-ir . [...
- PK X + I/36 ...] ih dd = f
- PK X + I/37 ...] b;n⁵² r-bnr
- PC X + III/10 r-bnr m-s; hpr pr-c; p; y = y nb c; [...
- PC X + III/11 [sh] pr-[cnh]⁵³ i.ir ir p; y^r = f^r [...]. [...
- PK X + II/1 [p;] bnr hpr r.iw = w iy i.ir-hr wr (?) [... ..].w
(people-det.) n P;-di-Hr s; P;-[di-p;]-R^c54 [r (?)] w;h = f ir p;

⁴⁹ wnh is a common unetymological writing in Demotic of old wn-hr (*Wb.* I, 312); cf. Erichsen, *DG*, 92.

⁵⁰ The photograph misrepresents the true width of the small lacuna at the beginning of the line because the papyrus is slightly distorted at this point.

⁵¹ I thank F. Hoffmann for the reading 't = y tb;¹.t = s.

⁵² Hoffmann (p. 141, n. 551) doubts b;n, but the ; seems certain, the n (of which the upper part is worn) likely, and the determinatives are clear.

⁵³ Again, the house-determinative followed by the book- and the person-determinatives suggests that sh pr-[cnh] should be read.

⁵⁴ The restoration of the name is uncertain; cf. Hoffmann, p. 141, n. 555.

- PC X + III/12 ...].⁵⁵ *qsi:t nfr[t] tw = w htp [= f hly-]*
 PK X + II/2 [...] *n sh pr-cnh i.ir-hr = f hn s pr-c r dit [q]s[i:]*⁵⁶ (*n*) *p₃ sh mdy-ntr*
di = f htp = f n n₃y = f ↑cwy htp↑
- PC X + III/13 -*l r 'Iwnw i.ir = f gm P₃-my [...*
 PK X + II/3 [*i*].*ir n₃y dr = w hpr r bn-p Mr-h irm Tb₃-Hr [p₃ h₂.t 2 ir] hly r 'Iwnw*
i.ir = w gm.t p₃ wr
- PK X + II/4 *m-šs P₃-my p₃ šm s₃ 'Ir.t-Hr-r-r = w iw = f hmsy [r h]lw_t irm p₃y = f 40*
rmt c_q [p₃] h₂.t 2 n-
- PC X + III/14 *n₃y = y sn.w p₃y = y 40 n rmt tw = y mr [...*
 PK X + II/5 -*im = f t₃y hty n rn = s shm h₂.t.t = f hr t₃ hlw_t [r.iw = f dd]*⁵⁷ *i cnh.w*
*n₃y = y sn.w p₃y = y 40 rmt*⁵⁸ {*di = y mr qn-*}
- PC X + III/15 *rmt-qnqn.w w₃h p₃ ...*⁵⁹ [...
 PK X + II/6 *di = y mr qnqn p₃ h₂y n 'Itm p₃'y = y¹ [ntr n-im = y (?)]*⁶⁰ *in wn rmt qnq[n*
iw = f] r tkn
- PC X + III/16 *n sb₃.w n m-šs r-hr = y ^rcn*⁶¹ [...
 PK X + II/7 [*t₃y*] = *n* (?) *sb₃ n-m-šs r-h₂.t = y cn m-s₃ rmt is t₃y = y mh[₃w t₃] wnw.t*
*(n) dd n₃y r.ir = f [h₃^c rdwy]*⁶² *r t₃*
- PC X + III/17 *mtw = w dd n = f P₃-di-hl [...*
 PK X + II/8 *mtry n p₃ šp p₃ i.ir w^c gl-šry mtrw = w dd n = f P₃-di-hl*⁶³ [*s₃ P₃]-di- [...]*
*n m*⁶⁴ *dd = f p₃ wr-[m-šs P₃-my] bn-iw*

⁵⁵The first traces in this line belong to the determinative of *sh mdy-ntr*, which the scribe has continued over the border-lines from the preceding column. I cannot make out the traces just before *qsi:t*. One might expect *wr.t*, but they do not seem compatible with this reading.

⁵⁶The restoration *r dit [q]s[i:]* suggested by Hoffmann (p. 142, n. 560) must be regarded as correct in view of the Tebtunis manuscript. The cloth-determinative before *p₃ sh* shows that only *qsi:* is to be read.

⁵⁷Despite Hoffmann's objections to the contrary (p. 143, n. 571), Bresciani's restoration *r.iw = f dd* would suit the width of the lacuna perfectly.

⁵⁸Hoffmann (pp. 143–4) reads *n₃y = i sn ^rhn¹.w*, 'meine Brüder (und) Freunde', but the traces and the parallel make it clear that *n₃y = y sn.w n₃y = y 40 rmt*, 'my brothers, my 40 men', is to be read.

⁵⁹I cannot make out the traces which follow, but they are certainly not compatible with *h₂y*.

⁶⁰Hoffmann (p. 144) suggests *di = i mr qnqn p₃ h₂y n itm p₃ n[tr c₃ nb 'Iwnw]*, 'Ich wünsche zu kämpfen — die Inspiration des Atum, des [großen] G[ottes, Herrn von Heliopolis]!', but this apposition seems somewhat awkward and the formula *p₃ h₂y DN n-im = y* is common. Hoffmann reads the traces of two vertical followed *p₃* as *ntr*, but I would rather assume them to be *y*, i.e. *p₃y (= y)*.

⁶¹For this group, compare the writing of *cn* in *cn-sm₃y* (col. X + II/20).

⁶²This restoration would fill the lacuna and suits the context very well. The same expression occurs again in col. IX/5. The lacuna is too large for the restoration [*t₃*] *wnw.t dd n₃j r ir-f [ij] r t₃ mtj* suggested by Bresciani.

⁶³The name of the kalasiris is *P₃-di-hl* rather than *P₃-di-ld* (so Bresciani and Hoffmann in P. Krall). It may be noted that *hl*, the Faiyumic form of *hr*, 'be satisfied', is written both with the Demotic and the hieratic heart-determinative in P. Carlsberg, whereas only the former seems to be used in P. Krall. The name is not included in *Demotisches Namenbuch*.

⁶⁴In P. Krall the name of the kalasiris seems to be followed by a patronymic. The long vertical stroke would suggest that the patronymic should be read [*P₃]-di- [...]*. Hoffmann (p. 145) takes the words *n m* as part of the patronymic, presumably because the word *m* is followed by the person-determinative. It does, however, seem more likely that they belong to the common formula *mtw = w dd n = f NN n m* which is attested in both literary

- PC X + III/18 *'Itm nꜣy = k ddy* [...
 PK X + II/9 *mdw = k ir.t bꜣn.t htb 'Itm nꜣy = k dꜣdy.w in [gr] = y⁶⁵ i.ir-hr = k [hr tꜣ] md.t iꜥ-*
- PC X + III/19 *dd Pꜣ-my cꜣnh 'I[t]m* [...
 PK X + II/10 *-in mdw = y irm = k hr tꜣ md.t dd Pꜣ-my cꜣnh 'Itm pꜣ ntr cꜣ pꜣy = y ntr [r.bn-iw-nꜣ.w (NNA)] mr sdm n hrw [= k dd pꜣ gl-šꜣy]⁶⁶*
- PC X + III/20 *dd n-im = w i.ir-hr Pꜣ-my* [...
- PK X + II/11 *cꜣnh 'Itm pꜣ ntr cꜣ r.bn-iw-nꜣ.w (NNA) dd md.t cꜣd i.ir-hr = k hrw r wn-nꜣw i[.ir]^r = y¹⁶⁷ y^rcb¹ r* [...
 PC X + III/21 *hrw wn-nꜣ.w i.ir = y ...⁶⁸ [...*
- PK X + II/12 *... Pr]-b-tty iw = y ir phr.w n pꜣy = y šny 'hpr¹ wꜣ [hrw (?)⁶⁹ di]^r = y¹ iw [r] wꜣ⁷⁰ w* [...
 PC X + III/22 *[...] hrw iw nꜣ .[... ... pꜣ]*

and documentary texts, although infrequently attested in the published material. We must therefore assume that the determinative simply is misplaced. Bresciani's translation ('den man Petu... [...] benannte') suggests that she understood the formula correctly, although she did not comment upon it.

⁶⁵Hoffmann (p. 146, n. 589) criticizes Bresciani's restoration $[gr] = i$, 'ich [schweige]', with the words 'Dies erklärt weder die Reste vor dem Determinativ des Mannes mit der Hand am Mund, noch die Länge der Lücke', but these remarks seem unjustified. As I see it, the restoration would suit the lacuna perfectly, judging from the size of the *g* elsewhere in the manuscript, and the two strokes before the determinative *are* attested for the verb *gr*, as well as the homonym, the particle *gr* (which has several meanings), as reference to Erichsen, *DG*, 582–3, will show. It does, moreover, seem likely that this sentence stands in contrast to the following, because of the particle *iꜥ-in* (unetymological writing of *hn*, Coptic $\text{ϣ}\text{Α}\text{Ν}$), and we must therefore expect that an antonym to *mdw*, 'speak', must be restored. Hoffmann leaves the passage untranslated.

⁶⁶Hoffmann (pp. 146–7, n. 596) is undoubtedly right in reading *hrw* rather than *md.t* [*cd*] (so Bresciani, p. 22) at the end of the line, since the *hrw*-sign is clear in the photograph. However, while he cautiously suggests that the preposition *r* should be read before *hrw*, the photograph would suggest an *n* which is also the preposition used in col. X + I/13. It would further seem obvious to restore $hrw [= k]$, given the context. At the end of the line, I would prefer Bresciani's restoration [*dd pꜣ gl-šꜣy*] to Hoffmann's [*dd = f n = f*], but both are possible.

⁶⁷The lacuna should presumably be restored thus after PC. It is slightly too large, but it is possible that the distance between the two fragments has been incorrectly estimated. The vertical fibre-correspondence which must exist between the two fragments is, unfortunately, nowhere shown. Hoffmann (p. 147) suggested the restoration $hrw r-wn-nꜣ.w i[.ir = f hpr iw] = i yrb$, which is too large for the lacuna unless the signs were written smaller than elsewhere.

⁶⁸The traces look somewhat like *tsw*, but I cannot make them out with certainty and *tsw* would not seem to make sense here. They are certainly not compatible with *yrb*. F. Hoffmann suggests to me that the group might be a damaged *dd*.

⁶⁹Hoffmann (p. 147, n. 602) suggests that only the determinative of *šny* is lost between this word and *wꜣ*. However, there seems to be a minute trace of the fallen-warrior-determinative above the *-y* of *šny* and this would not fill the space between *šny* and *wꜣ*. In fact, there are traces in this space which look very much like *hpr*. It is therefore tempting to restore the common literary formula *hpr wꜣ hrw*, 'It happened one day (that ...)'.
⁷⁰This damaged area is very difficult. However, if the formula *hpr wꜣ hrw* is correctly restored in the preceding lacuna, the stroke following the lacuna can be interpreted as the final stroke of the group *di = y*. After the verb *iw*, it would make sense to read the minute traces as the preposition *r* or *n*, although the traces themselves seem impossible to decipher. The indefinite article *wꜣ* seems to follow these. Alternatively, the group may be read as the person-determinative, but this would hardly make any sense at this point. Neither Bresciani nor Hoffmann comment upon the traces.

- PK X+ II/13 *n cwy.w [n Wr-ty]-'Imn-Niw.t r.iw = f dd p; y = y hry [... ..] ... [... ..]*
... r-bn-iw-n;w (N̄NΔ) rh̄ r [...
- PC X+ III/23 *[mr] mšc bn iw = n⁷¹ rh̄ r [...⁷²*
- PK X+ II/14 *in (?)⁷³ [...].[... ..] irm p; k; nčš nty (?) [...] w; y r [...*
- PC X+ III/24 *[...]. n;w pr.w iw = f wnm n-im = [...*
- PK X+ II/15 *wd; n n; y^f = f^f wnm hn[= .]⁷⁴ r.iw = f dit c q [...*
- PC X+ III/25 *[...] = f dd^f p;⁷⁵ mr-mšc [...].[...]*
- PC X+ III/26 *[...] = f stbh̄ ..[...]⁷⁶*
- PK X+ II/16 *n;w = y (NΔI) [... ..] 'md.t^f r.mr = y [r] ir^f = w⁷⁷ in = f s r [...*
- PC X+ III/27 *[...] iw r dit wb = f⁷⁸ [...*
- PK X+ II/17 *... [... .. p;] k; nčš di = f wč hr . [...*
- PC X+ III/28 *[...] 'dd^f in iw = f r rh̄ r dl; [...*

⁷¹*Bn iw = n rh̄* is clearly parallel to PK X+ II/13: *r-bn-iw-n;w rh̄*. The latter would seem to represent an unetymological writing of Coptic **N̄NΔ** (neg. fut. III, 1. sg.), as already suggested by Bresciani and Hoffmann. However, because of PC, one must consider whether the latter might actually represent an unetymological writing of Coptic **N̄NEN** (neg. fut. III, 1. pl.), i.e. that *n;w* is unetymological for the suffix pronoun = *n*. This would be unusual and in col. X+ I/8, **N̄NEN** is written [*bn-iw*]-*n;w = n*. It would therefore seem most probable that one of the manuscripts is simply in error. If we assume that the person who has just addressed the general is still speaking or that the general is answering him, then PK would contain the correct form. The error in PC may then be explained as a slip of the pen; the scribe had just written *mšc*, 'army' (part of the title *mr-mšc*), and therefore, absent-mindedly, put the pronoun in the plural. (It may be noted that Hoffmann marks the group *n;w* in PK as doubtful, but the photograph and Bresciani's transliteration suggests that it is intact, so that it is not possible read it otherwise.)

⁷²The traces after *r* resemble *ir*, but are too faint for any certain reading.

⁷³Bresciani (p. 22) reads traces at the beginning of the line as *in*, the post-negation or interrogative particle. Hoffmann (p. 147) does not read the traces or comment upon Bresciani's reading.

⁷⁴The lacuna is only large enough for a suffix pronoun to be restored.

⁷⁵There are faint, but distinct, traces of *p;*.

⁷⁶Restore presumably *p; y = f stbh̄*, 'his weapon', or *n; y = f stbh̄*, 'his weapons'. The compound *stbh̄ f n qnqn*, 'weapons' (lit. 'tools of fighting'), occurs repeatedly in PK and might be restored here as well, but the traces following *stbh̄* are too minute to be made out.

⁷⁷The reading *md.t* would suit the context and the traces, except that the usual diagonal stroke above the group is omitted — perhaps because of the descending stroke of the = *f* from the line above. Hoffmann (p. 148) reads [...][^fy¹]. If *md.t* is correct, then the following restoration seems likely. The lacuna would suit the preposition *r* perfectly, and the group *ir* seems clear in the photograph. After *ir* there is a minute trace. The context would seem to demand either an = *s* or = *w*, i.e. 'the thing/things which I please to do', and the trace seems most compatible with the latter. Hoffmann (p. 148, n. 612) cautiously suggests '*ir = w*¹'.

⁷⁸For *di wb*, Coptic Ⲡ ⲐⲮⲃⲈ, 'fight against', see Erichsen, *DG*, 606; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 394a. I owe this reading to W. J. Tait.

PK X + II/18 [...] *tʒ mʒy hpr* (?) [...] [...] *qnqn* [...]

PC X + III/29 [...] = *n* (?) *nhy*⁷⁹ *pʒ kʒ* [...]

PK X + II/19 ... *pʒ*] *kʒ nʒš* [... ..] *nʒy* ↑*md.t*↑ *r.ir pʒ mr* [*mšʕ*]⁸⁰

PC X + III/30 [...] *ir.t nʒ.w tʒy*⁸¹ *bn-p rḥ pʒ kʒ* [*nʒš* (?) ...]

PK X + II/20 *Wr-ty-'Imn-Niw.t* [... .. *pʒ kʒ*] *nʒš* [... ..].*w ʕʒ.t n* [...

Translation

The gods decide to punish Egypt (PC (-II/3) and PK (-I/4) combined)

[At least one column lost]

...] families. A ... opened them (?). God commanded [that the] unrests which will come to earth, and they shall place it in the heart of the one who can fight⁸² [... ..] his strong children upon the strong land (?) to which (?) they will give ... [... ..] on earth, and they (i.e. the gods) said: 'We agree.'

The demons are sent onto earth (PC (II/3–10) and PK (I/4–11) combined)

Osiris called Lover-of-Battle and Vengeance-of-Horus, the two demons.

[He said: 'Do not delay (to go) to] earth. Go to Heliopolis. Let battle arise in the heart of Pamy-the-Younger, son of Inaros, [against] Wertepamunniut, son of Ankhhor.'⁸³

He said:⁸⁴ 'O, Maker-of-Unrest and Misery-of-Amun. Do not delay (to go) to the Island of Mendes.⁸⁵ Let battle and strife⁸⁶ arise in the heart of Wertepamunniut against Pamy-the-Younger,⁸⁷ son of Inaros.'

PK: [They said:] 'We [shall not] leave anything undone.'

PC: They were sent [to] earth.

Lover-of-Battle and Vengeance-of-Horus hurried [to Heliopolis. They let battle] and strife [arise] in the heart of Pamy-the-Younger against Weptepamunniut. Maker-of-

⁷⁹The word has the striking-arm-determinative and is presumably identical with the word *nh* that has the same determinative in P. Krall XVI/32, XXII/2, for which see Hoffmann, pp. 362–3, n. 2192.

⁸⁰Restore perhaps [*tʒ wnw.t n sdm*] *nʒy md.t r.ir pʒ mr* [*mšʕ*] *Wr-ty-'Imn-Niw.t*, 'The moment when general Wertepamunniut heard these things, ...' The word *md.t* added above the line is, however, not usually used in this common formula.

⁸¹Something seems wrong here. The group *ir.t*, 'eye', seems clear, but lacks a determinative. The following group is completely similar to the group *nʒ.w* elsewhere in the manuscript and should therefore presumably be interpreted as such. The final group before *bn-p* looks exactly like *tʒy*. However, this makes no sense. Could *tʒy* before *bn-p* be an error for the circumstantial converter *r* which it often resembles?

⁸²I.e. Pamy and the arch-enemy of the Inaros clan, Wertepamunniut.

⁸³PC omits 'son of Ankhhor'.

⁸⁴PK omits 'He said'.

⁸⁵PC omits 'of Mendes'.

⁸⁶PC omits 'and strife'.

⁸⁷PC seems to omit '-the-Younger'.

Unrest [and Misery-of-Amun hurried to the] Island of Mendes.⁸⁸ He (sic) let unrest arise in the heart of Wertepamunniut against Pamy-[the-Younger,⁸⁹ son of] Inaros.⁹⁰

The curious priest (PC version (II/10–16))

While all this happened in the temple of Memphis, he [..... ..] Inaros before king Nedjemibenpre.⁹¹ [The] scribe-of-the-god's-book [..... ..] his spell of magic (lit. skill of a scribe). He saw everything which the gods [...]. It happened that he heard (i.e. understood) them.

[Anubis] saw him while he looked at everything which is hidden and the rest of the gods⁹² who were standing, holding council. [Anubis jumped] to earth. He let his hand come out after this feather which was upon the head of the scribe-of-the-god's-book. He let [his hand (?)] go down into his chest to prevent [the] things which [he had seen] from being brought out. [...] you ... you live. He fell to the ground and was dead the very instant.

(PK version (I/11–18))

While all this happened, the lord Osiris was in the temple of Memphis, upon the barque [... ..] water for Inaros [...]. The scribe-of-the-god's-book [... .. and] he [heard] their voices.

Anubis, the great god, saw him while he heard their voices and while he saw [everything which is hidden and the rest of] the gods⁹³ who were standing, holding council. Anubis jumped to earth, [and let his hand come forth ?] after this feat[her] which was upon the head of the scribe-of-the-god's-book. He let [his hand] take hold (?) of his neck, and he said: 'Woe, wretched one! Why do you turn your attention [to?]' He humbled his heart to prevent the things which he had seen from being brought out. [He] fell [to the ground and was dead the very instant. (?) ...] ... [... ..].

Pharaoh learns of the curious priest (PC (II/17-III/12) and PK (I/18-II/2) combined)

While all this happened, Pharaoh Petubast had spent time (?) with his leaders⁹⁴ [--- --- ---] battle and strife [arise] in the temple. Do not let [any] person make [--- --- ---] to the temple. He [commanded] that strife should not be caused to arise. Pharaoh made report [--- --- ---] come [--- --- ---] had happened. They made report of it before

⁸⁸PC omits 'of Mendes'.

⁸⁹PC seems to omit '-the-Younger'.

⁹⁰PK omits 'son of Inaros'.

⁹¹PK omits 'before Nedjemibenpre'. For the direct genitive in Nedjemibenpre, one may compare the prenomen Sehetepibenre (*Shtp-ib-n-Rc*), which is clearly modelled after that of Amenemhet I; cf. J. v. Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (MÄS 20; Berlin, 1984), 272. An obscure king of the Second Intermediate Period, who is only attested in the Turin King-list, VII/14 (= A. H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford, 1959), VI/14), had the prenomen *Ndm-ib-Rc*, which is the Middle Egyptian form of *Ndm-ib-n-pj-Rc*. He might therefore be the king in question, but the possibility cannot be excluded that we are dealing with an otherwise unattested king of the Third Intermediate Period (also Sehetepibenre seems to date to this period) or even a fictitious king.

⁹²I.e. the gods, except Anubis.

⁹³I.e. the gods, except Anubis.

⁹⁴See the discussion of this problematic passage in n. 37 above.

Pharaoh, [that Anubis, the great god,] had killed the scribe-of-the-god's-book. Pharaoh opened his mouth to [the ground in a great] cry, [saying: 'Woe and misery!' (?)]. He hurried to the place in which he was. He found him [dead (?).]

Pharaoh said: 'Let be called for me [the] Chief of the Army [Pamy]⁹⁵ in the middle of [--- ---] ... Pharaoh looked at [--- ---] Pklul, and he went off the very instant. [--- ---] to prevent letting strife and unrest arise. You let [...] vanish [--- ---] It is exceedingly [...]. Teos said: 'My great lord! [--- ---] Behold! Your [--- ---] the feather of (?) a (?) general⁹⁶ [--- ---] the evidence⁹⁷ [--- ---] Let a spell be cast upon Inaros⁹⁸ [--- ---] The] scribes of the House of Life [said:] 'Let him⁹⁹ relate before [Pharaoh --- --- the] scribe of the House of Life before him.¹⁰⁰ He said to them: 'May [the scribe-of-the-god's-book be brought before me. May he relate]¹⁰¹ before me of the manner in which he died [--- ---] Amun-Re, King-of-Gods, the great god [--- ---] many [...]. A scribe of the House of Life revealed him [--- ---] He cast a spell upon him in the middle of the east (?) [--- --- the] scribe-of-the-god's-book.¹⁰² He let him relate before Pharaoh¹⁰³ [--- ---] the feather which was upon my head¹⁰⁴ [--- ---] Do not kill me because of it. Do not [--- ---] ... He said [--- ---] evil [...] out. But Pharaoh, my great lord! [--- --- scribe/scribes] of the House of Life who made his [--- ---] out, but they went before [--- ---] of Petehor, son of Petepre, he having made the [...] of the scribe of the House of Life before him. Pharaoh commanded that a (fine) burial¹⁰⁵ be given to the scribe-of-the-god's-book.¹⁰⁶ He¹⁰⁷ let him rest in his tomb.

The possession of Pamy (PK (II/3-11) supplemented by PC (III/12-20))

While all this happened, Lover-of-Battle and Vengeance-of-Horus hurried to Heliopolis.¹⁰⁸ They found¹⁰⁹ the Chief of the Army¹¹⁰ Pamy-the-Younger, son of Inaros, sitting at a feast together with his 40 men. The two demons entered him. In this very instant, his heart forgot about the feast, and he said: 'O, may you live, my brethren, my 40 men.

⁹⁵The restoration in this passage is not quite certain; cf. the notes to the transliteration above.

⁹⁶It is somewhat odd that the title *wr m-sš* is not here preceded by the definite article. That the title should actually be read, rather than the adjective *wr* followed by the adverbial *m-sš*, seems certain because of the determinatives of *wr* and *m-sš*. It is also unclear what the feather has to do with the, or a, general. Has the scribe perhaps omitted something or made some other error?

⁹⁷The isolated words *chr n rt.t* should presumably be understood as 'evidence' (cf. K. Sethe, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgerschaftsrechte* (Leipzig, 1920), 194) rather than Hoffmann's 'auf dem Fuß stehen' (p. 140), since Pharaoh seeks knowledge or evidence of how the scribe-of-the-god's-book died.

⁹⁸'Inaros' is perhaps a mistake for 'the scribe-of-the-god's-book'.

⁹⁹Presumably the scribe-of-the-god's-book.

¹⁰⁰I.e. Pharaoh.

¹⁰¹This long restoration is very tentative and is offered only *exempli gratia*.

¹⁰²Restore perhaps: [*di = f nh*] *pš sh mdy-ntr*, 'He let the scribe-of-the-god's-book live.'

¹⁰³The scribe-of-the-god's-book, being brought to life through magic, tells Pharaoh of the plot of the gods.

¹⁰⁴The scribe-of-the-god's-book tells Pharaoh how he was seized by Anubis and killed.

¹⁰⁵PK simply has 'a burial' (*qsi*), whereas PC has 'a fine burial' (*wr.t qsi.t nfr.t*).

¹⁰⁶PC presumably had 'to him' rather than 'to the scribe-of-the-god's-book'.

¹⁰⁷PC has passive mode: 'They let'.

¹⁰⁸This has already been told prior to the story of the scribe-of-the-god's-book.

¹⁰⁹One would expect a second tense here: emend perhaps < *i* > *ir = w gm.t* ...

¹¹⁰PC omits the title.

I wish to fight. The wrath of Atum, [my god, is in me.] Is there any warrior who can equal our military skill, like me, except perhaps a man from my clan?’

The moment he said this, a kalasiris called Petehel son of [Pe]te[...]¹¹¹ by name, immediately [marched] into the centre (of the men).¹¹² He said: ‘O, Chief of the Army, Pamy-the-Younger. You do not have the evil eye. May Atum kill your enemies. Shall I be silent before you [concerning the] matter (of which you speak), or shall I speak with you concerning the matter?’

Pamy said: ‘By Atum, the great god, my god! [I do not] wish to hear [your] voice.’

[The kalasiris said:] ‘By Atum, the great god! I will not tell a lie before you.’¹¹³

The story of the kalasiris (PC (III/20-) and PK (II/11-) combined)

[Because of the damaged state of the two manuscripts, it is very uncertain if all of the following fragments of text are arranged in their correct order. It also seems impossible to determine whether or not the two manuscripts were parallel word-for-word in this section.]

‘A day when I was ill [--- --- ---] Mendes, making medicaments for my disease. It happened one [day that] I went to a [--- --- ---] day [...] came the¹¹⁴ [--- --- ---] to the house of Wertepamunniut, and he said: ‘My lord!¹¹⁵ [--- --- --- the] general.¹¹⁶ I will not be able to¹¹⁷ [--- --- ---] with the strong bull who/which [--- --- ---] far from [--- --- ---]¹¹⁸ those-of-the-estates,¹¹⁹ while he ate¹²⁰ [--- --- ---] healthy by (?) his food in [...] He will let perish [--- --- ---] him.’ The general said:¹²¹ [--- --- ---] for me [...] things which I please to do. He brought him/her/it [--- --- ---] his weapon [--- --- --- the] strong bull. He gave a face (?)¹²² [--- --- ---] went to fight against him [--- --- ---] the Island [--- --- ---] saying/said: ‘Will he be able to triumph [--- --- --- the] strong bull [--- --- ---] us (?). The [strong] bull charged [--- --- ---] these matters which general Wertepamunniut did [...] the] strong [bull --- --- ---] eye, they are. ... The [strong] bull was not able¹²³ [--- --- ---] great [--- --- ---]

¹¹¹ PK seems to add his patronymic, which is not included in PC.

¹¹² This is a cleft sentence with an infinitive, lit. ‘The moment of saying this which he did, coming into the middle immediately is that which a kalasierer, to whom they say Petehel son of Pete... as name, did.’ For this grammatical construction, see J. F. Quack, ‘Der Konstruktion des Infinitivs in der Cleft Sentence’, *RdE* 42 (1991), 189–207.

¹¹³ PC has: ‘...’ tell them before Pamy’.

¹¹⁴ It does not seem likely that these words (from PC) stand parallel to the previous words (from PK).

¹¹⁵ It is not clear who is speaking, but the words must be directed at Wertepamunniut, and not the kalasiris (so Hoffmann, p. 147, n. 606), since it is he who answers. Rather, the kalasiris is overhearing the conversation.

¹¹⁶ I.e. Wertepamunniut, whose usual title this is.

¹¹⁷ PC has ‘We will not ...’, which seems to be a slip of the pen. It is unclear if the general is still being spoken to, or if he is now answering the person who has just addressed him.

¹¹⁸ It is very uncertain how *n.w pr.w* should be interpreted since the context is damaged.

¹¹⁹ A pronominal object of *wmm*, ‘eat’, introduced by *n-im*, is lost.

¹²⁰ Or ‘while he let perish’.

¹²¹ Or ‘and he said: “O, general!”’

¹²² Hardly ‘He placed one upon [the other ...]’

¹²³ Or ‘The great bull did not know’.

Appendix: *sš mdj.t-ntr*, πτεροφόρας, and ιερογραμματεὺς

The description of the scribe-of-god's-book as having a feather upon his head in our narrative has some interesting implications which may briefly be explored.

In the decrees of Canopus and Rosetta, we find the title 'scribe of the god's book' together with a further title in the following combinations and translations:

Canopus Decree

Hieroglyphic	
Demotic	<i>nš sh.w md-ntr irm nš sh.w pr-chnh</i>
var.	<i>nš sh.w pr-chnh nš sh.w md-ntr</i>
Greek	πτεροφόροι καὶ ιερογραμματεῖς

Rosetta Decree

Hieroglyphic	
Demotic	<i>nš sh.w mdj-ntr irm nš sh.w pr-chnh</i>
Greek	πτεροφόροι καὶ ιερογραμματεῖς

Since the title *sš.w mdj.t-ntr* comes first in both hieroglyphic versions and in two of the Demotic versions, it is generally believed to correspond to πτεροφόροι, 'feather-bearers', which comes first in the Greek versions. Consequently, the designations *rh.w-ht*, *sš.w (n) pr-chnh* and *ty.(t) (n) pr-chnh* are equated with ιερογραμματεῖς 'sacred scribes'.¹²⁴

While the equation between *sš.w mdj.t-ntr* and πτεροφόροι would suit the description of the *sh mdj-ntr* in our narrative perfectly, it is nonetheless possible that this approach is too simplistic. The fact alone that the Egyptian versions vary between *rh.w-ht*, *sš.w (n) pr-chnh* and *ty.(t) (n) pr-chnh* would seem to suggest that at least in this case a general sense—'sages'—is being conveyed, rather than a specific title. If that is correct, then we should expect that the same may apply to the Greek versions.

Turning to the article on *pterophorai* in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*,¹²⁵ we see that the order of the designations and their translations are taken literally in the case of the Canopus and Rosetta Decrees. Accordingly, πτεροφόροι is equated with the *sš.w mdj.t-ntr*. It is, however, further noted that 'Sie (sc. the *pterophorai*) werden in den Dekreten zusammen mit den Hierogrammaten genannt, von denen sie nicht eindeutig zu unterscheiden sind', and, summing up, it is concluded that 'die Bez. Pterophoren [betont] nicht so sehr das Priesteramt, sondern das des gelehrten Schreibers; es wurde auch vermutet, daß es sich bei den Pterophoren nicht immer um Priester handelt habe'.¹²⁶

If we accept that the πτεροφόροι designate 'wise men', 'sages', rather than a specific group of priests, then it would seem more obvious to equate the πτεροφόροι with the *rh.w-ht*, 'those who know things', which is the Egyptian term for sages, and the *ty.(t) (n) pr-chnh*, 'staff of the House of Life', which is a generic term designating those attached to the learning-centres of the temples.¹²⁷ The term ιερογραμματεῖς would then correspond to *sš.w mdj.t-ntr*, of which it is an almost direct translation.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ See esp. F. Daumas, *Les moyens d'expression du Grec et de l'Égyptien* (Cairo, 1952), 183–4.

¹²⁵ H.-J. Thissen, 'Pterophoren', *LÄ* IV, 1182–3.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ The term 'staff' in relation to the House of Life is also attested on the Persian Period stela of the chief physician Udjaharresnet; see A. H. Gardiner's primary study 'The House of Life', *JEA* 24 (1938), 157–79, esp. 157.

¹²⁸ So too W. Helck, 'Gottesbuch', *LÄ* II, 791. In this connection, it is worth noting that one of the Demotic versions of the Canopus Decree actually lists the two designations in the order *nš sh.w pr-chnh nš sh.w md-ntr*, which would then correspond exactly with πτεροφόροι καὶ ιερογραμματεῖς.

In that case, the unfortunate magician in our narrative can be classified as a ἱερογραμματεὺς because of his title, and a πτεροφόρος because of his feather. That the two terms are not mutually exclusive is indicated by Clement of Alexandria (Strom. IV 4, 36, 1) and by Diodorus (I 87), who report that the ἱερογραμματεῖς wore a hawk's feather upon their heads. This may suggest, in the case of our priest, that the feather was an attribute of his priestly class, rather than a symbol of his personal magical skills. That, however, does not exclude the possibility that the feather as a whole was a symbol of wisdom. That the title *sš mdꜣ.t-ntr* conveyed an air of wisdom is strongly suggested by the fact that it is applied to Thoth, the god of wisdom, in P. Salt 825 (VII, 3).¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Ph. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825* (Brussels, 1965), 140, 9*, pl. vii.



P. Carlsberg 456 (Courtesy of the Carsten Niebuhr Institute)

A PARALLEL TO THE INAROS STORY OF P. KRALL (pp. 151-69)

GNOMONS AT MEROË AND EARLY TRIGONOMETRY

By LEO DEPUYDT

Angles of the sun and shadows at Meroë at significant annual dates are given. Three graffiti in building 950 at Meroë, previously published by Garstang and probably dating to the first century BC or the first century AD, are discussed in the light of their astronomical implications. A new interpretation identifies a gnomon, an instrument that measures shadows, and its significance for the early history of trigonometry is noted. In one instance observation of the summer solstice at Meroë is suggested.

FOR citizens of Meroë and for dwellers of the Nile Valley south of Assuan overall, as opposed to much of the rest of what Egyptians and others believed to be the inhabited part of the globe in Hellenistic times (see Ptolemy, *Almagest* II.1), the sun god Amon-Re put on a special display. For a number of days every year, he reached his highest point at noon in the sky *north* of the zenith, that is, the point in the sky straight above us. Thus, he caused shadows to extend in a *southward* direction.

In fact, keen observers at Meroë would see the sun in roughly the following positions at noon on six pivotal days of the year. The six-part scenario below also lists the direction of shadows in the intervening periods, north or south, and whether shadows are increasing or decreasing. Dates are approximate and all angle measurements, here and below, are rounded off to the closest full degree.

	<i>Sun at noon</i>	<i>Shadows</i>
(1) spring equinox (about 21 March)	17° south of the zenith	17° northward
(1) — > (2):	<i>northward shadows growing smaller</i>	
(2) a day in early May	in the zenith	none
(2) — > (3):	<i>southward shadows growing larger</i>	
(3) summer solstice (about 21 June)	7° north of the zenith	7° southward
(3) — > (4):	<i>southward shadows growing smaller</i>	
(4) a day in early August	in the zenith	none
(4) — > (5):	<i>northward shadows growing larger</i>	
(5) autumn equinox (about 21 September)	17° south of the zenith	17° northward
(5) — > (6):	<i>northward shadows growing larger</i>	
(6) winter solstice (about 21 December)	41° south of the zenith	41° northward
(6) — > (1):	<i>northward shadows growing smaller</i>	

As one can see, the summer solstice (21 June) splits the period in which shadows fall southward (early May to early August) into two halves (early May to 21 June and 21 June to early August).

The three numbers 7, 17, and 41 relate to one another as follows. 7 and 41 are removed by 24 at either side of 17: $17-24 = (-)7$ and $17+24 = 41$. Just under 17° is the latitude of Meroë, which lies about 120 miles north-east of Khartoum, the capital of the Sudan.

Just under 24° is the inclination of the earth's axis of rotation away from vertical position on its yearly course around the sun; it was about $23^\circ 50'$ in Hellenistic times and is now about $23^\circ 26'$.

Since Meroë's latitude is 17° , the north pole stands 17° above the horizon. Consequently, the celestial equator, that is, the circle in the sky that is everywhere 90° away from the north pole and the south pole, is at its highest point 17° south of the zenith. In the course of a year, the sun moves from 24° south of the celestial equator to 24° north of it, and back, cutting the equator twice at the equinoxes. This zigzag movement therefore spans close to twice 48° . Because the equator is 17° south of the zenith at Meroë, the same 48 degrees extend from 41° south of the zenith to 7° north of it at noon, the equator located at 17° south being in the middle.

In 1914, an archaeological expedition led by John Garstang excavated an architectural structure, which he designated number 950, in the royal city of Meroë. Garstang conjectured that building 950, in one of its stages of construction, served as an astronomical observatory. Indeed, on one of its walls, a number of graffiti of astronomical purport were discovered. Garstang dates them to the second century BC. In what follows, I will discuss the three graffiti published by Garstang referred to by the number they bear in his plate vi (namely 1, 2, and 3), as well as a drawing of a stone with linear markings.¹

Garstang was a mathematician and scientist by training and his brief comments on the three graffiti are worth quoting in full.²

'[O]n what was then the outside western wall we found a number of graffiti representing both calculations or record of observations and actual sketches of two instruments which would seem, so far as they can be understood, to correspond to a transit instrument with circle and an azimuth instrument.'

'There are many interesting records in the pages of Pliny, and some in other writers, all tending to show that the astronomers of the second and the third centuries BC made consistent observations at various points in and about the Nile basin with a view to determining latitude and other astronomical data. It is related, suggestively, that at Ptolemais, which was on the Red Sea coast, very nearly in the latitude of Meroë, an interval of forty-five days elapsed between the summer solstice and the two dates (before and after) whereon the shadows of the sun were vertical at noon (see Pliny, *Natural History* II.183). Now the graffiti of the wall include the calculation or record of a series of observations which will be seen to involve the number of forty-five on each side of an equation [see fig. 6], with a difference at the foot on one side of three,

¹ 'Fifth Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroë in Ethiopia. Part I. General Results', *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 7 (1914), 1–10. The graffiti are reproduced in plate vi as number 1 ('astronomer at his transit instrument'), number 2 ('a second weathered graffito of transit instrument on stone'), and number 3 ('calculations and sketch of ? azimuth instrument'). A fourth item in the same plate is a drawing of a stone 'recording observed angles'. On Garstang's excavations, see now L. Török, *Meroë City, an Ancient African Capital: John Garstang's Excavations in the Sudan* (EES Occasional Publications 12; London, 1997). I thank Bruce Williams of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago for drawing my attention to Garstang's report at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center held at Ann Arbor, Michigan in April of 1997, where I read a paper on a related topic, ancient Egyptian star clocks. It is reading Ptolemy, *Almagest* II.5–6 that encouraged me to examine the matter.

² *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 7, 4 and 5–6.

and on the other side of ten. This summation of figures is represented in units arranged in five groups of three, and in three lines in each case, and it is obviously suggested that it is really the record of observations kept daily, and that forty-five days on each side was the basis of calculation.'

'The date of our monuments is ... more nearly that of Hipparchus, 160 BC, who is credited with the invention of several astronomical instruments.'

Garstang goes on to suggest the possible astronomical significance of a staircase and a well located near the graffiti in building 950, but he notes that the well probably had no such significance because it was once covered. A note on the staircase follows.

Graffito 1 (see fig. 1) is described by Garstang as an 'astronomer at his transit instrument', and the instrument as a 'transit instrument with circle'. In trying to specify the nature of the instrument, it appears to me that the crucial feature being recorded by it is a shadow cast by sunlight. Indeed, the object depicted in the upper left corner seems to be the sun. As one squints at the sun, beams seem to emanate from it sideward in every direction. This impression is evoked in the graffiti by ten short strokes. At the same time, sunbeams reach the earth. Here, as one can see, one beam brushes the top of a stick held by the 'astronomer'. This aspect of the graffiti makes it virtually certain that the instrument depicted is what was called a gnomon in antiquity.

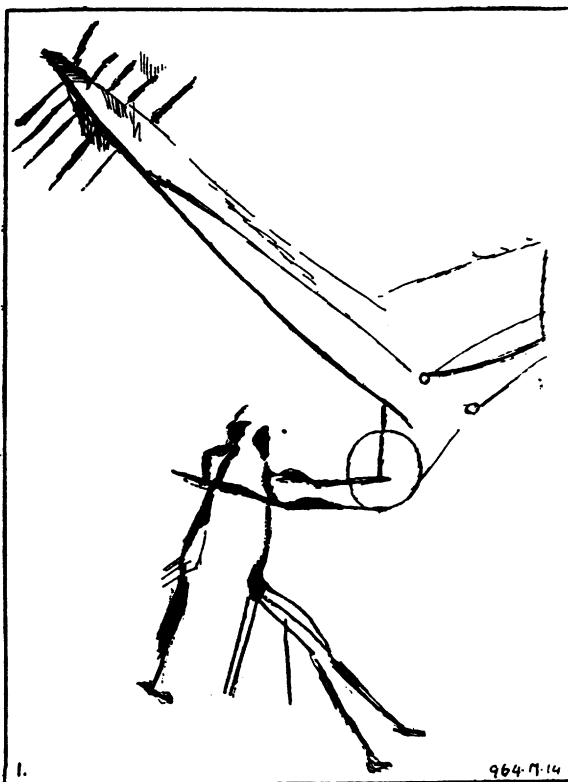


FIG. 1.

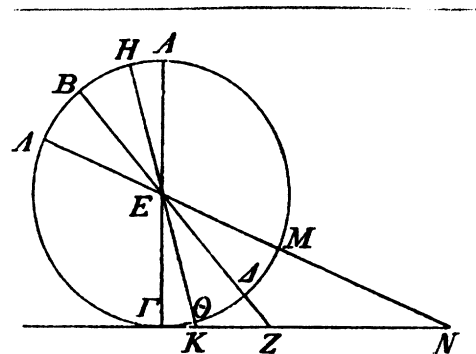


FIG. 2.

A gnomon is a shadow instrument. It measures the lengths of shadows. The word γνώμων had several meanings, all related in some way. In mathematics, it could denote the L-shape one is left with when cutting a smaller square out of a larger square. This shape was used by masons to obtain right angles. Indeed, Vitruvius knew the gnomon as an architectural instrument. For astronomers, the gnomon is a staff placed vertically to the horizon for the purpose of casting shadows and measuring them. The length of the shadow was typically expressed in proportion to the gnomon's length. Thus, in his *Geography* (II.133), Strabo (late first century BC or early first century AD) states that, on the equinoxes at Alexandria, the gnomon relates to its shadow as 5 does to 3.

The best known reason for casting shadows is the measurement of time. The shadow-casting stick of shadow clocks or sundials can be called a gnomon. Constructing sundials became a discipline in its own right, owing to the tool's usefulness. A number of ancient Egyptian shadow clocks and sundials have been preserved.³ One of the surviving specimens includes a staircase.⁴ It is perhaps significant that the graffiti in building 950 were found in the vicinity of a staircase.

However, measuring the hours of the day does not seem to have been the purpose of the instrument in graffito 1. Its purpose was probably astronomical. First, sundials do exhibit curvatures, but not a full circle as in the graffito. Second, the content of graffito 3 (see fig. 6) is astronomical. Third, the seated 'astronomer' in graffito 1 seems to be holding and manipulating the instrument, whereas shadow clocks and sundials are permanent fixtures.

If the instrument was astronomical in purpose, its exact construction remains a matter of speculation. We know about a number of astronomical tools dating to the Graeco-Roman Period in Egypt. Some of them include one or more metal rings.⁵ However crudely the instrument may be depicted in graffito 1, it undeniably exhibits two elements, a line or stick and a circle or ring. Furthermore, the stick is undeniably a gnomon. But none of the known ancient astronomical tools combines a gnomon with a ring.

There is, however, a passage in the *Almagest* (II.5) in which Ptolemy (second century AD) presents a proposition involving a drawing which combines a gnomon with a circle (reproduced in fig. 2).⁶ The vertical linear segment ΓE is the gnomon. It connects a point on the periphery of the circle (Γ) with the circle's centre (E). The circle ΑΒΛΓ is the meridian. The meridian is the circle in the sky running through the poles and the zenith (Α) and cutting the horizon due north and due south. The sun crosses it at noon. The line ΑΕΜΝ is a sunbeam at the winter solstice, ΒΕΔΖ a beam on the equinoxes, and ΗΕΘΚ a beam at the summer solstice. ΓΝ, ΓΖ, and ΓΚ are the corresponding shadow lengths at those times. If the drawing in figure 2 were an object, the horizontal part

³For a recent survey, see M. Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian Science, II. Calendars, Clocks, and Astronomy* (Philadelphia, 1995), 83–98, 463–70, and figs. iii.40–57. An earlier account is found in L. Borchardt, *Die altägyptische Zeitmessung* (Berlin, 1920). According to the definition followed by Clagett (p. 84), a shadow clock measures hours by the shadow's length, a sundial by its changing direction. A fragment of a sundial found at the temple of Basa east of the city of Meroë is described by J. W. Crowfoot (*The Island of Meroë* (London, 1911), 17–18 and pl. x). For an effort to identify a certain type of staff associated with the god Min as a gnomon, see M. Isler, 'The Gnomon in Egyptian Antiquity', *JARCE* 28 (1991), 155–85.

⁴Clagett, *Calendars, Clocks, and Astronomy*, figs. iii.47 and iii.48.

⁵See, for example, D. J. Price, 'Precision Instruments: To 1500', in C. Singer et al. (eds), *A History of Technology*, III (Oxford, 1957), 582–619, at 586–601.

⁶For the Greek original of the *Almagest*, see J. L. Heiberg, *Claudii Ptolemaei opera quae extant omnia*, I. *Syntaxis mathematica*, Part 1 (*Almagest* I–VI) (Leipzig, 1898).

ΓΚΖΝ could be marked to record the *lengths* of shadows cast by the gnomon. The ring ΓΘΔΜ could be marked in degrees to record the *angles* of these shadows.

Ptolemy shows how one derives (1) shadow lengths at the equinoxes and the solstices from (2) the elevation of the north pole (17° for Meroë) and (3) the angle between the two extreme positions of the sun at noon (48° at Meroë as everywhere else). In principle, one can also derive (2) from (1) and (3), as well as (3) from (1) and (2). Ptolemy uses the latitude of Rhodos, 36° , in his calculations of (1), (2), and (3). This is the latitude of Hipparchus (second century BC), that other great astronomer of antiquity, who lived in Rhodos. At this latitude, the sun (H in fig. 2) does not move north of the zenith. That is, at noon on the summer solstice, it does not stand to the right of A in figure 2, as it does at Meroë.

Meroë was the southernmost location in the part of the globe with which such nations as Egypt, Greece, and Rome had some form of regular communication. Owing to its liminal position, Meroë must have held the fascination of the peoples north of it. The latitude of Meroë is mentioned several times in classical sources in connection with the characteristics discussed in *Almagest* II.5. Pliny discusses the latitude of Ptolemais (*Natural History* II.183), which is roughly that of Meroë, as well as that of Meroë itself (*Natural History* II.184). In his *Geography* (II.77 and 133), Strabo also borrows information about the latitude of Meroë from works on astronomy. Ptolemy describes characteristics of the latitude of Meroë in *Almagest* II.6, including the fact that its longest day lasts thirteen hours.

Is it possible that an instrument was devised to measure both the *lengths* and the *angles* of shadows cast from a gnomon? Markings on a horizontal surface would indicate the lengths. Markings on a ring would indicate the angles. At *Almagest* I.12, Ptolemy describes a shadow instrument for measuring angles only (see fig. 3).⁷ This instrument exhibits one quadrant of 90° . Two quadrants would be useful at Meroë, because shadows can also be cast southward. A single quadrant is less convenient for observing the

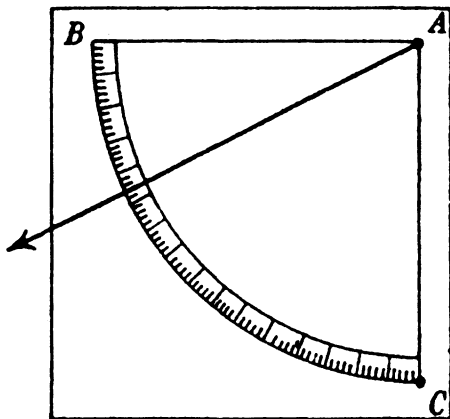


FIG. 3.

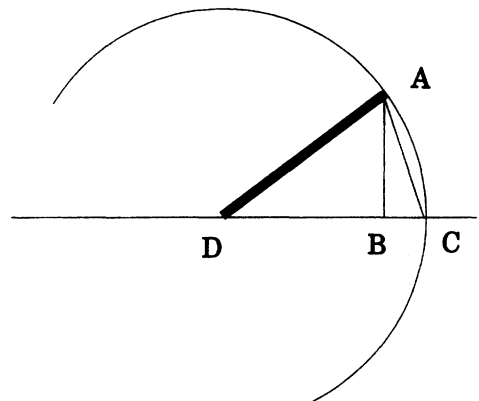


FIG. 4.

⁷Taken from K. Manitius's German translation of the *Almagest*, *Ptolemäus, Handbuch der Astronomie*², with corrections by O. Neugebauer (Leipzig, 1963), I, 43. See also Price, *History of Technology* III, 589 fig. 343a.

progression of the shadow around the time that the sun is in the zenith and moves north or south of it.

Garstang uses the term 'transit' to describe the function of the instrument in graffito 1. The transit of a celestial body is its passage through the meridian, that is, its arrival at the highest point of its orbit. Transit applies to the sun as well as to the moon and the stars. However, observing the fact that the sun passes through the meridian differs from observing the length of the shadow which the sun casts when passing through the meridian. The instrument under discussion clearly involves the measurement of shadows. The other term used by Garstang, 'azimuth', implies measurement of a *horizontal* or sideward angle, but he does not clarify how the instrument would measure such an angle.

The fact that the astronomer is holding the line figure and the circle figure in graffito 1 suggests that they represent objects rather than just being drawings of a line and a circle. Or does the graffito just evoke astronomical activity symbolically, as one might represent geometrical activity by showing someone holding a ruler and a compass?

If the graffito represents an instrument, then in order to measure angles the ring would have to be marked in some way, for example, in 360 degrees. But many questions remain. What was the position of the gnomon in relation to the ring? On what kind of base did the two rest? How complex was the instrument otherwise? Could it measure more than the items discussed in *Almagest* II.5? Is it significant that the seated figure is looking away from the sun, as one might expect? The drawings in graffito 1 were found on the outside of a west wall. Does this mean that the sun is represented as shining from the north? Lines seem to be coming from the side opposite to that of the sun. Does this evoke the idea that the sun shines from both south and north at Meroë?

One more aspect of graffito 1 deserves mention. As primitive as the graffito may be, the gnomon and the circle together seem to imply the existence of trigonometry. Hipparchus, who was active mainly in the second quarter of the second century BC, is credited with being the 'founder of trigonometry' and having 'transformed Greek astronomy from a purely theoretical into a practical, predictive science'.⁸

Angles and linear distances are two fundamental properties of space. Trigonometry is the branch of geometry that relates angles and distances to one another proportionally. Consider a stick or a pole lying flat on the ground. The following is a geometrical fact. When the pole is raised one *third* of the angle toward vertical position, that is, 30° , then the top of the pole will have reached *half* of its total height. In other words, after travelling half of its maximum distance in a certain direction, the pole has travelled only one third of the angle that it needs to travel to reach that maximum distance. Modern mathematicians express this by stating that the sine of 30° is 0.5. The length of the pole does not matter, only the relation between the pole and any part of it. Every pole relates in the same way to its half. Trigonometry is about proportional distance.

⁸G. J. Toomer, 'Hipparchus', *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 15, Supplement 1 (New York, 1978), 207–24, at 209. On early trigonometry, see also G. J. Toomer, 'The Chord Table of Hipparchus and the Early History of Greek Trigonometry', *Centaurus* 18 (1973), 6–28.

This is how trigonometry would be viewed today. But Hipparchus and Ptolemy saw it slightly differently, even if ultimately with the same results. To return to the example of the raised pole, the focus today is on the distance from the top of the pole to a point vertically below it on the ground (the line segment AB in fig. 4). As noted, this distance is half a pole when the pole (AD) is raised 30° . Hipparchus, however, was in the first instance interested in the distance between the original position of the pole's top on the ground and the position of the top in the raised position (the line segment AC in fig. 4). On its path upward, the top of the pole describes a curve or part of a circle. The radius of this circle is the pole's length (AD). The centre of the circle is the pole's other extremity (D). A chord may be stretched from the top of the pole in raised position (A) to the top's original position on the ground (C). This chord describes a straight line from one point on a circle's periphery (A) to another (C). This is the technical meaning of 'chord' in geometry. When the pole is raised two-thirds of the way up, that is, 60° , the chord (AC) will be as long as the pole itself (AD). This fact accords with stating that the sine of 30° is 0.5. But again, this is not how Hipparchus conceptualized it.

In early trigonometry, the chord was the central concept. But the chord presupposes the circle. Therefore, solving a problem such as deriving the *length* of the day from the *angle* of shadows at noon and from the *angle* of the north pole's elevation above the horizon requires manipulating circles so as to translate angles into distances. In *Almagest* II.5, one sees Ptolemy doing just that.

The applications of trigonometry in its advanced forms are omnipresent in the modern world, but it all began some time late in the second century BC. This is not far removed from the time when the graffiti under discussion were carved. Coins dating to the reigns of Ptolemy XIII (first century BC) and Claudius (first century AD) were found in building 950 at Meroë. The instrument depicted in graffito 1 concerns shadows. Shadows have two properties, length or distance and angle. On the one hand, it was common in antiquity to express lengths of shadows proportionally in relation to a gnomon. The graffito clearly depicts a gnomon. On the other hand, the circle was an indispensable medium for translating length into angle and *vice versa*. The graffito clearly depicts a circle. Is there another way to interpret this combination of gnomon and circle than as a very early pictorial evocation of trigonometric activity? And is not a picture worth a thousand words?

I have few suggestions to offer for graffito 2 (see fig. 5). The circle may represent an instrument; the two vertical lines perhaps represent gnomons.

The third graffito (see fig. 6) seems more amenable to interpretation. Three features are worth noting. First, the stick depicted at the bottom is perhaps a gnomon, with the extension to the left representing a shadow cast by it. Second, the character $\text{S} \text{Z}$, composed of two signs and represented twice below the sets of strokes, once to the left and once to the right, is the Meroitic letter *aleph*. It may be concluded that the authors of the graffiti were local inhabitants and not, say, astronomers visiting from Alexandria. Third, the strokes most probably represent days. The strokes to one side of the vertical line would be the days from the time when the sun stood in the zenith to the summer solstice (early May to 21 June), those to the other side the days from the summer solstice to the time when the sun came again in the zenith at noon (21 June to early August).

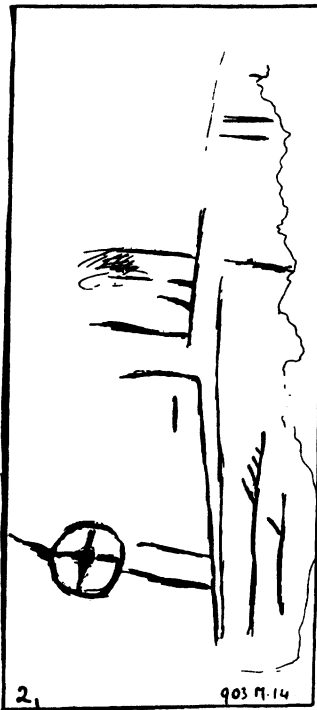


FIG. 5.

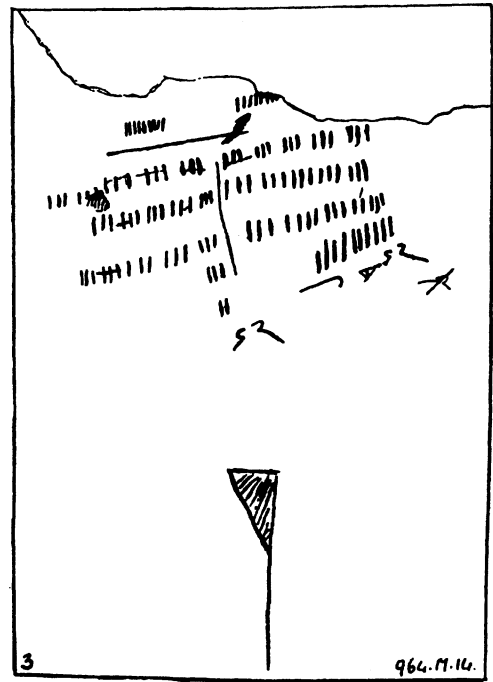


FIG. 6.

The total is the period in which shadows are cast southward at Meroë. The strokes are grouped as follows in the graffito:

9		8?
15 (5 × 3)		15 (5 × 3)
15 (5 × 3)		15 (5 × 3)
15 (5 × 3)		15 (5 × 3)
3		10
2		

Garstang was the first to associate, quite plausibly, the double appearance of number 45 (3 × 15) to the left and right of the vertical line with ancient reports that the sun cast shadows southward 45 days before and after the solstice at Meroë. He noted that Pliny (*Natural History* II.183) states that shadows are to the south for 45 days before and after the solstice at Ptolemais, which has roughly the same latitude. But Pliny (II.184) also mentions that the sun appears in the zenith in Meroë when it is in Taurus 18° and in Leo 12°. As J. Lejeune pointed out,⁹ this corresponds to about 45 days before and after the summer solstice.

The vertical line in figure 6 then represents the summer solstice. The nature of the additional numbers is not clear to me. Do they need to be added or subtracted? One assumes that the scribe marked one stroke for each day that the shadows were to the

⁹Pliny l'Ancien, *Histoire Naturelle, Livre II* (Paris, 1950), 237 n. 1. For the number 45, see also Strabo, *Geography* II.77.

south. It is probable that this time period was actually not quite twice 45 days. But the resulting totals, 50 (45 + 3 + 2) and especially 55 (45 + 10), seem high. The difference between 50 and 55 might be explained by the fact that the exact time of the solstice, which divides the two periods, is not easy to observe. The Meroitic letter *aleph* is obscure. Is it the first letter of a Meroitic word, used as an abbreviation?

Ptolemy (*Almagest* II.6) expresses the two distances backward and forward from the solstice not as twice 45 *days* but as twice 45 *degrees*. As the earth revolves around the sun, the starry background behind the sun, as it is seen from the earth, changes gradually over the year. This gives the impression that the sun travels through the stars. This path through the stars is called the ecliptic. Since this path is a circle of 360° and since there are 365 days in the Egyptian year, the sun travels about one degree per day in the ecliptic. It is therefore roughly the same for Ptolemy to say that the sun is 45° away from the summer solstice, on either side of it, on the ecliptic when it is in the zenith at Meroë, as for Pliny to state that the sun is 45 days away from the summer solstice, on either side of it, at Ptolemais, which has roughly the same latitude. All this means that at Meroë the sun spends about 90 days, or about a quarter of the year, north of the celestial equator, that is, north of the circle that cuts the horizon due east and due west and rises up to its highest point 17° south of the zenith.

The sun exhibits another movement, already mentioned above, from 24° south of the celestial equator to 24° north of it and back, for a total of close to 96° every year. But in the quarter year that the sun stands north of the equator in the ecliptic, it does not execute 24° degrees, that is, a fourth (96° : 4), of this second movement. It moves less than 24°, about 14° (2 × [24 – 17]). Likewise, a pole needs to be raised only 30° to reach half its height (see above).

If the sun casts southward shadows for 90 days at Meroë and 0 at Assuan, this does not mean that it does so for 45 days somewhere halfway in latitude between Meroë and Assuan, say, at Amara. Rather, the number is around 60 days. All this has to do with how angles translate into distances.

If one would like to know how many days of southward shadows there are for any location in Nubia, the table in *Almagest* I.16 is still useful for approximate results. In the right-hand column, one looks up the latitude of the place. The number to the left is the degrees the sun has travelled from the equinox to arrive in the zenith at that latitude. As noted above, one degree corresponds very roughly to a day. What follows is a sample three lines out of 90 in Ptolemy's table:

61°	20°42'58"
62°	20°55'24"
63°	21°7'21"

This means that the sun will be in the zenith roughly 61, 62, or 63 days *after* the spring equinox for the latitudes given, and again so 61, 62, or 63 days *before* the autumn equinox, or 29, 28, or 27 days *before and after* the summer solstice.

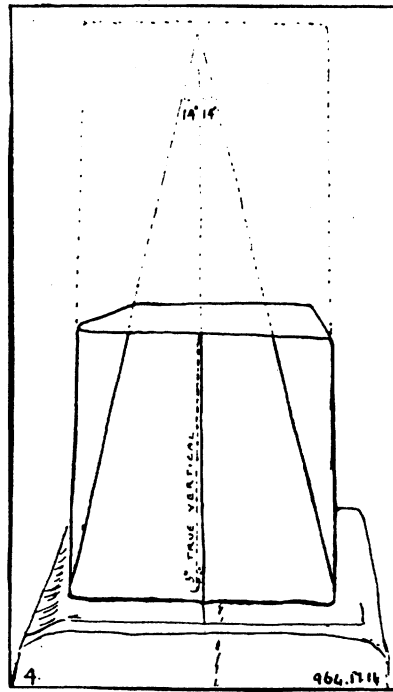


FIG. 7.

Finally, the fourth figure in Garstang's plate vi (see fig. 7) represents a drawing of a stone bearing markings. The drawing is reproduced here for the benefit of someone more inspired. The fact that there are lines slanting in opposite directions on the face of this stone, which is oriented very roughly in a north-south plane, perhaps reflects the fact that both northward and southward shadows were measured.

I. E. S. EDWARDS

By H. S. SMITH

INTERNATIONALLY and within his own country, Eiddon Edwards was probably the best known, most respected and warmly regarded British Egyptologist of his generation. This high reputation, though undoubtedly a tribute to his meticulous scholarship, was equally due to instinctive recognition of his strict code of honour, his strong moral principles, his diplomatic skill and his warm and sociable personality. His death on 24 September 1996 at the age of 87 was mourned not only by his professional colleagues abroad and at home but also by many members of the Egypt Exploration Society and of the wider Egyptological public.

In outline his career was simple. Iorwerth Eiddon Stephen Edwards was born in Highgate, London, on 21 July 1909 to Edward Edwards, a distinguished Persian scholar in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts at the British Museum, and Ellen Jane Edwards (née Higgs), a fine soprano who sang professionally in oratorio and opera. He attended Merchant Taylors' School in the city of London, where he studied Biblical Hebrew in addition to the classical languages. In his final year there he won the Montefiore Hebrew Prize and Medal and an £80 Merchant Taylors' Company exhibition, as well as a Major Open Scholarship to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and the John Stewart of Rannoch University Scholarship. At Cambridge he obtained First Class Honours in both parts of the Oriental Languages Tripos in Hebrew and Arabic, and was awarded Mason and Tyrwhitt Prizes. After graduating in 1931, he undertook research on comparative Semitic grammar and Arabic literature and was awarded the prestigious William Wright studentship in Arabic in 1932. On leaving Cambridge in 1933, he joined the Inner Temple because of an interest in Muslim law, although it was never his intention to make a serious study of it. At about the same time a vacancy occurred in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum, caused by the departure of S. R. K. Glanville to a Readership in Egyptology at University College London; Edwards applied, and was appointed an Assistant Keeper on 6 February 1934. In 1938, he married Elizabeth Lisle, whom he had met while eating his dinners at the Inner Temple.

Edwards' first years at the Museum were inevitably spent in becoming acquainted with the collections and studying Egyptian under Glanville, but he succeeded so well that by the outbreak of war he had published *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, VIII (1939) and, with A. W. Shorter, *A Handbook to Egyptian Mummies and Coffins Exhibited in the British Museum* (1938), as well as contributing to the catalogue of sculpture loaned by C. S. Gulbenkian. He was deservedly elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1942. In that year, he was called up for military service, but was then offered and accepted a wartime post at the British Embassy in Cairo, where he was principally

employed in reading Arabic newspapers and documents for intelligence purposes. He was transferred to the Baghdad Embassy in 1943, and thence to the Secretariat at Jerusalem, from which centres he visited many famous Assyrian and Syrian sites. He returned to England in December 1945. On his return to the British Museum, as the sole Egyptologist in his Department, he was primarily responsible for the remounting of the Egyptian galleries, which were among the first to be opened to the public. His book, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, was published as a Pelican Book in 1947. He was promoted to be Deputy Keeper in 1950. In 1955 his Department was divided, and Edwards was appointed Keeper of the new Department of Egyptian Antiquities, which he spent the next few years developing. In 1958, he was appointed editor-in-chief of the revised volumes I–II of the *Cambridge Ancient History* with C. J. Gadd and N. G. L. Hammond as co-editors. His major philological work, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*, published in 1960, confirmed his scholarly reputation; he was awarded the Degree of Litt.D. by Cambridge University in 1962 and elected a Fellow of the British Academy in the same year. He was created CBE for services to the British Museum in 1968. In 1962 Edwards was the principal Egyptological organizer of an exhibition sponsored by the Arts Council and the Royal Academy at Burlington House entitled '5000 years of Egyptian Art', mainly comprising works of art loaned by the Cairo and Alexandria Museums, of which he wrote the catalogue. He had already conceived the idea of persuading the Egyptian authorities to loan the treasures discovered by Carter and Carnarvon in Tutankhamun's tomb in 1922–3 for exhibition at the British Museum, and through protracted and arduous negotiations over the next ten years eventually obtained the agreement of all parties. The exhibition 'The Treasures of Tutankhamun', opened by Her Majesty the Queen on 29 March 1972, attracted 1,694,000 visitors over nine months in 1972, and raised a sum approaching a million pounds sterling for the UNESCO campaign to rescue the temples of Philae. No exhibition at the British Museum before or since has been such a success with the British public, and it was undoubtedly Edwards' optimism, pertinacity and diplomatic skill which were principally responsible for obtaining it. He was created CMG in 1973 for services to Anglo-Egyptian relations, which were much improved as a result of the exhibition and the donation to Philae. His catalogue of the exhibition, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (1972), led to his being invited to write catalogue entries for three illustrated books produced in connection with the subsequent exhibition of treasures from Tutankhamun's tomb at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and other museums in the USA.

Edwards retired from the British Museum in 1974. In 1973 he had been invited to serve on the joint committee of UNESCO and the Egyptian Ministry of Culture for the rescue of the monuments of Philae, and he acted throughout the campaign until 1980 as recorder of the archaeological sub-committee for the landscaping of the new site for the temples on Agilkia island. Edwards noticed that the Diocletian Gate lay neglected in Lake Nasser outside the coffer dam which had been erected round Philae island to protect it from the rising waters, and, through the collaboration of the British Embassy in Cairo, obtained the British Government's consent to the loan of a team of Royal Navy divers, who had worked with the Egyptian navy in clearing the Suez Canal. From October 1976 to April 1977, the British and Egyptian divers, under considerable difficulties, successfully raised the stones of the gate and quay. This handsome re-erected monument

forms a lasting, if unrecorded, monument to Edward's scientific care and diplomatic skill. He attended the ceremonial opening of the Philae temples on 10–12 March 1980. He was subsequently a member of joint UNESCO–Egyptian committees for building a new comprehensive National Museum in Cairo (1981), for the development of the existing Egyptian Museum in Cairo (1985), and for the protection of the monuments of Giza (1990). During his retirement, he lectured in Australia, Denmark, Poland, the USA and elsewhere, and, despite failing eyesight, continued work on hieratic fragments of the Tomb Robberies Papyri in the British Museum, and produced a series of valuable articles in scientific journals.¹

This dry record of Edwards' public and academic achievements has been given in the conviction that he himself would have wished to be judged upon it rather than upon the opinions of others. For he was by temperament and training a traditionalist, with a respect for scholarly and public achievement, a strict regard for the formal proprieties and niceties of British academic, social and professional life, and a strong disapproval of those who in his view disregarded them. These principles were, however, melded with a warmth of heart, a sensibility and feeling for people, and a gentle sense of humour that made him approachable and affable in the contacts of daily life. In order to attempt to convey any true idea of the man, his qualities and his idiosyncracics, it is necessary to examine eclectically various aspects of his life and work.

Edwards' innate scholarly intellect and gift for ancient languages were no doubt inherited through his father, who probably influenced him towards oriental studies through choice of school. That he himself greatly enjoyed his Arabic studies under A. A. Bevan and R. A. Nicholson and his comparative Semitic work under S. A. Cook was clear from his constant references later to his period at Cambridge as the halcyon days of his life (though, typically, his modesty dictated that his stories of them were mainly of playing golf with Nicholson, of coxing the Caius boat and of the exploits of his contemporaries). Had a post been offered to him at Cambridge he would doubtless have been happy to devote his career to Arabic and Semitic studies. But allied to his taste for the minutiae of scholarship, Edwards had within him a healthy ambition to achieve renown through public service, and when the opportunity at the British Museum offered, he seized it (possibly partly on the advice of his father) despite the change of discipline it involved. The same combination of motives is to be inferred in many of the later actions of his life, most notably in his unswerving determination to bring the treasure of Tutankhamun to Britain, in which the duty to contribute to the rescue of Philae, the obligation to serve the British public and the desire to be at the centre of a great public event were evenly mixed.

For Edwards, scholarship comprised the precise and accurate observation of detail, lucid and correct description and translation in clear, correct and classical English, succinct comment and annotation, good judgement as to what to say and what to leave unsaid, and a comprehensive command of bibliography. He did not, in general, indulge

¹A full bibliography of Edwards' learned writings up to 1986 was published by Anthony Leahy, in J. Baines, T. G. H. James, A. Leahy and A. F. Shore (eds), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards*, (EES Occasional Publications 7; London, 1988), 1–4. See more recent additions below.

in broad analytical or comparative work, and in print he eschewed controversy; he tended to be suspicious of hypotheses and was a positive foe to speculation. A prime example is *The Pyramids of Egypt*, which had its origins in an invitation from Allen Lane in 1942 and came to fruition through the opportunities that his war service in Cairo gave him of visiting the principal pyramid sites. Despite its vast popularity over 40 years, through three major revisions (1961, 1985, 1993) and innumerable reprints in many languages, it is a densely factual book and relatively hard reading; its remarkable success has been due precisely to its reliability and its avoidance of speculation, in a field in which unsound hypothesis has been rife. Likewise, in *Amuletic Decrees*, in which he published a series of fascinating documents on papyrus recording decrees of oracles for the protection of private persons from disease, witchcraft and possession by demons or divine beings, although he does justice to the great interest of the documents in his introduction, his commentary concentrates on acute observations of palaeographical, grammatical and exegetical detail together with references to comparative material. Partly, of course, this is due to the format and purpose of British Museum publications, but there is no doubt that it conformed to his own meticulous cast of mind, which explains both his minute concern for English grammar, spelling and punctuation, and his understandably cautious reactions to some modern scholastic developments, especially in theoretical archaeology and in linguistics. His mind was, however, by no means closed to new ideas, which he espoused enthusiastically if he trusted their source. An important example was his meeting in Chicago in 1954 with Dr Willard Libby, who five years earlier had devised the method of dating ancient organic materials by their residual Carbon-14 content. No scientist himself, Edwards immediately grasped not only its importance for Egyptian chronology and history, but the benefits that might accrue for the validation of the method from the testing of a wide range of historically datable samples from Egypt. On his return to the British Museum, he accepted an invitation from its distinguished scientific officer, H. J. Plenderleith, to chair a Committee for the development of a radiocarbon laboratory and testing programme at the museum, and he commissioned a young scholar, G. T. Martin, to collect a range of uncontaminated organic samples from Egyptian sites and monuments of varying date. This project proved of real value, leading to the refinement and acceptance of a 'calibration' curve derived from tree-ring dating for 'raw' Carbon-14 dates from the Near East. As a result, when in 1969 the British Academy and the Royal Society held their first joint symposium on 'The Impact of the Natural Sciences on Archaeology', Edwards represented the Academy and gave a much-discussed paper on 'Absolute dating from Egyptian records, and comparison with Carbon-14 dating'. This example suggests that, had Edwards' career at the British Museum allowed him more time for personal research, his scholarly work would probably have covered a much wider range.

However, Edwards was, first and foremost, a British Museum man, whose work centred on its collections. In his early years there before the war, his enthusiasm for Egyptology and his energy in working on the collections fully met the exacting standards of his Keeper, Sidney Smith, who came to rely on him as his Egyptological deputy. He was largely responsible in 1939 for the dismounting of the Gulbenkian loan collection and of the permanent Egyptian displays, and for the successful transport of the Museum's antiquities for safety to Boughton House in Northamptonshire and other country

mansions, where he did tours of duty. After his wartime experiences of embassies and diplomacy, Edwards became more involved in the display, educational and public aspects of Museum work, spending much time in conference with colleagues and in dealing with enquiries, and was also concerned in the purchase of the Abusir papyri and other important antiquities for the Museum. His ambition for a separate Egyptian Department, formed in these post-war years, had sound museological, academic and personal grounds. Once installed as Keeper, Edwards directed his energies to making his new department a major centre of Egyptology in Britain. The displays, labelling and presentation were brought up to modern standards, the storage rearranged in categories and made more accessible to visiting researchers, for whom working facilities were improved. A new Museum series was initiated for the publication of Egyptian artifacts, and a revised departmental guide was written by Edwards with his colleagues T. G. H. James and A. F. Shore (1964). The department's treasures were made available (within well-defined limits) for publication by British and foreign scholars not on the staff of the Museum, many of whom were entertained by Eiddon and Elizabeth at their beautiful home in Morden. During the protracted negotiations for the Tutankhamun exhibition from 1965 onwards, he became more and more preoccupied with this single issue, and, while his judgement was certainly vindicated by the triumphant success of the exhibition, latterly the staff and resources of the department (then very restricted compared with today) were put under great strain, particularly in 1971–2 during the final mounting of the exhibition amidst much interest from the media.

Edwards' loyalty to the Museum throughout his career is clearly demonstrated by his refusal to allow his name to be put forward for various University professorships. In 1948 he was encouraged by Sir Alan Gardiner to stand for the Brunner Chair of Egyptology at the University of Liverpool, but declined on the grounds that he should not desert the Museum when he was its sole senior Egyptologist, especially as the Trustees had recently granted him leave to visit Egypt on a Thomas Peet Travelling Scholarship from the University of Liverpool. When Jaroslav Černý was appointed to the Chair at University College London, he lived with Eiddon and Elizabeth at Southgate for his first term. During his periodic bouts of illness Edwards gave stand-in lectures and tutorials for him, and was thus favoured to succeed him in 1951 when he departed to Oxford. Once again, however, he decided not to let his name go forward for the Chair in view of the prospective division of his Museum Department. Edwards' aptitude and liking for university teaching became even more apparent during a semester as Visiting Professor at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island in 1953–4 at the invitation of his friend, Prof. R. A. Parker, which he much enjoyed. He was always a good lecturer, learned, lucid and precise, but also urbane and amusing. When, therefore, his lifelong friend and former mentor, Stephen Glanville, was elected Provost of King's College, Cambridge in 1954, Edwards welcomed the prospect of standing for the Herbert Thompson Chair at Cambridge when Glanville eventually retired early from it, as he intended to do. But Glanville died with tragic suddenness in April 1956, and the electors, especially Sir Alan Gardiner, felt that to invite Edwards to accept the Chair only a year after his promotion to the Keepership might not only put him in an awkward position, but possibly jeopardise the future of the new Egyptian Department at the British Museum, and they made no explicit offer of the Chair to him. Edwards' loyalty to the Museum would doubtless have

prevailed with him at that moment, but he did privately regret that circumstances had denied him the opportunity to return to his beloved Cambridge and teach there.

Personal loyalty and a strong sense of obligation and duty were indeed hallmarks of his character. His lifelong adherence to the Arab cause was one example; the close personal relationships which he formed with Egyptian colleagues were another. There is, indeed, no doubt that his friendships with Dr Sarwat Okasha, the Minister of Culture and National Guidance, whom he constantly visited when Okasha was in hospital in London, with H. E. Muhammad Awad El-Kony, the Egyptian ambassador in London, and with Dr Gamal Mukhtar, the Secretary of State and Head of the Antiquities Organization of Egypt, were of crucial importance in obtaining the Tutankhamun exhibition. There were severe political, financial administrative and logistical difficulties, which Edwards showed much diplomatic skill and patience in overcoming amid fierce international competition; but it was the personal trust that these highly placed Egyptian officials put in Edwards' judgement, sincerity and word of honour that swayed the balance. He, on his side, insisted with the Trustees of the Museum, with *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*, who sponsored the exhibition, and with the rest of the media, that the first object of the exhibition must be to raise money for Philae, and that this obligation to the Egyptian Government must have priority and be met in full with no compromises. It was the performance of these promises which led to his subsequent regular appointment on Egyptian Government commissions, and made possible his initiative in saving the Gate of Diocletian.

Despite his busy career at the Museum, Edwards always gave freely of his time to learned institutions or projects needing help. For many years he acted as Chairman of the Committee of the *Annual Egyptological Bibliography*, a delicate and difficult task, as this valuable project of the International Association of Egyptologists had been chronically underfunded and understaffed since its initiation, and attracted much criticism, some of it unfair, for delays in publication. He also served as a member of the Committee of Management of the Griffith Institute of Egyptology at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and on the board of the Wainwright Trust for Near Eastern Archaeology, Oxford, on both of which his shrewd advice and calm judgement were valuable. Of more lasting consequence for learning was his role as editor-in-chief of the first two volumes of the second edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History*. This project had been put in hand by the Cambridge University Press in the 1940s under the editorship of Sidney Smith and Stephen Glanville, but after Glanville's death in 1956 international scholarly demand for its publication mounted, as many articles had been submitted years before while others had not been written. In his concern for the reputation of his old University, Edwards, who had himself contributed a chapter on the Early Dynastic Period, wrote in 1958 to the CUP, suggesting the publication of chapters as fascicles. After consultation, he was appointed to chair the new editorial board; publication in fascicles began in 1961, and the completed volumes appeared between 1970 and 1975. This was a remarkable achievement, given the unsatisfactory state of the project at the take-over, and it was principally Edwards' diplomacy, determination and inflexible resolve that carried it through. Like all contributory works, the volumes received considerable criticism, but they performed an extremely important function in presenting what was then known of ancient Near Eastern history as a whole in sober, reliable form at a time of increasing fragmentation of the

individual contributory disciplines. Edwards continued to play an editorial role throughout the production of *Cambridge Ancient History*, III (1982, 1991), and contributed a valuable chapter on 'Egypt from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-fourth Dynasty'.

Edwards' service to the Egypt Exploration Society began early in his career; he first became a member of its Committee in 1936, and worked under H. W. Fairman at the excavations of Amara and Sesebi in the northern Sudan in January–March, 1938. This was his sole experience of archaeology in the field, of which he told many good stories; he always remembered the Sudan and the Nubian people with gratitude and affection. He was on the Committee of the Society in all for some 40 years, and in 1949 he answered the call to fill a vacancy as Honorary Treasurer. As such, he succeeded in concluding negotiations for the government grant administered by the British Academy, which has been the mainstay of the Society's work in the field ever since. Despite an avowedly unmathematical mind, he was a scrupulous and efficient treasurer, giving his time through some of his busiest years until 1961, when he resigned over the handling of the Society's field funds during the Nubian Salvage campaign. Because at the time there was no suitable bank north of Khartum where the Society's funds could be lodged, the field director, W. B. Emery, working at Buhen near Wadi Halfa many hundreds of miles to the north, was having to float cheques on the Halfa markets in order to obtain currency to pay his men, and it was often many weeks before these cheques, liberally countersigned, were paid into the bank at Khartum. As a result, the balances received by Edwards in London often bore no relation to the true situation of the excavation accounts. Edwards' objections to sending further money to Khartum under these conditions were no doubt legally and technically correct, but the reality of the field situation was such that, without Emery's leaving the work for unacceptable periods, no other method was viable. In recognition of his great services to the Society, Edwards was appointed to the honorary office of Vice-President in 1962. In 1968 he arranged with the Trustees of the British Museum for an exhibition there of the antiquities given by the Egyptian and Sudanese governments in return for the Society's archaeological contributions to the campaign to rescue the monuments of Nubia; the exhibition was opened by Dr Sarwat Okasha. During the mid-1980s a necessary and overdue series of reforms of the Society's constitution were put in hand under the chairmanship of T. G. H. James. Edwards took strong exception to two features of the amended statutes, and gained considerable sympathy and support among the membership for his stand. At a series of Annual and Extraordinary General Meetings of the Society, the crucial votes went against Edwards, who, sadly, decided in 1988 that he must resign on principle. This episode was only the most public instance of Edwards' insistence on matters of principle wherein he believed himself to be in the right over all political and pragmatic considerations, an honourable character trait which on several other occasions during his career had led to justice being upheld. Certainly, his resignations in no way vitiated Edwards' long, honourable and valuable record of service to the Society, which was recognized in the presentation to him of a volume of papers contributed in his honour by British and foreign Egyptologists entitled *Pyramid Studies and other Essays* (EES Occasional Publications 7; London, 1988).

In general, Edwards' relationships with his colleagues were an outstanding model of old-fashioned courtesy, friendliness, genuine interest and unstinting professional helpfulness. The generous and lavish hospitality with which Elizabeth and he entertained his

fellow-scholars from abroad was famous, and many of these, with their spouses and families, became their lifelong friends. Less well-known is Edwards' spontaneous and unobtrusive kindness to junior colleagues, students and interested members of the public; it was for him never too much trouble to search for an elusive object, track down a missing reference or untangle some scholastic muddle, if only he could thereby help an enthusiast or forward Egyptological research. Two special instances of his selflessness and generosity in repaying what he felt to be debts to old friends should be recorded here. Chester Beatty, who had consulted and known Edwards' father, helped him financially during his youth at Cambridge; in return, throughout the busy post-war years he constantly gave scholarly and practical aid through his Museum contacts to Beatty in the identification, conservation, mounting and arrangement of his wonderful collection of oriental manuscripts, codices and papyri. In his close friend Jaroslav Černý's last years, Edwards persuaded the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press to print Černý's *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (1976) direct from his manuscript notebooks, since Černý could no longer see to transcribe and type them himself. This was an extraordinarily intricate and difficult typographical and compositing task, involving the use of Coptic, hieroglyphic, Greek, Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac type-faces, in addition to Demotic blocks and a wealth of different transcription systems. Edwards, with the faithful and essential help of his British Museum colleagues, T. G. H. James and A. F. Shore, undeterred by Černý's death in 1970 at an early stage in printing, meticulously saw the volume through the press, the final publication being a miracle of scholarly accuracy. Undoubtedly, Edwards and his colleagues thus rescued a great lexicographical work for science.

Edwards' love of social life was innate and lifelong. More particularly, he enjoyed attending functions that were in some way connected with his own past history: Old Merchant Taylors' reunions, feasts at Gonville and Caius, Oxford and Cambridge cricket and rugby football matches and the boat race, functions at the British Museum, the British Academy and the Athenaeum, and Egypt Exploration Society dinners and parties, at all of which his stories of times past regularly occupied much of the conversation around him. He greatly enjoyed country house visits, particularly when he could be of help to his hosts in Egyptological matters. On a visit to Kingston Lacy in 1952 he discovered the Bankes papyri lodged in the pages of an atlas of Athens, and subsequently published them in *JEA* 68 (1982), 126–33. Later, in 1962, he visited Clondeboyne, the home of the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava in Northern Ireland, and copied the Egyptian inscriptions, which he published in *JEA* 51 (1965), 16–28. He was also a confirmed Congress- and Conference-goer, as much for the pleasure of meeting old friends as of acquiring new learning. Once, when I gave him my reasons for not attending a certain conference, he said: 'Ah, but then you miss most of the fun'. To the very end, Edwards found Egyptology fun, and the enjoyment was evident in his twinkling eyes and benign smile; but, deeper down, Eiddon Edwards' real centre was his home and garden, and his family life. The loss of his son Philip, who died of leukaemia at the beginning of his second year at New College, Oxford, in 1968 was a grievous blow in an otherwise happy marriage of nearly sixty years. The courage and loving support of Elizabeth and of his daughter Lucy helped him to pull through the time of immediate desolation to grapple bravely with the complexities of the Tutankhamun negotiations. In 1980 he and Elizabeth left Morden and retired to a small but historic house in Deddington, Oxfordshire, where

he spent many mellow summers and winters, tending his much-loved garden, maintaining scholarly connections by visits to Oxford, Cambridge and London, writing his memoirs and enjoying the company of family and friends. Of him it may truly be said: 'He was a scholar and a gentleman'.

[Author's note: I am deeply indebted to Mrs Elizabeth Edwards for kindly providing me with a typescript recording many incidents in her husband's career of which I should otherwise have been ill-informed, and also for checking chronological and other details from his (forthcoming) autobiography and making valuable suggestions for the improvement of the text. Without her help, this memoir would have been very much thinner. I am also grateful to Mr T. G. H. James for allowing me to see and utilize the draft of his full-scale obituary memoir of Eiddon Edwards, to be published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy for 1997*, Vol. 95, from which I have received much benefit and instruction. I should emphasize, however, that I am solely responsible for the accuracy of the text and for the opinions expressed.]

Publications of I.E.S. Edwards since 1986

- 1988 Review of N. Swelim, *The Brick Pyramid at Abu Rowash, Number '1' by Lepsius*, *DE* 12, 87–9.
- 1989 Review of M. Lehner, *The Pyramid Tomb of Hetep-heres and the Satellite Pyramid of Khufu*, *JEA* 75, 261–5.
- 1990 Contribution to T. G. H. James and J. Malek (eds), *A Dedicated Life. Tributes Offered in Memory of Rosalind Moss* (Oxford), 37–40.
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- 1991 'Jacques Jean Clère (1905–1989)', *CRIPEL* 13 (= *Mélanges Jacques Jean Clère*), 13–16.
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- 1993 Obituary of Richard Parker. *The Times*, Friday 25 June.
- 1994 'Do the Pyramid Texts suggest an Explanation for the Abandonment of the Subterranean Chamber of the Great Pyramid?', in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* (BdE 106; Cairo), I, 159–67.
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[compiled by A. LEAHY]



I.E.S. EDWARDS

KATE BOSSE-GRIFFITHS

By ALAN B. LLOYD

DR Kate Bosse-Griffiths, who died on 4 April 1998 at the age of 87, was a most remarkable person whose like we shall not see again. Born in Wittenberg-am-Elbe near Leipzig 16 July 1910 to a prosperous professional family (her father was a distinguished gynaecologist), she received her early education at the local Gymnasium and then proceeded to the Universities of Berlin, Bonn, and Munich where she studied Classics and Egyptology, graduating in 1935. Her doctoral dissertation, entitled *Die menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, was published in 1936 (reprinted 1978) and already shows the commitment to Egyptian art history which was to be the dominant theme of her subsequent scholarly career. Her promise at this stage led to her appointment to the staff of the Berlin State Museums, but, being partly Jewish, she soon fell foul of Nazi policy and was dismissed from this post. Under these pressures Kate emigrated to Britain in 1936, but her mother was to die in the concentration camp at Ravensbrück, and her brother, who had followed his father into the medical profession, was forced to take refuge in Sweden.

On arriving in Britain Kate did some teaching in the Department of Egyptology at University College London and also assisted at the Petrie Museum. Then, in 1938, as a senior member of Somerville College, Oxford, she had the opportunity to extend her museum experience at the Ashmolean Museum. Her stay at Oxford coincided with that of J. Gwyn Griffiths, then a DPhil student at the university and destined to become one of the most distinguished British Egyptologists of his generation, a world authority on Egyptian religion who was to gain particular eminence in the field of Egyptian religious developments of the Graeco-Roman Period. In 1938 they married, and the couple subsequently set up house in Pentre in the Rhondda Valley in Wales, where Kate quickly became a master of the Welsh language, though this, like her English, was always spoken with a strong and sometimes impenetrable German accent. At this stage in her life she played a major role in the development of the strongly nationalist and pacifist Cadwgan Circle including major figures in Welsh cultural life such as the theologian Pennar Davies and the poet Rhydwen Williams. In this development Meic Stephens has rightly emphasized the major contribution made by Kate in bringing a central European cultural perspective into the debates which were the life-blood of this movement.

Kate's intense involvement in Welsh cultural life quickly bore fruit in her significant contributions to Welsh creative literature, an interest which was to remain with her all her life. In 1941 she published her first novel *Anesmwyth Hoen*, 'Uneasy Gaiety', and three years later a group of short stories entitled *Fy Chwaer Efa a Storiâu Eraill* 'My Sister Eve and Other Stories'. Her second novel *Mae'r Galon wrth y Llyw*, 'The Heart is at the Helm', was published in 1957, but her taste for writing fiction lasted to the end,



KATE BOSSE-GRIFFITHS WITH J. GWYN GRIFFITHS.

and only three years before her death she completed *Cariadau*, 'Loves'. However, current affairs were also a great interest of hers, and she produced a number of valuable and clear-sighted studies of contemporary issues where her radical views and first-hand knowledge of Central Europe provided a uniquely enlightening perspective: *Mudiadau Heddwch yn yr Almaen*, 'Peace Movements in Germany' (1943), *Bwlch yn y Llen Haearn*, 'Gap in the Iron Curtain' (1951), and *Trem ar Rwsia a Berlin* 'A Glimpse at Russia and Berlin' (1962).

The Griffiths' stay in the Rhondda Valley (and later in Bala in North Wales) was to be short-lived. In 1946 Gwyn was appointed to what was then the Department of Classics at University College Swansea (now University of Wales Swansea). This gave Kate the opportunity to resume her Egyptological work through her association with the Royal Institution of South Wales (now Swansea Museum) where she was Honorary Curator of Archaeology until her death. This important collection is preeminently focused on local history, but it contains a wide range of material including Egyptian artifacts. In all of this Kate took an enthusiastic interest, but she devoted much of her attention to the Egyptian antiquities which were, in part, acquired directly or indirectly through the offices of Francis Wallace Grenfell, first Baron Kilvey (1841-1925). Her labours over many years have culminated in the award-winning display created by the current staff of Swansea Museum based on material from the tomb of Hor, son of Djedhor, which Grenfell had obtained from Akhmim. In her career as curator Kate produced a constant stream of publications covering the whole range of the collection, e.g. *Twenty Thousand Years of Local History* (1967), *Tywysennau o'r Aifft*, 'Ears of Corn from Egypt' (1970) (impressions of Egypt, both ancient and modern), and *Byd y Dyn Hysbys*, 'The World of the Wizard' (1977), in which she explored the role of 'wise men' in traditional Welsh society.

Kate's Egyptological work received an enormous boost in 1971 when the Department of Classics at Swansea was given on permanent loan some 3000 items from the Wellcome Collection of Egyptian antiquities through the offices of University College London. This collection proved to be highly representative of Egyptian archaeology both in terms of its time-range (prehistoric to Christian) and also in its categories of material. She became the Honorary Curator of this collection and in 1976 was responsible for the setting up of a museum in the Department which permitted the display of many of the most important pieces and the storing of the rest in a form which made them easily accessible to researchers. In this exhibition prominence was given to material of the Amarna Period, which continued to fascinate her throughout her scholarly career. However, display was not enough for Kate. She also kept a keen weather-eye open for opportunities to expand the collection and was particularly fortunate in obtaining from the Royal Albert Museum, Exeter, the important Twenty-first Dynasty coffin of Iuesemhesmut. Her museum became a major community and educational asset for Swansea and South Wales but was also speedily developed as a centre for teaching and research. Amidst her curatorial duties Kate continued to find time to publish items in the collection. Several of her studies appeared in this journal, but a steady stream of work also saw the light of day in *The Classical Review*, various *Festschriften*, and numerous conference proceedings. In addition to these shorter studies she also wrote three handbooks to the collection: *Beadwork* (Pictures from the Wellcome Collection 1) (1978), *A Musician Meets her Gods*

(same series 2) (1982), a study of the coffin of Iuesemhesmut, and *Five Ways of Writing between 2000 B.C. and A.D. 200. Cuneiform, Hieroglyphic, Hebrew, Greek and Roman* (same series 3) (1994).

The culmination of all her work came on 28 September 1998 with the formal opening of the Swansea Egypt Centre by the Right Hon. the Viscount St Davids. In 1996 it had been decided that the University should try to capitalize on Kate's work in creating the Swansea Wellcome Museum by constructing a purpose-built museum to house its collection in more suitable surroundings. As the result of a highly successful fund-raising campaign which brought in major resources from the Heritage Lottery Fund and the European Regional Development Fund, as well as significant contributions from the Council of Museums in Wales and University of Wales Swansea, the University was able to extend its Taliesin Arts Centre to create two large display galleries as well as office-space, a work area, and a reception and sales section. None of this could have happened without Kate's long struggle to establish her museum on the Swansea campus, and none of it would have been possible without her unique blend of enthusiasm, energy, vivacity, expertise, and an invincible capacity to ignore or circumvent any obstacle intractable to alternative methodologies. She was able to follow her offspring's development almost to the end with keen interest, and her central role in the history of the Swansea Wellcome Collection will be permanently marked by the naming of the upper gallery of the museum after her. Nothing could possibly have delighted her more.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

**Zu einem scheinbar enigmatischen Epitheton eines Meisterschlachters aus dem
späten Alten Reich**

Reinterpretation of a supposed cryptographic group in an inscription of the Sixth Dynasty as standard orthography for *wdpw* = *s*, 'its (= the slaughterhouse's) butler'.

KRYPTOGRAPHIE ist im Alten Reich noch selten belegt, begegnet aber ansatzweise in einer Epithetasequenz auf dem Architrav einer Scheintür des *Hnmw* aus der 6. Dynastie (Giza 2191), wo mit Bezug auf das Schlachtopfer von Vögeln der Wüste auch von Geheimheit (*sšt*) und Dunkelheit (*kkw*) gesprochen wird. Dort wurde statt $\overline{\text{---}}$ zweimal kurz nacheinander $\overline{\text{---}}$ geschrieben¹ (pl. XX). Hier handelt es sich um ein vermutlich intendiert kryptographisches Element in einem ansonsten m.E. anscheinend normalschriftlichen Text, das vielleicht von der sakralen Thematik des Opfers mit der Aura von Geheimheit und Dunkelheit angeregt wurde.²

Entgegen Fischer, der sich um die Auflösung bemühte,³ würde ich in der zweiten Zeile der Architravinschrift (pl. XX und fig. 1) allerdings nicht *wbꜥ szw*—'der sie (= die Dunkelheit) öffnet'—lesen, sondern schlicht *wdpw* = *s*—'sein (= des Schlachthaus des Palastes; (*hw.t*) *kbh nm.t* als Femininum) Diener/Aufwärter'. Die Form des Zeichens Gardiner Sign-list W23, einer Variante des Bierkruges W22 mit Henkeln, variiert in den hieroglyphischen Inschriften des späteren Alten Reiches wie auch der Ersten Zwischenzeit beträchtlich. Paläographisch scheint mir nach der Umzeichnung Fischers⁴ und vor allem nach Konsultation zweier Photographien (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, A 5633 and 5639)⁵ eine Interpretation des seltsam aussehenden Zeichens $\overline{\text{---}}$ als *wdpw* (W23) durchaus gerechtfertigt, orthographisch ist die Schreibung von *wdpw* mit W23 + G43 üblich, und inhaltlich scheint sie mir besser zu passen als das von Fischer angesetzte *wbꜥ*. Eine metaphorische Bezeichnung des Schlachtens der Vögel der Wüste als 'Öffnen der Dunkelheit' leuchtet mindestens nicht unmittelbar ein. Dagegen paßt ein *wdpw*—

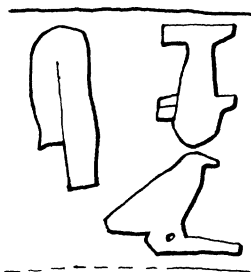


FIG. 1. *wdpw* = *s*; Ausschnitt von der Scheintür des *Hnmw* nach Photographie Boston, MFA 5639.

¹H. Fischer, 'Five Inscriptions of the Old Kingdom', *ZÄS* 105 (1978), 42–59, sub 4. 'Enigmatic epithets of a master butcher', 56–7.

²Vgl. J. Baines, 'Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy and Decorum', *JARCE* 27 (1990), 1–23, 9.

³Fischer, *ZÄS* 105, 56–7.

⁴Fischer, *ZÄS* 105, 56, fig. 7, nicht nach der die Zeichenform verzerrenden Photographie, Taf. I a.

⁵Ich danke P. der Manuelian für seine Hilfe, insbesondere das Herausfinden der betreffenden Photographien sowie die prompte Antwort.



Architrav einer Scheintür des *Hmw* (Boston MFA 5639) (Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

ZU EINEM SCHEINBAR ENIGMATISCHEN EPITHETON EINES MEISTERSCHLACHTERS (pp. 195-6)

Diener/Aufwärter—ausgezeichnet zu dem vorerwähnten ‘Schlachthaus des Palastes’. Man braucht hierfür nur an den Titel *wḏpw n r.t jwḏ* (*Wb.* I, 388, 3) zu erinnern. Vielleicht wurde die seltsame Zeichenform von einer Konfusion der Zeichen W23 and U26 verursacht, kann doch auch *wḏ* genau wie *wḏpw* ‘Diener, Aufwärter’ bedeuten (*Wb.* I, 292, 1–6). Wegen des nachfolgenden Kükens (W43) dürfte hier aber *wḏpw* gemeint sein.

Hnmw’s Titel ‘the master butcher of the slaughterhouse of the palace’ würde gemäß der hier vorgeschlagenen Modifikation von Fischers Interpretation durch das nachfolgende *ḥrj sšt: n kkw wḏpw = s m wšn ḥpd(.w) n w z(mj).wt*—‘der über dem Geheimnis der Dunkelheit, sein (= des Schlachthaus des Palastes) Diener/Aufwärter beim Kopfumdrehen der Vögel der Wüste’—präzisiert.

LUDWIG D. MORENZ

Fair gegenüber dem ‘Mann von Draußen’ (*rwḥj*)—Zu einer Passage einer Inschrift der Ersten Zwischenzeit*

The first-person presentation (‘autobiography’) of Henui, a member of the Theban court elite of the Eleventh Dynasty, includes a negative double-verse in an extended parallelism (Moscow, Pushkin Museum I.1.a. 1137a). Henui claims that he neither denounced the ‘man of the ruler’ (*z n ḥq:*)—or ‘a man to/with the ruler’ (*z n ḥq:*)—nor the ‘outsider’ (*rwḥj*). This negative assertion is remarkably similar to the ‘negative confession’. The expression *šdj (=j) mdw nb* in the double-verse may have a specifically Sethian connotation. The problem of a specific hieroglyphic grapholect in Eleventh Dynasty Thebes is briefly discussed.

Die Inschriften der Ersten Zwischenzeit weisen neben traditionell-gängigen Sprachformeln nicht selten Neuprägungen auf, die teilweise selbst wieder zu Traditionsgut gerannen. Die Qualität der Sprache gründet in der in Texten der Zeit so häufig ausgedrückten Wertschätzung guten (*nfr*) Sprechens.¹ Auf einem reliefierten Steinblock (Moskau, Puschkin-Museum I.1.a. 1137a) aus dem Grab des zur thebanischen Hofelite der 11. Dynastie gehörenden Henui,² steht in Z. 3 der folgende Doppelvers (Fig. 1):

n s:ḏw (=j) z n ḥq:

n šdj (=j) mdw nb r rwḥj

W. Schenkel verstand dies folgendermaßen: ‘Nicht machte ich einen Mann beim(?) Herrscher schlecht. Nicht sprach ich ein (unrechtes) Wort an den beiden Türflügeln’,³ während O. Berlev

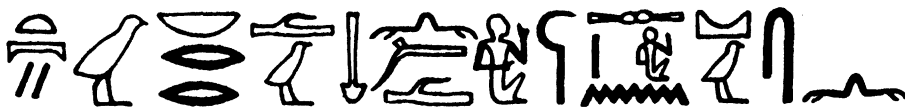


FIG. 1. Stein des Henui; Moskau, Puschkin-Museum I.1.a. 1137a, aus Z. 3 (*TPPI*, § 17).







*John Baines danke ich für Hinweise herzlich.

¹ Stellvertretend für viele Belege sei der Steinblock des etwa kontemporären und wie Henui auch in Theben bestatteten Djari (Kairo JE 41473; Photographien und Umzeichnungen bei W. Petrie, *Qurneh* (BSAE 16, London 1909), pls. ii und iii) angeführt, wo es in Z. 4f. heißt: *n rḥ (=j) md.t n nfr ḏd (=j)* ‘wegen meines Wissens der Worte und der Schönheit meines Redens’.

² O. Berlev und S. Hodjache, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts* (Leningrad 1982), 64–6, Nr. 25 (I); dort auch weitere Literaturangaben. Henui ist in der modernen Ägyptologie besonders durch eine aus seinem Grab stammende prächtige Stele gut bekannt, Berlev und Hodjache, *The Egyptian Reliefs*, 67–72, Nr. 26, Gesamtphotographie und Detail: 69–71.

³ W. Schenkel, *Memphis–Herakleopolis–Theben* (ÄA 12, Wiesbaden 1965), 102.

übersetzte: 'for I never did slander anyone before the ruler and never did I divulge anything abroad'.⁴

In der Schreibung  ähnelt das erste Zeichen Gardiner Sign-list P8, so daß man *hrw* lesen möchte. Daran hindert das nachfolgende . Das anschließende *nb* unterstützt die Deutung auf *mdw* statt *hrw*. Eine zu dem Beleg bei Henui nahezu identische Form des Zeichens Sign-list S43 findet sich auf der wenig späteren Stele des Antef, Sohn des Ka aus Dra Abul-Naga⁵ in der Schreibung von *md.t* (Fig. 2a). Diese Zeichenform erscheint zweimal auf der sogenannten Hundestele von Wach-anch Antef (Kolumne 5, Fig. 2b und unplatziertes Fragment, Fig. 2c)⁶ sowie auf der Stele des Tjetji (BM EA 100, Z. 9,⁷ Fig. 2d), gleichfalls aus der Zeit von Wach-anch Antef, und auf der Steintafel von Antef, Sohn der Myt aus der Zeit von Neb-hepet-re Mentu-hotep (Kopenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 1241, zweimal Z. 9, Fig. 2e und 2f).⁸ Dies lehrt, daß es sich bei  um eine in der 11. Dynastie in Theben übliche Zeichenform von Sign-list S43 und nicht um ein Zeichen für *hrw*⁹ handelt. Auf der etwa kontemporären Steintafel des Djari¹⁰ findet sich in Z. 4 für das Zeichen Sign-list S43 die seltsame Schreibung (Fig. 2h). Hier wurde offenbar  gemeint, doch löste der Vorzeichner bzw. der Bildhauer die eine Hieroglyphe in scheinbar zwei Zeichen,  und , auf. Man wird in der Wendung *šdj mdw nb* von einer paläographisch für Theben in der 11. Dynastie typischen Zeichenform von Sign-list S43 ausgehen können. Diese Sonderform

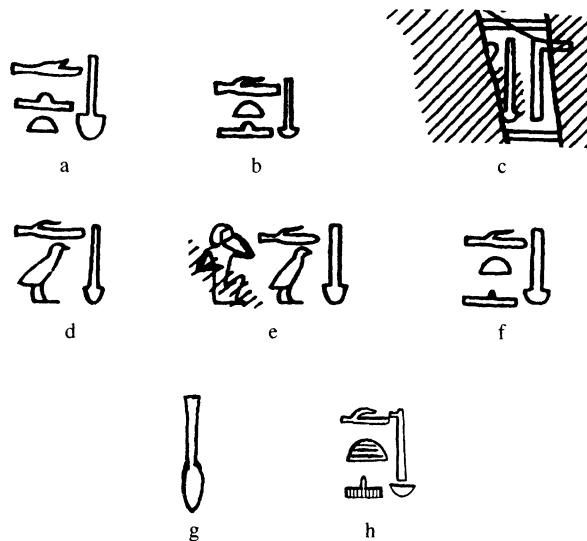


FIG. 2. (a) Stele des Antef, Sohn des Ka, Z. 11 (TPPI, § 17). (b) Hunde-Stele von Wach-anch Antef, Kol. 3 (TPPI, § 16). (c) Hunde-Stele von Wach-anch Antef, unplatziertes Fragment (TPPI, § 16). (d) Stele des Tjetji, BM EA 100, Z. 9 (TPPI, § 20). (e)–(f) Steintafel von Antef, Sohn der Myt, Kopenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 1241, zweimal Z. 9 (TPPI, § 32). (g) Stele des Henui, in der *pr.t hrw*-Formel. (h) Steintafel des Djari, Kairo JE 41437, Z. 4.

⁴Berlev und Hodjache, *The Egyptian Reliefs*, 65.

⁵BM EA 99, Z. 11; vgl. die Übersetzung von Schenkel, *Memphis*, 226–8. Antef, Sohn des Ka lebte gemäß Z. 3 seiner Stele bis in die Zeit von Mentu-hotep Sanch-ib-taui.

⁶J. Clère und J. Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XI^{ème} Dynastie* (BiAe 10, Brüssel 1948), § 16.

⁷TPPI, § 20.

⁸TPPI, § 32.

⁹Auf der Stele des Henui (s. Anm. 2) wurde in der *pr.t hrw*-Formel das Zeichen Sign-list P8 deutlich anders geschrieben (Fig. 2g).

¹⁰Kairo JE 41437 = Petrie, *Qurneh*, pls. ii–iii.

verlockt zu Überlegungen über den hieroglyphischen Grapholekt im Theben der 11. Dynastie. Die hieroglyphische Monumentalschrift war in den ersten drei Vierteln des dritten Jahrtausend äußerst eng mit den Machtzentren und insbesondere der königlichen Residenz verbunden. So stammen aus dem Alten Reich aus Theben nur ganz wenige und so kurze wie konventionelle Inschriften. Dies änderte sich in der Periode von Anfang bis Mitte der 11. Dynastie. Vermutlich verbunden mit dem wachsenden Anspruch des thebanischen Fürstenhauses auf Pharaontum wurde allmählich eine Monumentalschrift etabliert, die nicht zuletzt Männer der thebanischen Hofelite wie Henui für ihre funeräre Selbstdarstellung benutzten. In Theben selbst fehlten Vorbilder und Traditionen aus dem Alten Reich wahrscheinlich weitgehend. In der dort entwickelten Monumentalschrift kann man einen Kontrast zwischen sprachlich gut geformten Texten sowie eher unbeholfen und jedenfalls unkonventionell wirkenden Hieroglyphen beobachten. Zu dieser Schreibphase gehört die hier behandelte Hieroglyphenform 𓄏 . In der detailreichen Bildhaftigkeit der Hieroglyphen dieser Zeit (z.B. Steinblock des Djari, Kairo JE 41473) mag man die den Hieroglyphen immanente Spannung zwischen Schriftzeichen und Bild in gesteigertem Maße erkennen. Schließlich erfolgte am Ende der 11. Dynastie, eventuell unter direktem Einfluß von in der alten, nördlichen Schreibtradition geschulten Schreibern, eine Entwicklung der Zeichenformen unter Verzicht auf so außerordentlich bildhafte Details wie sie in Inschriften der Zeit besonders vor der Reichseinigung unter Mentu-hotep begegnen. Damit wurde der eigentliche Schriftcharakter der Hieroglyphen gegenüber ihrer Bildhaftigkeit deutlicher. Aus dieser Zeit stammt die Stele des Antef, für die H. Fischer im Bildlichen memphitischen Einfluß nachwies.¹¹ Hier wurde tatsächlich 𓄏 geschrieben. In der normalen Form 𓄏 erscheint die Hieroglyphe S43 auch in den Wandreliefs des Sanktuars von Mentu-hotep aus Deir el-Bahari.¹² Der Prozeß selbst war sicher weit komplexer als das hier vorgeschlagene einfache Modell von drei Phasen. Zusätzlich zur Entwicklung der Monumentalschrift in Theben hätte man auch deren Entwicklung in anderen Gebieten Oberägyptens, etwa Abydos, Dendera oder Gebelein und Moalla, vergleichend zu betrachten. Für die Erklärung der seltsamen und m.W. nur im Theben der 11. Dynastie belegten Hieroglyphenform 𓄏 dürfte diese Skizze aber bereits genügen.

Der Wendung šdj mdw nb ähnelt die gut belegte Wendung šdj hrw (*Wb.* III, 324, 15; IV, 566, 6–9). Als Variante dazu wurde von den Autoren des Wörterbuches die Schreibung 𓄏𓄏𓄏𓄏𓄏 aufgefaßt (*Wb.* IV, 566). Hier dürfte es sich aber um eine eigenständige Phrase šdj mdw handeln, die zu šdj hrw sinnparallel ist. Sie erscheint auch in CT I, 155d (fünf Textzeugen aus El Berschah):

$\text{šdj.n} = f \text{ mdw } m \text{ b;g} = k$

Er hat Worte erhoben (= Unruhe gestiftet) in deiner Müdigkeit.¹³

Man mag das diesem Vers in zwei Varianten nachfolgende $n \text{ Sth}$ von CT I, 155e (belegt nur bei B3Bo und B2Bo) als Präzisierung des Suffixpronomens in $\text{šdj.n} = f \text{ mdw}$ verstehen, galt doch das Worte/Stimme erheben = Unruhe stiften als sethhaft.¹⁴ Wahrscheinlich trägt šdj mdw nb bei Henui die Konnotation sprachlich sethhaften Vorgehens als Gegensatz zu dem Ideal beherrschten Redens und rechten Schweigens.¹⁵ Der Parallelismus von $\text{šdw} (= j)$ und $\text{šdj} (= j) \text{ mdw nb } r$ spricht dafür, daß $\text{šdj mdw nb } r$ 'irgendein Wort sprechen' die besondere Nuance 'verleumden' beinhaltet. Auf Sprechen gegen jemanden deutet auch die Präposition r in $\text{šdj} (= j) \text{ mdw nb } r$ hin. Die Seltenheit der Wendung šdj mdw mag durch die elementar positive Bedeutung der Formel dd mdw 'Worte sagen' erklärt werden, sofern man vielleicht eine Überschneidung mit dd mdw vermeiden wollte. Darüber hinaus steckt in šdj hrw mindestens potentiell auch das nichtsprach-

¹¹H. Fischer, 'An Example of Memphite Influence in a Theban Stela of the Eleventh Dynasty', *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 240–52.

¹²D. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el Bahari*, II (AV 11, Mainz 1974), s. unter S43.

¹³Euphemismus in bezug auf den Tod des Osiris.

¹⁴Vgl. H. Te Velde, 'The Egyptian God Seth as Trickster', *JARCE* 7 (1968), 37–40.

¹⁵Ibid. 37–8.

liche Brüllen (z.B. wenn Seth seine Stimme erhebt),¹⁶ während *šdj mdw* eindeutig auf menschliche Sprache verweist.

In dem Doppelpers bei Henui erscheint der Parallelismus von zwei der drei Elemente jedes Satzes deutlich:

I	II
<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>šdw (=j)</i>	<i>šdj (=j) mdw nb r</i>

Übrig bleiben die Elemente *z n hqʿ* und *rwṯj*. Sowohl Schenkel als auch Berlev trennten *z* und *n hqʿ* voneinander ab. Im Sinne der für die Erste Zwischenzeit typischen Gefolgschaftsideologie¹⁷ könnte aber *z n hqʿ* 'Mann des Herrschers' bedeuten. Man kann mit dem Elemente *hqʿ* gebildete Titel wie *šmsw n hqʿ* 'Gefolgsmann des Herrschers' (*Wb.* III, 171,4) und andererseits das Bildungsmuster *z n X* 'Mann des/von X'¹⁸ vergleichen. Alternativ zu der hier vorgeschlagenen Deutung kann man den ersten Vers mit Schenkel und Berlev verstehen als 'Nicht machte ich einen Mann bei dem Herrscher schlecht', wofür die in anderen Präsentationen und im Totenbuch verwendete Formel *šdw X n Y* (s.u.) spricht, wobei *Y* über *X* Macht hat, was aber üblicherweise durch ein hier nicht vorhandenes rückbezügliches Pronomen ausgedrückt wird, also *šdw X n Y = f*. Dafür mag sprechen, daß *z n hqʿ* als Bezeichnung eines Personentypus sonst nicht belegt ist, doch kann man dies mit dem Hinweis auf ähnliche Konstruktionen sowie mit dem Überlieferungszufall erklären. Zwischen diesen beiden Alternativen soll hier die Entscheidung offen bleiben, wobei ich mich dann auf die erste festlege, wenn *z n hqʿ* auch anderwärts als 'Mann des Herrschers' in der Ersten Zwischenzeit belegt werden kann. *rwṯj* kann einen Personentyp, den 'Mann von Draußen', bezeichnen.¹⁹ Hier wurde kein Personendeterminativ gesetzt, was damit erklärt werden kann, daß das Wort am Schluß der Zeile steht. Wahrscheinlich reichte einfach der Platz nicht aus, und außerdem ist *rwṯj*—'Mann von Draußen'—auch sonst ohne Personendeterminativ belegt (*Wb.* II, 405). Hier wird *rwṯj* in einem eher neutralen Sinne gebraucht.²⁰ Wenn die Deutung von *z n hqʿ* auf 'Mann des Herrschers' stimmt, bildeten die Begriffe *z n hqʿ* und *rwṯj* ein polares Wortpaar bezüglich der Zugehörigkeit oder Nicht-Zugehörigkeit zum Umfeld und damit der Gefolgschaft des thebanischen Fürsten/Königs Wach-anch Antef-aa, der auf dem Steinblock des Henui als Bezugsfigur genannt wird. Welche der beiden

¹⁶In dem magischen P Leiden I 343 + 345, Ro VII, 1–2 wird der Donner metaphorisch als Stimme bzw. Brüllen des Seth umschrieben: *šdm hrw Stḫ...šdm nꜣy = f swḫ*; 'Höre die Stimme des Seth...Höre sein Brüllen' (A. Massart, *The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 + 345* (OMRO Supplement 34, Leiden 1954); vgl. J. Zandee, 'Seth als Sturmgott' *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 148). Man mag bezüglich des sethhaften Gebrülls besonders an das Geschrei des (Wild-)Esels, eines sethhaften Tieres, denken (vgl. H. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (PÄ 6, Leiden 1967), 14).

¹⁷Vgl. zu diesem soziologischen Interpretationsmodell S. Seidlmayer, 'Wirtschaftliche und gesellschaftliche Entwicklung im Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich', in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology* (London and New York 1987), 175–217; ders., *Gräberfelder aus dem Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich* (SAGA 1, Heidelberg 1990); D. Franke, 'Erste und Zweite Zwischenzeit—Ein Vergleich', *ZÄS* 117 (1990), 119–29.

¹⁸Beispiele bei W. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut 1982), Nr. 1235–1241. Zu dem Terminus *z n njwt tn* vgl. S. Quirke, "'Townsmen' in the Middle Kingdom" *ZÄS* 118 (1991), 141–9.

¹⁹*Wb.* II, 405, 17–18; das Wort *rwṯj* ist auch mit der Bedeutung 'Fremder' anscheinend schon im Alten Reich belegt: A. Moussa und H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchnum und Chnumhotep* (AV 21, Mainz 1977), 84.

²⁰Die konkrete Bedeutung läßt sich lexikalisch nicht genau festlegen, aber vermutlich geht es eher um relatives Außenseitertum. So wurden in Gräbern des Alten Reiches in Deir el Gebrawi den Künstlern der Residenz (*ḥmw*) die von 'außerhalb' (*rwṯ*)—dies bezeichnet vermutlich aus der Residenzperspektive die einheimischen, provinziellen Handwerker—gegenübergestellt, vgl. zuletzt D. Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine* (SAGA 9, Heidelberg 1994), 107, Anm. 307. Bei Henui wird *rwṯj* in einem eher neutralen Sinne gebraucht, während spätere Texte damit gelegentlich den Profanen, nicht in das Sakral-Geheime Eingeweihten bezeichnen. Die Belege dafür beginnen schon im frühen Mittleren Reich: Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 182/2.

Interpretationsmöglichkeiten von $z n hqj$; man auch wählt, erscheint ein dreigliedriger Parallelismus:

I	II
n	n
$sdw (=j)$	$šdj (=j) mdw nb r$
$z n hqj$	$rwjtj$

Damit ergibt sich die folgende Übersetzung:

Nicht machte ich den Mann des Herrschers schlecht, (bzw.: Nicht machte ich den Mann bei dem Herrscher schlecht,)

Nicht sprach ich irgendein (verleumderisches) Wort gegen den Mann von Draußen.

Mit dem zweiten Vers wird bei deutlicher semantischer Parallele in den beiden Verben sdw und $šdj$ im semantisch unterschiedlichen dritten Satzglied, dem Objekt, eine Steigerung beabsichtigt, da Henui sich sogar gegenüber dem 'Mann von Draußen' fair verhalten zu haben vorgibt.

Formal erinnert der Doppelpers über Henui an die sogenannte negative Konfession des Totenbuches, besonders an den Vers 'Ich habe keinen Untergebenen bei seinem Vorgesetzten verleumdet (sdw)'. Die Konfession geht möglicherweise auf die Herakleopolitenzeit zurück,²¹ doch ist natürlich ein Doppelpers zu kurz, um die Existenz einer Art formalisierten negativen Bekenntnisse in der Ersten Zwischenzeit zu bezeugen. Immerhin bestehen auffallende Ähnlichkeiten zwischen—zwar selten, aber schon seit dem Alten Reich belegten²²—negativ formulierten Aussagen in den moralischen Selbstdarstellungen und der sogenannten negativen Konfession.²³ Das Motiv der Nicht-Verleumdung war in Erste-Person Präsentationen schon seit dem Alten Reich durchaus verbreitet.²⁴ So heißt es auf der Stele des Ky aus dem Mittleren Reich²⁵ (BM EA 558, Z. 5):

$n dws (=j) z n hrj tp = f$

$n wd (=j) hwt m z = j$

Nicht verleumdete ich einen Mann bei seinem Vorgesetzten,
Nicht befahl ich das Schlagen für meinen Mann.

Der erste Vers²⁶ erinnert an die Wendung $n sdw = j hm n hrj tp = f$ 'Ich habe keinen Diener bei seinem Vorgesetzten verleumdet' aus der sogenannten negativen Konfession von Totenbuch-Spruch 125.²⁷ Einmal steht das neutralere Wort z 'Mann', das andere Mal das spezifischere hm 'Diener'. Außerdem wurde auf der Stele des Mittleren Reiches die Form dws 'verleumden' (*Wb.* V, 552, 6), im Totenbuch dagegen sdw verwendet.²⁸ Die formalen und inhaltlichen Überein-

²¹Vgl. die gleich überzeugende wie behutsame Argumentation von J. Yoyotte, 'Le jugement des morts dans l'Égypte ancienne', in *Le jugement des morts* (Sources Orientales 4, Paris 1961), 58–65.

²²A. Gnirs, 'Die ägyptische Autobiographie', in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms* (PA 10, Leiden 1996), 204, unter dem Stichwort Reflexionsbiographie.

²³Vgl. M. Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies* (OBO 120, Freiburg und Göttingen 1992), 103–44. Dort wird weder dieser Doppelpers des Henui noch auch der unten besprochene von der Stele des Ky zitiert. Eine besonders lange Abfolge von negativen Aussagen der Form $n Verb = j Objekt$ bietet die Stele des User aus dem Neuen Reich (*Urk.* IV, 1031, 7–12; dazu Lichtheim, *Maat*, 113–15).

²⁴Zu Formeln der üblen Nachrede aus dem Alten Reich vgl. E. Edel, 'Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der Inschriften des Alten Reiches', *MDAIK* 13 (1944), 31–4, § 26. Schon bei einer der ältesten erhaltenen Präsentationen, der des Ni-anch-sachmet, heißt es (*Urk.* I, 40, 3): $n zp jry jh.t nb.t dw r rmt nb$.

²⁵*Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, II (London, 1912), pl. xiv.

²⁶S. Quirke wies mich darauf hin, daß dieser Vers tatsächlich gut zu dem Titel des Mannes ($wjmw$) paßt. Bei einigen Präsentationen gewinnt man den Verdacht, daß idealbiographische Phrasen tatsächlich einen gewissen Bezug zu den Titeln haben und bewußt aus der Enzyklopädie ausgewählt wurden.

²⁷E. Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* (Zürich und München 1979), 234, Vers 23.

²⁸Eventuell hängen ja die beiden Wortformen sogar irgendwie etymologisch zusammen. Jedenfalls erscheinen sie semantisch und auch phonetisch ausgesprochen ähnlich.

stimmungen zwischen den Erste-Person Präsentationen und der negativen Konfession dürften, sofern sie nicht direkt genetisch voneinander abhängen, mindestens auf einen Architekt²⁹ zurückgehen.

LUDWIG D. MORENZ

The small seals of the fortress of Askut*

The discovery, at Mirgissa, of sealings inscribed with the name of Askut, completes the list of the small seals of the Egyptian settlements in Nubia.

THE Island of Askut, in the middle of the Second Cataract, is about eighteen kilometres north of Semna, halfway between Shelfak and Murshid. A fortress was built on the north-western end of the island, along a rocky ridge. The site was reoccupied by a Meroitic and Christian settlement, thus hiding the ancient ruins. The fortress was not excavated until the last campaign in Nubia: the dig lasted two seasons, under the supervision of A. Badawy.¹ Recently, Stuart T. Smith identified the fort's name as *Dr-styww*, later changed to *Dr-styww*, and published the sealings of the local departments.²

Askut was probably built in the reign of Senusret III, as were its neighbouring fortresses of Batn el-Haggar, Semna West, Kumma, Uronarti and Serra East. The fortress presents all the typical architectural features of this period of construction. Its dimensions are small (72 by 68 m, that is 3,800 sq m), and its shape is irregular (a diamond following the ground configuration); the slope is compensated for by terraces. If the main character of Askut is the overdevelopment of its granaries and the existence of exterior storehouses, it also includes several blocks of typical elements such as the monumental entrance that screens incoming and outgoing traffic, as proved by the numerous sealings which were discovered there, the near-by Residence and the barracks. There was also a Treasury, a *hnrt*, 'workcamp', and a *hry*, 'upper fort', named on the sealings (fig. 1).³ Outside, on the southern side of the fortress, lay the 'lower town', protected by a bastioned wall reinforced by a glacis, where there were workshops and storehouses.



FIG. 1. Seal impressions with the name of Askut (after S.T. Smith, *Askut*, 26, fig. 2.1a).

²⁹Vgl. G. Genette, *Introduction à l'architexte* (Paris 1979).

*I wish to thank Maryvonne Chartier-Raymond who translated this article from the French.

¹A. Badawy, 'Excavations under the Threat of the High Dam: The Ancient Egyptian Island Fortress of Askut in the Sudan, between the Second and Third Cataracts', *ILN* 22 June 1963, 964–6; 'The Excavation of the Fortress of Askut by the University of California (1962–4)', *CdE* 39 (1964), 103–5; 'Preliminary Report on the Excavations by the University of California at Askut (First Season, October 1962–January 1963)', *Kush* 12 (1964), 47–53; 'Askut: Middle Kingdom Fortress in Nubia', *Archaeology* 18 (1965), 124–31; 'Archaeological Problems Relating to the Egyptian Fortress at Askut', *JARCE* 5 (1966), 23–7.

²S.T. Smith, *Askut in Nubia. The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium BC* (London, 1995); 'The Administration of Egypt's Southern Frontier: Middle Kingdom Sealing Practice at Uronarti and Askut Forts', in T.C. Palaima (ed.), *Aegean Seals, Sealings and Administration*, (*Aegeum* 5; Liège, 1990), 197–216; 'A Model for Egyptian Imperialism in Nubia', *GM* 122 (1991), 77–102; 'Askut and the Purpose of the Second Cataract Forts', *JARCE* 28 (1991), 107–32.

³Smith, *Askut*, 26.

Through a comparative inventory of all the sealings bearing Nubian Egyptian settlement names, we know that, as early as the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, each of them owned at least two kinds of official seals. The first one, rectangular in shape, sometimes with a curved short side, of the statuette type,⁴ identifies the *mnw* of the fortress. It was primarily affixed on the door frames, as the impressions of the big bolt-funnels show,⁵ particularly the one of the main door of Mirgissa fort. The seals of the various departments—the granary, the Treasury, the storehouses, the ‘work camp’—are of the same type. Often, when put on the bolts, they were accompanied by the seal of the servant who watched the act being performed. This seal was of the scarab form or inscribed with the man’s title and name or, as was probably the case for subordinates’ seals, engraved with symbols or geometrical drawings.

In addition, each fort owned a second seal, of scarab type, inscribed with the shortened Egyptian name, sometimes preceded by the term *mn(n)w*. This second seal seems mostly to have been reserved for the authentication of letters and despatches written on papyrus, as proved by the study of the backs of papyri on which the impressions of the supports were preserved.

We know of such sealings coming from the sites of (see Table 1 and fig. 2):

- ‘*Inq-t:wy* (Faras ?), discovered at Serra:⁶ ‘*Inq-t:wy* alone, lined with a spiral, at the upper and lower sides
- Buhen, with several types, either bearing only its name written *Bhn* (discovered at Mirgissa S 15 and S 48), *Bwh* (discovered at Mirgissa S 16), *Bwhn* lined with spirals at the top and bottom (discovered at Mirgissa S 67) ; or *mnw Bhn* (Mirgissa S 63) and *mnw Bh[n]* (Mirgissa 32-1-80)⁷
- Mirgissa with two types: *mnw ‘Iqn* (discovered at Buhen n° 1352 and at Uronarti),⁸ and ‘*Iqn* alone lined with the upper and lower spirals (discovered at Mirgissa itself S 37)
- Shelfak, bearing only the name alone, *Wf-h:swt*, discovered at Mirgissa (S 2)

TABLE 1. *Distribution of Sealings of the Small Seals of the Nubian Fortresses*

	Faras (?)	Serra	Buhen	Mirgissa	Shalfak	Uronarti	Askut	Kumma	Semna West	Semna South
Faras (?)		X								
Serra										
Buhen				X						
Mirgissa			X	X		X				
Shalfak				X						
Uronarti				X		X				
Askut				X						
Kumma				X						X
Semna West				X		X				
Semna South										X

⁴Cf. as an example the object published by B. Grdseloff, ‘Le “bois” cachet officiel des gouverneurs’, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 153–7.

⁵To be distinguished from the small bolts used to close chests.

⁶J. Knustadt, ‘Serra East and Dorginarti’, *Kush* 14 (1966), 165 and fig. 1f.

⁷B. Gratién, ‘Premières constatations sur les empreintes de sceaux de la forteresse de Mirgissa’, in M. Krause (ed.), *Nubischen Studien* (Mainz am Rhein, 1986), opposite 90; D. Dunham, *Second Cataract Forts*, II. *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa* (Boston, 1967), 170, fig. 9.

⁸H. S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions* (EES Excavation Memoir 48; London, 1976), pl. ix; Dunham, *Second Cataract Forts* II, 65, 5.

- Uronarti, with the writing of the toponym only *Hsf-ʿIwnw* (discovered at Mirgissa S 1 and at Uronarti itself)⁹
- Kumma, *ʿItnw-pdt*, only, with two different writings, one discovered at Mirgissa only (32-1-168) and Semna South (n° KE-38), the other at Semna South as well (n° KE-54)¹⁰
- Semna West, with four different seals: *Shm-hr-k;w-Rr* lined with spirals at the top and bottom (discovered at Uronarti n° 54/1),¹¹ and Mirgissa with a simplified writing (n° R 61), or preceded by *mnw*, as at Uronarti (n° 54/3) or Mirgissa (32-1-121)¹²
- Semna South, preceded by *mnw:mnw D;jr-styww*, from Semna South itself¹³

Allowing for the element of chance in the recovery of sealings, we discovered at Mirgissa/Iqen the name of almost all the Second Cataract fortresses, which could imply the town's preeminence in the regional administration.

Again at Mirgissa, we discovered two series of documents inscribed with the name of another fort, S 88 and S 87 (= Q 301) (fig. 3 and pl. XXI). The first one, S 88, is composed of fourteen sealings, clearly legible, all from the dump (twelve times applied on papyri, while twice only the print of a string is well preserved), and can be read *mnw Dr-styww*. The second series (S 87 = Q 30) includes only a 'counter-seal' found inside the large fort entrance, and a sealing, partly broken, found inside the fort in room MF3-90, which is a large residence in the south-east corner of the establishment. The very worn matrix gave only a poorly visible inscription bearing

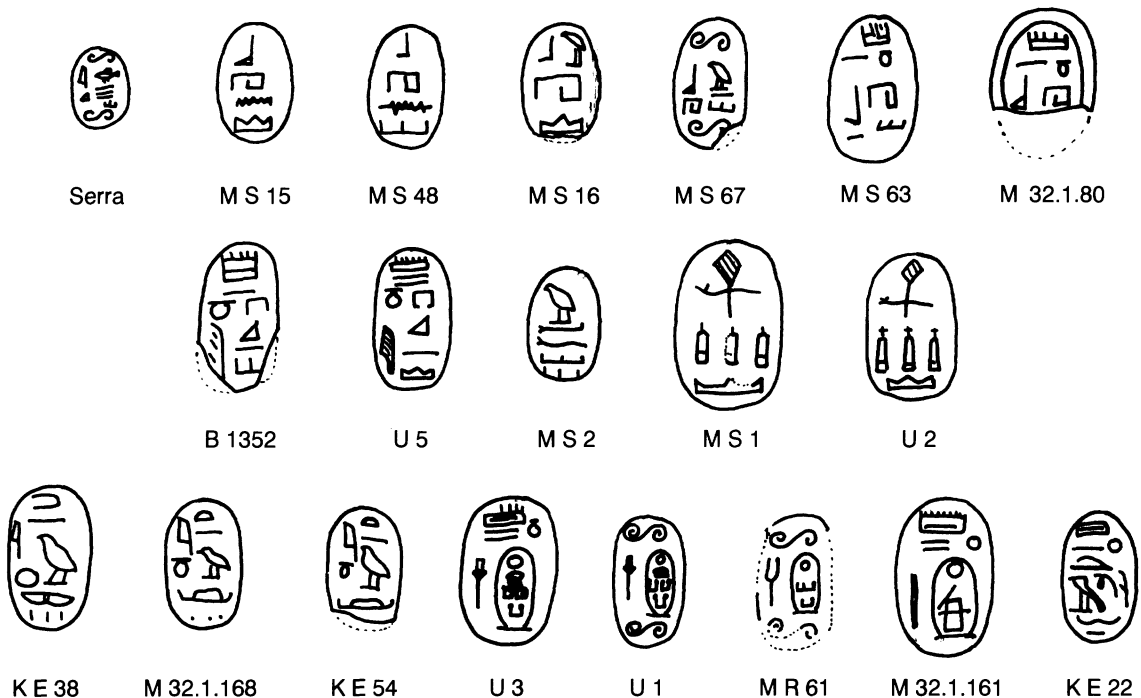


FIG. 2. Small sealings of the Nubian fortresses (after D. Dunham, *Second Cataract Forts II*, 65, from Uronarti; Žabkar and Žabkar, *JARCE* 19, 36, from Semna South; J. Knustadt, *Kush* 14, 175, from Serra, but mostly from Mirgissa).

⁹Dunham, *Second Cataract Forts II*, 65, no. 2.

¹⁰Ibid. 170, fig. 9; L. V. Žabkar and J. Žabkar, 'Semna South. A Preliminary Report on the 1966–68 Excavations of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Expedition to Sudanese Nubia', *JARCE* 19 (1982), 36.

¹¹Dunham, *Second Cataract Forts II*, 65, 1.

¹²Ibid. 65, 3 and 170.

¹³Žabkar and Žabkar, *JARCE* 19, 34, K 2-2, K 1-10 and K E-37.

simplified, even stylized, signs of the same inscription *mn(n)w D[r]-styw*. They are barely legible, and the seal could have been re-cut, as sometimes happened.

These sealings were only identified after the recent identification made by S. T. Smith, of the name of Askut. Previously, based on the Onomasticon List, A. Gardiner had proposed the readings *Dr-wtyw* or *Dr-mtyw* for Askut.¹⁴ The toponym was understood, after A. Badawy's excavations, as *Dr-styw*, becoming afterwards in the Onomastica *Dr-styw*, 'the one who repels the Setyw', as the sealings naming the granary, storehouses, 'work camp', and upper fort of that establishment prove.¹⁵

The Mirgissa documents confirm this reading. The series S 88 is easy: the toponym is preceded by *mnw*; the term *dr* is followed by the double-curved bow and by the *tyw*-bird, which is well differentiated from the other birds *m* and *w* on the same documents from Mirgissa.

This reading allows the second group (S 87 = Q 301) to be recognized, without any doubt: there

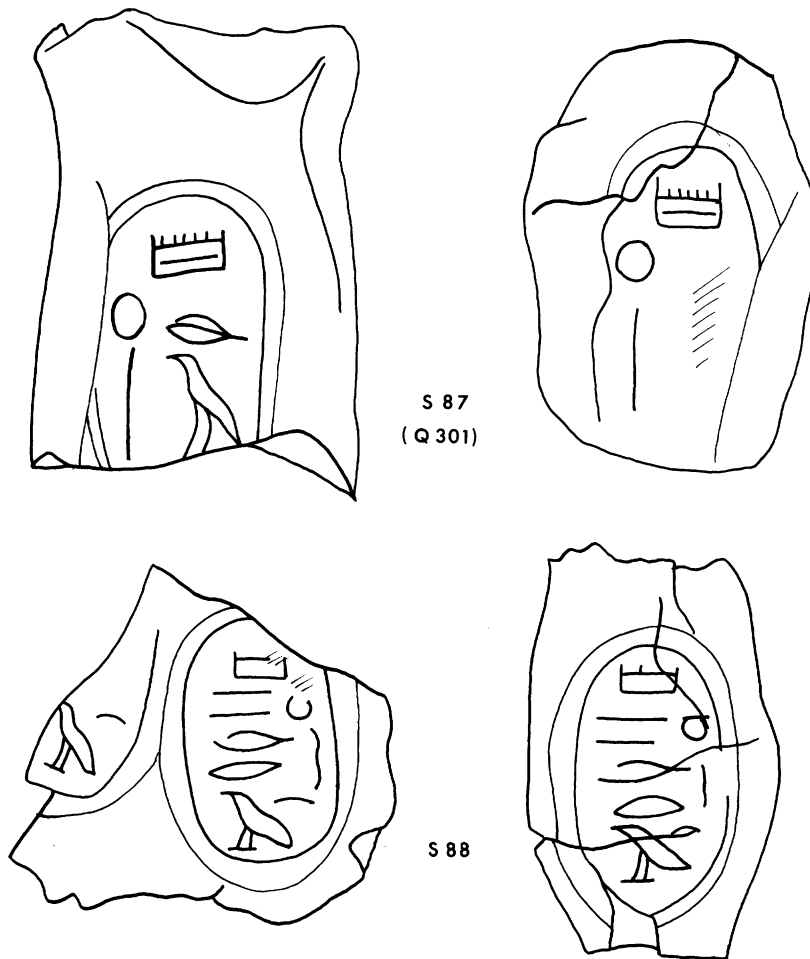
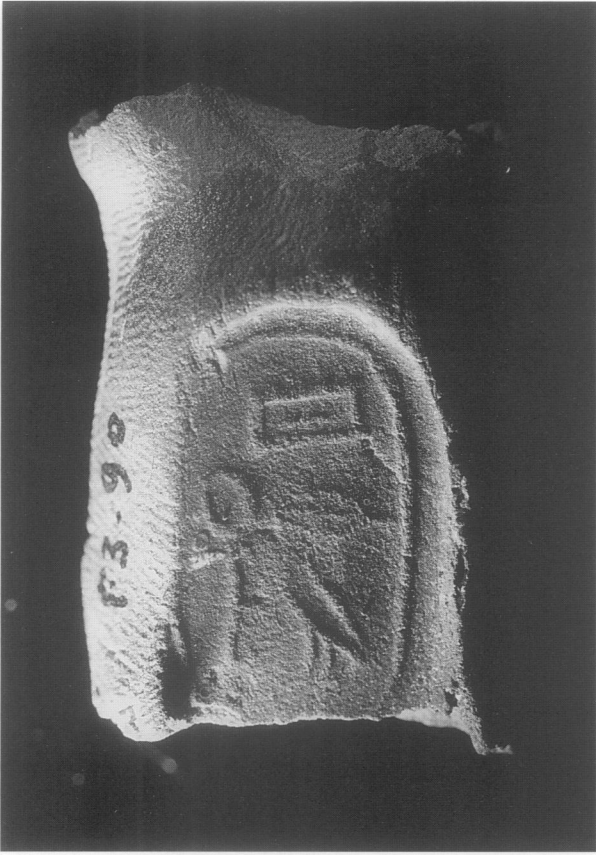


FIG. 3. Askut small seal impressions from Mirgissa.

¹⁴A. H. Gardiner, 'An Ancient List of the Fortresses of Nubia', *JEA* 3 (1916), 189–90; J. Vercoutter, 'Fouilles à Mirgissa (octobre–novembre 1962)', *RdE* 15 (1963), 73, n. 1, and 'Textes exécutoires de Mirgissa', *CRAIBL* 1963 (1964), 97.

¹⁵S. T. Smith, 'Askut's Ancient Name and Administrative System', in C. Bonnet (ed.), *Etudes nubiennes*, II (Geneva, 1994), 37–44, and especially fig. 4.



1.



2.



3.

Askut small seal impressions (*photographs by G. Naessens*)

THE SMALL SEALS OF THE FORTRESS OF ASKUT (pp. 201-5)

also, the name is preceded by *mn(n)w*. The *mn*-sign is clearly identifiable, and the circle following must be the vase *nw*, as often drawn on the Nubian forts seals, as at Semna South.¹⁶ The inscription ends with *stjw*: the bow is represented by a slightly curved vertical line, and the *tyw*-bird is similar to that in the first group. If the intermediate sign remained a problem, one can now see the hand (Gardiner D 46), rather than the bundle of flax (Gardiner M 36), but the phonetic complement *r* failed (the horizontal line observed on the 'counter-seal' between the *nw*-vase and the *stj*-sign is accidental and does not exist on the seal). Let us remember the various forms of the Buhen name, where some letters are sometimes missing.

So we have here two examples of the small seal of Askut, corresponding to the type of seals of the other fortresses named above, and read *mmnw D[r]-stjw*, which confirms the recent reading of its name. If S. T. Smith is correct, these seals would date back to the Thirteenth Dynasty. In short, the small fortress seals can be ranged in two categories—those with the name alone, lined with two spirals and which never includes the foreign countries sign, and those with the fort's name preceded by *mmnw*. At the present stage of our knowledge, it is not possible to propose a more precise dating.

BRIGITTE GRATIEN

Four notes on the early Eighteenth Dynasty

(1) The paintings in TT 15 include a previously unrecognized reference to the 'Beautiful Feast of the Wadi' and iconography that alludes to the military character of Ahmose's reign. (2) Consideration of Senenmut's block statue in the British Museum from an art historical perspective demonstrates its unique status among the steward's sculptures. (3) 'Renewal' inscriptions of Thutmose III's twenty-second regnal year are suggestive of an early date for Hatshepsut's proscription. (4) The colossal quartzite triad in the Akhmenu depicts Thutmose III between Amun and Amunet, not between Amun and Mut.

(1) The tomb of Tetiky, TT 15¹

THE continuing excavations of the DAI/UCLA expedition to Dra Abu el-Naga North directed by Daniel Polz have confirmed that Tetiky's tomb dates to the reign of Ahmose. A number of comparatively modest tombs from the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties have been uncovered that have walled courtyards enclosing tomb shafts and vaulted, mud-brick chapels.² The decoration of Tetiky's chapel, unparalleled in the recently excavated tombs, attests to his exceptional status. The paintings, which introduce themes that are common in the decoration of non-royal tombs at Thebes during the Eighteenth Dynasty, take on added significance because of the paucity of comparable material before the joint reign of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut.

Among the notable iconographic features is the double uraeus worn by Queen Ahmose-Nefertari, who is shown censuring and libating before a cow captioned 'Hathor, Mistress of Dendera'.³ This is the earliest occurrence of the double uraeus, which is a standard part of queenly regalia thereafter.⁴ The queen's figure is preserved in the left half of the lunette above

¹⁶ Žabkar and Žabkar, *JARCE* 19, 34, K 2-2, K 1-10 and K E-37.

¹ PM I, 26-7.

² Summary of excavations: D. Polz, 'Excavations in Dra Abu el-Naga', *Egyptian Archaeology* 7 (1995), 6-8; idem., 'Dra Abu el-Naga: die thebanische Nekropole des frühen Neuen Reiches', in J. Assmann et al. (eds), *Thebanische Beamtennekropole: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung*, (SAGA 12; Heidelberg, 1995), 42, where the relationship of TT 15 to the excavated tombs is remarked on in passing.

³ Illustrated by N. de G. Davies, 'The Tomb of Tetiky at Thebes (No. 15)', *JEA* 11 (1925), pl. ii. Hathor of Dendera was attested in the Theban necropolis by the late Old Kingdom and prominent from the time of Nebhepetre-Monthuhotep; see R. A. Gillam, 'Priestesses of Hathor: Their Function, Decline and Disappearance', *JARCE* 32 (1995), 228 with nn. 188, 231-3. Thus, there is no reason to attach special significance to her appearance here, as W. Helck ('Der Aufstand des Tetian', *SAK* 13 (1986), 130) did.

⁴ Pace M. Eaton-Krauss, 'Miscellanea Amarnensia', *CdE* 26 (1981), 247 n. 3, the modius occurs earlier, in combination with the double plumes; see the wife and mother of Sobekhotep III on a rockcut stela: M. F. L. Macadam, 'A Royal Family of the Thirteenth Dynasty', *JEA* 37 (1951), pl. vi.

one doorway of the chapel.⁵ The appearance of Ahmose-Nefertari, labelled 'King's daughter, King's sister, King's wife and God's wife' in the paintings of the tomb, is explained by the fact that a female relative of Tetiky was her nurse.⁶

In an analogous position on the wall opposite, the tomb owner himself was twice depicted offering to Osiris enthroned.⁷ This type of scene first occurs on later Middle Kingdom funerary stelae.⁸ Tetiky's paintings may represent the earliest documented appearance to date of the theme in the wall decoration of a non-royal tomb.

A remarkable feature of Tetiky's costume in the offering scene is the jewellery he wears: armlets and wristlets on both arms and large hoop earrings, in addition to a broad collar. The men shown banqueting on the north wall (fig. 1) are similarly adorned. These figures provide the earliest evidence for the use of earrings by men.⁹ Subsequently men are seldom depicted wearing them. Sennefer, owner of TT 96, is an exception, being shown in the paintings of his tomb wearing gold hoop earrings and a pair of hearts on a cord around his neck (a special award from

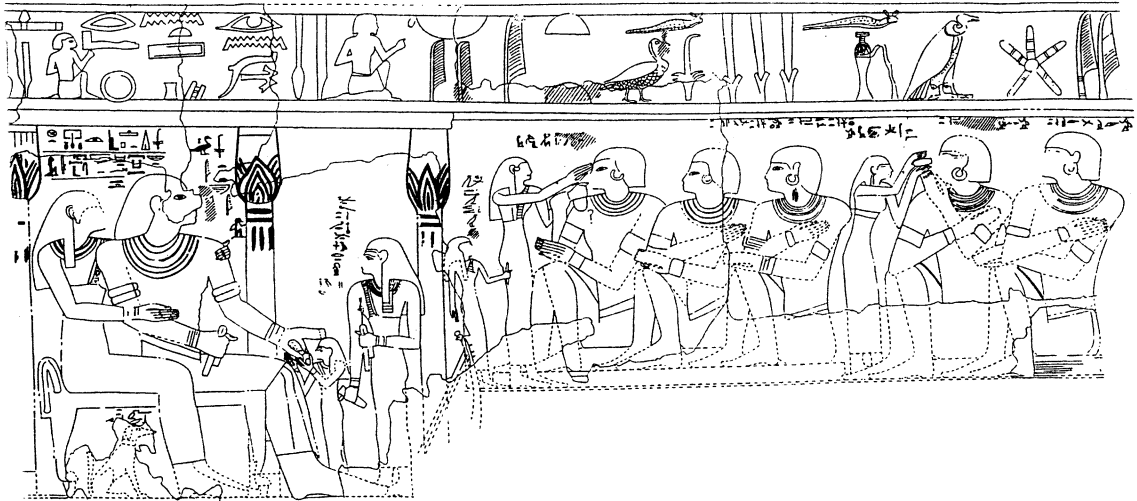


FIG. 1. After N. de G. Davies, *JEA* 11 (1925), pl. iv (detail).

⁵ Probably she was also shown in the lost right half of the lunette, although Davies, *JEA* 11, 14, considered it possible that a princess (Satkamose?) or even a male member of the royal family was represented there.

⁶ Little remains of the nurse's figure, which was shown following the queen and assisting her. For this woman, Tetihemet, one of two nurses documented for Ahmose-Nefertari, see C. Roehrig, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse (mnc t nswt), Royal Tutor (mnc nswt), and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (sn/snt mnc t n nb t'wy)* (doctoral dissertation: University of California, Berkeley, 1990), 11–14. Helck, *SAK* 13, 129–31, proposed a familial link between the queen and Tetiky, and that the tomb owner was also a close relative of Tetian, the leader of an insurrection against Ahmose. His thesis is difficult to reconcile with the survival of Tetiky's chapel and its paintings.

⁷ Davies, *JEA* 11, pl. iii, illustrated the right half of this lunette.

⁸ Cf. K. Pflüger, 'The Private Funerary Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History', *JAOs* 27 (1947), 133–5; M. Malaise, 'Inventaire des stèles égyptiennes de Moyen Empire...', *SAK* 9 (1981), 259–83; idem., 'Les représentations de divinités sur les stèles du Moyen Empire', *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillamin emerito oblata* (Leiden, 1984), 393–420. (I am indebted to John Baines for the references to Malaise's articles.)

⁹ Noted by A. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1971), 122.

the king), together with the Gold of Favour (armlets, wristlets, and the *shebyiu*-necklace).¹⁰ In all likelihood the conspicuous jewellery worn by Tetiky and his male relatives was likewise awarded them by their king Ahmose, perhaps in recognition of military prowess, as spelled out in the biographies of Ahmose, son of Abana, and Ahmose Pennekhbet at el-Kab.¹¹

The men's feasting was accompanied by music, as the falcon-headed terminal of a harp intruding into their register from below attests.¹² Despite the absence of a caption, the occasion should be the 'Beautiful Feast of the Wadi', the earliest occurrence of a motif that figures prominently in later Eighteenth Dynasty tombs.¹³

(2) The block statue of Senenmut in London, BM EA 1513¹⁴

According to the titles Senenmut bears in the inscriptions on his block statue in the British Museum, this is the earliest known among his sculptures.¹⁵ Possibly it was even commissioned for Senenmut during the reign of Thutmose II.¹⁶ The sculpture is distinguished by a number of features from the second statue of Senenmut in the British Museum, BM EA 174, with which it is approximately contemporaneous.¹⁷ This 'tutor' statue depicts Senenmut seated and holding the princess Neferure, who faces forward on his lap.

Among Senenmut's block statues, BM EA 1513 is the only one that does not include Neferure. His position as her tutor is, however, mentioned among the titles in the statue's inscriptions. The form of all Senenmut's other block statues is strictly cubic,¹⁸ but here the contours of his body are clearly shown underneath the enveloping cloak. The corporeality of the figure is indeed rendered more convincingly here than in any of his 'tutor' statues.¹⁹

Comparison of the British Museum statues (pl. XXII, 1 and 2) shows that Senenmut's forehead is noticeably lower on the block statue. The rendering of the same unparted, striated wig on these two sculptures is strikingly different. The striations on the 'tutor' statue are straight; on the block statue, they describe a sinuous curve behind the ears that imparts volume and surface tension wholly lacking in the wig of BM EA 174.

¹⁰See plates in C. Desroches Noblecourt et al., *Sen-nefer: Die Grabkammer des Bürgermeisters von Theben* (exhib. cat.; Mainz, 1986); inscriptions referring to the hearts: K. Sethe, 'Ägyptische Ordensauszeichnungen', *ZÄS* 48 (1910), 144–5. On the statue of Sennefer and his wife from Karnak, Cairo CG 42126 (illustrated by Desroches Noblecourt et al., *Sen-nefer*, 29), earrings are not among his accessories even though the hearts are present. In general, earrings are rare in stone statuary and apparently restricted to women. Among the earliest examples is the small limestone statue of Nefertiti, Berlin 21263: *Museumsinsel Berlin/Ägyptisches Museum* (catalogue: Mainz, 1991), no. 66. Hoop earrings are among the Gold of Favour awarded Horemhab: G. T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemhab, Commander-in-Chief of Tutankhamun*, I (EES Excavation Memoir 55; London, 1989), pls. 106–7.

¹¹For the Gold of Favour, especially these examples, see references cited by E. Feucht, 'Gold, Verleihung des', *LÄ* II, 731–3.

¹²The harp has been overlooked in studies of the instrument and its decoration, most recently by K. Krah, *Die Harfe im pharaonischen Ägypten: Ihre Entwicklung und Funktion* (Göttingen, 1991).

¹³S. Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstenale* (Wiesbaden, 1953), did not cite this scene.

¹⁴PM II, 279 = P. F. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology* (London and New York, 1988), 189 (A.3); R. Schulz, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus. Eine Untersuchung zu den sog. 'Würfelhocker'*, 1 (HÄB 33; Hildesheim, 1992), 385–6 (cat. 222). I am indebted to W. V. Davies, Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum, for permission to illustrate this statue and BM EA 174 as well.

¹⁵See Dorman, *Monuments*, 116–18, following C. Meyer, *Senenmut, eine prosopographische Untersuchung* (Hamburg, 1982), 112–20.

¹⁶An alternative suggested by Meyer (*Senenmut*, 117–18) but considered by Dorman (*Monuments*, 116–17) less likely than manufacture at the beginning of Thutmose III's reign.

¹⁷PM II, 278 = Dorman, *Monuments*, 188–9 (A.2). The description of BM EA 1513 that follows differs in most points from Meyer, *Senenmut*, 69–70.

¹⁸Descriptions and illustrations: Schultz, *Entwicklung*, cats. 18, 134–5, 169, 189–90, and 316.

¹⁹In addition to the block statues, and BM EA 174, these are: the asymmetrical squatting figure with Neferure on Senenmut's lap, CG 42116 = Dorman, *Monuments*, 191f. (A.8), with E. R. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture, Cairo and Luxor* (Austin, 1989), 86–7, 89, no. 38; and the striding statue Chicago Field Museum 173800 = Dorman, *Monuments*, 193 (A.12), with C. Vandersleyen (ed.), *Das alte Ägypten* (Berlin, 1975), 245, pl. 179 a–b.

The form of the open eyes is identical and the upper lid is rendered on both statues.²⁰ The flatness of the eyeballs in the 'tutor' statue is typical of Thutmoside art; by contrast, the block statue's eyes are somewhat bulging, and this more naturalistic treatment is reinforced by the absence of the cosmetic strip. Both statues have arching plastic brows, but those of the 'tutor' statue have squared-off ends, like the cosmetic strip accompanying them, whereas the brows of the block statue terminate in points.

The face of the block statue is marred by damage to the mouth and nose. Bernard Bothmer first called attention to the fact that the nose has been carefully and deliberately removed,²¹ also affecting the mouth, where the surface now has the same appearance. Rather than attributing the present condition of the nose to malicious intent,²² I suggest that it represents instead a stage in an ancient attempt to repair the face.²³

Statues with battered noses are extremely common. Some may even have been damaged accidentally, for example, during transport. In any case, a missing nose cannot be taken to prove a *damnatio memoriae* in default of supporting evidence. An unequivocal indicator of officially sanctioned persecution is the removal of the owner's name from his statue.²⁴ Anyone might casually strike the nose from a statue; attacking the name in a lengthy inscription required instructions, either written or oral, and time for the name to be identified and erased. (Numerous oversights and mistakes suggest that the person charged with the job was not necessarily literate.) Robbed of its identity, a statue could no longer perform its function for the owner's benefit. To remove a statue from the temple after the owner's name had been erased was superfluous. Furthermore, the dedication of a statue to a god may well have sanctified the image and even precluded its removal from the temple. In this connection it is important to note that among Senenmut's statues there are some of the earliest known examples of genres created with specific functions in the cult, such as his sistrophorus statue found in the Mut Temple.²⁵ These observations suggest why some of Senenmut's statues could have remained standing at Karnak, to be attacked a second time by Akhenaten's agents and subsequently be restored in the post-Amarna period.²⁶

The inscriptions on both Senenmut's statues in the British Museum indicate a Karnak provenance. They are anomalous because their texts show no damage at all; the names of Senenmut, Hatshepsut, Neferure, Amun, and Mut are untouched.²⁷ This circumstance implies that both sculptures were inaccessible even at the time of Hatshepsut's death and lends credence

²⁰B. Fay, 'Thutmoside Studies', *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 15, considers the presence or absence of eyelid definition in the sculpture of Thutmosis III the mark of different workshops or hands rather than a dating criterion. She convincingly assigns Cairo CG 578, a statue of Thutmosis III from Karnak, to the beginning of the king's reign because of its close resemblance to BM EA 174.

²¹'More Statues of Senenmut', *Brooklyn Museum Annual* 11 (1969–70), 142 with fig. 22.

²²So A. R. Schulman, 'Some Remarks on the Alleged "Fall" of Senmut', *JARCE* 8 (1969–70), 39.

²³Cf. Russmann's comments (*Egyptian Sculpture*, 107 no. 51) on the ancient repair of Cairo CG 42127, the statue of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, as an old man.

²⁴Cf. H. G. Fischer, 'The Mark of a Second Hand on Ancient Egyptian Antiquities', *MMJ* 9 (1974), 6–7 with nn. 7–8, remarks that erasure of the name was more common than damage to the image; see also E. Brunner-Traut, 'Namenstilgung u.-verfolgung', *LÄ* IV, 338–41, esp. 339.

²⁵See Dorman, *Monuments*, 190 (A.5). The reservations expressed by Dorman (pp. 174–5) notwithstanding, it is definitely within the realm of possibility that Senenmut did indeed 'invent' these types.

²⁶Dorman's conclusions regarding Senenmut's 'fall from grace' (*Monuments*, 158–64; reiterated in his *The Tombs of Senenmut: The Architecture and Decoration of Tombs 71 and 353* (MMA Egyptian Expedition Publication 24; New York, 1991), 66–9, 147–8, 163), need to be reviewed with this in mind. Scrutiny of Senenmut's block statue Berlin 2296 and the false door Berlin 2066 from TT 71 reveals that they do provide evidence in support of an official attack on his memory; see R. Krauss, 'Tilgungen und Korrekturen auf Senenmuts Denkmälern Berlin 2066 und 2096', *JARCE* 31 (1994), 49–53.

²⁷So, too, apparently on Cairo CG 579, the sistrophorous statue of Senenmut from the Mut Temple mentioned above. Neither Dorman (*Monuments*, 147) nor Meyer (*Senenmut*, 186); seems to have examined the statue personally, accepting Schulman's estimation (*JARCE* 8, 40–1) that damage was attributable to 'weathering or some other natural cause'. The photograph in the *Catalogue général* seems to confirm the pristine condition of the inscriptions, but this needs checking.

to the tradition that they once stood together, perhaps with a statue of her, which was reported to have been found with them.²⁸

BM EA 1513 is a remarkably fine sculpture, perhaps the finest of Senenmut's statues. These brief comments serve to indicate that it merits further study. The quantity of statuary made for Senenmut provides an opportunity to assess quality in the oeuvre of a non-royal person, but this aspect of the corpus has so far been largely ignored. A study of Senenmut's statues, based on first-hand examination of them all, is highly desirable.

(3) The date of Thutmosis III's proscription of Hatshepsut

Following on Dorman's study of the fate of Hatshepsut's 'Red Chapel', current scholarship favours the dating of Thutmosis III's proscription of the queen from Year 42 of his reign at the earliest.²⁹ A piece of evidence suggestive of a date following closely on Thutmosis III's assumption of sole rule has been overlooked. This is the king's renewal texts of Year 22 on two colossal limestone seated statues that stand in front of the south face of Pylon VIII at Karnak.³⁰

During her joint rule with Thutmosis III, Hatshepsut built this gateway as a monumental entrance to Karnak from the south. The smiting scenes depicting Amenhotep II, which now decorate the exterior faces, replace her earlier decoration and inscriptions.³¹ The statues in front of the pylon displaying the texts of Year 22 are labelled with the names of Amenhotep I and Thutmosis II.³² What motivated Thutmosis III to 'renew' them in Year 22?

A plausible explanation is that these colossi did not originally depict the kings whose names they now bear, but Hatshepsut (C. E. Loeben argues this theory in detail in his doctoral dissertation, *Untersuchungen zu Programm, Funktion und Kult königlicher Statuen des Neuen Reiches in den Tempeln von Karnak*, in preparation.³³ The prominence of the queen's colossal images in such a conspicuous and accessible place could well have prompted Thutmosis III to order the alteration of their inscriptions and their identity at the earliest possible moment after her death.

(4) The colossal quartzite triad in the Akhmenu³⁴

This triad commissioned by Thutmosis III has attracted little attention, doubtless because of its very damaged condition. The heads of the three standing figures that once comprised it are lost, and very little remains of either of the deities flanking and embracing the king, who was in the middle.

The identity of the god at Thutmosis III's left is not in doubt. Minimal traces of his headgear

²⁸ See T. G. H. James, 'Le prétendu "sanctuaire de Karnak" selon Budge', *BSFE* 75 (1976), 7–30, who reviews the conflicting accounts of the discovery of the statues. I do not intend to imply that the subterranean mud-brick chamber where they were purportedly found was their original location. Note that the statue of Sennefer and his wife Cairo CG 42126 (n. 10 *supra*), whose texts also show no Atenist erasures, does not come from the cachette, often cited as the provenance, but from a mud-brick 'chapel' at Karnak: so G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, I (CG; Cairo, 1906), 78. This, too, may not have been the statue's original location but where it was later set up and accessible to pious visitors, who were responsible for the gradual wearing away of the inscriptions on the figures' laps.

²⁹ Notwithstanding the objections of Helck in his review of Dorman, *OLZ* 85 (1990), 399–400, and C. Meyer, 'Zur Verfolgung Hatshepsuts durch Thutmosis III.', in H. Altenmüller and R. Germer (eds), *Miscellanea Aegyptologica: Wolfgang Helck zum 75. Geburtstag* (Hamburg, 1989), 119–26.

³⁰ PM II, 175–6; see, in general, P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Re à Karnak* (Cairo, 1962), 258–61.

³¹ Barguet, *Temple d'Amon-Re*, 260–1.

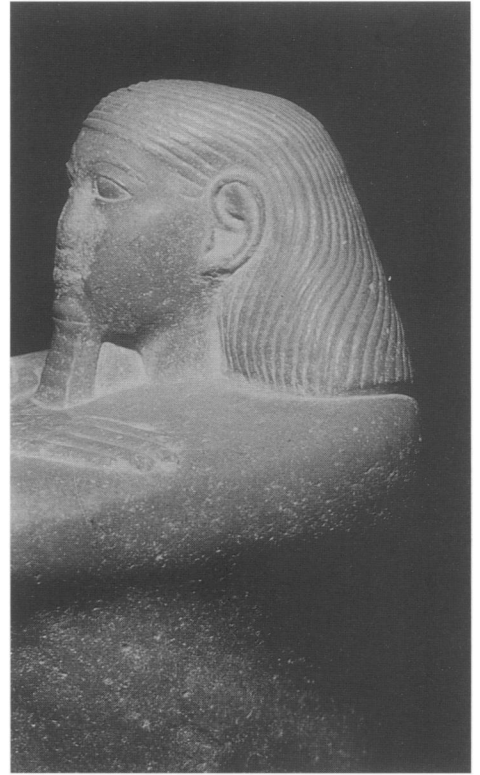
³² PM II, 176 N, and 177 P, respectively.

³³ Loeben also convincingly accounts for the two-decade delay in 'renewing' a third statue that also stands in front of the pylon, PM II, 176–7 O. This quartzite sculpture depicts Thutmosis II and bears Thutmosis III's renewal text of Year 42. It should not go unmentioned, however, that Loeben disputes my interpretation of the Year 22 renewal texts, which he believes were inscribed at a later date.

³⁴ PM II, 123 (430), 127 (torso of Thutmosis III, Cairo CG 42064, subsequently introduced into the restoration of the statue); M. Seidl, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, I. *Die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie* (HÄB 42; Hildesheim, 1996), 144–6 (cat. 58) with pl. 34.



1. British Museum EA 174 (*author's photograph*)



2. British Museum EA 1513 (*photograph by Bernara V. Bothmer*)

FOUR NOTES ON THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY (pp. 205–10)



3. Fragment of statuette, Glasgow Museums 07-79y (*Courtesy of Glasgow Museums*)

A FIRST ACOLYTE OF AMUN (pp. 215–20)

can be reconstructed as the flat-topped crown with double plumes of Amun,³⁵ the god mentioned in the restored epithet on the king's belt buckle.

The strap of a halter dress is preserved in relief on the right shoulder of the small upper torso fragment to Thutmose III's right. Enough of both shoulders survives to show that the goddess did not wear a tripartite wig. Its absence rules out the identification of the figure as Mut,³⁶ since the tripartite wig was a standard element of her iconography throughout the New Kingdom.³⁷ Amun's consort in the group must have been Amunet, the only goddess associated with him in the decoration of contemporaneous monuments, including the reliefs of the Akhmenu, who does not wear a tripartite wig.

The earliest well-preserved representations of Amunet are only slightly earlier; they occur among the reliefs of the 'Red Chapel'.³⁸ There she wears the Red Crown, her sole distinctive attribute. Perhaps the Red Crown's similarity to Amun's flat-topped headgear was influential in its choice for the iconography of his female counterpart.³⁹

The destruction of the divine figures in Thutmose III's quartzite triad was the work of Akhenaten's agents, who also erased the name of Amun from the texts. During the post-Amarna period, the god's name was reinscribed on the king's belt buckle, but there is no evidence that any attempt was made to restore Amun and Amunet, probably because they were beyond repair. It is likely that Tutankhamun planned to reconstitute the group by ordering separate colossal statues of Amun and Amunet in the same material. His quartzite colossus of Amun and its feminine counterpart, which Ay either completed or commissioned, now stand in the vestibule of the sanctuary,⁴⁰ but the inscriptions on the back pillars of both⁴¹ name the Akhmenu, the destination for which they were clearly intended.

M. EATON-KRAUSS

The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun: A clarification

A rejoinder to reviewers of the author's recent book.

Two reviewers of my study *The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1993), both native speakers of English, have misunderstood my conclusions about the reuse of the box.¹ This suggests that the wording of my hypotheses could have been clearer. I therefore offer the following clarification.

Proposing that the sarcophagus's original owner was Tutankhamun's predecessor (in my view, a man who bore the *nomina* Semenkhkare and Neferneferuaten successively), I suggested on p. 15 of the monograph that it was set aside at the time of preparations for his burial. This was the fate of other funerary equipment that demonstrably belonged to him. But I certainly did *not* mean to imply that the alteration of the sarcophagus's texts and representations was effected immediately, the thesis attributed to me. This *could not* have been the case, since the palimpsest

³⁵ My study of Tutankhamun's colossus of Amun, in preparation, discusses this headgear.

³⁶ The identification of the figure presumed in the literature, most recently in Seidel's description of the group (see n. 34 *supra*).

³⁷ For Mut's costume and regalia, see M. Müller, 'Über die Büste 23725 in Berlin', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* n.F. 31 (1989), 11–15.

³⁸ E.g. P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, II (Cairo, 1979), pl. 10, blocks 207 and 244; other blocks illustrated on the same plate show Nut, Tefnut, Isis, Nephthys, and Hathor wearing the tripartite wig.

³⁹ The goddess's costume and regalia are considered in my forthcoming study.

⁴⁰ PM II, 90 (252) and (253); more recent bibliography includes colour photographs in Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 133–5.

⁴¹ *Urk.* IV 2048 (789); facsimiles will be published in my study.

¹ J. Taylor, *DE* 31 (1995), 131–7 and E. Teeter, *JNES* 57 (1998), 159–60.

inscriptions call the new owner Tutankhamun, as do the inscriptions on the other pieces from KV 62 which were usurped from previous owners, not Tutankhaten. In fact, I favour the idea (see *Sarcophagus*, p. 22) that the alterations were carried out as much as a decade later, during the interval between Tutankhamun's own death and burial.² The changes in the inscriptions and figural decoration of the sarcophagus might, of course, have been made at any time after the name change to Tutankhamun. As is well known, the earliest dated example of Tutankhamun occurs in Year 4. My suspicion is worth repeating, however, that the change in the nomen may have been effected much earlier, even during the first regnal year. In this connection the meagre documentation of the original nomen and, above all, its complete absence from Tell el-Amarna are notable.³

Regardless of the date of the name change, the restoration was clearly well underway before Tutankhaten's accession, as evidenced by the graffito left in TT 139 by Pawah, 'scribe of divine offerings of Amun in the funerary temple of Neferneferuaten'.⁴ Of direct relevance are the canopic coffinettes, Obj. nos. 266g 1–4, which are conspicuous among the items appropriated for Tutankhamun from the funerary equipment of his predecessor(s),⁵ since their original ownership is unequivocal. The vertical column of text down the front of each lid's exterior and the inscriptions and representations chased into the gold sheet lining the interiors of the coffinettes conform to traditional, orthodox funerary practice; only the cartouches were altered to name Tutankhamun as their new owner. In them, Dodson has recognized traces of 'Semenkhkare' under 'Neferneferuaten',⁶ in which case the coffinettes were made earlier rather than later in the reign of Tutankhamun's predecessor. The 'theology' of the sarcophagus, whose original decorative programme included the tutelary goddesses replete with diagnostic headgear, is entirely compatible with the coffinettes.

That a sarcophagus commissioned for Tutankhaten would have had 'overt references to the Aten religion'⁷ necessitating 'drastic revisions to the box's decoration and texts'⁸ seems less plausible to me than that such a monument had been created for Semenkhkare. In the case of the famous gold throne from KV 62, Obj. no. 91, the Atenist iconography—a radiant sun disc, identified by cartouches, shining down on the royal couple—was left untouched when the cartouches of the royal couple were altered to name Amun. This indicates that the return to orthodoxy and the name change did not simultaneously result in repudiation of the Aten.⁹ But, so far as is known, after the name change no monuments were commissioned to depict the sun god in the form and with the didactic name introduced by Akhenaten. Another document attesting that the restoration was in full swing before the king's name was altered is the stela Berlin 14197. The scene in the lunette showed Tutankhaten worshipping Amun and Mut.¹⁰

The texts of the inlaid ebony throne from KV 62, Obj. no. 351, are somewhat problematic of interpretation. I have argued that those naming him Tutankhaten in conjunction with the epithet

² Categorically rejected by A. Dodson in his review in *JEA* 82 (1996), 226.

³ Although it is true that *praenomina* considerably outnumber *nomina* on scarabs and faience ring bezels from the time of Amenhotep III through the reign of Tutankhamun, it is significant that not a single scarab or ring bezel names Tutankhaten.

⁴ PM I, 253 (5).

⁵ I do not know what C. N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings. The Decline of a Royal Necropolis* (London, 1990), 49, intends when he calls them 'surplus' funerary equipment. For other reused items, see J. R. Harris, in C. N. Reeves (ed.), *After Tutankhamun. Research and Exploration in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes* (London, 1992), 58–72.

⁶ A. Dodson, *The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt* (London, 1994), 213 (addendum to pp. 61–2).

⁷ Taylor, *DE* 31, 136.

⁸ Teeter, *JNES* 57, 160.

⁹ The existence of a *hwt-p3-jtn* at Memphis is documented down into the time of Seti I: W. Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I.* (Strasbourg, 1896), pl. xvia.

¹⁰ A. Erman, 'Geschichtliche Inschriften aus dem Berliner Museum', *ZÄS* 38 (1900), 113. Nowadays only the left half of the stela's lunette with Amun and Mut is preserved; Tutankhaten's figure at the right did not survive World War II.

hqꜣ-nfr date the chair to the very beginning of the reign.¹¹ *shtp-ntrw*, ‘propitiator of the gods,’ is one of the epithets included in the texts on the back of the backrest, where all the inscriptions call the king Tutankhaten. The phrase is part of the Gold Horus name in the full titulary that is first documented after the change of the nomen. On the front of the backrest, the altered nomen, prefaced *ntr nfr*, occurs only in the two horizontal strips of inlay which are made of ebony; they are obviously secondary. Ebony and ivory alternate as the material of the vertical inlays, with the earlier nomen occurring on the ivory strips and the praenomen, prefaced *hqꜣ-nfr*, on those made of ebony. The inscription on one of the latter styles Nebkheperure ‘beloved of the gods’, while another calls him ‘son of Amun whom he loves more than any [other] king’.

It needs to be emphasized that the change in the nomen from Tutankhaten to Tutankhamun did not signal the *beginning* of a programme of restoration and renewal, just as the change in the nomen of Tutankhamun’s father from Amenhotep to Akhenaten was made *after*—not simultaneously—with the introduction of distinctive iconography and a didactic name for the sun disc.¹²

Accepting Paul Hagedorn’s minimal estimate of six months for cutting and decorating the box of the sarcophagus in KV 62 for its original owner (*Sarcophagus*, pp. 19–20), it could have been commissioned for Tutankhaten, provided the change in his nomen was made at any time after the middle of Regnal Year 1. This is the alternative preferred by three reviewers.¹³ I myself did not exclude this possibility, although Tutankhaten did, and continues to, seem to me a less likely candidate for the original ownership of the sarcophagus, in which his mummy still lies, than Semenkhkare.

M. EATON-KRAUSS

How old was Matanazi?

Discussion of Ramesses II’s reply to the Hittite king Hattušili III’s request for medical assistance to enable his elderly sister to bear children. Calculations based on Hittite documents show her to be at least 58 and Ramesses II’s assessment of her age true.

IN the course of his correspondence with Ramesses II, the Hittite king Hattušili III made a somewhat unusual request of the pharaoh. The original Hittite letter has not survived, but we learn the nature of the request which it contained from Ramesses’ letter in reply. It concerned Hattušili’s only sister, who was married to Mašturi, ruler of the Hittite vassal state called Šeha River Land, one of the Arzawa lands in western Anatolia. The princess’s Hittite name was Maššanauzzi (Maššana-IR-i), though in the Egyptian court she was apparently known as Mata-

¹¹ ‘Die Throne Tutanchamuns: Vorläufige Bemerkungen’, *GM* 76 (1984), 8–9. Detailed analysis of the design and decoration of this chair, including arguments against it having been a pastiche assembled from two pieces of furniture—one (or both?) predating Tutankhaten’s accession—are included in my study of the seats from KV 62, which is in an advanced stage of preparation. In the interim, see my comments in *Antike Welt* 22 (1991), 101.

¹² This is conclusively demonstrated by the decoration of T T 55, the tomb of Ramose (see the scene depicting the royal couple in the radical style beneath the radiant disc that is flanked by pairs of cartouches with the god’s didactic name: N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (EES; London, 1941), pl. xxxiii, and by numerous *talatat* showing the king with labels that originally read Amenhotep beneath the radiant disc (commented on by D. B. Redford, in R. W. Smith and D. B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project I: Initial Discoveries* (Warminster, 1976), 76).

¹³ Taylor, Dodson, and Teeter. While M. J. Raven believes I underplay arguments in favour of Tutankhaten’s original ownership of the box, he concludes (*BiOr* 52 (1995), 645) that my analysis of the data ‘seems to turn the balance in favour of Smenkhkare’.

nazi.¹ She had been unable to bear children. Admittedly she was now a woman past her prime—and the letter to the pharaoh had confided her age—but Hattušili had heard of the achievements of Egyptian doctors and the relevant priests, and wondered if some might be sent to help his sister with her problem.²

The response from the pharaoh was not encouraging. Nevertheless he agreed to send the assistance Hattušili had requested:

Thus to [my] br[other: (Concerning) what my brother] has written [to] m[e] regarding his [sist]er Mata[n]jaz[i]: 'May my brother send to me a man to prepare a medicine so that she may bear children.' So has my brother written. And so (I say) to my brother: See Matanazi, the sister of my brother, the king, your brother knows her. A fifty-year-old!! Never! She's sixty! Look, a woman of fifty is old, to say nothing of a sixty-year-old! One can't produce medicine to enable *her* to bear children! Well, the Sun God and the Weather God may give a command, and the order which they give will then be carried out continually for the sister of my brother. And I, the king your brother, will send a competent incantation-priest and a competent d[octo]r] to assist her to produce children.³

The pharaoh's reaction to the request was hardly a chivalrous one. But was he speaking the truth about the princess's age?

His letter belongs within the context of the substantial body of correspondence which passed between various members of the royal houses of Hatti and Egypt after Hattušili and Ramesses concluded their famous treaty in 1258 BC.⁴ Following the signing of the treaty, some of the earlier tensions between the two kingdoms probably continued for a time, partly because of the Urhi-Tešub affair⁵ and partly due to Hattušili's concerns about Ramesses' commitment to the terms of the treaty. On at least the second of these two matters, Ramesses hastened to reassure his Hittite 'brother'.⁶ In other respects the post-treaty correspondence was generally quite cordial. Thirteen years after the treaty, in the autumn of 1246 BC, the relationship between the two kingdoms was further consolidated when Ramesses married one of Hattušili's daughters.

It was during the course of correspondence between the royal families that Hattušili wrote to Ramesses about his sister and received his ungracious response. The exchange of letters probably belongs to the period shortly after the treaty was signed. In this early post-treaty period, Ramesses had provided Hattušili with a demonstration of Egyptian medical science by sending him some medicines to help cure an eye disease,⁷ of which the latter seems to have been a chronic sufferer. This gesture, particularly if the medicines worked, may have encouraged Hattušili to seek further medical assistance from Egypt for his sister.

Maššanauzzi/Matanazi and Hattušili III were two of the four clearly attested children of Muršili

¹ E. Edel suggests that as Hattušili's sister was married in Arzawa; *matana-* could be a dialect form in the regional Arzawa language for *maššana-* (*ÄHK* = *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköy* (Opladen, 1994), II, 271). Since Hattušili elsewhere indicates that Maššanauzzi was his only sister (see reference in n. 8 below), there can be no doubt that she and Matanazi were one and the same.

² It was not merely her problem. Hattušili was concerned that the stability of the vassal kingdom would be seriously imperilled if the Hittite princess failed to provide her now ageing husband with an heir to succeed him on the vassal throne. Hence this desperate, last-ditch attempt to remedy the situation.

³ Bo (Boghazköy: Istanbul and Berlin, inventory) 652/f + 28/n + 127/r, obv. 8–rev. 8. The letter has been edited by E. Edel, *Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof* (Göttingen, 1976), 67–75.

⁴ Listed in *CTH* (= E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Paris, 1971)) 151–70. The most recent and most comprehensive edition of this correspondence appears in Edel, *ÄHK*.

⁵ Deposed from the throne of Hattuša when it was seized by his uncle Hattušili, Urhi-Tešub had been sent into exile and had eventually found refuge in the court of Ramesses II. Despite Hattušili's persistent demands, Ramesses had refused, allegedly, to hand Urhi-Tešub back to him.

⁶ In his well known letter to Hattušili, KBo (= *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (Leipzig and Berlin) I 15 + 19 (*CTH* 156) (= Edel, *ÄHK* I, no. 24).

⁷ KUB (= *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (Berlin)) III 51 (*CTH* 170) (= Edel, *ÄHK* I, no. 2), 16–19, rev.(?) 2'–3', 10'. The letter was sent to Hattušili before the silver tablet on which the treaty was inscribed had been produced; see Edel, *ÄHK* II, 27.

II. The other two were Muwatalli (Urhi-Tešub's father and predecessor on the Hittite throne), and another son Halpašulupi. We know that Hattušili was the youngest of the four children,⁸ and his sister *may* have been the second youngest.⁹ Muršili II ascended the throne c. 1321 BC¹⁰ and reigned for some 26 years, until c. 1295 BC.¹¹ Hence in 1257 BC, the youngest possible age for any of his attested children would have been 38.

However, his first wife Gaššul(iy)awiya died in the ninth year of his reign,¹² i.e. in 1312 BC if his reign began in 1321 BC. Some time after her death Muršili married again, this time a woman of apparently Hurrian origin called Tanuhepa. But the only references we have to her during Muršili's reign are confined to a few seal impressions. This may indicate that Muršili married her only a short time before his death. However, a later prayer refers to Tanuhepa's sons,¹³ which as far as we know she had by Muršili. If so, she must have been married to him for several years at least before his death in order to have produced these sons.

In any case, there is no doubt that Hattušili III and his elder siblings were the children of Muršili's first wife Gaššulawiya. This is evident from the fact that Hattušili had already been born, and was still a child, at the time of the arraignment and banishment of his father's stepmother, the Babylonian Tawananna,¹⁴ which must have occurred very shortly after Gaššulawiya's death. Since Gaššulawiya was the mother of his attested children, then in 1257 BC the youngest of these, Hattušili III, would have been at least 55. But if her death was preceded by a fairly long period of illness,¹⁵ the likelihood is that Hattušili III was born at least a year or so before her death in 1312 BC, and his sister (and other siblings) some years earlier.

In that event if his sister Maššanauzzi were the second youngest child, she must have been born no later than c. 1315 BC, and quite possibly earlier. As noted above, we cannot be certain that she was in fact Muršili II's second youngest child.

We have also noted that the earliest possible date for the correspondence between Ramesses II and Hattušili III about Maššanauzzi was 1257 BC, the year after the Hittite-Egyptian treaty. If we accept this date as a *terminus post quem*, Maššanauzzi must have been at least 58 when Hattušili made his request to Ramesses. She could very well have been several or more years older.

The response from Ramesses provides us with an interesting glimpse into the very personal nature of a number of the communications between the Hittite and Egyptian royal houses in the years which followed the signing of the treaty. In this case, as in others, the patronising tone of the pharaoh's letter must have rankled with his Hittite brother, who no doubt had to swallow a good deal of pride before making his request in the first place. Yet in his contemptuous reference

⁸Hattušili informs us of this and who his siblings were in his 'Apology' (CTH 81) I 9–11. For the most recent edition of this text, see H. Otten, *Die Apologie Hattušiliš III (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 24; Wiesbaden, 1981)*.

⁹This is not in fact made explicit in the text. Maššanauzzi is listed last of the four children, perhaps because she was the only daughter. In theory, she could have been older than any of her brothers. I have assumed in this article that she was the second youngest child. If she were an older child, then her age in the calculations which follow would have to be increased.

¹⁰On recent revisions to Hittite chronology in the fourteenth century BC, including the date of Muršili II's accession, see T. Bryce, 'Some Observations on the Chronology of Šuppiluliuma's Reign', *Anatolian Studies* 39 (1989), 19–30.

¹¹A calculation based on the number of years covered by his Annals, and on the assumption that his military campaigns recorded in the Annals covered virtually the whole period of his reign.

¹²We know this from KUB XIV 4 (CTH 70), one of two texts in which Muršili refers to her death and holds his stepmother responsible. She died in the year Muršili went to Kuzzuwadna to celebrate the festival of Hepat at Kummanni. Muršili's Annals indicate that he did this in the ninth year of his reign (A. Goetze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš* (reprint Darmstadt, 1967 of Leipzig, 1933), 108–9).

¹³KUB XIV 7 obv. I 18' + KUB XXI 19 obv. II 4.

¹⁴KUB XXI 19 + (CTH 383) IV obv. 20.

¹⁵To judge from the numerous prayers which Muršili II offered on her behalf, e.g. KBo IV 6 (CTH 380), and his constant attempts to find ways of restoring her to health.

to the Hittite princess's age, Ramesses II was speaking no more than the truth.¹⁶ If anything, he was being rather generous.

TREVOR BRYCE

A first acolyte of Amun*

Publication of a votive statuette fragment from Deir el Bahri bearing the title *imy-st-r tpy n 'I[mn]*. There seems to be no evidence to support the possibility of a grading of such officials as implied by the qualifying *tpy*. The general inadequacy of the term 'acolyte' to describe the role of those who held that position within the Egyptian priesthood is apparent.

IN 1907, Glasgow Museums received a distribution of objects from the 1906–7 excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund, directed by Edouard Naville, at the temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el Bahri. Included was a part of a statuette (pl. XXII, 3) of a figure seated cross-legged on a plinth (now Glasgow Museums 07-79y). All that remains is the left leg, with the left hand resting palm downward on the thigh, parts of the upper surface of the kilt, the right shin and foot and the curved left side of the plinth. On the side face of the last, three seated women are depicted. Incised hieroglyphic inscriptions appear on the lap of the kilt, oriented toward the viewer, the top surface of the base below the left thigh and beside the women on the side of the base. The dimensions of the piece are: overall height 12.4 cm, maximum length 19.7 cm, width across the broken front 14.2 cm and height of the base 5.0 cm. It was assigned to the Eighteenth Dynasty by the excavator and has not been published previously.¹

When complete, the pale golden brown limestone statuette represented a man wearing a short kilt, seated on a plinth with curving sides and straight front. The man's legs were crossed before him, right over left, while his hands rested palm down on his thighs, across which the front of the kilt was drawn tightly. The traditional pose of a scribe sitting cross-legged, writing on or reading from a papyrus spread across his lap had its origin in the Old Kingdom. The type persisted into later periods, with some well known examples produced in the New Kingdom.² Still retaining the basic position and alongside the traditional form, a style developed in the Middle Kingdom wherein the legs were hidden by the figure's clothing, his hands were placed flat on his thighs and an inscribed text on his lap faced the viewer.³ In the New Kingdom the legs of both forms are often freed from concealment. This follows a transitional stage, that can be assigned to the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties, where a flap of the kilt hangs down over

¹⁶Almost certainly Ramesses II had checked her age with her nephew Urhi-Tešub during the latter's sojourn at the Egyptian court (see n. 5 above). No doubt Urhi-Tešub served as a valuable source of information for Ramesses on many aspects of the Hittite royal family.

*My thanks are due to Dr M. L. Bierbrier for his helpful comments on a draft of this paper.

¹A copy of the entry in the EEF record of objects distributed to Glasgow has, under the heading 'Naville 1906–07 Sent 1907 Deir el Bahri' (p. 94 item 14), 'fragt of small limestone statuette of the Ami a st priest of Amen ... his daughters are seated below XVIII Dyn'. A search through the EEF *Archaeological Report* for 1906–7 and the account of the excavations in E. Naville, H. R. Hall and C. T. Currelly, *The Xlth Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahri*, I–III (London, 1907–13), has failed to produce any reference to the item. It would come under 'The Votive Monuments' in Naville, *Xlth Dynasty Temple*, III, 1, '...there was a considerable number of votive statues... they are generally very much broken... It is evident that they were smashed intentionally...'

²For instance, Amenhotep son of Hapu as a young man (Cairo JE 44861, frequently illustrated; see PM II², 188); Horemheb (New York MMA 23.10.1, conveniently in C. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1951), pl. 169).

³For example, Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5915; see B. Jaroš-Deckert, *Statuen*, (CAA, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien; Vienna, 1987), Lieferung 1, 72–8.

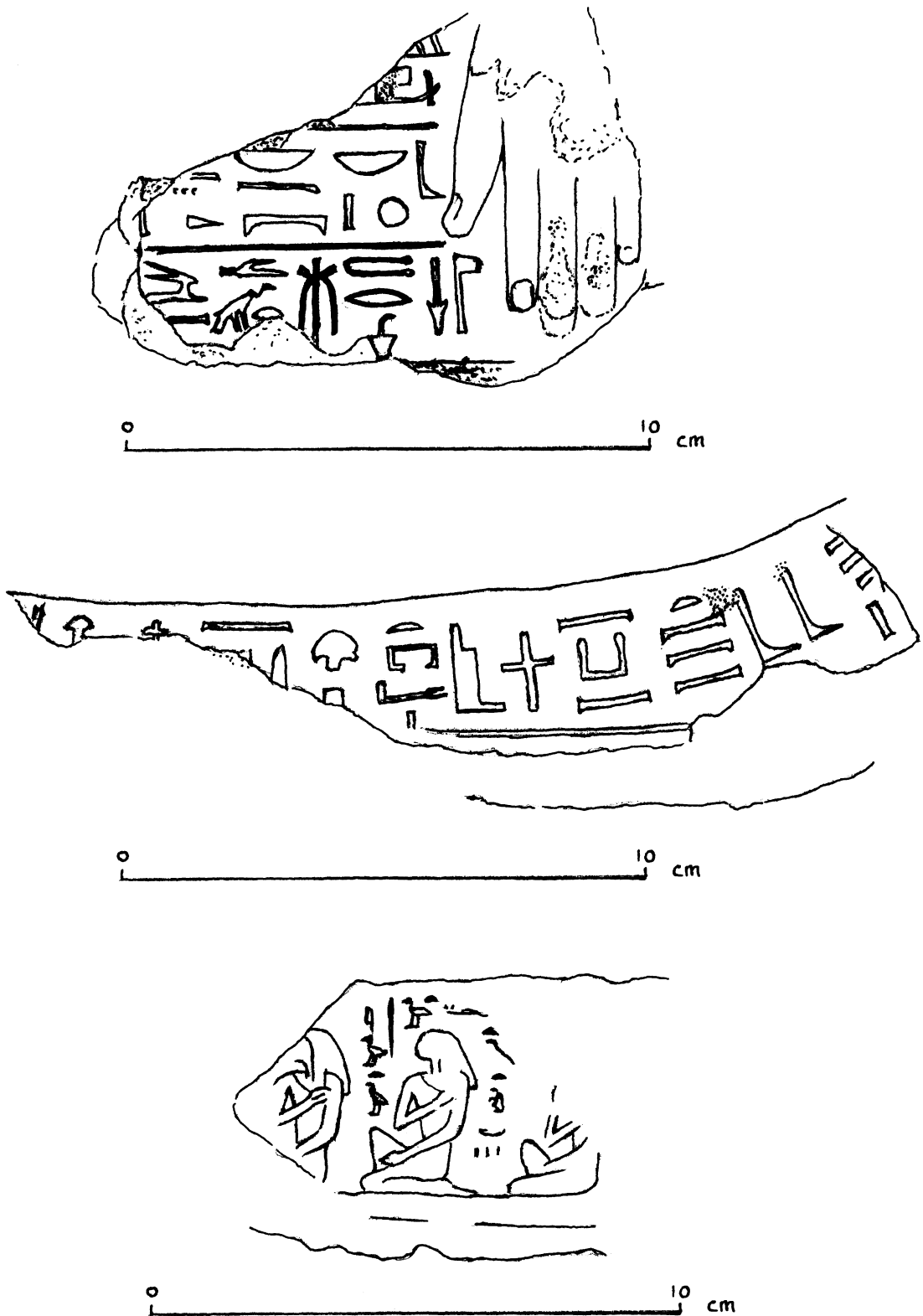











FIG. 1. (a) Surface of kilt; (b) Top surface of curved base; (c) Left side of base.

the exposed legs.⁴ The partial preservation of the present statuette does not allow it to be allocated precisely to a type within the general category of seated cross-legged figures. From Vandier's listing of the attitudes for such sculpture in the New Kingdom, Glasgow 07-79y is possibly his type Ae. There the two legs of the man are clearly apparent, his hands are flat on his knees and he is shown as reading, not writing. The open hands palm down are also found on Copenhagen AEIN88 and Louvre E3186.⁵ In the same manner, the legs are defined, allowing for damaged knees on the Glasgow example, but tend to fuse one into the other, as on the Copenhagen piece.

Inscriptions⁶

- (A) Surface of kilt (fig. 1a and pl. XXIII, 1):
 (x + 1) [š]sp^a...[m] (2) [h]b^b nb n pt [n] tꜣ... (3) sntr msdmt wn[h] (w)^c
 (x + 1) '[re]ceiving...[on] (2) every [fes]tival of heaven and [of] earth... (3) incense, eye paint, clot[hing]...'
- (B) Top surface of curved base (fig. 1b and pl. XXIII, 2):
 ...swr]ḥr¹ bbt n kꜣ n imy-st-ꜥ tpy n 'I[mn]...^d
 '...drinking] 'from' the river eddy for the ka of the first acolyte of A[mun]...'
- (C) Left side of base (fig. 1c and pl. XXII, 3):
 Behind head of first figure: 'tw-tw(?)^e
 Over and behind second figure: sꜣt.f Tw-tw/Tt(?), 'his daughter Tutu/Tet(?)'

Commentary

- (a) Restore: (x + 1) [š]sp [snw pr m-bꜣh...]
- (b) The phrase is ⁽²⁾, where  is written as  and there is space above tꜣ for .
- (c) Traces of  lie below wn.
- (d) Part of a sign ⁺ could be either for  or , possibly followed by  to indicate the owner's name.
- (e) Repeated examination with a magnifying glass in different lights has not produced entirely clear renderings of the signs, which are roughly executed, uneven in depth and worn. I have to acknowledge J. van Dijk's suggested readings, for the first, 'tw-tw, citing for comparison H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I (Glückstadt, 1935), 18.21-8 and 19.1; and for the second, Tw-tw/Tt, Ranke, *PN I*, 383.22.

Such a fragmentary statuette would not warrant particular attention were it not for the title which it bears: *imy-st-ꜥ tpy n 'I[mn]*. The qualification *tpy* would appear to imply a grading or ranking of acolytes, but no evidence for this has yet been found.

The *imy-st-ꜥ*, 'acolyte',⁷ was an official within the personnel responsible for the routine administration of a temple,⁸ under the phyle system. On the stela of Senenu, High Priest of Amun

⁴E.g. BM EA 494; see W. V. Davies, 'The Origin of the Blue Crown', *JEA* 68 (1982), 70, pls. vii, 3-4-viii, 1-3. This damaged statuette also comes from Naville's 1903-4 season at Deir el Bahri. A more complete specimen is Khartoum Museum 31; see P. Scott-Moncrieff, 'Note on Two Figures Found near the South Temple at Wady Halfa', *PSBA* 28 (1906), 118-19, figs. 1-2.

⁵J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III (Paris, 1958), 448-50. Neither statue is illustrated by Vandier, but for Copenhagen AEIN88 he cites O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuettes égyptiennes* (Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg 3; Copenhagen, 1950), pl. 65.

⁶Incomplete extracts in (A) and (B) derive from the standard offering formula. The readings of the inscriptions have benefited greatly from the discerning eye and comments of J. van Dijk, to whom many thanks are due.

⁷R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 19 and 206, where it is rendered as 'helper'.

⁸On the title see W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, I (Wiesbaden, 1961), 51, 90, where he proposes 'diensthabender Beamter' for the position; H. Gauthier, *Le Personnel du dieu Min* (RAPH 3; Cairo, 1931), 36-8.

in Djoser-djeseru (Chicago, Oriental Institute 8798 and Louvre E6.244),⁹ a prayer mentions those invited to perform a *hṯp di nsw* on behalf of the owner: god's fathers, scribes, lector priests, ordinary priests, acolytes and subordinates. Again, a list of similar officiants appears on the Abydos stela of the first prophet of Osiris, Nebwawi (Cairo CG 34018).¹⁰ In this instance, the writing of each category of priest is accompanied by plural strokes except that of the *imy-st-ꜥ*. Nebwawi's long career was pursued in the reigns of Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II. From the earlier of these reigns the title *imy-st-ꜥ n 'Imn* occurs on a funerary cone of Amenemhat (Frankfurt am Main IN 1669),¹¹ owner of TT 53 at Abd el-Qurna.¹² That Amenemhat's father, It-nefer, had held the same post is also documented on the same cone. A variation in the title which illustrates the combination of ordinary priest and acolyte is found on the shabtis inscribed for Nes-Amun-Ope, who is *wꜥb imy-st-ꜥ n pr 'Imn*. Dated to the Twenty-first Dynasty, they were found in the Deir el-Bahri cachette.¹³ An earlier *wꜥb*-priest of Montu claimed, among his offices listed on the upper part of a granite seated statue of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Cairo CG 843), to be an: *imy-st-ꜥ n 'Imn m hwt...*¹⁴

The term 'acolyte' is found in association with a list of posts for which an Eighteenth Dynasty scribe named Teti was responsible. The fragments of his granite statue (Cairo CG 1108)¹⁵ preserve, among others, titles such as '...overseer of all the craftsmen of Amun, overseer of the leatherworkers of..., overseer of the storehouse in the Mansion of the Patricians, overseer of the workshop of..., overseer of the slaughter-house(?) of...' and *imyt(sic)-st-ꜥ*. Such an entry alongside a series of 'overseer' posts raises the question as to the duties and standing of the holder of the office.¹⁶ Normally the term is encountered among titles which are essentially priestly. Two types of acolyte illustrate this feature. Firstly, *imy-st-ꜥ n pr 'Imn* (var. *imy-st-ꜥ n 'Imn pr*, 'acolyte of the estate of Amun', which in addition to the Vienna and Cairo shabtis of Nes-Amun-Ope quoted above, also occurs on monuments of the well-known Nesperamun family of the Twenty-second Dynasty.¹⁷ In the same period, 'a prophet of Amun in Karnak' named Pedimut records his being an 'acolyte of the estate of Amun' on a block statue in Cairo (CG 42218).¹⁸ A further example of uncertain period was found in the temple of Mut at Karnak on a sandstone fragment.¹⁹ The deceased, whose name is destroyed, had been depicted praising Ptah and Sekhmet and described himself as a *wꜥb imyt(sic)-st-ꜥ n 'Imn pr*. A second style of acolyte is designated as:

⁹E. Brovarski, 'Senenu, High Priest of Amun at Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 62 (1976), 57–73, where the title takes a variant form: $\begin{matrix} \text{𓄏} & \text{𓄏} \\ \text{𓄏} & \text{𓄏} \\ \text{𓄏} & \text{𓄏} \end{matrix}$; see pls. xi–xii. The phyle system is discussed in a footnote (65n.ae), with the suggestion that an acolyte was allocated to each group.

¹⁰P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (CG; Cairo, 1909–26), 37–8, pl. xi.

¹¹V. von Droste zu Hülshoff and B. Schlick-Nolte, *Aegyptiaca Diversa*, Teil 1 (CAA, Museen der Rhein-Main-Region; Mainz, 1984), Lieferung 1, 55–6.

¹²PM I², 102–4, where he is referred to as 'agent' of Amun.

¹³Cairo CG 48004-13; P. E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi* (CG; Cairo, 1957), 284–5, pl. xxxviii [No. 48011]; Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 6179; E. Reiser-Haslauer, *Uschebti*, II (CAA, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien; Vienna, 1992), Lieferung 8, 74–5. These shabtis were among the objects associated with the 'second find' of 1891 at Deir el Bahri that accounted for 153 burials, one of which was the mummy of Nes-Amun-Ope; see G. Daressy, 'Les Cercueils des prêtres d'Ammon', *ASAE* 8 (1907), 11, 15, 31, (mummy no. 113).

¹⁴L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, III (CG; Cairo, 1930), 119.

¹⁵Borchardt, *Statuen*, IV (CG; Berlin, 1934), 61–3.

¹⁶An earlier instance of the appearance of an *imy-st-ꜥ* in a comparable administrative capacity is found in a very damaged scene in the mastaba of Neb-Kaw-Her of the Fifth–Sixth Dynasty at Saqqara; see S. Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara 1937–38*, I. *The Mastaba of Neb-Kaw-Her*, re-edited by Z. Iskander (Cairo, 1975), 42–3, pl. xxvii (b), fig. 18. A list of departments in a deed of mortuary endowments reads (lines 44–52): *ir sr srḥ imy-st-ꜥ [...] hṯ wrt šmwt pr-hḏ pr-mdꜥt ḥri ḥtm*, which Hassan translates as: 'as for nobles, officers, office holders of [...] the Great Court, the Granary, the Treasury, the House of Books, the House of Sealed Documents'.

¹⁷Cairo CG 42221 and 42223, Nesperamun (i) and Hor (vi) son of Nesperamun (iv); see G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, III (CG; Cairo, 1914), 47–50, pl. xxix; 52–4, pl. xxx. For the numbering of the Nesperamun family, see K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*², (Warminster, 1986), §166.

¹⁸Legrain, *Statues*, I (CG; Cairo, 1906), 42–4, pl. xxvi, with variant writing: $\begin{matrix} \text{𓄏} & \text{𓄏} \\ \text{𓄏} & \text{𓄏} \\ \text{𓄏} & \text{𓄏} \end{matrix}$ *imy-st-nt-ꜥ n 'Imn pr*.

¹⁹M. Benson and J. Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher* (London, 1899), 92, 368.

†𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑 *imy-st-ꜥ n pꜣ htp*, 'acolyte of the offerings'. A member of the Neseramun family, Djedbast-ef-ankh (i) son of Hor (vi) (Cairo CG 42224),²⁰ claimed this post on his block statue. He was also an 𓆒 *wꜣb 'Imn*, 'senior priest of Amun', and in this respect enjoyed a similar pair of offices to Pes-thenef, whose fragmentary statue in Cairo (CG 941)²¹ records both the acolyte post and 'senior priest of the Amun estate'.²² A corresponding position in respect to the estate of Mut is seen on a broken statue of the Late Period in Cairo (CG 995),²³ originally from the temple of the goddess at Karnak. Here the owner was '...god's father, overseer of the storehouse(?), acolyte of the offerings of the estate of Mut in the fourth phyle...' This allocation of the office holder to a particular phyle is a common arrangement.²⁴ At El Kab in the Eighteenth Dynasty, Amenhotep surnamed Hapu announced himself to be *imy-st-ꜥ* 'for each phyle', as well as lector priest and temple scribe in the temple of Nekhbet.²⁵ In his study of the priesthood, Kees²⁶ cites a further development in the Ptolemaic Period, when there were five phyles and acolytes are recorded in some cases as serving for half-monthly periods of fifteen days.

The office of acolyte could be hereditary, as the funerary cone of Amenemhat (TT 53) has demonstrated, but the concept is strengthened by the late Twenty-second or Twenty-third Dynasty block statue of Basa (iv) in the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago (10729).²⁷ The long biographical text supplies the owner's titles and the names and titles of 25 other generations of paternal ascendants and 4 of maternal. Among the 33 titles of Basa is *imy-st-ꜥ{ꜣ} hr sꜣ tp (y) sꜣ 3-nw*, 'acolyte for the first phyle and third phyle'. This would suggest that he was on duty for alternate months. Ritner²⁸ has a number of pertinent observations. Firstly he notes the phonetic spelling of *imy-st-ꜥ* where 𓆒, 'great', is substituted for 𓆒, 'hand'. Then, in the case of Nespa-khered (ii), great grandfather of Basa (iv), the usual *imy-st-ꜥ* occurs. However, with Basa (ii), great-great-grandfather of Basa (iv), a third variant is found, *imy-st-nt-ꜥ*. Further, Ritner mentions that the title 'acolyte' is preceded in lines 5, 14 and 20 of the statue inscription by 𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑 *imy-r šn*, 'lesonis priest' (lit. 'overseer of asking/investigating').²⁹ Following the titles of Basa (ii), the phrase *mi-nw*, 'likewise', is used for the preceding twelve generations and so these also were *imy-st-ꜥ*-officials. The potential status of an acolyte in the temple hierarchy, strongly hinted at in the case of the Basa family, is underlined by a Ptolemaic statue in Cairo (JE 46059).³⁰ The back pillar of the statue has six lines of inscription with many titles, including *imy-st-ꜥ*.³¹ The person, whose name is unknown, combined both military and civil duties to the extent that Daressy suggested: 'se bien qu'on peut se demander si ce n'est pas un personnage d'Edfou que avait été établie comme gouverneur de Denderah'.³²

²⁰ Legrain, *Statues* I, 54–7, pl. xxxi; Kitchen, *TIP*², §§166–7.

²¹ Borchardt, *Statuen* III, 166.

²² I read 𓆒 *wꜣb 'Imn* as 'senior priest of Amun', following G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXI^e dynastie* (Paris, 1929), 15, referring to G. Daressy, *Recueil de cônes funéraires* (MIFAO 8; Cairo, 1894) nos. 116, 149; he translates 𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑 or 𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑 𓆒 *wꜣb* as 'grands prêtres-ouâb', that is, 'senior priest'. The position of 𓆒 in relation to *wꜣb* is attested in the writing of the title for both Djedbast-ef-ankh (i) and Pes-thenef, also for a certain An(kh)ef... on his block statuette (Glasgow Museums, Burrell Collection 13/112, unpublished), of the same period. H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat* (Leiden, 1953), 244 and n. 6, proposes to attach 𓆒 to *htp* to give 'Assistent des grossen Opfers', with reference to Djedbast-ef-ankh (i).

²³ Borchardt, *Statuen* IV, 19.

²⁴ For Eighteenth Dynasty examples, see Kees, *Das Priestertum*, 301.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 50.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 304 and n. 5.

²⁷ R. K. Ritner, 'Denderite Temple Hierarchy and the Family of Theban High Priest Nebwenef: Block Statue OIM 10729', in D. P. Silverman (ed.), *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (SAOC 55; Chicago, 1994), 205–26.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 217, n. L, statue lines 5/6, 14/15 and 20. In the last instance Ritner renders *imy-st-nt-ꜥ* as 'overseer of the place of the hand'. He also comments that the three variant writings are united by the qualifying phrase *hr (sꜣ tpy) sꜣ 3-nw*, 'for the (first and) third phylae'.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 216–17, n. K.

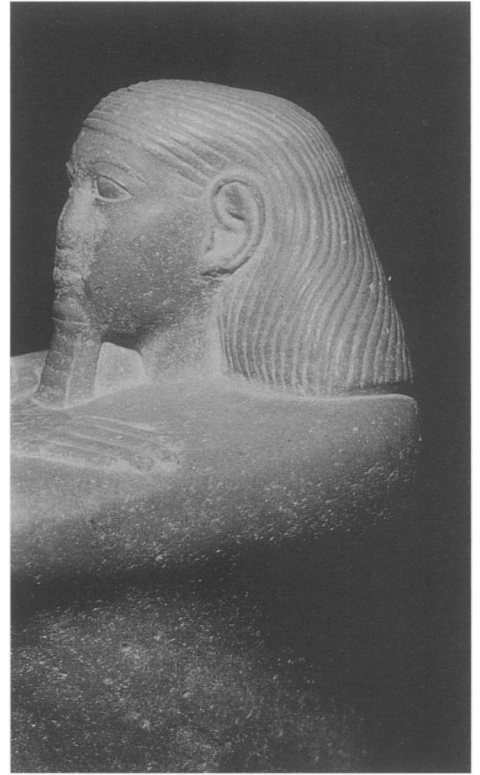
³⁰ G. Daressy, 'Inscriptions tentyrites', *ASAE* 17(1917), 91–3.

³¹ Daressy, *ASAE* 17, 91, left the title untranslated; in line 3, it is spelled phonetically *imy-s.t-y*.

³² *Ibid.* 93.



1. British Museum EA 174 (*author's photograph*)



2. British Museum EA 1513 (*photograph by Bernara V. Bothmer*)

FOUR NOTES ON THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY (pp. 205–10)



3. Fragment of statuette, Glasgow Museums 07-79y (*Courtesy of Glasgow Museums*)

A FIRST ACOLYTE OF AMUN (pp. 215–20)



1. Glasgow Museums 07-79y surface of kilt (*Courtesy of Glasgow Museums*)



2. Glasgow Museums 07-79y, top of base, left side (*Courtesy of Glasgow Museums*)



3. Glasgow Museums 07-79y, base, left side (*Courtesy of Glasgow Museums*)

A FIRST ACOLYTE OF AMUN (pp. 215–20)

The examples of the *imy-st-r* above show clearly that whatever the position entailed, the holder was not an 'acolyte' in the commonly accepted sense of that word, but rather, a person of some substance. Further, the *imy-st-r tpy n'Imn* of the Glasgow statuette appears to be without parallel so far, while the implied grading of the post cannot be substantiated.³³ Possibly *tpy* should in this case be interpreted with the idea of a 'senior' official rather on the analogy of *ꜣ wꜣb'Imn* as applied to, among others, some members of the Neseramun family, as recounted previously. This would perhaps help to explain the apparent absence of hypothetical second, third or fourth acolytes from the records.³⁴

What, then, was an *imy-st-r*? Literally the phrase means 'who is in the place of the hand/arm'. The position was integrated into the phyle system, was associated with generally priestly titles and it would seem that the holder had to be on duty for the monthly, probably daily, functions and routine in a temple to be performed. The 'hand' in the phrase may signal actual physical involvement in the ritual—receiving offerings on behalf of the god? A Middle Kingdom papyrus from Kahun, now in Berlin (P 10005),³⁵ indicates the daily payment due to an acolyte. As one of the staff at a royal mortuary temple, he was issued with loaves of bread and beer (*stꜣ*-jars and *hꜣnw*-jars) following a division of the balance of the temple income after the deduction of funerary offerings. The entry for the *imy-st-r* at a rate of 2 portions, shows that, in this case at least, he received $3\frac{1}{3}$, $1\frac{2}{3}$ and $5\frac{1}{2}$ plus $\frac{1}{30}$ respectively of each item. The rate was the same for an embalmer, an *ibh*-priest and a king's priest. The Koptos decree of the Sixth Dynasty³⁶ laid down that among other temple personnel the *imy-st-r* was exempt from forced labour. The permanence of the position, inferred from its inclusion among other titles, makes 'duty officer' a possible solution, with its connotation of an appointment for a limited time, less than adequate. Until a pictorial representation of an *imy-st-r* performing his office, ideally accompanied by a related text, is found, the interpretation of the title remains obscure.

JAMES K. THOMSON

Partisan royal epithets in the late Third Intermediate Period and the dynastic affiliations of Pedubast I and Iuput II*

The use of the epithets 'son of Isis' and 'son of Bastet' in royal names corresponds closely to the Theban Twenty-third and late Twenty-second Dynasties respectively, suggesting that the epithets may have indicated dynastic affiliation. These epithets were occasionally used outside of the Theban Twenty-third and late Twenty-second Dynasties, but these occurrences can be understood as appropriations or reinterpretations rather than as incompatible exceptions. If these epithets did indeed indicate dynastic affiliation during the Theban Twenty-third and late Twenty-second Dynasties, then both Pedubast I and Iuput II should be associated with the Twenty-second Dynasty, since both used the epithet 'son of Bastet'.

THE epithets 'son of Isis' or 'son of Bastet' frequently appeared in royal names during the later Third Intermediate Period, in or following the nomen or 'son of Re' cartouche. The pattern of use of these epithets suggests that they may have indicated dynastic affiliation, at least during the portion of the Third Intermediate Period when the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties coexisted.

³³In a personal communication of 16/4/96, Dr M. L. Bierbrier writes that neither he nor his colleagues have encountered the qualifying *tpy* in such contexts and suggests that the statuette's owner may have been trying to upgrade his importance.

³⁴As an alternative J. van Dijk has proposed the possibility that *imy-st-r tpy* could stand for 'acolyte of the first phyle', that is, as an abbreviation of *imy-st-r hr sꜣ tpy*.

³⁵L. Borchardt, 'Besoldungsverhältnisse von Priestern im Mittleren Reich', *ZÄS* 40 (1902–3), 113–17; A. H. Gardiner, 'The Daily Income of Sesostriis II's Funerary Temple', *JEA* 42 (1956), 119, where he amends Borchardt's interpretation of monthly payments to those of a daily nature; W. Helck, 'Tempelwirtschaft', *LÄ* VI, 417–18.

³⁶E. Brovarski, 'Tempelpersonal I', *LÄ* VI, 392.

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First, several late Third Intermediate Period kings used identical cartouche names distinguished only by their different epithets, namely Hedjkheperre Setepenre Meryamun Takeloth [I] and Hedjkheperre Setepenre Meryamun Takeloth [II] 'son of Isis',¹ and Usimare Setepenamun Meryamun Osorkon [II] 'son of Bastet' and Usimare Setepenamun Meryamun Osorkon [III] 'son of Isis'.² This use of epithets to differentiate otherwise identical names appears deliberate.

Second, according to the reconstruction of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties proposed by several scholars,³ the epithet 'son of Isis' was used primarily by kings of the Theban Twenty-third Dynasty, namely Takeloth II, Osorkon III, Takeloth III, and Iny, whose monuments and authority were concentrated in Upper Egypt,⁴ while the epithet 'son of Bastet' was used primarily by kings of the later Twenty-second Dynasty, namely Osorkon II, Sheshonq III, Pami and Sheshonq V, whose monuments and authority were concentrated in Lower Egypt.⁵

The correlation between the epithet 'son of Bastet' and the kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty is probably not coincidental, since Manetho described the Twenty-second Dynasty as 'kings of Bubastis', and Bubastis was, of course, the major cult centre of Bastet, as Yoyotte has noted.⁶ Furthermore, this correlation is paralleled by the use of the epithet 'son of Neith' by kings of the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, namely Tefnakht,⁷ Psammetichus I,⁸ and Amasis, since Manetho described both the Twenty-fourth and the Twenty-sixth Dynasties as 'kings of Sais', and Sais was the major cult centre of Neith. The epithet 'son of Isis', on the other hand, may refer to the god Harsiese ('Horus son of Isis') son of Osiris, who seems to have assimilated the royal cult of Amun in Opet in the Late Period at Thebes.⁹

These correlations between the epithets, the dynasties and the primary deities of their hometowns given by Manetho suggest that Manetho's dynasties actually reflect how the late Third Intermediate Period kings viewed themselves. These correlations also suggest that the reconstruction of the late Third Intermediate Period proposed by Baer, Spencer and Spencer, Aston, Leahy and Taylor (see n. 3) is substantially correct, or at least more correct than Kitchen's reconstruction.

There are very few exceptions to the dynastic pattern of these epithets during the portion of the Third Intermediate Period when the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties coexisted; Sheshonq III and Pedubast I each used the epithet 'son of Isis' once, in addition to their more

¹ K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*³ (Warminster, 1995), xxiii.

² Kitchen, *TIP*³, 88-94.

³ K. Baer, 'The Libyan and Nubian Kings of Egypt: Notes on the Chronology of Dynasties XXII to XXVI', *JNES* 32 (1973), 4-25; P. A. Spencer and A. J. Spencer, 'Notes on Late Libyan Egypt', *JEA* 72 (1986), 198-201; D. A. Aston, 'Takeloth II — A King of the 'Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty'', *JEA* 75 (1989), 139-53; D. A. Aston and J. H. Taylor, 'The Family of Takeloth III and the 'Theban' Twenty-third Dynasty', in A. Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt c.1300-750 B.C.* (London, 1990), 131-54; A. Leahy, 'Appendix: The Twenty-third Dynasty', in *Libya and Egypt*, 177-200.

⁴ For Takeloth II, Osorkon III and Takeloth III, see M. A. Bonhême, *Les noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la troisième période intermédiaire* (BdE 98; Cairo, 1987), 269; for Iny, see J. Yoyotte, 'Pharaon Iny, un roi mystérieux du VIII^e siècle avant J.-C.', *CRIPPEL* 11 (1989), 124-5. The phrase 'son of Isis' is also an element in the nomen of the Theban King Harsiese (A), a forerunner or perhaps the first member of the Theban Twenty-third Dynasty; see Bonhême, *Les noms royaux*, 195-6.

⁵ For Osorkon II, Sheshonq III and Sheshonq V, see Bonhême, *Les noms royaux*, 269; for one example of Pami, see J. Yoyotte, 'Des lions et des chats, contributions à la prosopographie de l'époque libyenne' *RdE* 39 (1988), 164-6.

⁶ J. Yoyotte, 'La ville de "Taremou" (Tell el-Muqdam)', *BIFAO* 52 (1953), 192.

⁷ Once only, on the donation stela ex-collection Michailides; see J. Yoyotte, 'Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de Tanis', *Kêmi* 21 (1971), figs. 1 and 2; Bonhême, *Les noms royaux*, 231. For the similar epithet 'born of Neith, divine mother' on the donation stela in Athens, see R. el-Saycd, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités* (BdE 69; Cairo, 1979), 39, pl. vii; Bonhême, *Les noms royaux*, 231.

⁸ G. Maspero, 'La chapelle d'Asfoun', *ASAE* 7 (1906), 59.

⁹ C. Traunecker, 'Le papyrus Spiegelberg et l'évolution des liturgies thébaines', in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 27; Leiden, 1995), 193-201.

usual use of the epithet 'son of Bastet'.¹⁰ There are more exceptions from before and after the period of contemporary dynasties, but the epithets will perhaps have had different significances at these times when for the most part there was only one king. Previously the epithet 'son of Isis' is attested once for Sheshonq I, though his relationship, if any, to the Theban Twenty-third Dynasty would have been distant.¹¹ Earlier in the Twenty-first Dynasty the High Priest of Amun Herihor added the similar epithet 'son of Amun' to his name in his nomen,¹² and Siamun's nomen was simply 'son of Amun'.¹³ After the period of contemporary dynasties Piankhy, Shabaka, Taharqa and Psammetichus I used the epithet 'son of Isis', even though they probably had no relationship at all to the Theban Twenty-third Dynasty.¹⁴ Piankhy also used the epithet 'son of Bastet',¹⁵ and Psammetichus I also employed the epithet 'son of Neith'. Much later, Seheribre Pedubast III, who has been dated to the early Persian Period, once used the epithet 'son of Bastet',¹⁶ and in the Thirtieth Dynasty Nectanebo II employed both 'son of Bastet',¹⁷ and the similar epithet 'son of Hathor'.¹⁸

Yoyotte has in fact argued that these epithets cannot indicate dynastic affiliation, citing the exceptions to the dynastic pattern of epithets from before and after the period of contemporary dynasties, and assuming that the significance of the epithets had not changed through time.¹⁹ Yoyotte and others have suggested instead that these epithets indicate the origin of the objects on which they occur, 'son of Isis' on Upper Egyptian objects and 'son of Bastet' on Lower Egyptian ones.²⁰ This is not, however, a superior solution, since there are a number of exceptions to the suggested geographic pattern of use. Osorkon II and Sheshonq III both employed the epithet 'son of Bastet' in Theban contexts,²¹ and Sheshonq III's single use of the epithet 'son of Isis' occurs in a northern context. Piankhy and Psammetichus I used the epithets 'son of Bastet' and 'son of Neith' respectively in southern contexts, as well as the more usual 'son of Isis'.

If the epithets 'son of Isis' and 'son of Bastet' do indeed indicate dynastic affiliation, then it may be possible to determine the positions of Pedubast I and Iuput II relative to the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties. Pedubast I used the epithet 'son of Bastet' four times, on three donation stelae and a votive bronze, while he employed 'son of Isis' just once on Karnak Nile Level Text 24.²² The majority of the epithets therefore suggest the possibility that Pedubast I was somehow related to the Twenty-second Dynasty.²³ Aston and Jansen-Winkel have already

¹⁰For Pedubast, see A. Schulman, 'A Problem of Pedubasts', *JARCE* 5 (1966), 37–8; Bonhême, *Les noms royaux*, 207. For Sheshonq III, see W. Spiegelberg, 'Eine Schenkungsurkunde aus der Zeit Scheschonks III', *RT* 35 (1913), 43–5.

¹¹Bonhême, *Les noms royaux*, 105, 269. The examples of the epithets 'son of Bastet' and 'god, ruler of Heliopolis' probably refer not to Sheshonq I, but to an ephemeral Tanite king who reigned after Sheshonq II, possibly to be identified with the anonymous second burial in Sheshonq III's tomb; see A. Dodson, 'A New King Sheshonq Confirmed?', *GM* 137 (1993), 53–8; idem., *The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt* (London, 1994), 93; Kitchen, *TIP*³, xxv–xxvi.

¹²Bonhême, *Les noms royaux*, 32.

¹³Ibid. 90.

¹⁴J. Yoyotte, 'Le martelage des noms royaux éthiopiens par Psammétique II', *RdE* 8 (1951), 225, n. 4; R. A. Parker, 'King Py, a Historical Problem', *ZAS* 93 (1966), 112–13.

¹⁵D. Dunham, *The Barkal Temples* (Boston, 1970), 55, fig. 40.

¹⁶J. Yoyotte, 'Pétoubastis III', *RdE* 24 (1972), 216–17.

¹⁷E. Naville, *Bubastis (1887–1889)*, (MEEF 8; London, 1891), pls. 43f, 47a, b, d, h. Also see L. Habachi, *Tell Basta* (ASAE suppl. 22; Cairo, 1957), 126–33, figs. 23, 28–9, pls. 42a, c, 43a, for similar blocks found at Bilbeis.

¹⁸M. Chabân, 'Fouilles à Achmounéin', *ASAE* 8 (1907), 222.

¹⁹*CRIPPEL* 11, 124–5.

²⁰Yoyotte, *RdE* 8, 225, n. 4; idem., *BIFAO* 52, 192; idem., 'Les principautés du Delta au temps de l'anarchie libyenne', *Mélanges Maspero* 1/4, (MIFAO 66; Cairo, 1961), 150, n. 4; idem., *CRIPPEL* 11, 124–5; Bonhême, *Les noms royaux*, 268–71; K. Jansen-Winkel, 'Historische Probleme der 3. Zwischenzeit', *JEA* 81 (1995), 143.

²¹For Osorkon II, see Bonhême, *Les noms royaux*, 166, n. 1; for Sheshonq III, see *ibid.* 119, n. 3.

²²*Ibid.* 207.

²³Although probably not a king of the Twenty-second Dynasty, since he was contemporary with Sheshonq III; cf. Karnak Nile Level Text 24.

noted that Pedubast I was apparently unrelated to the Theban Twenty-third Dynasty proper, and that he was probably one of Crown Prince Osorkon's unnamed enemies,²⁴ so it is possible that Pedubast I was originally a northerner who came south to obtain a kingdom. The one occurrence of the epithet 'son of Isis' remains unexplained, however. Schulman has suggested that two separate Pedubasts are indicated, an idea recently revived by von Beckerath, who would identify Pedubast 'son of Bastet' rather than Sehetepibre Pedubast as Pedubast II.²⁵ However, one should probably hesitate to distinguish a northern Pedubast 'son of Bastet' from a southern Pedubast 'son of Isis' solely on the basis of a single occurrence of the epithet 'son of Isis',²⁶ especially since Sheshonq III also appears to have used the epithet 'son of Isis' just once, on a hieratic donation stela probably from Lower Egypt,²⁷ while the epithet 'son of Bastet' is applied to him numerous times, on texts from both Upper and Lower Egypt.²⁸

Iuput II used the epithet 'son of Bastet' three times, on a bark-stand from Tell el-Yahudiya, on a bronze door hinge from Tell el-Muqdam and on the Hood plaque,²⁹ which suggests the possibility that Iuput II was also somehow related to the Twenty-second Dynasty, perhaps even as the immediate successor of Sheshonq V.³⁰ The main objection to placing Iuput II in the Twenty-second Dynasty is that the Piankhy stela locates him in Taanu and Taremu,³¹ the latter being perhaps Tell el-Muqdam,³² whereas the sites most closely connected with the Twenty-second Dynasty were Tanis and Bubastis. However, Leahy has argued that after Sheshonq V control of Tanis passed to Pedubast II and Osorkon IV of the upstart Tanite Twenty-third Dynasty, so that a successor of Sheshonq V will presumably not have had access to Tanis, and apparently not to Bubastis either, since the Piankhy stela places Osorkon IV there and in the District of Ranefer.³³ In support of placing Iuput II in the Twenty-second Dynasty, one may note that the great chief of the Ma in Mendes, Smendes son of Harnakht, dated a donation stela by his regnal years,³⁴ and that according to the Piankhy stela Iuput II came to offer submission accompanied by the mayor and chief of the Ma in Sebennytos, Akanosh, by the hereditary prince in Athribis, Petisis, and by all the mayors of the north.³⁵ In contrast, Pedubast II is known only from blocks from Tanis and a statue from Memphis, and Osorkon IV is known only from the Piankhy stela,³⁶ according to which he came alone to offer submission.³⁷

Pedubast I's and Iuput II's use of the epithet 'son of Bastet' therefore need not contradict the strong correlation between the epithets 'son of Isis', 'son of Bastet' and 'son of Neith' and the Theban Twenty-third Dynasty, the Bubastite Twenty-second Dynasty, and the Saite Twenty-fourth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties respectively. This correlation, then, fits a deliberate policy to distinguish competing dynasties whose kings sometimes adopted otherwise identical cartouche names.

BRIAN MUHS

²⁴Aston, *JEA* 75, 149; Jansen-Winkel, *JEA* 81, 143.

²⁵Schulman, *JARCE* 5, 37-8; J. von Beckerath, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Libyzeit, 3. Die Könige namens Pedubaste', *GM* 147 (1995), 9-13.

²⁶Baer, *JNES* 32, 15.

²⁷Spiegelberg, *RT* 35, 43-5.

²⁸Bonhême, *Les noms royaux*, 166, n. 1.

²⁹*Ibid.* 214-16, in light of Kitchen, *TIP*³, 542-3.

³⁰Iuput II's highest (and only) regnal year is 21, and his reign should overlap Pianky's invasion c. 728 BC, so Iuput II could easily have succeeded Sheshonq V c. 735 BC and reigned until Shabako's invasion c. 715 BC, contemporary first with Pedubast II and then with Osorkon IV.

³¹N. C. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire JE 48862 et 47086-47089* (MIFAO 105; Cairo, 1985), 150-1, line 114.

³²Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 52, 179-92.

³³Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, 150-1, line 114.

³⁴Kitchen, *TIP*³, 542.

³⁵Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, 106-7, lines 99-100.

³⁶Leahy, *Libya and Egypt*, 188-9.

³⁷Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, 134-5, line 106.

The question of *dqr* and sterile blades in P. Ebers 875*

Although a recent study interpreted the meaning of *dqr* as describing the process by which a guinea worm is removed from the body by winding on a stick, a contextual analysis of P. Ebers 875 suggests instead that *dqr* was used to describe the worm itself, and not the cure. Previous authors have also speculated that Egyptian physicians were aware of the importance of sterilized surgical equipment. Based on the known Egyptian medical mindset, this discussion proposes that no such advanced medical knowledge existed in ancient Egypt.

A frightful hazard which the ancient Egyptians had to contend with from their water sources was *Dracunculus medinensis*, or the guinea worm.¹ The autopsy of Manchester Museum mummy 1770 in which guinea worm cysts were positively identified,² showed for certain that this scourge existed in ancient Egypt. Because of the facts that open step-wells in particular are dangerous transmitters of guinea worm,³ and that these types of well did exist in Egypt, most notably at Deir el-Medina and Amarna,⁴ we may reasonably infer that guinea worm infestations were considerable in such communities. When one considers the acute and conspicuous nature of guinea worm symptoms (a painful, pruritic blister from which the metre-long female worm partially emerges before expelling its ova into a water source), it is logical to assume that the Egyptians were aware of this worm and consequently paid some attention to it in their medical texts. Indeed, attention has long been drawn to P. Ebers 875,⁵ which contains passages that describe symptoms and treatments that are recognized as being applicable to *Dracunculus medinensis*.⁶

P. Ebers 875 is particularly interesting because although we are fairly certain as to its diagnostical content, some of its elements have proven enigmatic to the Egyptologist. The first of these is the interpretation of the mysterious verb *dqr*:

[...] *gmm · k sy sm · s iw · s dqrti r hꜣw nty hr · s*
 'How you will find it is going and coming, (—?—) against the flesh that is under it.'

The first scholar to attempt a definition of *dqr* was Gardiner,⁷ who noted that it is 'a very rare and obscure verb, perhaps meaning in its most literal sense "to press"'. He also observed this verb's use in the caption of a spinning scene at Beni Hassan,⁸ which subsequently prompted other scholars to infer a different definition, that of 'eine Handlung beim Spinnen' (*Wb.* V, 496).

In a more recent article, Miller⁹ has brought us back to this intriguing question, taking Gardiner's original definition to task by more or less appropriating the later definition and attempting to make it fit into the context of P. Ebers 875. According to Miller,¹⁰ the Beni Hassan

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¹For the life-cycle of the worm, see D. R. Hopkins, 'Dracunculiasis: An Eradicable Scourge', *Epidemiologic Review* 5 (1983), 208–10.

²R. David (ed.), *Mysteries of the Mummies: The Story of the Manchester University Investigation* (London, 1978), 135.

³Hopkins, *Epidemiologic Review* 5, 213–14.

⁴R. Ventura, 'On the Location of the Administrative Outpost of the Community of Workmen in Western Thebes', *JEA* 73 (1987), 149–60; J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, III (London, 1951), 133.

⁵The reader is referred to the (untranslated) hieroglyphic text published in H. Grapow, *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, V (Berlin, 1958), 397.

⁶This diagnosis was first accepted by P. Ghalioungui, 'Parasitic Disease in Ancient Egypt', *BIE* 48–9 (1969), 14–17.

⁷A. H. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (Paris, 1916), 60.

⁸See P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II (ASE 2; London, 1893), pl. iv.

⁹R. L. Miller, 'Dqr, Spinning and Treatment of Guinea Worm in P. Ebers 875', *JEA* 75 (1989), 249–54.

¹⁰*Ibid.* 250.

spinning scene depicts doubling thinly-spun linen thread which is drawn out of two bowls, by twisting it around a spindle to make it stronger.¹¹ Due to the well-known fact that an ancient method of extracting the mature guinea worm was to tie its end to a stick as it appeared through the blister and then slowly winding it until extraction was complete (sometimes a three-week process),¹² Miller espouses the conventional 'spinning' definition of *dqr* and adds to it by stating that 'the word *dqr* is identified as describing the gradual extraction of the worm from the body by winding on a stick.'¹³ Thus, by analogy, 'the process of winding the worm around a stick kept against the flesh...is appropriately described by the same verb used for drawing out thread during a similar type of spinning...'¹⁴

While certainly an interesting proposal on how to interpret *dqr*, and one that would benefit us by permitting a more exact recognition of P. Ebers 875's subject matter, the present writer believes that this evidence does not bear up when subjected to more in-depth examination. One will notice here that *dqr* is said to relate to the *process* of extracting the worm, by spinning it on a stick. However, if we apply this meaning to P. Ebers 875 — 'How you will find it is going and coming, [being wound around a stick] against the flesh that is under it' — we see that its context precludes this interpretation. There are several reasons for this. The first is that if the worm is both 'going and coming' inside the flesh, it cannot be tied at one end on a stick which is pulling it out in a single direction. Second, the actual cure for this parasitic disease is only presented two sentences later. According to the standard order of presentation in the Egyptian medical texts, the title is given first, followed by the examination, then the diagnosis, and finally the treatment. In P. Ebers 875, the verb *dqr* clearly lies in the examination section, which is purely reserved for describing the worm and does not deal in any manner with its extraction. To interpret this verb as having something to do with the process by which the worm is extracted, then, is to take it out of its proper context.

Gardiner's definition of *dqr*, on the other hand, better fits the P. Ebers 875 context. Consider the following description of guinea worm disease given by Plutarch (*italics mine*):¹⁵

'That the people taken ill on the Red Sea suffered many strange and unheard of attacks, amongst other worms upon them which gnawed away their legs and arms and, when touched, *retracted themselves up in the muscles and there gave rise to the most unupportable pains...*'

With this passage in mind, one will notice that Gardiner's P. Ebers 875 translation of the guinea worm 'pressing against the flesh that is under it'¹⁶ may be seen as an accurate description of the worm's painful activity inside the flesh.

This writer also believes it very difficult to apply Miller's definition of *dqr* to the context in which it appears in the story of Sinuhe, where Gardiner translates, 'pitying him whom he had

¹¹ However, see G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *The Production of Linen in Pharaonic Egypt* (Leiden, 1992), 16-18, who identifies similar spinning scenes as representations of a method known as 'drop spinning', which involves rolling the spindle on the thigh and then letting it drop. Vogelsang-Eastwood (p. 17) also notes examples where the spinners are shown spinning with two spindles at the same time, much as in the Beni Hassan scene. Thus, the Beni Hassan scene probably does not depict the doubling of threads into one. This does not alter the fact that this scene represents a spinning activity, which is, in the end, the only requisite for Miller's theory.

¹² David, *Mysteries of the Mummies*, 135.

¹³ *JEA* 75, 249.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 250. Credit for this idea must also be given to R. Parant, *L'Affaire Sinouhé* (Aurillac, 1982), 163. In a lengthy section devoted to the interpretation of *dqr*, Parant considers the possible association between the meanings of *dqr* in the Beni Hassan and P. Ebers 875 contexts but is somewhat skeptical of this interpretation. 'On notera — simple coincidence amusante ou champ sémantique du mot *dqr*? — que cette interprétation ["sens d'extraire"] rappelle celle que nous croyons pouvoir proposer du mot *dqr* de la scène de filage de [Béni-Hassan], surtout si la tumeur du Pap. Ebers est due à un filaire que les Égyptiens extrayaient par embobinage sur un tourniquet ad hoc. On se méfiera d'une interprétation qui pourrait n'être qu'un jeu de mot: si, en effet, on pense à la tumeur causée par le filaire de Médine, que les gens du pays "extraient" en l'"embobinant" sur un morceau de bois, on pourrait être tenté de rapprocher le *dqr* des scènes de filage au fuseau de [Béni-Hassan], ce qui serait...fort aventureux.'

¹⁵ From Ghalioungui, *BIE* 48-9, 14.

¹⁶ *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 60.

expelled (?) to live in the desert'.¹⁷ To do so would be to interpret this passage as: '...the exiled courtier has been tethered, like a neglected domestic animal, in the desert instead of in fields in the Nile valley where an animal would find better browse and pasture within the limited radius permitted by the cord and peg to which it was tethered.'¹⁸ One can see that Gardiner's definition of *dqr* as 'to press' makes more inherent sense in *Sinuhe* — it is easier to imagine someone being pressed or pressured (or 'expelled') out of Egypt to live in the desert by political circumstances at home, than to view this passage in unnecessarily complex metaphorical senses. One might argue, in favour of Miller's proposed interpretation, that *Sinuhe* was 'drawn' out to the desert much as the guinea worm is drawn out on a stick, but he was not pulled there so much as he was pushed; the desert did not force him to go to it, it merely played a passive role by accepting him as a refugee.

Thus, we have demonstrated the difficulty of interpreting *dqr* as a process of winding out on a piece of wood, in view of this verb's contexts in *Sinuhe* and especially P. Ebers 875. The question remaining is, how should one attempt to define *dqr*? An obvious starting point is to pool what we know of the verb from both the Beni Hassan artistic evidence and the P. Ebers 875 contextual analysis. We have seen above that we probably cannot interpret *dqr* as meaning a *process* in spinning or a *process* of winding the worm around a stick kept against the flesh. Rather, considering both the connection of *dqr* with the spinning scene and how it must have been applied in the P. Ebers 875 context, this verb probably simply refers to the *action* of spinning (or twisting, etc.). In this manner, finding the worm '...going and coming, *twisted* against the flesh that is under it' in P. Ebers 875 makes sense, as one can easily imagine the guinea worm's end twisting and probing back and forth as it emerges through the broken blister.

Although this definition is suitable for both the P. Ebers 875 and Beni Hassan contexts, it is not necessarily adequate for the other contexts in which the verb appears.¹⁹ It is hazardous to assume that one particular meaning or definition must fit all contexts, given the multiple meanings of most verbs. Having said that, this also means that the actual meanings of *dqr* in P. Ebers 875 and the Beni Hassan scene might be completely different, thus effectively rendering any comparisons between the two invalid. It might be wise to remember that it is dangerous to infer anything from the Beni Hassan scene, due to the subjectiveness of this type of reasoning. We simply do not know what the Egyptians meant to highlight when they used *dqr* to describe it. As a result, perhaps we should place less emphasis on finding an association between the meanings of *dqr* in the P. Ebers 875 and Beni Hassan contexts — a practice that Parant warned was 'fort aventureux'.²⁰

All that may be concluded with certainty at this point is that one probably cannot give *dqr* the meaning of 'winding on a stick' in P. Ebers 875. All other definitions, including the one I proposed above, must unfortunately remain as guesswork to a question whose answer we shall perhaps never know for certain.

Were sterile blades used in ancient Egyptian surgery?

The controversies of P. Ebers 875 do not end here. Another point of contention in this passage lies in how we should interpret the significance of the various knives that were used in the operation, and the material from which they were made. Some authors have read into this a very advanced knowledge of medicine, in particular of bacteriology, which this writer thinks is highly unlikely.

Recent works have drawn our attention to the Egyptians' use of flint,²¹ from which the *ds*-knife is struck. They mention the fact that a freshly-struck piece of flint is sterile and sharper than any modern steel surgical instrument, citing the well-known case of a surgeon's highly successful

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Miller, *JEA* 75, 250 n. 3.

¹⁹ See Parant, *L'Affaire Simouhé*, 160–9 for a list and discussion of all the contexts in which the verb *dqr* appears in Egyptian literature.

²⁰ Ibid. 163.

²¹ Miller, *JEA* 75, 252; see also J. F. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (London, 1996), 165.

use of lithic blades for North American flintknapper/archaeologist Don Crabtree's heart surgery. That flint is sharp is not disputed; what is disputed here is the notion that the ancient Egyptians used flint because it is sterile. Miller suggests that 'after being used to cut open the surface of the blister and allow access to the worm inside, the flint could have been discarded, avoiding the difficulty of washing and disinfecting a metal scalpel which could carry infection on from a previous use.'²² Likewise, Ghalioungui, noting that two different knives were used in the P. Ebers 875 operation (the *ds*-knife and the *shas*-knife), thinks that the Egyptian surgeon might have discarded the first knife after the initial incision, before using '...a second one that had not been infected by contact with the skin'.²³ Grapow also has expressed similar reasoning, with reference to a reed that the Egyptians used for cutting purposes in P. Ebers 876. According to him, reeds were utilized because they are cheap and can be thrown away after first use.²⁴ This thought is again dependent on the notion that the Egyptians were aware of the deadly effects of unsterilized objects, and were conscious of throwing away anything that became dirty during initial use.

It is more likely than not, however, that the Egyptians did not harbour such advanced medical knowledge. Indeed, we ourselves only found out the importance of cleanliness for preventing infection in AD 1848, when Ignaz Semmelweis of the Vienna General Hospital first applied a process of multiple working hypotheses to identify the invisible cause of so many patient deaths there.²⁵ While I might be accused of projecting onto the past a Eurocentric cultural bias (a because-we-did-not-figure-it-out-until-recently-they-could-not-have attitude), there is some reason to believe that the ancient Egyptians were probably not aware of micro-organisms as the causative agents of illness. It is a fact, as Maspero long ago noted,²⁶ that the Egyptians believed diseases were evil manifestations of malicious gods or bad spirits of dead men and women. This is why it was common healing practice for the ancient Egyptian physician to invoke the help of a benign deity, in order to counteract these malign influences.²⁷

A much simpler explanation for the two different knives used in the P. Ebers 875 operation is that they were used for different purposes. Just as our modern surgical kit is not limited to only one type of cutting instrument, it is probable that the Egyptians' was not either.²⁸ In addition to the reed, *ds*-, and *shas*-knives already seen, for example, in P. Ebers 767, we also find mention of a *khepet*-knife, used to clean out an infected ear. While the differences in the use of these instruments are not clear to us,²⁹ we may be able to judge from context that the *ds*-knife was more suited for general incisions, the *shas*-knife had a finer blade and was thus used to extract guinea worms embedded in tendons, which were otherwise too difficult to remove using the conventional stick method,³⁰ and the *khepet*-knife was one best utilized for scraping activities in narrow places. This perhaps allows us a rough understanding of the physical appearance of these knives. As for the Egyptians' insistence in some cases on using a reed for cutting, for which we cannot assign any clear practical considerations, it is possible that this practice may have stemmed from a superstitious belief in the magical healing properties of the reed, which through its use would necessarily impart these properties to the wound.³¹ On the other hand, some *Phenicia* reeds are actually known to harbour drugs with real pharmacological activity,³² so perhaps the Egyptians

²² Miller, *JEA* 75, 252.

²³ P. Ghalioungui, *Magic and Medical Science in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1963), 99.

²⁴ H. Grapow, *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, III (Berlin, 1956), 105.

²⁵ See K. L. Feder, *Frauds, Myths, and Mysteries: Science and Pseudoscience in Archaeology* (Mountain View, 1990), 19.

²⁶ G. Maspero, *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria* (New York, 1971 reprinted from 1892 edition), 119. A perfect example of this belief may be seen in some medical passages (e.g. P. Ebers 168) that deal with the famous *rc*-disease.

²⁷ Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 103–4, 112.

²⁸ For different types of Egyptian knives, see W. M. F. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, (BSAE and ERA 22; London, 1917), pls. xxiv–xxxii.

²⁹ Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 164–5.

³⁰ Miller, *JEA* 75, 253.

³¹ This is, admittedly, pure speculation on my part.

³² Ghalioungui, *Magic and Medical Science in Ancient Egypt*, 141.

had a valid, practical motive to use reeds in surgery after all.³³ When one considers the often bizarre cornucopia of healing ingredients used by the Egyptian physicians, however, one might be inclined to regard the rather isolated and peculiar medical use of a reed cutting tool in P. Ebers 876 more from a superstitious viewpoint than a practical one.

LUC BOUCHET-BERT

New evidence for the use of cedar sawdust for embalming by ancient Egyptians*

Microscopical examination of the embalming sawdust discovered in the abdominal cavity of a Late Period mummy was undertaken to identify the material used. Although the use of cedar has often been suggested, this study presents photomicrographic illustration of the anatomical criteria enabling the sawdust to be identified as *Cedrus* sp., cedar.

IN May 1995 a team of French, Italian and Spanish scientists led by Dr C. de Vartavan¹ unwrapped a Late Period mummy from the Armenian monastery of San Lazzaro in Venice (Italy) with the aim of improving our knowledge of the raw materials used by the ancient Egyptians for embalming. Besides the director, the conservators² and assistants,³ on-site participants were Prof. A. Tchaplá,⁴ Dr Hervé Gompel,⁵ Michèle Lescot,⁶ and the first author of this study.⁷

This mummy was given to the monastery on 18 July 1825 by Boghos Bey Youssoufian, former minister of Mohamed Aly, who had bought it in Alexandria from French consul and antique dealer Giacomo Drovetti (1776–1852), together with a polychrome coffin of late date. This coffin bears the name of Namenkh-Amon (Ranke, *PN* I, 169. 20), former head butcher of the Amon temple in Karnak. The mummy and the coffin were both dated⁸ between 726–375 BC, suggesting that the mummy is contemporary with the coffin. The head and abdomen of this mummy were examined by video-endoscopy. Exploration of the abdomen revealed the presence of sawdust mixed with some as yet unidentified resinous material.

Analysis

20 ml of sawdust from the abdominal cavity of the mummy were examined by the authors. So fragmented was the wood sawn by the ancient Egyptians, that the sawdust was reduced to a brown

³³See, however, Papyrus d'Orbiney 7,9, where the younger brother Bata, in a show of sincerity to his elder brother, takes a reed knife and cuts off his phallus (M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, II: *The New Kingdom* (Berkeley, 1976), 206). This indicates that reeds, a common and cheap material in Egypt, were probably often expediently exploited by peasants for their cutting edges, amongst other things. Perhaps, then, the reed knife was used by surgeons simply by virtue of its being a ubiquitous feature of the common Egyptian toolkit and culture. But this still does not explain why the surgeon singled out the reed knife for use only in very specific contexts.

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⁸Michel Fontugne, director of CNRS/CEA laboratory of the 'Centre des Faibles Radioactivités' of Gif sur Yvette (France).

coniferous-smelling powder. According to traditional wood anatomy methods,⁹ this material was first soaked and bleached in Javel water for decolouration and to empty cell contents. Remains were subsequently rinsed in water, soaked in acetic acid, coloured with iodine, desiccated in 95% and 100% alcohol, immersed in Toluene, mounted on slides with Canada balsam and finally dried in a drying-oven.

Examination of these remains under optical microscope revealed: 70% of coniferous wood, 10% of a tamarix species and 20% of unidentified vegetal remains, possibly gramineae stems and leaf parts (pl. XXIV).

Coniferous elements appear essentially in the radial plane, while tangential and transversal planes were seldom encountered. In tangential view, the presence of long rays (3–20(35) cells), uniseriate, rarely biseriate (pl. XXIV, 8–9) have been noticed, while one tangential section revealed a horizontal secretory canal in the middle of a ray bordered by thick-walled epithelial cells (pl. XXIV, 2), suggesting this sawdust to belong to a member of the Pinaceae family.

In the radial walls of the tracheids, the bordered pits are uniseriate, occasionally biseriate, mostly scattered and opposite (pl. XXIV, 7). Rays are heterocellular with transverse tracheids placed on the ray's margins, with small bordered pits (pl. XXIV, 5–6) and thick-walled parenchyma cells in the interior with 2–4(6) taxodioid to piceoid pits (in the latewood) in the cross-field area (pl. XXIV, 1, 5–6). A few prismatic crystals of calcium oxalate have been observed in the margin of ray cells (pl. XXIV, 1). The presence and structure of transverse tracheids (with thin-walled, irregularly formed cells) and parenchyma cells with thickened walls constitute features of considerable diagnostic value,¹⁰ suggestive of Abietoideae.

Optimal conditions for observation were obtained under high magnification ($\times 1250$) in optical microscope of the radial walls of the larger vertical tracheids of dry untreated sawdust. In these walls, highly characteristic bordered pits with fringed torus margins (pl. XXIV, 4) were observed, allowing us to assign these woody elements to the *Cedrus* genus (Pinaceae family, Abietoideae sub-family).¹¹

Discussion

But for the presence in Sinai of *Juniperus phoenicea*, there are no coniferous woods in Egypt,¹² although remains of imported cedar wood are attested since prehistoric times.¹³ However, finds of sawdust thought to be cedar are rare.

In 1834, Pettigrew¹⁴ noticed some sawdust in the abdominal cavities of some Graeco-Roman mummies he unwrapped in London. In view of the embalming procedures described by the classical authors (Herodotus II, 86–8; Diodorus I, 7 and XIX, 6; Strabo, XVI, 2 and 45 and Pliny N.H., XVI, 21; XXIV; XXXI, 46), Pettigrew believed this sawdust to have been obtained from cedar

⁹D. Normand, *Manuel d'identification des bois commerciaux I. Généralités* (Nogent sur Marne, 1972), 180. The method described is a standard procedure adopted by the 'Laboratoire de Paléobotanique et Paléocéologie' (Université Pierre et Marie Curie-Paris VI) for the preparation of archaeological samples.

¹⁰A. C. Barefoot and F. W. Hankins, *Identification of Modern and Tertiary Woods* (Oxford, 1982), 44.

¹¹F. H. Schweingruber, *Anatomie europäischer Hölzer. Anatomy of European Woods* (Bern, 1990), 111.

¹²*Juniperus phoenicea* seems to grow on the higher slopes of the Halal, El-Maghara and Yelleq mountains (V. and G. Täckholm and M. Drar, *Flora of Egypt*, I (Cairo, 1941), 52; V. Täckholm, *Student's Flora of Egypt*² (Beirut, 1974), 50). See M. A. Zahran and A. J. Willis, *The Vegetation of Egypt* (London, 1992), 299, 301, for an extensive synthesis of the local vegetation as well as for studies concerned with Sinai.

¹³Predynastic finds of *Cedrus* are represented by pollen (A. Emery-Barbier, 'L'homme et l'environnement en Egypte durant la période prédynastique', in S. Botema et al. (eds), *Man's Role in the Shaping of the Eastern Mediterranean Landscape* (Balkema, 1990), fig. 1) and wood (H. Kroll, 'Die Pflanzenfunde von Maadi', in I. Rizkana and J. Seher (eds), *Maadi, III. The Non-Lithic Small Finds and the Structural Remains of the Predynastic Settlement* (Mainz, 1989), 135. From this period onwards, cedar is omnipresent; see C. de Vartavan and V. Asensi Amorós, *Codex of Ancient Egyptian Plant Remains/Codex des restes végétaux de l'Égypte ancienne* (London, 1997), 66–7, for an extensive list of finds.

¹⁴T. J. Pettigrew, *A History of Egyptian Mummies and an Account of the Worship and Embalming of the Sacred Animals by the Egyptians* (London, 1834), 84–5.

wood. In 1886, Wönig¹⁵ (later cited by Loret)¹⁶ noted the presence of sawdust in a mummy (no. 7014) of the Berlin Museum and suggested that it was cedar sawdust without explaining how he reached this conclusion. Soon afterwards, Smith¹⁷ found some sawdust in the abdominal cavity of a Twenty-first Dynasty mummy discovered in 1891 by Grébaut in Deir el Bahari. This mummy had already been examined by Fouquet.¹⁸ The latter also mentioned some sort of sawdust situated beneath the wax used to fill the mouth and eye sockets of a few mummies he had the chance to examine. Smith, like Fouquet, ascribed the sawdust discovered to cedar wood. In both cases, no scientific demonstration was provided to sustain this affirmation. Similar suggestions were also made by Smith¹⁹ and later by Smith and Dawson²⁰ for some sawdust, sometimes mixed with resin, which they discovered in the abdominal cavities of other mummies (the Twelfth Dynasty mummy of Senebtisi, for example).²¹

Field excavations sometimes revealed sawdust remains which were part of the 'embalming refuse'. De Verneuil²² found a canopic vase (no. 1553 bis) thought to be 'filled with some cedar wood powder and great quantity of natrun'. Lucas examined some Eleventh Dynasty refuse materials from Deir el Bahari,²³ as well as an Eighteenth/Nineteenth Dynasty vase from a Theban tomb²⁴ and an Eighteenth Dynasty jar from the tomb of Yuya and Thuya,²⁵ both filled with resin and sawdust. On the basis of its smell, Quibell²⁶ ascribed this last sawdust to cedar. Lucas who re-examined this last sawdust, as well as the aforementioned sample, suggested them to be juniper²⁷ on the same basis. Ruffer²⁸ also used smell to suggest cedar for some Twelfth Dynasty substance discovered in Lahun, but Lucas,²⁹ yet again using this method, refuted Ruffer's conclusions and suggested the sawdust to be juniper wood. Needless to say, these conclusions based on smell are very subjective, and may appear even more so if it is considered that the original fragrances of these woods may have altered over the course of time.

Conclusion

Anatomical examination of the sawdust discovered in the abdominal cavity of the San Lazzaro mummy revealed the presence of cedar (*Cedrus* sp). Examination of the literature suggests that no scientific examination of sawdust has ever been undertaken, although some wood fragments

¹⁵F. Wönig, *Die Pflanzen im alten Aegypten, ihre Heimat, Geschichte, Kultur, und ihre mannigfache Verwendung im sozialen Leben, in Kultus, Sitten, Gebräuchen, Medizin, Kunst*² (Leipzig, 1886), 387.

¹⁶'Il existe au Musée de Berlin (n° 7014) de la sciure de cèdre trouvée dans l'intérieur d'une momie', in V. Loret (ed.), *La flore pharaonique d'après les documents hiéroglyphiques dans les tombes*² (Paris 1892), 42.

¹⁷G. E. Smith, 'A Contribution to the State of Mummification in Egypt with Special Reference to the Measures Adopted during the Time of the 21st Dynasty for Moulding the Form of the Body', *MIE* 5/1 (1906), 3–53.

¹⁸D. M. Fouquet, 'Note pour servir à l'histoire de l'embaumement en Egypte', *BIE* 3ème série n° 7 (1896), 89.

¹⁹G. E. Smith, *The Royal Mummies* (CGC; Cairo, 1912), nos. 61052, 61085, 61087–9, 61095, and 61097.

²⁰G. E. Smith and W. R. Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies* (London, 1924), 81, 114, 118.

²¹G. E. Smith, 'Appendix Notes on the Mummy', in A. C. Mace and H. E. Winlock (eds), *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* (MMA Egyptian Expedition 1; New York, 1916), 119.

²²M. de Verneuil, 'Examens et dissertations scientifiques. Lettre a Mr Passalacqua, sur les momies humaines développées de sa collection; sur leurs différents baumes, et sur la pharmacie n° 506', in J. Passalacqua (ed.), *Catalogue raisonné et historique des antiquités découvertes en Egypte* (Paris, 1826), 282–7.

²³H. E. Winlock, 'The Egyptian Expedition 1920–21', *BMMA* 16/2 (Nov. 1921), 34, and 'The Egyptian Expedition 1925–27', *BMMA* 23/2 (Feb. 1928), 25.

²⁴A. Lucas, 'The Question of the Use of Bitumen or Pitch by the Ancient Egyptians in Mummification', *JEA* 1 (1914), 241–5.

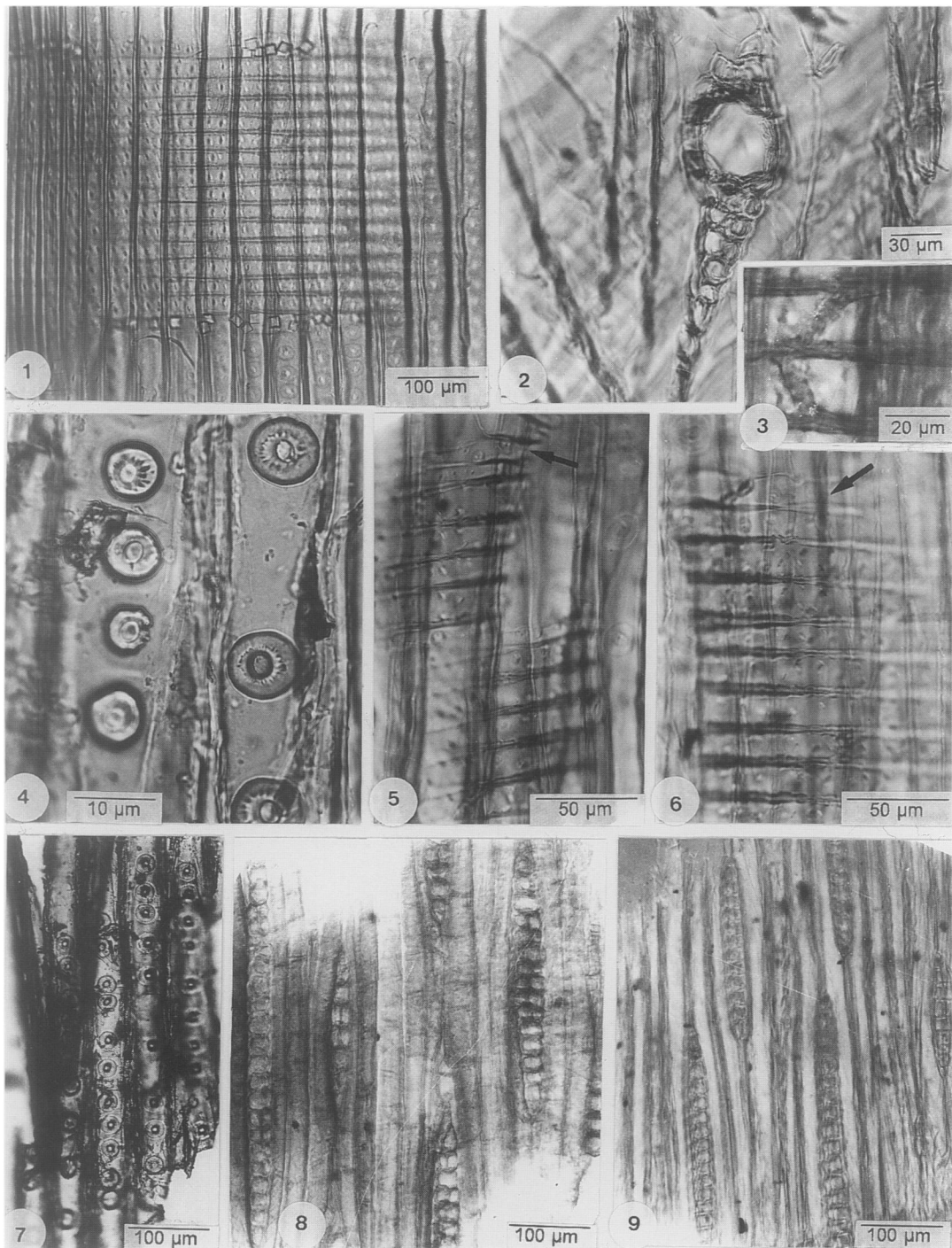
²⁵A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*⁴ (revised by J. R. Harris; London, 1962), 324.

²⁶J. E. Quibell, *Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu* (CGC; Cairo, 1908), 33–4, nos. 51001–1191.

²⁷A. Lucas, 'Cedar-tree Products Employed in Mummification', *JEA* 17 (1931), 13–21.

²⁸'The wood-pitch was certainly cedar, and my whole laboratory has smelt of it...', in G. Brunton, *Lahun, I. The Treasure* (BSAE 27; London 1920), 19–20.

²⁹Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*⁴, 314.



1. Radial longitudinal plane showing bordered pits of the tracheids and prismatic crystals (calcium oxalate) in the marginal ray cells
2. Tangential longitudinal plane. Resin canal with thick walled secretory cells in ray
3. Radial longitudinal plane showing thick and pitted transversal and tangential walls of ray cells
4. Radial longitudinal plane showing tracheids pits with scalloped tori (fringed torus margins)
- 5 and 6. Radial longitudinal plane. Heterocellular rays: the marginal cells are transverse tracheids with small bordered pits (arrows). In the interior of the rays are thick-walled parenchyma cells with 2 to 4 (6) taxodioid and piceoid pits in the cross-field
7. Radial longitudinal plane. Uniseriate bordered pits in radial tracheid walls
- 8 and 9. Tangential longitudinal plane showing uniseriate or locally biseriate rays

belonging to cypress (*Cupressus* sp.) and fir (*Abies* sp.) were found by Plu in the abdominal cavity of the mummy of Ramses II.³⁰

Identification of the *Cedrus* remains at species level is difficult in view of the anatomical similarities between *Cedrus atlantica* and *Cedrus libani*. In fact, these species, according to Schweingruber, cannot as yet be distinguished on the basis of their anatomy,³¹ but may be differentiated on the basis of their respective colour.³² Like fragrance, however, wood colour may alter with time. Identification of ancient wood remains on this basis, therefore, seems inadequate. Some quantitative measurements, compared with other measures given by Fahn³³ and Greguss³⁴ tend, however, to suggest that our sample is closer to *Cedrus libani*. For instance, ray density of sawdust examined reaches 20 to 24 per square millimetre and the dimensions of their ray cells reaches H.: 16–19 × L.: 17–21 microns (H.: 21–24 × L.: 15–19 microns for the marginal cells). Moreover, documentary evidence³⁵ indicates that Levantine forests were the main source for the cedar imported into Egypt. It seems interesting to point out that dense forests of *Cedrus atlantica* trees may have grown during antiquity in the northern hills of Africa, as they still do today. Such alternative supplies of cedar, which have been almost totally ignored,³⁶ were probably no less exploitable than the Levantine forests.³⁷

VICTORIA ASENSI AMORÓS *and* COLETTE VOZENIN-SERRA

An insect study from Egyptian stored products in the Liverpool Museum*

A report on insect pests from botanical remains kept at the Liverpool Museum.

WHENEVER man started storing foodstuffs and skins, insects came into the storerooms, either to exploit the artificially warm microclimate or to live directly on the stored material. Many species were already living in environments which, in terms of microclimate and microenvironment, were very similar, if not identical, to the one created by humans. These include the nests of birds and rodents or under thick leaf litter. Several species were thus easily able to adapt to the new conditions, becoming residents in storerooms and places occupied by man, and specialised feeders on stored products.

Insects that infest contemporary storerooms have been a problem in agriculture from early prehistory.¹ The need to transport grain and other food commodities, initially on a local and then

³⁰A. Plu, 'Bois et graines', in L. Balout and C. Roubet (eds), *La momie de Ramsès II* (Paris, 1985), 167–70.

³¹Schweingruber, *Anatomie europäischer Hölzer*, 111.

³²D. Normand, personal communication.

³³A. Fahn, E. Werker and P. Baas, *Wood Anatomy and Identification of Trees and Shrubs from Israel and Adjacent Regions* (Jerusalem, 1986), 57.

³⁴P. Greguss, *Identification of Living Gymnosperms on the Basis of Xylotomy* (Budapest, 1955), 192–4. However, original ray length of the wood may have been altered by shrinkage occurring during desiccation and the proposed measurements would need to be reexamined in relation to this physical process.

³⁵R. Germer, 'Zeder', *LÄ* VI, 1357–8.

³⁶Lucas had already suggested such provenance saying that it 'is not impossible that the wood of the Atlas cedar (which grows on the Atlas mountains in Morocco) might have found its way occasionally into Egypt [...]'. (*Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*⁴, 432). A. Nibbi ('A Note on the Cedarwood from Maadi', *DE* 17 (1990), 25–7) suggests also that some of the cedar wood discovered in Egypt may be *C. atlantica*.

³⁷D. J. Mabberley (*The Plant-book. A Portable Dictionary of the Higher Plants* (Cambridge, 1987), 108) points out that the cedar tree of Cyprus is not *C. libani* but a mere variety of the Atlas cedar, namely *Cedrus atlantica* var *brevifolia*. Hence, the east Mediterranean cedar forests exploited by the ancient Egyptians may not have been only composed of cedar of Lebanon, but also of Atlas cedar.

*The author is grateful to Dr P. Buckland, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory at the University of Sheffield, for help and advice on the insect material and the text. Special thanks are due to Dr P. Bienkowski, Curator of Egyptian and Near Eastern Antiquities, Liverpool Museum, for making the material available and for commenting on this paper.

¹P. C. Buckland, 'The Early Dispersal of Insect Pests of Stored Products as Indicated by Archaeological Records', *Journal of Stored Product Research* 17 (1981), 1–12.

TABLE 1. *Insect Remains from Egyptian Samples in the Liverpool Museum*

Taxa	1978-291 224 fig (seeds)	Unprov. infest. (lentils)	56.21.302 299 Kahun (nuts)	56.21.302 Kahun XII (barley)	Kahun XII (Acacia)	Unprov. bread + cakes
Coleoptera						
Bostrychidae						
<i>Rhizopertha dominica</i> (F.)				4		
Anobiidae						
<i>Stegobium paniceum</i> (L.)	1	5	1			39
Bruchidae						
<i>Bruchidius</i> sp.					1	
Diptera						
Unidentified puparium						1

on a more regional scale, has led to insect pests being easily spread around the world and many are now cosmopolitan.²

According to one survey,³ among the one hundred important food pests, eleven species of beetle (Coleoptera) and two of moth (Lepidoptera) are the most common (Table 1). These pests are the most destructive, as they multiply rapidly, adapt easily to a variety of ecological and climatic conditions and penetrate without difficulty into new stores. Not surprisingly most of them have been recorded archaeologically.

Egyptian samples from the Liverpool Museum collections

Scattered through the museums of the world are large numbers of samples of offerings of meals and other foodstuffs from Egyptian tombs. They are capable of providing significant amounts of information on the biogeography and history of the pests of stored products.

Examination of several samples of Egyptian food samples from the Liverpool Museum resulted in evidence of pest infestation. The material is desiccated and the preservation is excellent. In most cases the insects are intact. Some of the samples studied were unprovenanced, and could not be dated, although their ancient Egyptian origin is not in doubt. The material was examined under a stereomicroscope in the Museum. Identification of the insect species was carried out in Sheffield, with the use of the departmental comparative collection.

Discussion of finds (Table 1)

The most exciting discovery was from Twelfth Dynasty Kahun (1900–1800 BC). The lesser grain borer, *Rhizopertha dominica* (F.), is the earliest on record, and was found in a sample of barley from the site preserved in the Museum collection. *R. dominica*, although one of the smallest beetles harmful to grain, can cause serious damage to stored crops. It is a usual pest on grain in warmer countries,⁴ and it is also recorded from a wide variety of crops such as wheat, barley, millet, rice, maize, and sorghum, as well as dried potatoes, manioc roots, waternuts and biscuits.⁵ Although originally described as from South America,⁶ it is clearly of Old World origin,⁷ perhaps

²J. W. Munro, *Pests of Stored Products* (London, 1966).

³P. Dobie, C. P. Haines, R. J. Hodges and P. F. Prevett, *Insects and Arachnids of Tropical Stored Products: Their Biology and Identification* (Tropical Development and Research Institute, London, 1984).

⁴Munro, *Pests of Stored Products*, 95.

⁵N. E. Hickin, *The Insect Factor in Wood Decay* (London, 1963), 145.

⁶Munro, *Pests of Stored Products*, 95.

⁷A. Alfieri, 'Les insectes de la tombe de Toutankhamon', *Bulletin de la Société Royale Entomologique d'Égypte* 3/4 (1931), 188–9.

from India, and has been carried through commerce around the world. Fossils of *R. dominica* have also been recovered from botanical remains in a vessel from Tutankhamun's tomb of c. 1345 BC,⁸ from early Late Bronze Age Akrotiri on Santorini,⁹ and Roman Mons Claudianus in the Egyptian desert.¹⁰

In *Acacia* seeds from Kahun one individual of a bean weevil, *Bruchidius* sp., was found. Most members of the family Bruchidae infest the seeds of legumes in the field. The eggs are laid on the young legume seed pods and the larvae bore into the developing seeds. The life cycle is completed in the seed and adults emerge by biting their way out. Several larvae may feed on one seed.¹¹ The adults fly readily and are commonly seen sitting on flowers and in legumes in springtime. Bruchids infesting *Pisum sativum* seeds were recorded in a site from the Ukraine, dated to c. 3500 BC.¹² Bruchid infestation is also mentioned in the report on the Early Neolithic site at Belverde in Italy.¹³ Bruchid larvae, not identifiable to the species level, have been found in deposits from Troy dated to c. 2000 BC.¹⁴ *Bruchus rufipes* was recorded infesting *Lathyrus clymenum* from Late Bronze Age Akrotiri, Santorini,¹⁵ and *Bruchus* sp. occurred in *Vicia ervilia* from twelfth century BC Tiryns in Greece.¹⁶ Bruchids were also noted infesting pulses from Tutankhamun's tomb, and an apparently undescribed species occurred in lentils, *Lens culinaris*, from an Egyptian deposit of 215 ± 48 BC,¹⁷ and infesting *Vicia ervilia* seeds from eleventh century BC Dan in Israel.¹⁸

Whilst *Bruchus rufipes* is the most common bruchid field pest in Central Europe,¹⁹ several other species are known as fossils from Britain, including both *Bruchus atomarius* (L.) and *B. loti* Payk. from Neolithic Runnymede in the Thames Valley.²⁰ They are as likely to have been part of the natural fauna as to have been imported with seed for crops. *B. rufimanus* Bohe. was found in charred *Vicia faba* from the Iron Age Meare 'lake village' in Somerset.²¹

Nuts from Kahun, half eaten by mice, included an elytron of *Stegobium paniceum* (L.), the drug store beetle. *S. paniceum* (L.) breeds in starchy materials, including cereals and many other commodities such as spices, cocoa beans and liquorice;²² it may also be abundant in pigeon's

⁸Ibid.

⁹E. Panagiotakopulu and P. C. Buckland, 'Insect Pests of Stored Products from Late Bronze Age Santorini, Greece', *Journal of Stored Product Research* 27 (1991), 179–84.

¹⁰E. Panagiotakopulu and M. van der Veen, 'Synanthropic Insect Faunas from Mons Claudianus, a Roman Quarry Site in the Eastern Desert, Egypt', in A. C. Ashworth, P. C. Buckland and J. P. Sadler (eds), *Studies in Quaternary Entomology – An Inordinate Fondness for Insects (Quaternary Proceedings 5; Chichester, 1997)*, 199–206.

¹¹B. J. Southgate, 'The Importance of the Bruchidae as Pests of Grain Legumes, their Distribution and Control', in S. R. Singh, H. F. van Emden and T. A. Taylor (eds), *Pests of Grain Legumes: Ecology and Control* (London, 1978).

¹²M. E. Kislev, 'Archaeobotany and Storage Entomology', in J. M. Renfrew (ed.), *New Light on Early Farming. Recent Developments in Palaeoethnobotany* (Edinburgh, 1991), 121–36.

¹³A. Oliva, 'I frumenti, le leguminose de granella e gli altri semi repertati a Belverde', *Studi Etruschi* 13 (1939), 343–9.

¹⁴E. Panagiotakopulu, *Studies on Insect Synanthropy from the Eastern Mediterranean* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 1996), 25.

¹⁵Panagiotakopulu and Buckland, *Journal of Stored Product Research* 27, 179–84.

¹⁶H. J. Kroll, 'Kulturpflanzen von Tiryns', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1982), 467–85.

¹⁷C. de Vartavan, 'Contaminated Plant-Food from the Tomb of Tutankhamun: A New Interpretive System', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 17 (1990), 473–94.

¹⁸R. Burleigh and B. J. Southgate, 'Insect Infestation of Stored Egyptian Lentils in Antiquity', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 2 (1975), 391–2.

¹⁹K. W. Harde, *A Field Guide in Colour to Beetles* (London, 1984), 284.

²⁰M. A. Robinson, 'The Neolithic and Late Bronze Age Insect Assemblages', in S. Needham (ed.), *Excavation and Salvage at Runnymede Bridge, 1978: The Late Bronze Age Waterfront Site* (London, 1991), 277–326.

²¹A. Caseldine, 'Charcoal patches from Meare Village East 1982', in J. M. Coles, 'Meare Village East. The Excavations of A. Bulleid and H. St. George Gray 1932–1956', *Somerset Levels Papers* 13 (1987), 223–6.

²²Munro, *Pests of Stored Products*, 93.

nests.²³ Also known as the biscuit beetle, from its frequency in rations during the First World War,²⁴ it is known from biscuits and bread, and has been recovered from bread in tombs of c. 2049 BC and 1399 BC in Egypt.²⁵ It also occurs in material from the West House at Late Bronze Age Akrotiri in the Aegean.²⁶ In the Liverpool material, it may have been a primary pest of the nuts, but perhaps was introduced accidentally in mice faeces. *Stegobium paniceum* was a common find in other samples, including unprovenanced bread cakes from tombs, and it also occurred in figs and lentils. The intimate association between the insect remains examined and the bread leaves no doubt about their contemporaneity. Levels of infestation in the bread, however, are difficult to assess, since inside the tombs small numbers could multiply without any problems.

Several other examples of Egyptian or Near Eastern food commodities in the Liverpool Museum showed evidence of infestation. In most cases the level of infestation was minimal (for example, 3 infested seeds in 150 barley grains from Ptolemaic Hawara). However, heavier infestation was also present. Of 17 Lotus (*Nymphia* sp.) seeds from Twelfth Dynasty Kahun, 5 were infested, of 209 caryopses of barley and 4 grains of wheat from Kahun, 8 grains of barley were infested (infestation 4%), of 261 grains of barley from Twelfth Dynasty Kahun 25 were infested (infestation 9%), and there were 2 infested seeds in 46 seeds of barley from Twelfth Dynasty Kahun (infestation 4%). In unprovenanced ancient lentils, 80 in 609 were infested (13%), and 3% of fig seeds from Ptolemaic Hawara showed evidence of attack. In the absence of preserved individuals, it is uncertain what species were represented.

Faunal change, a result of environmental change and human impact, needs to be studied in depth in order to achieve a better picture of past life. Since very little is known about the origins of storage pests and their biogeography, further research on this subject is necessary. Suitable sites are present throughout the eastern Mediterranean region, and infested botanical material is found in museums, but few archaeologists are aware of the potential of fossil insect studies. Archaeological research has rarely acknowledged the problem of food loss despite its severity even in modern day societies,²⁷ and re-evaluation of archaeological population and subsistence models with respect to food losses, caused by crop failure, pest infestation or processing, is needed.

EVA PANAGIOTAKOPULU

Abnormal hieratic in Oxford: Two new papyri*

Initial announcement of two abnormal hieratic papyri found in Oxford in 1997. P. Queen's College (perhaps of the reign of Piye or Taharqa) is probably a literary text of complex character with a legal frame to the narrative, together with an unrelated administrative fragment. P. Ashmolean 1998.3 (ex Griffith papers: reign of Psammetichus I) consists of fragments of an administrative journal.

ONE of the largest known abnormal hieratic papyri was discovered, or rediscovered, in May 1997. Surprisingly, this find was made in Queen's College Library in Oxford, where the papyrus had been placed in a very rarely consulted 'manuscript book' in which miscellaneous sheets have long

²³G. E. Woodroffe, 'An Ecological Study of the Insects and Mites in the Nests of Certain Birds in Britain', *Bulletin of Entomological Research* 44 (1953), 739–72.

²⁴Peter Osborne, personal communication.

²⁵P. R. Chaddick and F. F. Leek, 'Further Specimens of Stored Products Insects Found in Ancient Egyptian Tombs', *Journal of Stored Product Research* 8 (1972), 83–6.

²⁶Panagiotakopulu and Buckland, *Journal of Stored Product Research* 27, 179–84.

²⁷P. C. Buckland, 'Cereal Production, Storage and Population: A caveat', in S. Limbrey and J. G. Evans (eds), *The Effect of Man on the Landscape: The Lowland Zone* (Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 21; London, 1978), 43–5.

*The essential information presented here about the papyri in Oxford is due to Koen Donker van Heel and Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert. The role of John Baines has been to coordinate work on P. Queen's College and the announcement of these findings and to discuss conclusions with the other authors.

been housed. The papyrus was identified when the library staff made a check of the college's holdings of rare books, referring their find to John Baines for initial appraisal. No cataloguing information is available, but various strands of evidence suggest that the papyrus has been in the college since around 1830. It was probably associated with Giovanni Belzoni (1778–1823), whose English widow wrote a note about the document that is preserved in the library. The name Belzoni is also associated with the abnormal hieratic papyrus P. Leiden F 1942/5.15, published by S. P. Vleeming.¹ This coincidence suggests that Belzoni might have acquired the two together, or perhaps discovered them in the course of his work on the West Bank at Thebes.

The papyrus (to be known as P. Queen's College) was mounted on cloth that was in turn mounted on paper. It consists of three large sheets or pages (about 22 cm high and up to 35 cm wide) that are well preserved and had been cut from a single roll. The first of these pages, which is the most damaged and is in places incorrectly mounted, has the ends of the lines of another 'page' on its right end, so that the number of at least partly extant pages is four—the first being almost lost—with a total of more than 80 lines. The papyrus as mounted concludes with a fragmentary and largely blank fifth sheet that is in a different hand and possibly a different form of the script from the rest. In the nineteenth century mounting the numbers 1–3 were written on the first three sheets (which contain pages 1–4) but no number was given to the fourth sheet (the fifth 'page'), which may suggest that at that time it was thought not to belong properly with the others (whoever mounted it will have been unable to read it).

The papyrus is now awaiting conservation by Bridget Leach, papyrus conservator in the British Museum's Department of Conservation. When this has been done, it will be possible to proceed to publication. Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert of the University of Heidelberg is studying the text and intends to publish it. Since it is a large new composition with no close parallels, publication cannot be swift; the purpose of this note is to alert *JEA* readers to its existence in the interim and to give a tentative description of its content.

The main text begins in the middle and it is not possible to estimate its total length. The end is, however, preserved, and is marked by a centred line at the bottom of the fourth page which contains a tripartite colophon that includes a witness formula for a Year 21. This formula type disappeared at the beginning of the Saite Period, so that the text is fixed by the high year number to the reign of Piye or of Taharqa, that is, around 730 to 670 BC, making it one of the oldest extant in abnormal hieratic.

The text contains a wide range of phraseology, much of it hitherto unattested in abnormal hieratic. Its setting appears to be entirely Heliopolitan, which is striking in a manuscript of likely Theban provenance. Page 2 includes mentions of a number of parts of the body including a 'stinking mouth' (*rꜥ ḥnš*), a request for the 'price of ointment' (*šꜥr nsqnn*), and a perhaps unnamed 'general' (*mr-mšꜥ*); the connection of all this with what follows is not yet apparent. Pages 3–4 are much better preserved and more comprehensible. There are legal proceedings in which many 'oaths of Re' are taken. Someone is exhorted to 'listen to...that affair which happened in the time of King Usimare, the Great God'—that is, most probably Ramesses II. There follows a description of building and garden construction at the temple of Atum that is contained in a quoted speech of Usimare which resembles a Ramesside building inscription. The link between this speech and the next episode is not yet clear. Page 4 moves to a legal dispute presided over by an *r-pꜣt*, who instructs one Peteese to bring in an Amenemope, whose opponent in the case is named Ihy. Amenemope, who is twice designated a 'criminal' (*rmtngns*), is judged guilty and fined the enormous sum of seven hundred *deben* of silver, which are paid to Ihy together with a box of writings(?). Ihy then goes to meet the priests in Heliopolis and drink with them, bringing the silver and box of writings(?). The text concludes with him offering a prayer to Re-Harakhte that ends with a plea that the lawsuit should not be reopened.

This very mixed composition does not contain any of the standard legal formulas and does not have the appearance of an administrative document, while it includes several seemingly distinct narrations employing many narrative verbal constructions. At the present stage of work on the text, its most plausible classification in terms of genre is as a literary text; it might perhaps be

¹'The Sale of a Slave in the Time of Pharaoh *Py*', *OMRO* 61 (1980), 1–17.

compared with *Wenamun* or the Petition of Peteese in P. Rylands IX. If assignment to this category is correct, it opens up significant issues for the history of scripts and of the genres of text written in them, because it has generally been assumed that literary texts were not composed in written form in abnormal hieratic or early demotic.

The final sheet of the papyrus as now mounted clearly does not belong with the narrative text and includes fragments in two hands, both different from that of the narrative. The sheet has not yet been studied in detail. Both the passages on it are of an administrative character. The first has two and a half lines, including some large numbers, while the second consists of fourteen lines, again with some large numbers. Several of the lines have what look like check marks at the beginning. The dating of this sheet is uncertain at this stage of work.

The year 1997 was altogether an unusual one for abnormal hieratic in Oxford. During a visit to use the archives of the Griffith Institute in December 1997, Koen Donker van Heel of the Deir el-Medina Database Project of the University of Leiden discovered five fragments of another abnormal hieratic papyrus among the papers of Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1862–1934), lodged at Griffith Mss G/F.20.12. Its previous history is unknown; probably it had been either acquired by Griffith or entrusted to him for study and then forgotten. This papyrus, which Donker van Heel intends to publish, has now been transferred to the Ashmolean Museum under the accession number 1998.3. It is probably from Thebes and bears dates of Years 33 and 35 of a Ps[...], that is, Psammetichus I, corresponding to 632–630 BC. The text appears to be a journal of some sort and includes a short list of names. Some elements are early demotic, but overall the text is abnormal hieratic. This makes the papyrus another key piece for the transition from abnormal hieratic to early demotic, like the rather later P. Cairo 30657 of 547 BC.²

To return for a moment to P. Queen's College, it is ironical that Griffith, who was a student at Queen's College in the 1880s and later a Fellow there and was the first to decipher abnormal hieratic documents—which is no doubt the reason why P. Ashmolean 1998.3 was among his papers—appears to have been unaware of the existence of the papyrus in the college library, as it seems were his successors as Professor of Egyptology and college Fellow, T. Eric Peet, Batiscombe Gunn, Jaroslav Černý, and John Barns, all of whom also had a specialist interest in cursive scripts.

JOHN BAINES, KOEN DONKER VAN HEEL, AND HANS-WERNER FISCHER-ELFERT

²See K. Donker van Heel, 'The Lost Battle of Peteamonip Son of Petehorresne', *EVO* 17 (1994), 115–24.

REVIEWS

Der Pharao und sein Staat. Die Grundlegung der ägyptischen Königsideologie im 4. und 3. Jahrtausend. By ROLF GUNDLACH. 240 × 165 mm. Pp. xv + 320, figs. 56, 3 tables in text. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998. ISBN 3 534 12343 3. Price not stated.

Understanding the ideological role played by the king in ancient Egypt is essential in any discussion which is more than a mere list of political, architectural and artistic events. It is, therefore, not surprising that after *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, edited by D. O'Connor and D. P. Silverman (Leiden, etc., 1995) and reviewed here in vol. 83 (1997), 227–8, another book on this topic has just been published.

Professor Gundlach's *Der Pharao und sein Staat* is about Egyptian royal ideology, the spiritual foundations of the Egyptian state. The text consists of a general description of Egyptian kingship, an overview of the situation during the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods, an analysis of royal names and titularies as programmatic statements of kingship, and—the book's main stated aim—a discussion of manifestations of royal ideology in all spheres of Egyptian society during the Old Kingdom: central and provincial administration, the running of state institutions such as royal residences, pyramids and sun temples, foreign policy, etc.

The path has already been partly trodden by other Egyptologists (more than 80 per cent of the titles listed in the extensive bibliography are by German scholars). Egyptian kingship and state ideology have been relatively little explored and textual and archaeological sources appear to allow freer speculation, but the author is scrupulous about indicating where he differs from the consensus or where he ventures beyond what can be proven. The book contains a number of interesting and stimulating ideas. But I must confess that on uncomfortably many occasions I have found myself in disagreement with the author or have been left unconvinced.

Gundlach is undoubtedly at his best in the analysis of royal names, and shows how much we would miss if we regarded them as 'mere names'. The amount of pure speculation is very high, but the possibilities suggested by him are captivating. Problems remain: for example, we are unable to establish convincingly *why* certain programmatic names were chosen for a particular king.

I find the author's recurring motto which describes the Egyptian king as 'the sun-god on earth' confusing. The hawk god Horus (primarily of Hierakonpolis) with whom the reigning king was identified by the most ancient of his names was a sky deity by definition and possibly even sun associations may have been present. The situation may have changed during the later periods of Egyptian history but I do not see sufficient evidence for referring to the king as 'sun-god' during the fourth and third millennia BC. The presumption that a close formal link to the sun-god was forged early in the Fourth Dynasty and formally reflected in the introduction of *sꜣ Rꜥ* into the royal titulary in its second half, still seems to me to be the best option. Although Gundlach interprets the Horus name and the Golden name (the 'Gold of Horus' name according to the author) as statements about the king as sun-god, little needs changing if one substitutes 'Horus' for his 'sun-god'. In any case, it must be admitted that the Horus name, which apparently identifies the king with Horus (and so is not just a statement concerning the god), presents an awkward stumbling block for the question of the king's divinity or otherwise.

Gundlach makes a distinction between the Horus name, which conveys the 'reigning' divine aspect (*Herrschaftsprinzip*) of kingship (the king as sun-god, *Hrw*), and the other names which represent the 'ruling' worldly aspect (*Regententätigkeit*, the king as a ruler, *nj-swt-bjtj*). He shows convincingly that in the 'Two Ladies' and the Golden names the *nbtj* and *nbw-Hrw* (Gundlach's reading) elements are integral parts of the names. Thus Userkaf is *Jrj-Mꜣꜥt-nbtj*, 'One who

Effects the World Order of the Two Ladies', and *Nfr-nbw-Hrw*, 'One Perfect of the Gold of Horus', rather than 'The Two Ladies: One who Effects the World Order' and 'The Horus of Gold: The Perfect One'.

Gundlach sees in the 'Two Ladies' the two royal crowns. This is possible, but at least in some cases a more direct reference to the goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet appears unavoidable, e.g. *Kꜣ-nbtj*, 'The Bull of the Two Ladies' (Menkaure).

As for the 'gold' in the Golden name, he regards it as a reference to the appearance of Horus = the king as the sun or sun-disc. The king is a possessor of qualities conveyed by the colour and other attributes of gold. This is original thinking, and the regular use of the Golden name from the Fourth Dynasty supports his view. But could this simply be a reference to the appearance of the king in his ceremonial attire on certain ritual occasions, without overt sun-disc connotations? I should also suggest that the series *Nbw-Hrw* (Snofru), *Nbw-Hrwj* (Khufu) and *Nbw-Hrww* (Radjedef) should be seen as (*Nj*-)*nbw-Hrw*, etc., i.e. '(One Belonging) to the Gold of Horus', etc., rather than just 'The gold of Horus', etc.

A discussion of the author's interpretation of various aspects of kingship and their manifestations in the fourth and third millennia BC may form the most significant and extensive part of the book, but most of it lies well beyond the scope of a review as brief as this. A number of statements in Gundlach's book would repay further discussion and closer examination. I can list but a few. Is there enough evidence for a Libyan 'vassal state' during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (pp. 251, 272)? Was the Old Kingdom really brought down by anything which could remotely be described as a 'revolution' (p. 281)? Was the temple of Horus at Hierakonpolis a sun temple (p. 259)? Why should the Heracleopolitan kingdom have been a 'kingdom of officials' (*Beamten-Königtum*) as opposed to the Theban kingdom of the Eleventh Dynasty (pp. 295–6)?

Egyptian kingship represents a rich vein which others will continue to mine in the future. Professor Gundlach's *Der Pharao und sein Staat* has staked out the ground for them.

JAROMIR MALEK

Avaris, the Capital of the Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dabra. By MANFRED BIETAK. 189 × 246 mm. Pp. ix + 98, figs. 62, pls. 34, colour pls. 8. London, British Museum Press, 1996. ISBN 0 7141 0968 1. Price £14.99.

This volume is the expansion of an invited lecture delivered by the author as the initial Raymond and Beverly Sackler Foundation Distinguished Lecture in Egyptology at the British Museum in July 1992. Already an annual event in the British Egyptological calendar, subsequent lectures to date have been presented by Günter Dreyer ('Recent Excavations of the Earliest Royal Tombs at Abydos') in 1993, David O'Connor ('Abydos, City of Osiris: Recent Excavations') in 1994, Betsy Bryan ('Recording a Theban Tomb') in 1996, Dieter Arnold ('Recent Excavations at the Pyramid of Senwosret III at Dahshur') in 1997 and, most poignantly, Jan Quaegebeur ('Hercules in Egypt: Roman Power and Egyptian Belief') in 1995 very shortly before his sudden and unexpected death. Clearly a pattern of considered up-to-date summation and overall assessment of major long-term single-site excavation, for both generalist and specialist, has emerged for this series.

Bietak has been excavating at Tell el-Dabra (ancient Avaris) almost annually since 1966, and this volume is a summary of his work to date. Its much-anticipated publication was postponed several times to incorporate essential new information realised in the latest excavations and study. The volume is thus essentially a statement of results and opinions current in early 1996 rather than in mid-1992 when the lecture was presented. The relevance of these excavations not only to scholars of Egyptology but also to those of the Bronze Age Aegean, Cyprus and much of the Near East ensures that this volume—the only such summary in English, and eminently affordable even to students—will become required reading for those working in all these fields. At the same time it is also aimed at the interested general reader, having numerous illustrations and photographs, eight plates of the latter in colour.

Both author and publisher recognised the wide range of audience that would need to be accommodated, and it is in this light that the volume must be considered. Thus the main text is arranged according to ten somewhat arbitrary chapter divisions that nonetheless betray its origin as a spoken lecture. These flow through the chronological development of the site from its origins possibly as early as the Herakleopolitan Period, and certainly at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, through to the Third Intermediate Period (pp. 5–7), although virtually nothing later than the early Eighteenth Dynasty is discussed. An excursus sufficiently large to warrant its own chapter (VIII) focuses on ‘ceramics, trade and historical conclusions’ before returning to the historical/archaeological synopsis, although similar shorter ‘excurses’ are incorporated into other chapters. This loosely arranged format guides the reader through not only the development of the site but also its complexity, interweaving the archaeological sequence with historical events in Egypt and elsewhere. The endnotes (following through the entire text) and bibliography together ensure that those who wish to delve further are accommodated with references both to the detailed excavation reports for the site and to the more general issues raised by its material remains, with the reservations noted below.

Tell el-Dabʿa’s original importance lay mainly in its position, on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and its present archaeological importance is due in part to that position but more specifically to the detailed recording and study of the long-term excavations, for which we owe an enormous debt to Professor Bietak, his financial backers and his extensive team of specialists. This site has become the barometer by which other excavations gauge their results for the Middle to early New Kingdoms, providing much-needed insight into the historical events and multicultural character of, especially, the Second Intermediate Period. Tell el-Dabʿa, quite literally, has changed our entire perception of this ‘dark age’ in the eastern Mediterranean.

The book begins with a general introduction to the site, its excavation history and origins (Chapter I), whilst the chapters that follow succinctly encapsulate its various manifestations. Chapter II: the workmen’s village in the early Twelfth Dynasty and evidence for the temple built by its inhabitants. Chapter III: the nature and character of the initial Canaanite settlement, and graves in the late Twelfth Dynasty of soldier-settlers in the service of the Egyptian king. Chapter IV: the Thirteenth Dynasty palace and gardens, of entirely Egyptian character but apparently run by the Asiatics whose tombs are a hybrid of their native traditions and those of the host culture. Chapter V: the rapid expansion and gradual Egyptianisation of the Canaanite settlement from the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Chapter VI: the differential development and gradual Egyptianisation of their mortuary temples and funerary customs. Chapter VII: the urban development and further expansion of the site through into the Hyksos period, with a differential admixture of cultural traits and increased spatial pressures. Chapter VIII: a summation of the foreign (Aegean, Cypriote, Syro-Palestinian) imports at Tell el-Dabʿa and their historical and cultural implications. Chapter IX: the late Hyksos period and its citadel. Chapter X: the later (early Eighteenth Dynasty) citadel, its surrounding settlement, and some preliminary historical implications.

The text is clearly a statement of work and theory to date, and Bietak has introduced new and preliminary interpretations, based on the latest data, that may or may not survive further research. Most importantly, his redating of the later citadel to the period of Ahmose and after the fall of Avaris (rather than late Hyksos period and before its fall) forces a complete reassessment of its associated finds, including and especially the famous Minoan fresco fragments. Whilst its period of use seems incredibly short-lived (apparently less than a decade from construction to abandonment and presumed deliberate destruction by its builders), it does obviate several chronological problems that Aegeanists adhering to the ‘traditional’ relative dating for the eruption of Thera (varying, but generally mid-sixteenth century BC or so) have expressed in the past, although it changes little for those advocating a 1628 BC date for this event, an issue still to be resolved. Although the frescoes are predominantly Aegean in iconography and clearly Aegean in technique, iconographical irregularities remain, leaving Bietak’s interpretation of the frescoes as entirely Minoan as an open question.

Tell el-Dabʿa is another of those ancient Egyptian habitation sites that can only be described as ‘atypical’, owing to its distinctive history and clearly extensive foreign influence for much of its existence. Bietak’s summation of the evidence for foreign relations in the Hyksos Period and

early Eighteenth Dynasty is particularly interesting and revealing. However, his interpretations of the relationships and dating are not universally accepted, and some serious objections raised by Syro-Palestinianists in particular remain uncited even in the endnotes. Most vocal has been William Dever, most recently in *BASOR* 288 (1992), although others too have questioned Bietak's chronology from a 'foreign' perspective; see now also James Weinstein in *BASOR* 304 (1996), with further references, for a considered review of Dever, and his own comments in W. V. Davies and L. Schofield, *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant* (London, 1995).

Bietak unfortunately provides no general overview of the wider implications of his discoveries at Tell el-Dab \bar{c} a for the main period of its existence, especially the historical events surrounding the campaigns of Kamose and Ahmose and their eventual success in driving out the Hyksos as a power, nor does he comment on evidence for the fall of Avaris itself, either in the excavation or in historical documentation from elsewhere. A paragraph or two of his insights into the political turmoil (or lack of it?) in the period immediately preceding Hyksos rule, the division of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties and their relationship would not have been out of place. Better, a final summary chapter placing Tell el-Dab \bar{c} a in its overall historical context would have been welcome, since much of the historical context for these two major events as now understood derives from Bietak's excavations.

Several major irritations stand out in the presentation, especially but not exclusively for those who have not been conscientiously following the more detailed excavation reports as they have appeared over the years in order to gain a full knowledge of the site and its excavations. The main text (although not the prefaces, endnotes or bibliography) is presented entirely in an unrelieved double-spaced format lacking sub-headings, paragraph grouping and sectioning, and thus making it difficult to focus on particular aspects in the text or to return quickly to earlier discussion. This format, in the reviewer's opinion, has also resulted in much wastage of paper space (10 full pages, at least) that would have been better used to allow a series of more simplified site period maps to replace the all-encompassing fig. 2 and, later, the individual site areas, perhaps with the added benefit of making redundant some of those that *were* used or simply of enlarging them to readable scale. Fig. 2 also would have been enhanced by a simple correlation-list of map code number and site name, thus saving the reader much time and frustration in searching through the main text for further references to those never mentioned there (of the 22 shown on the map, only nos. 2, 5, 8 and 13–14 are mentioned in the text). The full- and sometimes half-page maps and plans are difficult to follow as illustrated. Many clearly are reproduced in whole or in part directly from reports already published in German but the explanatory information included on them was not translated into English, a point not appreciated by those lacking a specialised knowledge of German archaeological vocabulary and made worse by the fact that others are in English. Particularly annoying are fig. 41, showing the development of the temple from the Middle Kingdom house, annotated entirely in German, and fig. 44, where the latter part only of a German noun ('...örung') hangs isolated on the left-hand side of the reduced plan. The larger plans and maps, although full-page in the volume, are reduced even further than in their original publication and are now too small in scale to convey all the detailed information still included on them. Thus, they are difficult to consult without a magnifying glass. Some reworking or at least judicious removal of extraneous detail not mentioned in the text would have been appreciated, especially since the quality of reproduction is not the best: line-breaks are common both in the illustrations and in their explanatory texts. Fig. 2 again stands out; its unmentioned code numbers had been better removed. A short paragraph introducing the area and stratigraphical system would have been useful to avoid confusion, especially for the vast majority of readers who would probably not recognise the necessity of distinguishing 'F1' on the overall site plan (fig. 2, written twice in separate areas) and 'F/I' in the text (= code 13 on fig. 2), or that the latter—but not the former—is the same as 'F I' in the chronological chart (fig. 3). As presented, a large number of the maps and plans actually detract from the reader's understanding of the descriptive text which they are intended to illustrate, as information in the main text is difficult to isolate in the illustration cited. One would need Professor Bietak to point out the specifics of his text to the reader, as he did to the audience in the lecture theatre.

Other, somewhat more minor, points: One of the four (actually, two of eight) tombs illustrated as fig. 38 is shown upside-down; the individual internal captions indicate only one of the several numbered tombs in each illustration, and one tomb apparently is unnumbered. Scales and compass markings would be useful in all cases but are not always present, and the variations in standard trench size need to be stated for reasons of clarity: 10 m² in Areas A and H, and 15 m² in Area F (including baulks). Photographs, in contrast, are much better produced, but again there is an annoying inconsistency. Some captions state compass direction whilst others do not; compare, for example, pls. 28 and 29. Most, but again not all, objects illustrated have been provided with excavation registration numbers, either within the illustration or its caption; they are not found in figs. 11, 17, 51 (but see pl. 25a–b), 52–3, 61 and pls. i–ii, 11b and d (but see fig. 22), 12a–c (but see figs. 23–5), 31a, 32b–d, and 34b. Surely, also, a last-minute check to update the bibliography beyond that of the author and his colleagues would have been in order: Beatrice Teissier's important study, *Egyptian Iconography on Syro-Palestinian Cylinder Seals of the Middle Bronze Age*, actually appeared as vol. 11 of the *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* series in advance of this volume, but remains listed as 'in preparation', without series number and with an incorrect title. Other relevant volumes that have appeared between lecture and publication, such as Donald Redford's *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, 1992), should have been added to the bibliography.

As a summary of the Tell el-Dabra excavations to date, this volume is a welcome and indeed vital addition to any library specialising in its related fields. It is not, however, a successful general introduction to the site and its excavations for either scholar or layman. Had the publication not passed on to its readers the burden of effort necessary to absorb its complexity it would have been far more successful, and particularly enlightening to the non-specialist and non-Egyptologist. *Avaris* is rather carelessly produced, and many inconsistencies could easily have been corrected during the several delays imposed for updating the text, if not as a matter of course in the production process. The greater clarity which would have resulted would have been well worth the extra effort and cost involved. *Avaris* is a succinct yet comprehensive summary of results to date that provides much food for further thought, but the reader should not have to fight for every crumb, and Bietak's clearly presented but ill-served text deserved better packaging.¹

JACKE PHILLIPS

The Tale of Sinuhe and other Ancient Egyptian Poems, 1940–1640 BC. Translated with Introduction and Notes by R. B. PARKINSON. 144 × 223 mm. Pp. xiv + 317. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997. ISBN 0 19 814963 8. Price £45.

The title of this excellent book of translations features Sinuhe, and his name surely will attract the general reader. Parkinson's selection is a welcome complement to his *Voices from Ancient Egypt* (London, 1991), and both share a common aim of making ancient Egyptian literature more accessible and familiar. The *Tale of Sinuhe* and the *Teaching of King Amenemhat* certainly belong to the great texts of mankind's common heritage, and develop the ever-relevant themes of the individual, society, and power.

The introduction throws the reader into the midst of recent Egyptological discussion: What is ancient Egyptian literature? What is the historical and social context of literature? What was its purpose, if any? What are the distinctive features of the three main genres defined by the author, namely the narrative (or tale), and the two types of wisdom texts: the teaching and the discourse (or dialogue, often rather pessimistic lamentations)? What do we know about the language, style, form and range of literature? The author treats the texts as evidence for a cultural poetics or

¹Just as this review was about to be sent to the publishers, I was able to see Bietak's contribution to E. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (University of Pennsylvania Museum Series 8; Philadelphia, 1997), where he does address to varying degrees some (but not all) of the issues and problems discussed in this review, in what appears to be a later revision of the volume considered here.

'belles-lettres' of ancient Egypt, not as a source for history or philology only. I was pleased to read that we are dealing with 'poems', artificially constructed and metrically formed texts. To read and arrange texts according to this insight should become an Egyptological standard.

Most of the thirteen texts translated completely here belong to the corpus of culturally central literary texts, composed or copied in the Middle Kingdom. It includes two tales (*Sinuhe*, *Eloquent Peasant*), seven teachings (*Ptahhotep*, *Hordedef*, *King Khety for King Merikare*, *King Amenemhat*, scribe *Khety*, the 'Loyalist', and that of a *Man for his Son*), and the prophetic *Words of Neferti*. Only one major and more complete text is missing from the book, the *Teaching of a Man for his Son*. All are of timeless general interest, and they display a fictional yet (for the elite Egyptians, at least) comprehensible world. They easily cross various spheres of imagination and reality, the great social divide between the secular and the sacred, and the worlds of the royal and the private (cf. D. Franke, *BiOr* 50 (1993), 351f.). The Egyptians copied literary texts for one main reason: content. Obviously, all these texts offered certain pleasures as well as didactic devices to the reader. They are neither plain propaganda nor free-floating literature of no consequence. The three criteria of general interest, explicitness (cf. J. Assmann, *Maat. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1990), 46ff.) and acceptance in elite circles, promoted certain Middle Kingdom texts to the status of 'classics' in the stream of tradition. The *Teaching of Khety* was in vogue at school because of its simple didactic message, the *Teaching of King Amenemhat* as well because it develops on the inconceivable: the paradox of a king in despair. The *Admonitions of Ipuur* and the *Words of Khakheperreseneb* did not belong to the core of 'central texts', because they mark two extremes of their genre which certainly did not promote their popularity: *Khakheperreseneb*'s laments lack the specific scenario of dread with which the *Admonitions* are permeated. On the other hand, the *Words of Neferti* were popular because they feature two herokings, Snofru and Amenemhat I.

The group of more peripheral 'supplementary' texts comprises more than twenty compositions, some virtually complete (like the fully translated *Dialogue of a Man and his Soul*, the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, or the tales of Papyrus Westcar), many very incomplete. Most of them are partially translated in a final chapter 'Phrases and Fragments' (p. 287ff). These texts seem to lack general interest and suspense. Their message was much too obscure or simply out of date, like the *Dialogue of a Man and his Soul*. As the distinction of core and peripheral texts depends to a large extent on archaeological fortunes, a text may easily move closer to the centre. This applies, for example, to *Khakheperreseneb*, who is mentioned among the canonical masterscribes in the Ramesside Period, but whose work does not seem to have been very popular. The Cairo ostrakon with part of the *Words of Khakheperreseneb* (cf. G. Posener, *RdE* 27 (1975), 195, n. 2; R. Parkinson, in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of W. K. Simpson*, II (Boston, 1996), 647, n. 2) is published now by R. Parkinson, *JEA* 83 (1997), 55–68.

Sir Alan Gardiner once wrote that 'our translations, though very liable to error in detail, nevertheless at the worst give a roughly adequate idea of what the ancient author intended; we may not grasp his exact thought, indeed at times we may go seriously astray, but at least we shall have circumscribed the area within which his meaning lay...' (*JEA* 32 (1946), 72–3). New translations today do not guarantee new insights. For the purposes of the general reader it is difficult to decide whom to follow. Only the specialist can recognise what is trustworthy and what is unreliable. I can assure the reader that he is on safe ground with Parkinson, who even offers fresh readings and throws new light on some long-discussed trouble spots. His translations are often perhaps the best currently available, but of course they are not free from slips. For example, the author's translation of *Merikare* relies a little too heavily on W. Helck (1977), but it is preferable to that of J. Quack, *Studien zur Lehre für Merikare* (Wiesbaden, 1992), who too often sacrifices sense to philological considerations.

To illustrate these small but crucial differences, compare Parkinson's elegant wording of the *Tale of the Herdsman* (p. 287f.) with the awkward rendering of the same text by L. Morenz, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur* (Wiesbaden, 1996), p. 125f. Parkinson begins his Introduction with a reconstruction of an ancient Egyptian reader's library, the group of papyri known as the 'Berlin library' (dated by him to the reign of Amenemhat III). While all this is reasonable, Morenz went much further, speculating (*Beiträge*, 135ff.) on the owner of the Berlin library, whom he

identified as a certain Buau/Montuhotep, to whom belonged coffin T9C. All of Morenz' verbose reasoning turns to fantasy when one acknowledges the facts that the coffin of Buau is older than the papyri of the Berlin library, and that the papyrus Berlin 3024 with the *Tale of the Herdsman* was sold at London as early as 1843, while Buau's tomb and coffin were discovered only in 1896 (cf. PM I, 656). Here, the narrow ridge between the probable and improbable becomes obvious.

I do not doubt that there were papyri in private hands, but I cannot agree with the notion that the appearance of Egyptian fictional literature is connected with the 'rise of a class of free commoners', as proposed by Parkinson on p. 6 (in the tradition of e.g. A. Loprieno and L. Morenz). The hypothesis of the existence of an influential social group or class of free commoners (or independent peasants) is pure fantasy. We do not know if it ever existed, and if so, in what numbers. Neither do we know what they may have thought or what they may have read (if read they could!). What we do know about literature, its origin and its readers, is its adherence to court and elite circles. 'Freedom' and the movings of a free intellect were never a theme for discourse in ancient Egypt.

The reasons for some of the author's datings, e.g. of the *Tale of Sinuhe* ('shortly after the end of the reign of Senwosret I', p. 21), or of *Merikare* ('late in the Middle Kingdom, considerably later than the more concise *Teaching of King Amenemhat*', p. 212) are not clear to me. Obviously some papyri were written using the rules of Old Kingdom metre, such as Papyrus St. Petersburg 1116A (Eighteenth Dynasty) which contains the *Teaching of King Khety for King Merikare*, or Papyrus Prisse (Twelfth Dynasty) containing the *Teachings of Ptahhotep* and *Kagemni*. This could point to a date for these three texts prior to or contemporary with the Eleventh Dynasty—if Old Kingdom metre is a valid criterion for dating texts, and not merely an archaising feature of the language, as Parkinson asserted in S. Quirke (ed.) *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), 103.

The translations avoid all question-marks—a courageous enterprise! However, a further volume of analysis and philological comment by the author is in preparation.

The present book is a fine selection of texts, thoughtfully treated like jewels by an able and careful translator. Not only will it be indispensable for Egyptologists, but it is to be hoped that it will also attract many general readers. We are indeed ready to follow the author's final exhortation: 'to read the poems for pleasure.'

DETLEF FRANKE

Askut in Nubia. The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium BC. By STUART TYSON SMITH. 195 × 255 mm. Pp. xviii + 242, pls. 22, figs. 73. London and New York, Kegan Paul International, 1995. ISBN 0 7103 0500 1. Price £75.00.

Ever since its appearance, this book has excited numerous comments owing to Smith's attempt to produce a hypothetical economic model to explain Egyptian activity in Nubia throughout the second millennium BC. In so doing he completely eschews any religious motivation, despite the apparent propaganda found on contemporary temple walls, which would indicate that it was Egypt's driven right to subdue chaos (foreign lands), and impose order, *mꜣꜣt* (Egyptian rule), on the known world. For this he has been, in my opinion, too harshly condemned; after all, the Egyptians were a practical people, and there can be no denying that the same texts on temple and tomb walls refer to the tribute brought to Egypt from these subdued lands, often in rather bombastic terms along the lines that 'never was so much brought before'. Thus, whilst perhaps hiding under a cloak of religious ideology, the underlying motivation for Egyptian expansion into Nubia or elsewhere was apparently primarily economic. Be that as it may, such discussions have tended to detract from what is, and will remain, a penetrative analysis and an excellent account of a Nubian fortress, Askut, throughout the second millennium BC.

Askut lies on an island between the Second and Third Cataracts in Lower Nubia, and was excavated by Alexander Badawy during the UNESCO campaign to save the monuments of Lower Nubia between 1962 and 1964. The excavation remains unpublished but Smith has had unlimited

access to Badawy's notes, and whilst this is not a full publication in the sense of a final excavation report, the author draws heavily on the records and is obviously very familiar with the information contained therein. In the first chapter Smith sets out his theory that the Egyptian presence in Nubia changed from what was, in his words, adopting a terminology proposed by Horvath and Bartel, primarily 'Equilibrium Imperialism' in the Middle Kingdom to 'Acculturation Colonialism' in the New Kingdom. The difference between Imperialism and Colonialism in the Horvath and Bartel model is the respective absence and presence of permanent settlers. This first chapter, 'A Model for Egyptian Imperialism' (pp. 1–24), which sets out various differing theories of imperialism, is heavy going, but once past it, the reader can settle down to what becomes a very good book indeed. Essentially the following chapters are designed to test Smith's Imperialism theory, yet whilst this is indeed discussed, he presents a full picture of the evidence on which he bases his theories, in a straightforward (some might say 'old fashioned') text, which contains much of merit.

Chapter 2, 'Askut and the Second Cataract Forts' (pp. 25–50), begins by establishing the correct name of Askut as *Dr Stiw*, and that it was probably founded during the reign of Sesostri III. Smith's reasoning for such a date is largely based on ceramic evidence, utilising the dating criteria for beer bottles and cups established by Dorothea Arnold at Dahshur and Lisht: *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 61, and eadem in D. Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I* (New York, 1988), 136–46. Indeed, this has now become common practice for dating Middle Kingdom assemblages, particularly with the extension of both sequences into the Second Intermediate Period at Tell el-Dabra: Bietak, *AJA* 88 (1984), 480; *BASOR* 281 (1991), 50. However, both these sequences have been established for sites in northern Egypt and it may be asked whether it is valid to use such results for a site as far south as Askut. Indeed, Smith is aware of this possible drawback, but rather desperately quotes an article by Bourriau in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa* (London, 1991), 129–30, which suggests that pottery styles in Nubia kept up with the latest developments in Egypt proper (p. 28, though on p. 83 he cites the same article to explain the fact that some Middle Kingdom types persisted throughout the Second Intermediate Period at Askut—shades of having his cake and eating it too!). The publication of some of the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period pottery from Elephantine (C. von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII* (Mainz am Rhein, 1996)), unavailable to both Bourriau and Smith, however, very clearly indicates that what holds good for the Memphis/Fayum–Eastern Delta region is not applicable to the Elephantine material. (Indeed, if von Pilgrim's results are applied to the material from Balat—P. Ballet, *BIFAO* 90 (1990), 18–28—also dated by means of the Dahshur–Lisht sequences, a different, somewhat later dating for that material might be expected). This may thus throw some doubt on the dating of Askut, but in the event it is more than likely that the Second Cataract forts were supplied directly from the royal residence at *'It-twy*—certainly all the illustrated Middle Kingdom pottery is stylistically northern—and the application of the Dahshur–Lisht sequences to the Askut material is probably valid. Smith's next point, however, is more tenuous. He argues that the Askut hinterland was more important than has been hitherto supposed, arguing for a greater density of population than one might expect on the evidence of the number of settlement sites and cemeteries in the Saras region (p. 32). However, as these are not analysed the reader has no means of determining whether these sites were occupied simultaneously or were short-lived successors of one another. On more secure grounds is the suggestion that Askut somehow played a pivotal role in the administration of the Second Cataract forts. Smith cites as evidence the large number of official institutions (five) represented by official seal impressions—more than is known for any other of these Nubian forts with the exception of Mirgissa (pp. 43–4). That Askut served as a distribution centre for the other forts is clear since a seal of the Askut granary was found at Kumma (p. 46), and this explains the large storehouses at Askut, capable of holding, according to Kemp (*ZAS* 113 (1986), 120–36), enough grain to feed between 3,200 and 5,700 people. Smith also suggests that Askut played an important role in the mining of gold, theorising that the prison (*hnrt*) which seems to have existed at Askut might have supplied penal labour for the task.

Chapter 3, 'The First Settlers' (pp. 51–80), concentrates on H. S. Smith's theory that the Nubian forts saw a change, from rotating army garrisons which would return to Egypt at the end

of their tour of duty, to occupation by permanent settlers. H. S. Smith had proposed this on the basis of tomb stelae found at Buhen which show a marked increase in number during the Thirteenth Dynasty, a fact which he took to indicate that at this time the owners of these stelae had settled in Buhen and died there—the paucity of earlier stelae being explained by reasoning that in a normal tour of garrison duty, most of the soldiers would have returned to Egypt and died there (*The Fortress of Buhen II. The Inscriptions* (London, 1976), 66–9). Stuart Tyson Smith, through an analysis of the archaeological contexts, shows that this is indeed the case, thus confirming H. S. Smith's theory archaeologically. Previously it has often been assumed that the finding of later material in stratigraphically lower levels than older material at these Nubian forts has meant that the contexts were disturbed, and unfortunately little time was devoted in the final reports to understanding the stratigraphy. The author of the book under review, however, is able to show that refuse deposits built up over time in areas of the Askut fortress which were systematically abandoned. Indeed, by analysing the pottery, Smith is able to show in which order various rooms were abandoned and filled with rubbish, a characteristic of long-term occupation. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the cemeteries at Mirgissa and Buhen, in which Smith shows that this same trend towards permanent occupation in the Thirteenth Dynasty is confirmed.

The end of this chapter and the beginning of the next, 'Askut and the Second Intermediate Period' (pp. 81–106), leads the author into a discussion of the chronology of Tell el-Dab'a. Here he runs into some problems, not of his own making, since he is comparing the pottery from Askut with that from Dahshur, Tell el-Dab'a, and presumably Memphis (cf. p. 83, n. 30), but, as he realizes, very little pottery from Tell el-Dab'a has been published, though Bietak has given a corpus of the most typical forms of Tell el-Dab'a strata E/1-D/2, (*BASOR* 281 (1991), 42, 44), and there is none at all for Memphis. The pottery from Tell el-Dab'a strata E/1-D/2, however, not only marks a complete break with what precedes it at that site, but is also confined to the Eastern Delta; these pottery forms are not found at Memphis, where the contemporary pottery continues to evolve from typical Memphite–Fayum Thirteenth Dynasty types. Smith's statement that the standard Second Intermediate Period corpus is actually based on southern Upper Egyptian sites, covering the area under the authority of the Seventeenth Dynasty, and that it is this corpus which appears in Nubia (p. 83, n. 30), is open to criticism, but from the illustrations provided in this book, he is basically correct that the Askut Second Intermediate Period pottery is southern Egyptian in character (a fact which, in itself, shows that Askut was no longer being directly supplied from the Thirteenth Dynasty heartland, and once again emphasizes the change from rotating garrisons to permanent settlement). In essence, therefore, comparisons with Tell el-Dab'a, on the one hand, and with Memphis–Dahshur on the other, are invalid except to show that the Askut corpus differs. Smith's revised dating for the Tell el-Dab'a strata (p. 85), which, in any case, is practically the same as Bietak's, should thus be taken with a pinch of salt. The author, however, quite rightly, dismisses Dever's repeated down-dating of the Tell el-Dab'a stratigraphy; yet, surprisingly, he omits to point out that if Dever were right, the Middle Kingdom pottery correlations (which are valid) would indicate that Askut, at least, and presumably the other Nubian fortresses, must have been built long before the earliest textual evidence for their existence.

The remainder of Chapter 4 is devoted to a reconstruction of the Second Intermediate Period occupation at Askut, in which Smith shows that the Egyptian pottery was now being imported from southern Egypt, whilst at the same time there was a marked increase in Nubian wares, indicative of greater interaction with the local population than had been the case during the Middle Kingdom. He persuasively indicates that occupation continued peacefully throughout the Second Intermediate Period without any destructive sacking and takeover by the local Kermans. In Chapter 5, 'Lower Nubia in the Second Intermediate Period' (pp. 107–36), Smith re-examines other Nubian forts in an attempt to test the theory, followed previously by most scholars, that these forts were violently overthrown at the end of the Middle Kingdom. With the exception of Buhen, which does show evidence of burning (though at what date is unclear), Smith concludes that this was not the case, and that settlement seems to have continued peacefully. In a detailed re-examination of the Buhen reports the author suggests a different, and extremely plausible,

reconstruction from that proposed by the original excavators. His proposal has much to commend it, not least since it redates the famous Buhen horse to around the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty. In this new reconstruction, Smith suggests that the extensive burning of Buhen occurred not at the end of the Middle Kingdom, but rather, at the end of the Second Intermediate Period.

Chapter 6, 'Askut and the New Kingdom' (pp. 137–74), is concerned with an analysis of the New Kingdom remains. The reconquest of Nubia by early Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs is well attested, and this may have resulted in the destruction of some of the fort communities, as, for example, at Buhen. At Askut, however, it appears, from ceramic evidence, that there was no traumatic break. Material dating to the early–mid Eighteenth Dynasty is well attested, as indeed is that for the later Eighteenth Dynasty. However, Smith's attempt to use pottery to help explain continued use of the fort into the Ramesside Period is more tenuous. His attempts to date two vessels to the reigns of Ramesses II or later, and Ramesses IV or later (p. 161) give a false impression, since although he cites parallels to justify these dates, both types also occur earlier; to judge from the pieces illustrated (figs. 6.14–16), nothing need be later than the reign of Ramesses II, whilst most of the examples are more reminiscent of late Eighteenth Dynasty types. This would leave the scarabs of Seti I and Ramesses II (pp. 157–8) as the latest datable objects found. The remainder of the chapter is given over to a critique of Adams' old theory of the gradual depopulation of Lower Nubia during the Ramesside Period, a view which Smith rejects.

Finally in Chapter 7, 'The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism' (pp. 175–88), the author returns to his argument that the nature of Egyptian imperialism in Nubia was inherently economic. The book is completed by three appendices dealing with radiocarbon dates, descriptions of the pottery fabrics, and notes on the objects illustrated.

Overall, this is an excellent book, most of which is concerned with straightforward archaeological analysis, and Smith is to be particularly congratulated for having had the courage to use pottery as the dominant dating tool in his discussions. One generation ago, when the Buhen volumes were going through the press, such a book could never have been written, and this should be borne in mind when one reads Smith's criticisms of those publications (pp. 109–26). It is a measure of how far pottery studies have come in the last 25 years, not only that Buhen can be re-evaluated, but that Smith can rely on ceramic evidence so successfully. So impressive are his results that this book is likely to remain essential reading for some considerable time to come.

D. A. ASTON

Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt. By WILLIAM J. MURNANE. 244 × 175 mm. Pp. xviii + 289. Atlanta, Georgia, Scholars Press/Society for Biblical Literature, 1995. ISBN 1 55540 965 2. Price not stated.

Städtischer Wohnbau in Ägypten: Klimagerechte Lehmarchitektur in Amarna. By ALBRECHT ENDRUWEIT. 235 × 157 mm. Pp. 220, pls. 11. Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1994. ISBN 3 7861 1671 7. Price not stated.

In 1921–2, Leonard Woolley¹ co-directed one season of excavations at Tell el-Amarna with Eric Peet. It was also Woolley who observed, 40 years later, that 'the archaeologist must have imagination and sympathetic understanding if he is to make history out of his laboured record of objects and stratification and soil textures, and it was by such gifts that Schliemann atoned for lack of science.' Even Petrie and Reisner, with all their attention to recording procedures and scientific techniques, could not have converted their data into historical and cultural insights without the application of some kind of 'imagination'.

Both from a textual and an archaeological point of view, the Amarna Period has left behind an impressive array of data, which often promises great things but invariably requires both methodical and imaginative skills in order to remedy its many flaws. Woolley's quotation is therefore one that no student of the Amarna Period can afford to ignore (although it might equally well be

¹ C. L. Woolley, *History Unearthed: A Survey of Eighteen Archaeological Sites* (London, 1958), 17.

argued that too many have tipped the balance in the other direction and have been altogether too creative in their theories).

The two volumes under review here are in one sense united only by their connections with the Amarna Period: William Murnane's work is a long-overdue collation of every single scrap of Egyptian writing connected with the Amarna Period (chronologically defined in its widest sense, from the reign of Amenhotep III to the dawn of the Ramesside Period), while Albrecht Endruweit's book uses archaeological information from el-Amarna in order to attempt to understand the connections between climate and architecture in a New Kingdom city. The two books, however, are also united in their extreme attention to detail and very productive use of minutiae. Both combine method and imagination in equal measure.

It would have been all too easy for Murnane to publish the Amarna texts with the briefest of introductions, simply placing them in their chronological and archaeological context, but his 16-page introductory essay goes considerably beyond pure scene-setting, attempting instead to examine some of the new thoughts that emerge when these inscriptions are examined as a complete corpus. This is an opportunity to take a fresh look at a period in Egyptian history in which complex psychological and sociological theories have been based on a few tantalizing words, sentences or images here and there.

Much, for instance, has been made of Akhenaten's apparent castigation of the traditional pantheon on an inscribed block from Karnak,² but, as Murnane points out, Akhenaten's earlier names continued to incorporate references to older gods,³ the chief priest of Amun at Karnak was still sending quarrying expeditions to the Wadi Hammamat in Year 4 of his reign,⁴ and—perhaps most significantly in terms of the possible coexistence of the old and new religious scenarios—the Theban tomb of Kheruef (a steward of Queen Tiy whose career spanned the reigns of Amenhotep III and his son) included a text, ascribed to Amenhotep IV, which can be read both vertically as a hymn to Ra-Horakhty and horizontally as a hymn to Amun.⁵

Another aspect of Murnane's book which considerably enhances its value is the frequent provision of brief descriptions of the archaeological and/or historical backgrounds of the documents before each of their translations, thus helping to avert any unintentional misinterpretation of their contents (all too easy in the world of Amarna studies). This is particularly essential in the case of the translations of pre- and post-Amarna texts.

Given the exhaustive nature of Murnane's book in terms of the trawling of any possible hieroglyphic or hieratic document from the period, it is perhaps churlish to regret the absence of the non-Egyptian sources for the Amarna Period, but there is certainly a yawning gap created by the absence of the Amarna Letters and also the potentially crucial letters from an Amarna queen (whether Nefertiti or Ankhesenamun) asking for a Hittite prince to marry her. From a linguistic point of view, Murnane clearly has every right to exclude texts that are outside his area of immediate expertise, but the book's role as a compendium of the entire surviving textual picture would have been immeasurably expanded if it could have been a collaborative volume including both Egyptian and non-Egyptian documents. Rich though the documentary evidence from the Amarna Period is, it seems a pity to exclude some of the most important historical texts purely on grounds of script or language, and it seems odd that the concluding section of the introduction (subheaded 'The Translations') enters into great detail concerning the criteria for inclusion and exclusion of certain texts but makes no mention of these most obvious omissions. The reader may, of course, turn to Moran's recent edition of the Amarna Letters,⁶ but this is not quite the same as being able to consult the cuneiform translations alongside the Egyptian material.

Whereas Murnane's collection of Amarna texts provides the opportunity to stand back and obtain a fresh and invigorating overview of the whole Amarna episode, Endruweit's study of Amarna housing (based on a dissertation submitted to Göttingen University in 1988), is a welter

²Murnane's Text No. 7.

³Text No. 18.

⁴Text No. 35-A.

⁵Text No. 30-B.

⁶W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, 1992).

of empirical detail, which, if anything, moves in exactly the opposite direction, delving so deeply into the anonymous masses of mud-brick and plaster that the historical context of the city begins to seem largely irrelevant. Endruweit's book is firmly rooted in the archaeological record at Amarna, drawing primarily on the published plans and descriptions from the excavations of Ludwig Borchardt,⁷ with barely a single reference to the texts of the period, whether from this site or elsewhere.

At the site of Amarna, we are entitled to ask whether the archaeological evidence suggests a system of general social patterns that contradicts or complements the textually based view of Egyptian society at that point in time (or indeed is largely irrelevant to it). Alternatively, we might wonder how the texts of the Amarna Period may help in the understanding of patterns of material culture in the city itself. In reality, only the inscribed doorways of a few of the largest houses at Amarna can provide any definite link between the excavated objects—the mass of anonymous buildings and artifacts at Amarna—and the historical narrative made up of specific individuals and events. The inscribed jambs and lintels can personalize certain sets of material remains, so that, for instance, the house labelled O49.1 can be discussed not merely as a wealthy household but as the home of a priest called Pawah, and the house K50.1 can be identified as that of a vizier called Nakht. Are these therefore the only connections between Murnane's complex world of personalities and politics and Endruweit's mass of architectural information?

In an article in *Göttinger Miszellen* in 1989,⁸ Endruweit argued that the houses at el-Amarna should be interpreted as architectural responses to the particularities of the desert climate, and in essence this is the theory expounded at much greater length in his book. When Egyptologists describe the city at Amarna they have a tendency to stress its expansiveness and openness, compared with the presumed claustrophobic and cramped streets of Memphis and Thebes. The subtext—and sometimes even the text itself—is that the king's policies and the cult of the Aten deliberately encouraged a green and spacious 'garden city',⁹ or at any rate one that was a self-conscious expression of the new political and religious order. The refreshing aspect of Endruweit's approach is that the residential parts of the city—as opposed to the ceremonial buildings¹⁰—can be seen to lie largely outside this scenario: they are products of the environment rather than of cultural change. This is a useful reminder that a great deal of the surviving material from the Amarna Period is essentially *ahistorical*. Murnane's fascinating texts may suggest a society that was rapidly permeated by the influence of Akhenaten and his ideology, but the reality, no doubt, was less dramatic. Even the inhabitants of the new city of the Aten were probably keener to establish a 'comfort zone'¹¹ in their mud-brick houses than to acquaint themselves with the finer points of the new cult.

Dunnell and Wenke¹² argue that 'as a body of phenomena, the archaeological record has one grand virtue for the study of human history: it records only what transpired, and it does so without the complications introduced by human motivations, intentions and rationalizations...Historical documents, in common with other linguistic sources, embody elements of values, ideals and purposes of the writers and users of the documents.' In addition, as Kemp demonstrated in his

⁷L. Borchardt, 'Voruntersuchung von Tell el-Amarna im Januar 1907', *MDOG* 34 (1907), 14–31; idem, *Der Porträtkopf der Königin Teje: Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Tell el-Amarna*, I (Leipzig, 1911); idem, 'Excavations at Tell el-Amarna, Egypt, in 1913–14', *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1916 (1916), 445–57 [abstract translated from *MDOG* 55, 1–45]; L. Borchardt and H. Ricke, *Die Wohnhäuser in Tell el-Amarna* (Berlin, 1980).

⁸A. Endruweit, 'Die Wohnhäuser in Amarna. Zur architektonischen Resonanz auf die Erfordernisse eines Wüstenklimas', *Göttinger Miszellen* 112 (1989), 11–22.

⁹D. Redford, *Akhenaten the Heretic King* (Princeton, 1984), 148 mentions 'the sprawling villas of the grandees of the new city'.

¹⁰See M. Mallinson, 'Excavation and Survey in the Central City, 1988–92', B. J. Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports*, VI (EES Occasional Publications 10; London, 1995), 169–215.

¹¹See Endruweit, Appendix 3: Die Comfort Zone.

¹²R. C. Dunnell and R. J. Wenke, 'Cultural and Scientific Evolution: Some Comments on N. Yoffee, *The Decline and Rise of Mesopotamian Civilization*', *American Antiquity* 45/3 (1980), 607.

economic analysis of the Middle Kingdom fortresses in Nubia,¹³ textual sources can usually only reveal fragments of systems, whereas archaeological data tend to reveal the 'broad structural outlines in society'. Conversely, textual evidence may often supply the kind of individual details that can transform abstract socioeconomic processes into something which is closer to conventional history. Thus, if we are to understand the Amarna Period as a cultural whole, rather than simply as a religious or political phenomenon, we need not only Murnane's careful analysis of textual material but also more of the kind of meticulous reinterpretation of archaeological remains provided by Endruweit.

IAN SHAW

Amara West, I. The Architectural Report. By PATRICIA SPENCER, with contributions by P. L. SHINNIE, F. C. FRASER and H. W. PARKER. Excavation Memoir 63. 210 × 340 mm. Pp. xxvi + 240, pls. 170. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1997. ISBN 0 85698 136 2. Price £90.

It is not often that one is invited to review the publication of an excavation one worked on fifty years ago. Through an extraordinary chain of events this has happened to me, for as Dr Spencer sets out in her preface, many documents from the four campaigns (1938–9, 1948–50) at Amara only reached the Egypt Exploration Society, which initiated the research, in recent years, after several deaths and with help from many people. Professor Shinnie, the Field Director in 1948–50, whose final report reached the Society in 1959, must be particularly pleased. Until now only interim reports have given any idea of the importance of the work.

Dr Spencer is to be congratulated on the masterly way she has handled the material from so long ago. Whilst there are naturally lacunae and discrepancies, she has succeeded in extracting from the architectural and epigraphic material a convincing analysis of the stratigraphy and the function of this New Kingdom frontier fortress and administrative settlement at the Dal Cataract of the Nile. It is to be expected that volume II will include a study of the ceramics from the site, so that a more detailed succession of events can be recognised. This first volume is splendidly produced and edited to the high standard which has come to be expected of this Society.

Readers would be well advised to begin at pages 217–21 (Chapter XI), for although entitled 'The Dating of the Levels', it is in fact a skilful and highly effective summary of the history of the settlement as it is known at present. It is an imperial fortress which was founded in the early Nineteenth Dynasty, probably in the reign of Seti I, on the east bank of what was then a large fertile island in the Nile similar to present day Sai Island a few kilometres to the south. It was, or soon became, the headquarters of the most southerly frontier province of the Egyptian empire, the vice-royalty of Kush. It apparently replaced Eighteenth Dynasty settlements further south at Sesebi and Sai. Although only a small part has been excavated its nature and form is clear: it was a fortress, for so it was described on a door-jamb on the site, and in it was a temple, a palace and magazines, and a number of houses. It was described as a town by the excavators (the term is retained in the report) but it shows no urban characteristics and, unless these should emerge in future excavation outside the walls in unsampled areas, must be seen as an official outpost guarding and organising the exploitation of the middle Nile valley. The four main periods recognised by both field directors (Fairman and Shinnie) all belong to the New Kingdom occupation of Nubia, the site being completely evacuated under the Twentieth Dynasty.

It is unfortunate that only one (sketch) section, (p. 55), remained to be published, for the stratigraphy, especially in area D14 gives a clear idea of events. Since it is well described in the text (p. 141) a diagrammatic version may be helpful:

¹³B. J. Kemp, 'Large Middle Kingdom Granary Buildings (and the Archaeology of Administration)', *ZÄS* 113 (1986), 134.

		[Surface]
	<i>Sand</i>	
Twentieth Dynasty	Mudbrick Floor	Level 1
	Final occupation	
	Fallen roof debris	Level 2
	<i>Sand</i>	
	Ash and squatters' debris	
	<i>Sand</i>	
Nineteenth Dynasty	Succession of buildings	Levels 3 and 4
	Bedrock (gebel)	

Level 4, the earliest building level recognised, dated to the reign of Seti I and set the pattern for all later periods; a fortress wall, an Amun temple and a palace were all present on the sites they continued to occupy later. Level 3, dated to the reign of Ramesses II, was the period of greatest architectural achievement and, after Ramesses' Nubian campaigns, of the strongest control of the region. After several changes of plan the temple and palace were completed and provided with store- and work-rooms used for industrial activities including processing metal. This was shown by pots, in two different buildings, which were filled with quartz fragments 'rich in gold veins and small nuggets'. Nearby were rows of stones on which grinding-down took place. Which goldmines were in use is uncertain but Egyptian authority may well have extended for some 300 km to the Fourth Cataract. Levels 2 and 1, in which buildings using older walls were constructed, are seen as reoccupations during the later New Kingdom after periods of abandonment in which 'squatters' used the site and the sand encroached.

The three strata of clean sand in D14 are interesting for they may well indicate one reason for abandoning the site: the joining of Amara Island to the west bank. The present situation at Sai Island is suggestive; here the western bank of the western channel round the island is a line of great sand dunes driven by strong winds to the river edge and held back only by the channel. If the channel silted up, the fertile island would become dune-covered and reduced to the desert which is Amara West. The clean sand strata in the D14 stratigraphy and the formation of dunes over the New Kingdom rubbish dumps suggest that the later inhabitants lost the battle against encroaching sand.

Since the final withdrawal of the Egyptians is thought to have been deliberate, it is suggested that they stripped the fortress of all portable equipment and that this was responsible for the paucity of artifactual finds thought worthy of recording. One thousand and ninety-five objects have been listed here in full but almost no pottery is included and the finds are of little value in dating or in assessing the use of the individual buildings or rooms. They will be studied in a later volume, but lack of detailed find-spots will reduce their significance. The types selected for registration are surprising, for a considerable proportion are stone flakes or stone artifacts including ground axes, net-sinkers and flaked arrow-heads. It is hoped that the 1948–50 pottery, all of which was boxed and deposited in the Khartoum National Museum, can be studied for volume II, especially that from the so-called 'squatters' levels, since this might be Kushite and local and so of special importance.

It is a tribute to the records that detailed analysis (177 pages) has been possible. For this we must be particularly grateful that the Society's stipulation that a diary of the work be sent back to London at regular intervals for circulation to officers and committee members was adhered to. This proved of great value, but even with the diaries and many photographs the uses of individual rooms could rarely be suggested. This was partly because of the pillaging of earlier buildings to construct later ones, and partly because of much pit-digging in more recent times for *sebakh*—nitrate-rich occupation debris to spread on farmland. Some rooms had benches (mastabas) and some hearths and ovens, which were thought to be for domestic use, but in general the rooms were bare. Well made staircases show the use of upper rooms, and perhaps roof-terraces supported on arches.

In the 1948–50 seasons excavation also took place outside the fortress. In the area examined there was no extensive extra-mural settlement and no sign of a town. A small building (No. 1)

abutted the fortress wall, and beyond it was a series of small embanked areas which were interpreted as irrigated garden plots. These were partly overlaid, and therefore of New Kingdom date, by Buildings 2 and 3 to the east of them. Building 3, the lower, appeared to have been a single large house of the type found within the fortress. Above it Building 2, a small rectangular structure, contained six pots of 'New Kingdom type', four of which contained python bones; two more python skeletons were found nearby in a shallow pit. Two other pots contained a dog skeleton and two dog skulls. These remains are analysed in Appendices 1 and 2 and are the only animal remains recorded. Building 2, it is suggested, was part of a shrine for a snake cult. Further west of the fortress was Building 4, a large complex with four superimposed levels. It was proposed that this was a temple of unusual design, the only dating evidence being a stone block with cartouches of Ramesses II. It may have been built over a much earlier (perhaps neolithic) settlement, since the bulk of the recorded finds were flaked stone artifacts with secondary working and there were fragments of clay female figurines.

The publication in so much detail of the research at Amara West should increase interest in the region of the Dal-Third Cataracts. It provides information of a long-used New Kingdom frontier fortress and colonial administration centre which must have had a substantial effect on the local population. In this it has interesting parallels in the Ottoman-Turkish fortress nearby on Sai Island, where another alien garrison of great sophistication was maintained for several hundred years. A particularly important aspect of the Amara excavations lies in the light they may come to throw on local populations in the centuries immediately after the abandonment of the fortress, one of the most obscure periods in Nubian history. In the south of the region at this time there was developing a native Kushite state. Generations of its rulers were being buried at Napata and their successors in the eighth century BC conquered Egypt and became the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The 'squatter-levels' and the ceramics of Amara West, the cemeteries near the fortress and, if they can be relocated, the Kushite temple at Amara East and its settlement, may well offer clues as to how the local communities changed and developed after the Egyptians departed and before the invasion of Egypt took place.

JOHN ALEXANDER

Village Varia. Ten Studies on the History and Administration of Deir el-Medina. By JAC. J. JANSSEN. Egyptologische Uitgaven XI. 261 × 192 mm. Pp. x + 192. Leiden, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1997. ISBN 90 6258 211 7. Price not stated.

Deir el-Medina was a unique community in ancient Egypt, especially owing to the survival of much documentary material. The behaviour of its inhabitants, however, was undoubtedly not unique, and so Deir el-Medina offers up a window into the mind of the ancient Egyptians and the manner of their administration. The late Professor Jaroslav Černý pioneered the study of this vital community and Professor Jac. Janssen has followed his teacher with a number of works on various aspects of life at Deir el-Medina over the years. In this volume he has collected together ten diverse articles which serve to illuminate and advance our understanding of the community.

Certain general assumptions can be detected underlining all these articles. As in many aspects of Egyptology, the more we know about Egyptian life, the more complicated situations appear. To assume simple clear-cut solutions is rarely an option. Moreover, at Deir el-Medina the systems of administration did not remain static throughout the Ramesside Period. Changes and variations occurred and may account for some of the anomalies thrown up by the documentation. Another problem is the reliability of the documentation. Not all documents even from the administration can be necessarily and automatically taken at face value and personal documents even less so. Professor Janssen also rightly and honestly admits that the dating of documents solely by palaeography is highly speculative as, for example, some of the reign of Ramesses II could easily be assigned to that of Ramesses III or vice versa. He avoids the trap of being dogmatic about dates without other supporting evidence. Professor Janssen's careful approach is evident throughout.

The first three studies deal with the problem of feeding the community. 'The Sources of the Workmen's Provisions' surveys the provisioning of the community but comes to no overall conclusion except to demonstrate clearly that the 'government' was not the sole provider of sustenance. Temple provisions were used, but how and when remains confused. The second study, 'Rations and Ranks', analyses the exact amounts allotted to individual groups within the community. The third, 'Fish and Fishermen', examines the organization of the fishermen who supplied the community, their deliveries, and the identification of the fish consumed. Janssen points to various anomalies in the system of supplies and the amounts of rations which perhaps can be explained by the fact that the delivery system was less regular than is generally supposed.

Chapter IV, 'Women and Gifts', is an extremely interesting survey of the gift-giving ostraca, on which the author has written before, pertaining to the women of the community in the Twentieth Dynasty. The dating of the ostraca depends on the individuals named and so some uncertainty remains. On O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38 + O. Cairo 25705 occur the names of Tsake and Tmake, who are known as daughters of Nekhemmut (later foreman) and who appear with their father's wife Webkhet on Bankes stela 9, dated to Ramesses II. If these ladies are intended, they must have been born late in that reign, which is undoubtedly the case since their father lived to be foreman in the early years of Ramesses III. However, Merutmut, mother of the Tsake of the ostracon, is alive at the time. Now it is not axiomatic that the wife on a stela is actually the mother of the children depicted, as the case of Amenmose son of Penbuy, who is shown separately on stelae with one or the other of his father's two wives, proves. Still, it is extremely unlikely that Merutmut could be a divorced first wife of Nekhemmut who had lingered on from the reign of Ramesses II, so Tsake daughter of Merutmut must be distinct from Tsake daughter of Nekhemmut and Webkhet, as Janssen rightly surmised.

This raises the question as to why these women are distinguished by the names of their children rather than their husbands or fathers. Were they divorced or widowed? Were the children young or old? Was the eldest child chosen as the recognition marker, so accounting for both males and females, or perhaps the most well-known child in the community? The Hentshene mother of Naunakhte could be the attested daughter of the well known Naunakhte, as Janssen speculates, in which case she would have been born at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty and the ostracon would date to late in the reign of Ramesses III, or she might be the mother of the noted Naunakhte, in which case the ostracon could date slightly earlier. Much further work remains to be done on the female community at Deir el-Medina, but this essay points the way.

In Chapter V, 'Administrative Terms for Absences from the Workshop', the author reviews the various terms used in this regard but again no firm conclusions can be drawn. Curiously, it would appear that these terms do not seem to bear any judgemental implication as to whether the absence is justified or not. No penalties in the form of a cut in wages (i.e. food supplies) appear to have been exacted for unauthorized absences. Perhaps more summary justice was meted out. The sixth study, 'Amenmesse and After. The Chronology of the late Nineteenth Dynasty Ostraca', reviews a number of ostraca that can be assigned to the reigns of Amenmesse, Sethos II, and early Siptah. The author agrees with the now accepted interpretation that Amenmesse and Sethos II were contemporary rivals who controlled Thebes at different times in the course of their civil war.

The seventh paper, 'An Early Journal of the Necropolis: Papyrus Greg', publishes an important work journal known only from a transcription in the Černý notebooks. The journal dates from Years 5–7, which Janssen convincingly shows date to Siptah, thereby possibly extending his reign to a Year 7, which leaves little time for Tewosret. Unfortunately, the names of the foremen are not preserved so it is not certain if the notorious foreman Paneb was still in office. An Aapahte, who is mentioned, is presumably his son, but his title is lost. Janssen restores the title as 'workman' but it could well be 'deputy'. Fortunately, the missing papyrus has recently been rediscovered so Černý's readings can now be checked against the original. Chapter VIII, 'The Accession Date of Ramesses VI and Dating Undated Ostraca', examines various ostraca assigned to the reigns of Ramesses IV–VI and suggests an accession date for the last of II *prt* 8. However, Janssen strongly underlines the uncertainty of dating ostraca at this period of short reigns when many of the same personnel continued in office.

The problem of dating is also discussed in the next study, 'The Seth-Sign as a Dating Criterion', which seeks to determine whether a change in the style of writing Seth can be used to distinguish between ostraca of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. This seems promising, but, as even Janssen admits, exceptions occur, so not even this determination is absolute. The tenth study, 'Visits to the Necropolis by Dignitaries', surveys the arrival of important officials in the community, notably the vizier. These visits were usually connected with significant events in the preparation of the royal tomb—the choosing of the site or the installation of funerary equipment. It is interesting to note that the site was not chosen immediately but only after several months of the new reign had elapsed and after the interment of the previous ruler. Again the author emphasizes how much we do not know concerning the motives for these high-powered visits.

These ten studies add appreciably to the history—social, economic, and political—of the Deir el-Medina community. Much work remains to be done on the publication and the evaluation of surviving evidence. Fortunately, there is now in place in Leiden a group of scholars devoted to this end, and to continuing the work commenced so ably by Černý and Janssen.

M. L. BIERBRIER

Histoire de l'empire perse. De Cyrus à Alexandre. By P. BRIANT. 240 × 155 mm. Pp. 1,247, ills. 59. Paris, Fayard, 1996. ISBN 2 213 59667 0. Price FF 280.

Briant's history of the Achaemenid empire must rate among the most admirable academic achievements of recent years. We finally have a long-needed history of Achaemenid Persia which makes use of the literary, epigraphical, and archaeological evidence accumulated during the past decades. It incorporates an enormously diverse range of sources (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian, Egyptian, Aramaic, Hebrew, Phoenician, Greek, Latin) into a coherent analysis. The book offers a balanced account of the historical events and an evaluation of the sources freed from the constraints of the traditional Greco-centric view. Not only does it take a fresh view of the Greek sources, but it also takes advantage of the primary historical value of the Near Eastern sources. The study also looks beyond textual sources and recognises, for example, the historical value of the seal impressions. The inclusion of the non-Greek evidence allows in part a very detailed insight into regional administration, into the degree of co-operation between Persian control and local administration, as well as religion and religious customs of the peoples of the empire. While it is true that we can already see this richer perspective in such recent monographs as Wiesehöfer's *Ancient Persia* (London, 1996), and Kuhrt's *The Ancient Near East* (London, 1996), their aims are of a different kind (the thematic study of the Persian empires in the pre-Islamic period on the one hand, and the study of the political events in the Near East from c. 3000 to 330 BC on the other). P. Briant's monograph took almost twenty years to complete, and, although most of it was written by 1983, the author acknowledges his debt to the discussions of the *Achaemenid History Workshops* (p. 12) initiated by Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg (Utrecht) and organised together with Amélie Kuhrt (London), which have catapulted the peripheral subject of Achaemenid history into the forefront of research in ancient history.

Previous studies of Achaemenid history, such as Cook's *The Persian Empire* (London, 1983) and Frye's *History of Ancient Iran* (Munich, 1984), share in common the Greco-centric view, following, as they do, the ancient Greek authors uncritically. Our first lesson from Briant's scrutiny of the Greek evidence and his inclusion of the Near Eastern written and archaeological sources is that we must once and for all bury the notion of decadence and decline in the Persian empire in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. He achieves this by presenting the sources for each historical event or series of events clearly, relating each event as it is recorded in the different Greek sources, and pointing out their limits and possible contradictions. As a result this monograph is both a history of the Achaemenid empire and a study of Greek historiography. The discussions and examinations of the Greek sources depend upon the inclusion of an immense

range of Near Eastern documents wherever possible. Extensive quotations from many sources emphasise Professor Briant's belief that the subject must be studied as closely as possible to the sources, and thus he allows the reader direct access to much disparate Near Eastern material. As the author repeatedly points out, it is not his intention to reverse the propagandistic, negative Greek view on Persia—this would simply lead from one extreme view to another—but to demonstrate that in many cases the Greek evidence, as it is, forces us to reconsider many of the statements made, and to re-adjust traditional views held by many modern scholars on the Persian empire. Though dense, the text is engaging and allows the reader to follow a discussion point by point: it asks questions, suggests possible solutions, or points out unresolved problems or limits of historical evaluation. This book was written with the needs of the reader clearly foremost in the author's mind. This is a scholarly work written for an academic readership, yet I expect that a lay person unfamiliar with Persian history will find it comprehensible and stimulating.

Following the introduction and a prologue, the book is divided into six parts, each containing several chapters. The subsections within the chapters enable the reader to deal with this extensive volume, allowing him/her either to follow an argument point by point, or to select different aspects of a particular topic. In shunning a division of the book into two parts (i.e. a chronological account followed by thematic discussion), and instead choosing to build up the rich picture of the 'empire' (a term which we are cautioned against using in the introduction), Briant succeeds in integrating historical narrative and topical analysis into a double helix. Thus, in the first part ('Les bâtisseurs de l'empire: de Cyrus à Darius'), the presentation of the history of the early Persian empire is followed by a discussion of the political institutions and aspects of administration of the empire from Cyrus to Darius I which sets the scene for an analysis of the reign of Darius, itself separated between a description of the situation in Persia (522-518 BC) and Persian contacts with Europe (520-486 BC) (Chapters I-IV). The second part ('Le grand roi') (Chapters V-VIII) begins with a discussion of king and kingship, the royal court and the king's men, while the third part discusses the economy and the peoples of the empire ('Espaces, populations et économie tributaire') (Chapters IX-XII). This procedure enables the reader to obtain, by this point, an insight into the complexities of the structure and organisation of the empire and the role of the king. The chronological account of the history from Xerxes to Darius III (Chapters XIII-XV) is then continued in the fourth part, followed by a revised account of the Achaemenid world in the fourth century BC under Darius III ('Le IV^{me} siècle et l'empire de Darius III dans la longue durée achéménide: un bilan prospectif') (Chapters XVI-XVII), and the analysis of the final stage of Achaemenid rule 336-330 BC ('La chute d'un empire') (Chapter XVIII), with a brief concluding look at the reigns of Nabonidus and Seleukos. The text is followed by almost 200 pages of notes and comment for each of the eighteen chapters, offering further discussion on primary and secondary literature. The extensive bibliography provides a remarkable resource for anyone studying the period and a general index allows the reader to use the book efficiently.

A monograph of such substance is hard to examine adequately in the space of a short review. Therefore I concentrate here on three issues which are of particular importance—the question of decadence, the reign of Darius III, and the history of Egypt in the Achaemenid Period.

Decadence. Ancient and modern writers have alleged that the Persian empire suffered from political decadence and decline after 479 BC. The increasing use of Greek mercenaries, the supposed increased power of women in political affairs, and the importance of eunuchs at the court are all seen as indicative of this shift. The beginning of the political decline is thus associated with Xerxes, but Briant's analysis of the Greek sources on the reign of Xerxes demonstrates the fallacy of these suppositions. Indeed, the Near Eastern sources shed a different light on the ruler. Briant points out the negative influence which the traditional attitude even bore on the evaluation of the Persian inscriptions, in particular the *daiva* inscription (pp. 533-4), and stresses in a clear, analytical discussion of Xerxes' invasion of Greece in 480-479 that the year 479, so emphatically stressed by Herodotus, had less impact on Persian rule overall than has been thought. Not only did the rest of the empire remain firmly under Persian control, but also, contrary to the impression given in the Greek sources, Xerxes' interest in the western part of his empire remained constant (p. 557). This allows Briant to observe, '(...) en 479, les incontestables défaites militaires et premier reculs territoriaux n'étaient, aux yeux des Perses, ni écrasants ni

définitifs: on a tout lieu de penser, au contraire, qu'ils étaient prêts à combattre à nouveau' (p. 559). He also makes a persuasive case for abandoning the traditional presentations of Xerxes' religious policy, which are mainly based on Greek sources, yet which we cannot possibly maintain if we discover the propagandistic intentions of the hellenistic literature describing his sacrileges (p. 562). Neither can the view of Xerxes' supposedly harsh treatment of Egypt be upheld: as far as documentary evidence goes (p. 563) Xerxes was acknowledged as the 'Lord of the Two Lands' in epigraphical evidence dated to 476 and 473 BC. As far as Xerxes' rule throughout the empire is concerned, Briant's analysis of the sources concludes that 'les sources officielles achéménides viennent rappeler, par leur existence même, que l'historien ne peut se satisfaire d'un panorama organisé du haut de l'acropole d'Athènes: par là-même, elles invitent à relire des sources grecques, égyptiennes ou babyloniennes, trop souvent versées, sans mesure ni méthode, au chapitre que Platon a si fâcheusement ouvert sur le thème de Xerxès et la décadence de l'Empire achéménide' (p. 571).

The fact that Greek sources repeatedly refer to the use of Greek mercenaries in the Persian army has led some scholars to conclude that the Persian army was weak and in decline. This interpretation has now been proved to be incorrect. Briant shows that the army recruitment did not pose a problem (pp. 616–17), and resolves the crucial difficulty raised by the propagandistic fourth century literature, in particular Isocrates' *Panegyricus* from 380 BC, and Book VIII of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, which has been used as the basis of arguments that the Persians were unable to defend the empire adequately (pp. 632–3). Paradoxically, in the absence of Persian sources, it is by analysis of Greek evidence itself that Briant disproves this notion. Much of Isocrates' and Xenophon's polemic is due to the presentation of Agesilaus as the counterpart to a decadent Persian king (p. 660). In the end he succeeds in demonstrating that throughout Achaemenid rule there is insufficient evidence, if any evidence at all, to justify the supposition that the Persian empire was in decline. In reality, the financial and military strength of the empire was apparent from Darius I to Darius III (p. 833).

Chapter VII ('Gens et vie de cour') paints a clearer picture of Persian court life, which leads us to abandon many prejudicial views which had become endemic in the literature. Again, after opening discussion of the subject by recounting the reports of ancient authors, Briant examines their reliability using a range of material, including Egyptian and biblical evidence. In his investigation of the eunuchs of the Persian court Briant notes that, although Greek sources use the term *eunuchos* frequently to describe high officials at the Persian court, no term can be extracted from Persian sources which might help us to explain the meaning of this term, making the Greek terminology rather uncertain. Briant proposes that the word *eunoukhos* has been confused with *oinokhoos* (cup-bearer), supporting his argument with the example of the Book of Nehemiah where the Hebrew applies the word *saris*, which derives from Akkadian *ša rēš šarri*. While this term has also been interpreted as meaning eunuch, Briant points out (with P. Garelli) the absurdity of the logical conclusion which this would constitute for the administrative personnel at the Assyrian and Achaemenid courts (p. 288). It is not very likely, as an inscription from Wadi Hammamat shows, that the term *saris* was used for Persian high officials such as Atiwahy. His suggestion, that, if a Persian adopted the Akkadian title *saris*, this must mean that this term was used at the Persian court, i.e., adopted from the Akkadian into Persian (p. 288), and that therefore we are most likely dealing with a misunderstanding of the term *oinokhoos* on the part of Greek authors, while the title of these high officials was *ša rēš šarri*, ought to be seriously considered.

Darius III. Parts Five and Six (Chapters XVI–XVIII) are an extensive investigation of the reign of Darius III. His reign has consistently been regarded as that of a weak king in a declining empire, all too easily conquered by Alexander. Briant takes particular care in these chapters to scrutinise the problematic interpretation of the Greek sources. A discussion of the political situation in the satrapies of Asia Minor (including a complete reproduction of the trilingual text on the Xanthos stele) and the western part of the empire, results in demonstrating the continuity of Achaemenid policy since Darius I and Xerxes (p. 803), while the investigation of the Persian army in the fourth century reveals that much of the Greek pejorative rhetoric against the Greek mercenaries was mere propaganda, particularly when the same line of argument was taken by

Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon (p. 808). The question is, whether the central position given to Greek mercenaries in the Persian army is justified. How large a part did they actually play? Undoubtedly, as the author points out, while there was a concentration of Greek forces in the western part of the empire, the view can hardly be upheld that they were the major force in the Persian capitals or in Bactria (p. 813). Also, the strength of the Persian army in the fourth century cannot be in doubt: 'rien ne peut laisser supposer que, depuis le début du IV^{me} siècle, cette infanterie achéménide avait perdu les qualités manœuvrières... les défaites subies devant Alexandre ne doivent pas être considérées comme des preuves ni même comme des indices significatifs d'une désorganisation militaire de l'empire de Darius III' (p. 820). Far from accusing Darius of an inadequate military policy, it can be shown that he pursued a constructive policy in Babylon, including the introduction of military innovation (p. 854). In fact, the real problem we are confronted with is that the ancient sources on Darius III contain a contradiction: on the one hand, a king with military skills, on the other, a feeble personality who panics in the face of the enemy (p. 856).

Egypt. Briant pays attention to the individual satrapies of the Persian empire wherever the evidence allows discussion, and Egypt is no exception. Its history from the conquest by Cambyses to the revolts from 464-454 BC and 360 BC and to its reconquest under Artaxerxes III is examined. The discussion of the reasons for the initial conquest clarifies the role of Egypt in eastern Mediterranean political relationships between Persia, Phoenicia, Samos and Halicarnassus. The continued importance of Egypt for the Persian empire is emphasised in the further discussion and in the recognition of the role played by the fleet in the control of this satrapy. In pointing out the limited extent of the revolt of 464-454 BC, i.e. the Delta, and in fact establishing Artaxerxes II's continued acceptance as king (p. 592), as well as in analysing the historiographical and chronological problems in the accounts of Diodorus and Pompeius Trogus, Briant offers a differentiated account of the situation in Egypt in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. What emerges is that the traditional descriptions of Cambyses, Xerxes, Artaxerxes II and Artaxerxes III in regard to their Egyptian policies are biased and can no longer be accepted.

Histoire de l'empire perse is a major achievement in several ways. It demonstrates that a history of the Achaemenid empire *can* be written as a full and vivid account, and that, if we look at the Greek sources on Persia with a critical eye, much can be rectified by understanding their historiographical and rhetorical methods. Beyond that, Briant has shown that despite the absence of a written Persian historiographical tradition, there is a wealth of information from non-Greek sources which, if we open our minds to them, allow us to weld a rich and balanced account out of a seemingly disparate mass of scattered morsels of information. This book deserves praise as a scholarly task executed with remarkable skill and diligence. It will be fundamental as a reference book for anyone studying the history of the ancient world, the Mediterranean and the Near East in this period.

MARIA BROSIUS

Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt. By DOMINIC MONTSERRAT. 195 × 253 mm. Pp. xix + 238, figs. 16, pls. 48. London, Kegan Paul International, 1996. ISBN 0 7103 0530 3. Price £45.00.

Sexual attitudes and ideals do not translate easily from one culture to another, even though ultimately they are universally rooted in the basic need for societies to reproduce themselves biologically generation after generation. How sex and sexuality are constructed goes far beyond simple reproductive needs to become an intrinsic part of how a society and the individuals in that society perceive themselves and others. In this book, the author explores notions of sex, sexuality and the body within the society of Graeco-Roman Egypt, grounding his study firmly in the ancient sources, while also introducing modern theoretical debates on sexuality. He plainly shows that sexual expectations and the ways sex was experienced were constructed differently in this society

than in modern western societies, and that the ancient sources must be interpreted within the context of the society that produced them rather than through modern western assumptions about sex and society.

Individuals are born with a natural body that has to be transformed, normally through specific rites and ceremonies, into a cultural body, whose construction varies according to age, gender, social status and profession. Some of the different constructs of Graeco-Roman Egypt can be seen in the idealized images of the dead, all of which belong to the elite. Male subjects divide into three age groups: the child marked by a sidelock; the adolescent male ranging from about thirteen years to the early twenties and marked by a downy moustache; and full adults who very often wear beards. Women's images display their bodily form, emphasising the breasts, belly and hips, and refer to their reproductive role.

Ideas concerning male and female bodies and the physiology of reproduction differ considerably from modern western notions, and lead to different attitudes concerning the role of sex in physical health and the nature of male and female sexuality. The male body was hot, dry and active, whereas the female body was cold, wet and passive. Men produced semen in their spine, and because this was not easily done, their semen was not supposed to be wasted. Women were at risk because their wombs could move freely in their bodies. If the body became dry, the womb would wander upwards seeking wetter regions and causing all sorts of problems. The cure lay in penetrative sex because the ejaculated semen moistened the womb and enabled it to reproduce. Thus women needed to be engaged in regular, heterosexual sex and childbirth so as to keep healthy; sex that did not involve penetration and ejaculation was futile because it did not moisten the womb.

The image of the active penetrating male and the passive penetrated female seems to have formed the only model for all sexual relationships. So men conceived of sexual activity between women in terms of penetration with active and passive partners, albeit deficient because there was no moistening semen. According to the sexual stereotypes of the Egyptian astrological writers, sexually active women who took the part of the man (called *tribades*, 'those who rub') were produced when Mars was in conjunction with Venus, because anyone, male or female, born during such a configuration of the planets was made more masculine. The *tribades*, as active mannish women, were at one sexual extreme. At the other were the *kinadoi*, passive womanish men, who could also be created by unfavourable astrological combinations or even by magical means. The *kinadoi* were the opposite of real men because they were passive and penetrated. The stereotypic *kinados* wore elaborate hairstyles, trailing garments, overmuch jewellery, and perfumed oil, and removed his beard and body hair. Although real men might shave their beards with a razor, they did not use other means of depilation or remove their body hair, since hair was produced by bodily heat and its removal made a man wet, feminine and thus passive. A good crop of facial and body hair displayed manliness and sexual potency.

Graeco-Roman Egypt was a society in which almost everyone was expected to marry. Women married earlier than men, between about seventeen and their mid-twenties, in order to maximise their childbearing years, a necessity because infant mortality was high. In addition, early marriage both helped ensure virginity, which was regarded as important, and provided and controlled the sexual activity that was necessary to female health. In many societies, female genital mutilation has been and still is used as a means by which to control and contain women's sexuality, and the author considers the possibility that it occurred in Graeco-Roman Egypt. In the end, however, he decides that the evidence against the practice outweighs the evidence for it.

The median age for men on their first marriage was at least 25, and husbands were often considerably older than their wives. This age difference may have added to the inequality that always existed in sexual relationships, heterosexual or homosexual, given the belief that the active penetrating partner dominated and was superior to the passive penetrated one.

Inequality, rather than any desire for mutual affection, is also the theme in love spells, where the aim seems to be the control of the object of desire. In most spells, the practitioner is male and the object female, but there are others where this is reversed. The same kinds of spell could also be used when the practitioner and the desired were of the same sex, suggesting that sexual attraction, whether heterosexual or homosexual, was thought to work in basically the same way.

It seems likely that the notion of active male desire for the female provided the model for all types of sexual desire.

One source for attitudes towards sexuality and the body used by the author comes from the works of Christian writers, who disapproved of many of the sexual customs of pagan Graeco-Roman Egypt. Modern western society has inherited their attitude that religion and sexuality do not mix. It is necessary, therefore, to remember that sexual interaction was fundamental to ancient Egyptian religion, as part of the creation and continued maintenance of the world. Religious festivals provided a sacred context where sex became a religious observance. Descriptions of festivals show that they were occasions when accepted boundaries and restrictions placed on behaviour broke down. Men and women participated together away from their local communities in an atmosphere of unrestrained music, dancing, singing, drinking and sex. Here, sexual activity, which many people today regard as totally private, became part of a communal event that could lead to religious fulfilment.

In conclusion, the author has written an important book on a fundamental aspect of society in Graeco-Roman Egypt which adds greatly both to our knowledge of the culture of that period and to our growing body of information about the ways sexuality was constructed in the ancient world. The book is firmly grounded in primary sources and the author's own research, while also successfully synthesising the work of others. Despite its scholarly foundations, the author has been able to produce a book that is fully accessible to the non-specialist and general reader. He is to be congratulated on creating a coherent and vital account that is both easy to read and informative.

GAY ROBINS

Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I–IV Centuries A.D.) with a Catalog of Portrait Mummies in Egyptian Museums. By LORELEI H. CORCORAN, with drawings by WILLIAM SCHENCK. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization No. 56. 230 × 298 mm. Pp. xxxii + 222, pls. 32, figs. 42, tables 6. Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1995. ISBN 0 918986 99 0. Price not stated.

Die Autorin untersucht die Mumien mit Mumienporträt aus dem römischen Ägypten. Ihr Buch ist eine überarbeitete Dissertation, die sich in zwei Hauptteile gliedert, die Abhandlung des Themas (Seite 1–79) und den Katalog (Seite 81–212).

Die Einleitung stellt die Materialbasis der Untersuchung vor, etwa 100 Mumien mit Mumienporträt. Davon wurden 23 ausgewählt, die sich in ägyptischen Museen befinden, die meisten davon in Kairo. Diese 23 Mumien werden umfassend dokumentiert, die übrigen dienen lediglich zum Vergleich.

Ferner wird die bisherige Behandlung von Mumien dieser Art und Zeitstellung kritisch betrachtet und dabei auf drei schwerwiegende methodische Mängel hingewiesen: 1. die frühere Geringschätzung des Materials; 2. die falsche Voraussetzung, ägyptische und griechische Kultur hätten, sich vermischend, eine neue Kultur geschaffen; 3. die getrennte Behandlung von Mumienporträt und zugehöriger Mumie.

Anschließend werden Fragestellungen, Ziele und Methoden offengelegt. Erstere konzentrieren sich auf die Datierung, die Herkunft, die Dekoration sowie auf die Besitzer der Mumien. Das Hauptziel, die Analyse und religionsgeschichtliche Bestimmung der gesamten Mumiendekoration, also der Porträts *und* der Darstellungen auf dem Körper der Mumie, wird unter folgenden Prämissen angestrebt: der Totenglauben im römischen Ägypten blieb lebendig und entwickelte sich weiter auf der Basis der einheimischen Traditionen.

Nach kritischer Wertung der möglichen Datierungskriterien gelangt L. H. Corcoran zum Ergebnis, daß die Herstellung der Mumien mit Rautenwicklung im frühen 1. Jh. n. Chr. einsetzt, Mumien mit rotem Leinentuch und vergoldetem Stucküberzug im frühen 2. Jh. beliebt waren und daß sich die Mumien mit stuckiertem Leinentuch zeitlich anschließen und vielleicht bis ins 4. Jh. n. Chr. hinaufreichen—dies aber nur als eine grobe Regel, da die drei Typen sich in nicht geringem Umfang zeitlich überlagern.

Mumien mit Mumienporträt wurden in ganz Ägypten gefunden, von der Küste des Mittelmeeres bis nach Debod in Nubien; besonders viele stammen allerdings aus dem Fajjum. Verschiedene Indizien, so zum Beispiel die Form der Porträt-Tafel oder bestimmte Motive der Dekoration des Leichentuches, erlauben es, eine Mumie ohne Angabe der Herkunft den Fundorten Hawara, Saqqara, Antinoopolis oder Er-Rubayat zuzuweisen.

Die Autorin liest die Dekoration der Mumie von unten nach oben und interpretiert unter anderem folgende Motive: die Amulette, die Feinde unter den Fußsohlen, die Reinigung, die Krönung und den Kranz der Rechtfertigung.

Die Namen der Besitzer verraten ebenso wenig über deren ethnische Zugehörigkeit wie die Mumiendekoration über ihre Berufe. Die Besitzer waren ethnisch verschieden oder auch gemischt, aber kulturell homogen. Sie gehörten zu einer reichen, der ägyptischen Tradition verbundenen Oberschicht und hatten eine enge Beziehung zum Isiskult; die Porträts könnten nach begründeter Ansicht der Autorin bereits zu Lebzeiten der Besitzer gemalt und teils im Rahmen eines privaten Ahnenkults, teils innerhalb des Isiskults verwendet worden sein.

Der Katalog gliedert sich in Mumien mit Rautenwicklung, solche mit rotem Leichentuch und stückierte. Die Beschreibung enthält die technischen Daten, die Datierung, die Interpretation der Bildmotive und Angaben zum Porträt. Die Datierung der Porträts nach Parlasca und diejenige der Mumie nach L. H. Corcoran weichen hier und da stärker voneinander ab, wobei die Autorin zur älteren Datierung tendiert (siehe auch S. 22ff.). Wer die eingehende Interpretation der Bildmotive sucht, findet sie hier im Katalog.

Jede Mumie des Kataloges wird photographisch dokumentiert, diejenige mit detaillierter Dekoration zusätzlich durch eine Handskizze. Den Abschluß des Buches bilden drei Indizes, die Begriffe, Exponate bzw. Primärliteratur aufführen.

Das Buch ist sorgfältig gearbeitet und leicht zu benutzen, wozu nicht nur die vielen Querverweise und die Indizes beitragen, sondern auch die Handskizzen. Letztere sind unverzichtbar, weil manche Mumien schlecht erhalten sind und deshalb viele Einzelheiten ihrer Dekoration nur am Objekt selbst und nicht auf dessen Abbildungen erkannt werden können; allerdings läßt sich damit die nur mäßige Qualität der Photographien nicht begründen.

Die vorliegende Untersuchung bereichert unser Wissen nicht nur durch die Dokumentation, sondern auch durch die kritische Überprüfung älterer Thesen sowie durch neue Ideen und Denkanstöße. Diese sind vor allem auf zwei methodische Ansätze zurückzuführen, welche eng miteinander verbunden sind. Der eine geht davon aus, daß man Porträt und Mumiendekoration nur miteinander verstehen kann; der andere lenkt, ausgehend von der rein ägyptischen Dekoration der Mumie unterhalb des Porträts, auch für die Interpretation der Porträts den Blick verstärkt auf den ägyptischen Hintergrund.

Es versteht sich von selbst, daß eine Arbeit, die derartig komplexe Probleme behandelt, Anlaß zu kollegialer Kritik gibt:

Kleinere Versehen: zum Beispiel auf Seite xx und 78, 2. Absatz: lies 'Behlmer'; S. 51, 1. Abs.: lies *hr rdwy = f* [sic *t*] *hnc*; S. 53, 2. Abs.: lies 'pl. 29'; S. 53, 3. Abs.: lies *hr*, die Angleichung der Formen ist im Schriftsystem dieser Zeit üblich (cf. F. Le Saout, in: C. Traunecker et al., *La chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak*, II (Paris, 1981), 242)—auch handelt es sich ja um kursive Hieroglyphen; S. 150, 1. Abs.: lies 'pl. 2,1 und 7,1'; S. 166, unten: *mh.š* kann man den Zeichen nicht entnehmen, weder nach der Form noch nach dem Inhalt, cf. erhaltene Beischriften bei D. Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris* (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 6, Mainz 1990), 19–38; 168, 3. Abs.: seiner Form nach entspricht der Vogel dem *chm*-Falken.

Bei der Interpretation der Bildmotive vermißt man zunächst eine Begründung der Lesefolge; meines Erachtens ist nicht in jedem Falle von unten nach oben zu lesen (siehe unten). Ferner wurde zum Verständnis hilfreiche oder zumindest diskutabile Literatur nicht oder nicht genügend ausgewertet, so z. B. C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten* (MÄS 35, München 1976); G. Grimm, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1974); Kurth, *Der Sarg* (zum Beispiel 65f., zur vorliegenden Arbeit, 52, Anm. 16; 35f. zur vorliegenden Arbeit, 148, 3. Abs., 155, 1. Abs. 36f., zu den Texten; S. Gabra und E. Drioton, *Peintures à fresques* (Kairo, 1954), Tf. 25–9.

Verunglückt ist die Beschreibung der Szene in Figure 4 (S. 136; auch: Fig. 10, S. 145). Bei dem

'kiosk' handelt es sich doch wohl um die Kajüte des Schiffes, die unten von einem Tuch verhüllt wird (siehe B. Landström, *Die Schiffe der Pharaonen* (München, Gütersloh, Wien 1974), 116–21; Traunecker, *La chapelle d'Achôris*, 77–85); bei der Darstellung des Schiffes hat man sich u. a. an den Prozessionsbarken des Neuen Reiches und der Folgezeit orientiert.—Zur Lesung der Szenen auf der Mumie Nr. 14 (von unten nach oben): Wie einst der Pharao mit dem Standartengeleit aus dem Palast zog, so kommt (1) der Verstorbene aus seinem Grab hervor (cf. 144, Fig. 9) und fährt (2) nach Abydos, wo (3) Anubis seine Mumie behandelt und zu neuem Leben erweckt; nach (4) der Wägung des Herzens erfolgt (5) die Reinigung und (6) die Vorführung vor Osiris (5 und 6 in einer einzigen Szene kombiniert, cf. pl. 15, S. 149f., Fig. 14f.).

Seite 137, Fig. 5 (auch: 146, Fig. 11): Es ist ganz sicher ein Tuch, so deutlich zu erkennen auf der hinteren Schmalseite des Mumienschreines Berlin 12442; cf. auch Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, Tf. 127, unten. Es könnte sich um eines der Tücher und Bänder handeln, mit denen die Auferstandenen ausgezeichnet und für ihr neues Leben eingekleidet wurden (cf. Kurth, *Der Sarg*, 52–7 mit Anm. 812f.).

S. 144, Fig. 9: Der 'obelisk' bezeichnet sicher das Grab (cf. zum Beispiel Naville, *Totenbuch I*, Vignetten zu Kap. 1; A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (New York 1971), 327).

S. 147, 1. Abs. und Fig. 12: Die beiden Pfosten sind meines Erachtens Himmelsstützen; cf. 165, Fig. 22 und die vordere Schmalseite des Mumienschreines Berlin 12442, wo die Himmelsträgerinnen erscheinen (cf. D. Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen* (Brüssel 1975), 88–98).

S. 149, 5. Abs.: Es ist keine 'complementary scene', sondern der Höhepunkt des ganzen Zyklus, die Aufnahme des Auferstandenen in das Gefolge des Osiris (Kurth, *Der Sarg*, 13 mit Anm. 145; 21 mit Anm. 234).

S. 154–6, Fig. 17–20: Diese Bildfolge ist meines Erachtens von oben nach unten zu lesen, denn die Auferstehung (unten) ist die Konsequenz der richtigen Behandlung der Mumie (oben).

S. 165, 2. Abs., Fig. 22: Die Schlangen kennzeichnen den Eingang, cf. 147, Fig. 12 und Kurth, *Der Sarg*, 64, Anm. 878.

S. 198, Fig. 33 (auch: 208, Fig. 39): Die Widder über der Mumie muß nicht der 'Bock von Mendes' sein. Er erscheint unabhängig vom Geschlecht der Verstorbenen, wie die Autorin zu Recht betont; die Geschlechtsteile des Tieres werden nicht angegeben, aber seine Nase ist auffällig nahe beim Gesicht der liegenden Mumie. Hinzu kommt, daß der Widder an der Stelle des Anubis erscheint (cf. pl. 14f. und 22). Nun stärkt Anubis den *Ba* des Verstorbenen durch seinen Duft (Kurth, *Der Sarg*, 29, Text Ac). Nimmt man Szenen in den Blick, bei denen der *Ba*-Vogel der Mumie Lebensluft gibt (E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige*⁵ (Zürich und München 1990), 135; Widder und *Ba*-Vogel werden *b* gelesen), könnte es sich um einen Widder handeln, der Lebensluft einhaucht; ich möchte mit aller noch gebotenen Vorsicht unter anderem auch an Amun denken (cf. Kurth, *Der Sarg*, 46, Anm. 57; J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich und München 1975), 291, Vers 76f.; 293, Vers 120ff.).

S. 199, 6. Abs., Fig. 34: Es handelt sich hier meines Erachtens nicht um die Zeugung des Horus, cf. pl. 18f. und vielleicht auch Gabra und Drioton, *Peintures*, pl. 27.

S. 200, 2. Abs.: Es könnte eine Geste des Jubels sein, cf. den Text Ad bei Kurth, *Der Sarg*, 30.

S. 211, 1. und 2. Abs.: Sollte es sich nicht eher um die Flügelsonne über der Hieroglyphe des Himmels handeln?

Manche Interpretationen wirken recht erzwungen oder vernachlässigen mögliche Alternativen und komplementäre Erklärungen, zum Beispiel S. 62f. (die Atef-Krone des Re); 74 (die Vergöttlichung des Lebenden); 78 (der Grund für die Übernahme königlicher Attribute); der unbestreitbare Einfluß der italischen Kunst auf das Porträt wird ebenso unterbewertet, wie früher die genuin ägyptische Dekoration des Mumienkörpers.

Abschließend sei, trotz der kritischen Anmerkungen, der Autorin dafür gedankt, daß sie mit ihrem verdienstvollen Buch diesen Teilbereich unseres Faches ein gutes Stück vorangebracht hat.

Greek Papyri from Kellis, I. Edited by K. A. Worp in collaboration with J. E. G. Whitehorne and R. W. Daniel. Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph No. 3. 300 × 210 mm. Pp. xi + 281, pls. 79. Oxford, Oxbow Monograph 54, 1995. ISBN 0 946897 97 2. Price £45.

Excavations at Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis (Ismant el-Kharab), which began in 1986, have yielded the most important collection of inscribed material in Greek from Egypt found in recent years have recently been published. The multi-leaved wooden codices of Isocrates and the so-called 'Harvest Account Book', and it is good to have in the present volume no fewer than 90 Greek documents, 83 on papyrus and 7 on wood, nearly all receiving their first publication. They all belong to what is traditionally referred to as the early Byzantine Period (Diocletian to the end of the fourth century AD; cf. p. 52).

The lion's share of the work has been borne by Worp, with Whitehorne responsible for thirteen of the papyri and Daniel for the four magical texts. It may seem from a glance at the publishers' summary, which classes the papyri as 'private letters, official documents, leases, records of sale and other contracts, loans of money, a horoscope, magical formularies and amulets' and which thus implies that all the papyri are of known types (as indeed they are), that we are dealing with routine documents following standard patterns. This is emphatically not the case. Almost every text deviates from the norm we have come to expect (no doubt because of their unusual provenance; hardly any texts from the Dakhleh Oasis were previously known), and the result is perhaps the most exciting volume of documentary papyri to have appeared since Skeat published *P. Beatty Panopolis* in 1964.

Among the many texts of special interest, I would draw attention to the following. **2**, a declaration to the provincial authorities, more probably to an official in the τάξις rather than τῇ τάξει as supplied in the edition (for the use of ἐπακολουθοῦντος cf. BGU III 928.2). **15**, another declaration, this time to a *comes Flaviales* (see Scharf in *ZPE* 114, 151–2), which is important for dating the well-known codex BGU IV 1027. Three of the numerous petitions: **19** to the *praeses* of the Thebaid and **21** to an ἐκδικῶ χώρας [sic], and **23**, also to the *praeses* from a comarch who refers to elections ὑπὸ παρουσία τοῦ διαδόχου τοῦ ἐξάκτορος καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει ἀπάντων. Several of the legal contracts: **8**, sale of a slave, **13**, division of property, **30**, exchange of property (ἀντικαταλλαγή), **35**, sale of a cow, **38**, a gift (χάρις) of land with measurements, **41**, a loan with *paramone*, where the debtor is a woman with another woman συνεπιπαρούσης, **42**, a loan in which a physical description of the borrower is given and the interest is called ἀποτάκτου ἤτοι ἐπέργου (cf. P. Antin. II 102.9), **48**, in which the owner manumits a slave δι' ὑπερβολὴν χ[ρι]στιανότητος (yet the manumission is carried out ὑπὸ Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον). Several of the letters: **12**, which refers to someone sent to a monastery for him to learn weaving, **63**, a Manichaean letter with elaborate 'over the top' expressions, **67**, with a postscript asking for a πινακίδιον εὐμετρον καὶ ἀστῖον δέκα πτυχῶν, and **71**, in which the writer's wife asks for items for her loom. Note also **70**, described as a 'business letter', but in effect a 'final demand notice' from a carpenter who has not been paid, and **76**, in which a man refuses to pay taxes due from his sister's husband who has gone off and left her. Among the non-documentary texts note especially **82**, a calendar, and **84**, a horoscope dated to the eighty-ninth year of Diocletian (AD 373). Some of these texts are discussed further below.

There are a large number of texts with consular dates (on which Worp's notes are naturally very full); some dates have the addition κατ' Αἰγυπτίου or καθ' Ἑλλήνας (see on this **33** 27n.). A surprisingly high proportion of the names are classical (Demosthenes, Pausanias, etc.; cf. **4** 1n.), and, perhaps less surprisingly, there are a number of words which are new or at least new to papyri (indicated by Bärbel Kramer in her survey in *Archiv für Pap.* 42, 263–70); but not καθαρτής (**6** 45: see SB XVI 12498.10), nor ὀλονομισμάτων (**12** 13) or ἀσφαλισμός (**24** 16), see below. κατασπτεύομαι (**23** 16) is new to papyri, but ἀσπτεύομαι with the same meaning is already to be found in P. Flor. I 99.7 and PSI I 41.12. The wide variety of hands is notable and there are several palaeographical features of interest: occasional use of punctuation (medial points) and rough breathings in the letters, occurrences of horizontal dashes over some proper names, and the general absence of abbreviation for θεός (abbreviated *nomina sacra* are only found in **88**, a Christian amulet). Important notes include an updating of known *duces* of the Thebaid

at 24 1, a discussion of transporting statues in 29 intro., pp. 115–20 on interest rates, 45 14–15 on μάριον as a measure of wine, 49 1–2 on Trimithis, 54 introduction on ζίζυφα (jujubes), 58 8 on καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, and 66 19–20 on a late use of δίχαλκον.

In the introduction (p. 2) Worp remarks that the editors ‘have tried to strike a balance between a speedy publication ... and an “ideal” edition’, and while saluting them for the rapidity with which they have made these texts available, I confess to feeling that they may have erred a little in seeking to publish so quickly. Since many of the documents are very fragmentarily preserved and others differ appreciably from those we are accustomed to, the texts pose problems which are both more numerous and more difficult than might be expected in a ‘standard’ volume of Greek papyri. I suspect that quite a lot of these problems could have been completely or partially solved by a more rigorous search through known documents with similar even if not exactly parallel expressions, and by a more careful study of the known background. There are occasional signs of haste in the slips which have crept into the texts, e.g. omission of words (χρυσοῦ 8 5, ἐντεῦθεν 38b 12, ἀλλά 69 5), κακή for καλή (83 5), as well as the failure to print footnotes 29–34 on pp. 217–21.

In a few cases a different interpretation of a text seems possible, partly because the editors have sometimes been too ready to incorporate into the texts restorations which are so tentative that they should perhaps have been kept to the notes. Some examples: 3: this is far too complicated and fragmentary for us to be clear as to what is going on and should have been left almost wholly unrestored, especially if there is a larger gap between the fragments (which, despite the editor, are not contiguous). In l.3 I suggest that a compound of -οικοῦμεν is much more probable than ἀδικοῦμεν. Line 17 may be a statement such as ‘The above-mentioned swear they have made a copy from a tablet of the report of a trial before the *prases/dux*’, reading αὐτούς and not αὐτοῦ; the report may have occupied lines 12–16. 9, a declaration by a man to his brother-in-law, is more likely to refer to the death of his wife’s father (supply in l.4 ἔτι περ]ιόντος) and the receipt of her inheritance, rather than the death of the wife. 19: in l.9 of the document printed as an Appendix κρίνουσαν makes no sense; I read]φιν οὖσαν, i.e. the end of a personal name and a reference to the slave’s age; when one notes that the slave’s name in 19a 6 begins Σενορ-, it is attractive to conclude that her full name was Σενορνούφης, and the connection between the documents, which the editor suspected, would then be certain: the documents are likely to be a contract in which a woman sends a slave girl to be apprenticed to a weaver, and a petition which resulted from the failure of the weaver to fulfil his obligations, especially if we can read ἐ]ν χρεΐα in 19a 8. 27 is clearly a copy of a reprimand from a high official to a *praepositus pagi* telling him to act less high-handedly (ἄξις is present indicative, nothing is lost at the left, and the interpretation suggested by Salomons, quoted in l.7n. only to be rejected, is certainly right); this explains why the text has been found at Kellis. 82 is reinterpreted as listing in lines 1–10 good and bad *hours*, not days, by F. A. J. Hoogendijk in *ZPE* 113, 216–18.

Some comments on other points of reading, etc.: at 6 21–2, in view of τὸν αὐτὸν υἰὸν later, restore τοῦ [υἰο]ῦ τοῦ Σινέως; in l.39 surely εἰς τίνα. For δ]λονομισμάτιον at 12 13 restore instead ἄλλο νομισμάτιον. At 15 7–8 I suggest ἐπέ|[λ]εξαν (cf. P.Rain. Cent. 122.4), perhaps followed by καὶ τὸ ὄ[νομά μου], the point being that the writer has been selected along with others for some tax collection. At 22 4 σὺν νόμῳ is more likely than συννόμω[ς]. In 23 there seems to be no room and no need for κατά at the start of l.27, and in the next line τὴν τάξιν makes much better sense than τὴν ὄψιν if it can be read. At 24 6–7 I suggest ἐπ[ισ]τέλλομεν for ἐπ[αγ]γέλλομεν and then τὸν [δι]ασφαλισμόν (cf. P.Rain. Cent. 84.5 and SB XIV 11929.14). At the start of line 2 of 26, a fragment of a bilingual report of a trial, the editor reads]αδδ() and comments that the letters may be Latin; I agree, and would read *ad(uocatus) d(icit)*. 33 15: restore ὁπο[τᾶν θέλης]. 34 13–14: read αὐτοῦ ᾧ |[ἐ]ὰν αἰρή τ[ρόπῳ]. 41 13: the correction χωρὶς <πάσ> ης is preferable to χωρὶς {ης}. 42 20: instead of ἀπολ[ύε]ιν surely ἀπολ[αβ(ε)]ίν. 44 15: the note comments that ἐπᾶν is not good sense and that we need a word meaning ‘until’; I suggest ἔστ’ ἄν. 45 10–11: try με ἄ[πο]καταστήσω (l.-σειν), and similarly l.29. 46 5: the expression ἔχεις παρ’ ἐμοί is odd, but it must be taken as the note (and not the translation) suggests, i.e. Palammon is the debtor; in l.11 νεομηνία, suggested in the note, is much to be preferred. 53 5: read μαξιλλαρις (for -άριος), which is a known word (see Kramer,

Archiv für Pap. 42, 368); P.Oxy. XVIII 2190.30 supports the editor's correction to μισθ[ός] καθηκη < τοῦ > (l. -γητοῦ) in l.12. Since 54 and 53 seem to be connected, we should probably read μαξηλ[λάρι(ο)ς at 54 5. 58 2: read ὑπο]θήκης κυρίας οὔσης? 61 1: on ἐν πορφύρα see the important note to P.Hamb. I 90.10. 65 7–8: for ἐπὶ μισθῶ ὄν try ἐπὶ μίσθωσιν. 66 4: the supposed bar over ἐνα is really an elaborate rough breathing. 68 11: ὄ[τι οὐ] for δ[πως]. 69 15: ἀεὶ has been added in the left margin. 72 17: [πίμ]πλησιν is unattested and what we expect is [(ἐν)ό]χλησιν (cf. SB XVI 12994.16); in l.21 read μηδέν for μὴ ἄλλο, and in l.43 καταλάβανε (imperative) would give better sense. 73 21: ἴν' ἀν[έλ]θης? 74 24: διστάξης does seem to be what is written, but it needs to be corrected to διστάξης (or διστάσης). 80 3–4: δοῦναί μοι, name ending in -ητ, ἐλαίου μάρια (l. μάριον) ἐν?

It must be stressed that the above suggestions for readings are offered with more than the usual caution, as the quality of the plates is extremely variable. This is not surprising since it was necessary to make the photographs 'in the field', as the Preface points out, and we should be grateful that the publishers found it possible to include so many. It will be clear from the above that this is an important volume and that the production of editions of such fascinating and difficult texts represents a considerable achievement on the part of the editors.

J. DAVID THOMAS

Survey and Excavation: Mons Claudianus 1987–1993. Volume I, *Topography and Quarries.* By DAVID P. S. PEACOCK and VALERIE A. MAXFIELD, with many contributors. Fouilles d'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 37. 320 × 244 mm. Pp. xii + 366, figs. 255, tables 16. Cairo, IFAO, 1997. ISBN 2 7247 0192 5. Price £E 148, FF 252.

Grain, papyrus, hardstones, the three major exports from Egypt in Roman times, are known from various degrees of documentation. The ancient authors are fairly quiet on these matters, the grain trade and its importance to Rome being occasionally mentioned and the others to a lesser extent. Since about the 1880s the study of Roman papyri found in Egypt has enabled the complex workings of the production of wheat and its shipment to Alexandria for onward transmission to become clearly understood. As for papyrus itself, the destroying dampness of the sites of this Delta-centred industry has ensured that very little is known about the growing, manufacture and export of this vital bureaucratic material. And although something was known from the papyri concerning quarrying, it is only in the last decade that documents have been found that have increased our understanding beyond measure. In 1983 and 1986 a small international group of papyrologists went to the site of Mons Claudianus in the Eastern Desert, some 140 km from Qena on the Nile, and realised that it was becoming (and still is) vulnerable to ill-governed tourist visitation and to illegal excavation. It was also obvious from surface observation that documents in the form of ostraca would be a very likely outcome of controlled excavation, and that this material would throw great light on the quarrying operations. This expectation was surpassed by the work of the (again international) team that was then put together, under the overall direction of Professor Jean Bingen, during their annual seasons between 1987 and 1993, when more than 9000 ostraca were recovered, 6,000 of which will be worth publishing. Two volumes on the ostraca have appeared in 1992 and 1997, including over 400 of the documents, grouped thematically, and papyrologists are actively engaged on what will surely be many further publications. They show that the Roman army organised the entire operation and that free Egyptian quarrymen, and not slaves or convicts condemned *ad metallum*, were employed in winning the stone.

After the Romans left, Mons Claudianus was not visited by Europeans until 1823, when Giovanni Battista Brocchi went there, followed a month later by James Burton and John Gardner Wilkinson. (Incidentally the dates given for early travellers are those of their publications, not their visits, presumably an unlooked-for result of using the Harvard system rather than proper footnotes; the date for Floyer appears to be wrong.) After these first inspections there was a

minute flow of visitors, expanding slightly as the twentieth century progressed. As mentioned, the development of the Red Sea coast for holidays created the necessity for more intensive examination. The volume under review is the first of three dealing with the archaeology of the site. It is largely a survey of the fortified village which was the heart of the enterprise, and also of the surrounding industrial landscape of quarries and associated structures. Some excavation was effected in a few of these quarries and is discussed here, but the main invasive archaeological work, within and without the walls of the village, and that which produced the majority of the documents and also a host of artifacts, will be published in volume II; volume III will deal with the huge quantity of textiles found. As with most large sites, much of the area remains unexcavated: money, inclination and time available to the investigators run out; a mass of material requires publication, and we can be grateful that this is happening.

The survey of the fort is described at length and well illustrated, with much constructional detail, although much has not been excavated. A new map of the fort and its immediate surroundings, including the animal lines, the bath-building and the Temple of Sarapis, has been produced to replace that of a German expedition and that of Gardner Wilkinson, published respectively in 1967 and 1832. All the structures are built mainly with small stones bound with mud-mortar, most of which is gone, and with longer quarried members, lintels (some of them dressed decoratively), jambs and other uprights, and roofing slabs. The Sarapis Temple, dedicated under Hadrian, had well-cut Corinthian capitals in the local stone, one of which has been stolen in recent years.

The fort, probably founded under Domitian, was not the first structure serving the quarry fields, as 1 km south-west of it is a small fort and village, known to modern visitors as the Hydreuma, which has produced evidence that it was in use in the time of Nero. This too is planned and described.

The quarries for black and white speckled granodiorite (*granito del foro*), the cause of all the building activities, are found within 1.5 km of the fort. There are some 130 of them, all quite small: they produced blocks and monolithic column-shafts that could be removed without great difficulty, the quarrymen then moving on to a similar location. All have been listed and described and plans of some produced. The surviving quarried artifacts are illustrated and the many quarry marks discussed and analysed; the quarry huts are planned and a few were excavated. Lookout places (*skopeloi*) and towers surrounding the quarry field were noted (the three illustrations of *skopeloi* seem to have dropped out of the volume). The slipways and loading ramps for moving stone from the quarries and placing it on carts for the long haul to the Nile and the probable means of transportation are also discussed. The quarrymen's handling of huge masses of stone is most impressive: Mons Claudianus granodiorite shafts of forty and fifty Roman feet were used in public buildings in Rome, but the cracked 200 ton sixty-footer still remaining in Quarry 11, presumably intended for an honorific column like the equally large Aswan-granite Pompey's Pillar, is not matched by any known granodiorite column that reached its destination.

A short chapter describes a small fort and quarry field for diorite (*granito bianco e nero*) situated about 10 km from Mons Claudianus, which was anciently known as Tiberiane and may have been exploited during the reign of Tiberius, before the Mons Claudianus quarries were opened. During Late Roman times what was probably a monastery of the *laura* type, with some 300 separate huts and a tall round tower, was established about 2 km south of the abandoned Claudianus quarry fields; there is, however, no recognisable church. Two final chapters deal with the geology and mineralogy of the area and various scientific techniques for examining the stone, both on site and in buildings employing it: this work can suggest from where in the quarry field a particular shaft or block in Rome came.

And it was to Rome that all but a tiny fraction of Claudianus granodiorite was sent: it barely occurs elsewhere, and these few places may have been supplied from Rome, after the quarries had been abandoned. The bulk was destined for large and imposing public buildings in Rome, structures erected by emperors, in the Domus Transitoria of Nero, the Basilica Ulpia of Trajan, Hadrian's Pantheon (the front columns of the porch, the back ones of cheaper Aswan red granite), his Tivoli Villa and his Temple of Venus and Rome. It is also found in the Baths of Caracalla and the Baths of Diocletian, yet there is no evidence for the quarries being open at the time the latter

was built. The excavations and the documents give the impression that the quarries were opened to furnish particular buildings and were closed or dormant at other times; they were finally abandoned at some time in the third century. It is extraordinary that the Romans went to the immense trouble and expense to win this seemingly 'prestige' stone when closely similar grey granodiorite quarries were available elsewhere in the Empire with far fewer logistic problems.

David Peacock and Valerie Maxfield, together with their co-workers, have done very well by their large and complex site, explaining its archaeology deftly and interpreting their findings with skill in a handsomely illustrated publication. All the volumes so far produced (and, doubtless, the several yet to come) show how fruitful can be the collaboration of text-readers and excavators: for the first time papyrologists and archaeologists together have intentionally tackled a major Roman location in Egypt to the profit of us all.

DONALD BAILEY

Qasr Ibrîm. The Late Mediaeval Period. By WILLIAM Y. ADAMS. Excavation Memoir 59. 213 × 304 mm. Pp. xvi + 308, pls. 66, figs. 32, tables 21. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1996. ISBN 0 85698 134 6. Price £50.00.

In what he hopes will be 'the first of a long and distinguished series of monographs dealing with one of the world's most extraordinary archaeological sites', Professor Adams' opening words of his report on the Late Mediaeval phase of the occupation of Qasr Ibrim are fully justified despite some errors in perception and fact. Though the excavation of the site, conducted under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society, began in 1963, there are sometimes— as here— sound reasons for the long interval between interim and final report. The need for a painstaking yet masterly study of the immense wealth and variety of finds is one of them.

The author describes himself (p. 253) as an archaeologist 'who is also and primarily an anthropologist', and while on the site in the season 1972 and following he fulfilled both roles with distinction. His report is divided into five parts, namely 'Background', 'The architectural record', 'The artifactual record', 'The textual record', and 'Synthesis'. The report ends with three appendices. The final one, devoted to a comprehensive table of Late and Terminal Christian objects recovered is itself a *tour de force*, an indispensable guide to the locations and the otherwise bewildering variety of finds that can be attributed to the Late Christian Period. This starts with the aftermath of the destructive raid on Ibrim by Shams-ed-Dawla in 1172–3 and extends to the final abandonment of the site by the Christians, probably in the early years of the sixteenth century.

As is to be expected, the most impressive sections of the survey are Parts 2 and 3, where the author demonstrates his expertise as a world-authority on Nubian pottery, and where he has had direct experience of what he describes, such as the excavation of the South Church. Where he has had to rely on previous reports the touch is less sure and mistakes have occurred.

During the Late Christian Period Ibrim was an important religious and administrative centre. It was the residence of the Eparch of Nobatia, who was subject to the King of Makouria to the south, but after the fall of that kingdom to Moslem rule *c.* 1323, was evidently in the fifteenth century the capital of the shadowy surviving Christian kingdom of Dotawo. Thanks to the dryness of the climate a very large number of manuscript remains have survived. In the Eparch's palace, House 763 (first described in *JEA* 69 (1983), 54), no less than 1279 complete and fragmentary pieces of paper including letters were found. The Eparch himself must have been an impressive figure, wearing knee-length leather boots and in one case possessing a bronze standard adorned with a Dionysus figure and a lion or leopard head, a relic of pagan days some 800 years before!

Patient analysis of an enormous quantity and variety of artifacts has enabled the author, ably seconded by his wife, who contributes a chapter on textile material and weaves, to reconstruct the daily life of the ruler's subjects. Some of their houses (43 can be identified as belonging to the Late Christian Period) had been occupied for generations, extending back in a few cases to

Meroitic times. Others, especially those above the floor of the podium, were newer. They were built mostly of stone, though eight were constructed of mudbrick. Two of the stone houses had second storeys, the upper being entered by a ladder. The floors were generally of beaten earth, provisions were stored in large cylindrical clay pots (*somas*) within the walls and there were indoor lavatories. Valuables, which included in one case (House 178) two finely ornamented bronze bowls, were concealed beneath the floor, and in another there was a veritable 'treasure trove of documents' including ten leather scrolls, legal documents dating from 1155 to 1191 from another eparchal house (House 177). Outside were the middens, a great number of which were discovered, providing from their content important clues on the way of life of the inhabitants of Ibrim.

Part 3 provides as full a description of the occupations and appearance of the people as is ever likely to be achieved in an archaeological report. In turn, the pottery, glass, wood, leather, textiles, basketry and cordage, bone and writing materials available to them are described. Even details, such as unfired mud used for making storage jars, are included. Pottery-making and spinning and weaving were among the occupations of the inhabitants living within the walls of Ibrim, but there are also descriptions of the agricultural tools used for work outside. Nettie Adams' chapter on textiles, detailed in its description of the 21 types of common cotton fabric, makes sense of the original use of the thousands of textile fragments found on the site. These included dolls clothed in discarded rags and balls made from bundles of rags used in games. Clergy, such as Bishop Timotheus (d. *circa* 1373) wore voluminous bell-shaped hooded cloaks of fine dark blue wool, over (as the reviewer observed at the time of discovery) a brown monastic-type tunic. Laymen wore tunics, sometimes possibly leather aprons (?) also, and leather shoes. Some women had distinctive long-toothed combs to hold masses of hair in place. Ibrim seems to have recovered quickly from Shams-ed-Dawla's destructive raid and for much of the next century and a half enjoyed a reasonably prosperous existence, subsistence agriculture being supplemented by trading with the Mamluk kingdom in Egypt, while fine pottery was obtained from as far away as China. Altogether this is a distinguished piece of writing and research.

The decline of Ibrim during the fifteenth century confronts the reader with problems of interpreting evidence on which there will be differences of opinion. The author admits that his association with Ibrim began only in 1972, whereas excavations, particularly on the Late Christian levels, began in 1963. It would have been wise therefore to have contacted as many as possible of those engaged in the early years of the dig, but this was not done. Similarly, the author's range of written authorities on this period is incomplete. There is no evidence that he consulted the *Acta* of the Seventh Congress of Christian Archaeology held at Trier in 1965 (Rome, 1968), which contained a fuller account of the 1963-4 expedition than that published by J. M. Plumley, in *JEA* 50 (1964), 3-5. Further, he does not seem to have used the publications by Erich Dinkler and his colleagues in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* of the years 1968-72, outlining the discoveries of the Deutsche Unternehmungen in the Batn el Hajar where he himself had had considerable experience, and where he believes, quite rightly, that the final phase of Christian Nubia was played out. In addition, only one of the several articles by the reviewer in the *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* concerning the liturgical documents found on the floor of the cathedral has been included in the author's bibliography. These omissions have contributed to statements open to question, particularly about the final phase and also the character of Nubian Christianity.

'With insignificant exceptions there is neither windblown nor waterborne deposit on the mountain top' (p. 8). This is true for the north side only, which is exposed to the prevailing north wind. Within the cathedral, which was on the summit of the cliff, and on the west side of the podium area windblown deposits provided important clues to the sequence of events. In the cathedral the destruction wrought by Shams-ed-Dawla was followed by a period of abandonment, sufficient for the south aisle in particular to be covered by a uniform 5 cm of windblown silt. This concealed liturgical manuscript fragments which were protected from further damage by a rough flagstone floor laid on top of them. Similar windblown silt filled the stairway of the north crypt in which liturgical manuscripts were found, before it was paved over in the same way. West of the podium there was a deep deposit of sterile windblown brown sand which in the absence of destruction layers suggests the probable abandonment rather than destruction of the site.

The author speaks of 'castle-houses' as typifying the final phase in the occupation of Ibrim (p. 33). There was, however, no way in which humans could have lived in the rat-infested and airless lower rooms of either the great watch-tower or the two magazines that lay directly behind it. The surviving south wall of the tower, still standing to a height of 5 m in 1963, had been incorporated into the Islamic fortifications and no traces of upper floors existed (and hence no plan of these was possible). The lower courses of the mudbrick walls were 80 cm thick, but in the main structure the walls were only 0.50–0.55 m thick. The structure of the walls of the magazines, nearly 1 m thick, and the presence of abundant rat droppings and maize suggested their use as storage depots rather than dwellings. They sealed the Late Christian houses beneath them. From one of them on the east side of the tower the reviewer himself found and photographed the jar containing nine leather documents dating 1281–1464, which he recovered from a shallow embrasure, where it had lain protected by a palm-beam that had fallen across it. It is a pity that the photograph has not been reproduced in this report.

All the documents were Christian, the left-hand top corner of each being marked with a cross. The last days of Christianity in Ibrim, however, are shrouded in mystery, but the author is surely mistaken in his view that 'the Church in Nubia was never in any real sense a Nubian church. It was a foreign institution without deep local roots' (p. 25). The links with Alexandria, and later with Abyssinia, were a source of strength, emphasising the Nubian Church's identity and its place among the Orthodox (Monophysite) Churches of the Nile Valley. Consecration and letters of commendation from the Coptic Patriarch in Cairo were no more symbols of foreign domination than the reception of the pallium at the hands of the Pope by successive Archbishops of Canterbury indicated to Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Normans a foreign nature of Christianity in England. In fact, not only the vibrant cult of saints and martyrs revealed in documents, but also the many symbols of the Cross on pots and other household utensils, are proof that Christianity had been accepted with lasting enthusiasm by the Nubians. The most probable cause for its decline and extinction was the steady pressure of the Sahara nomads that ultimately made life impossible on Ibrim and a little later in the Nubian settlements of Batn el Hajar.

The author would have done well to include the manuscript pages of John Chrysostom's *Homily on the Four Living Beasts*, discovered in 1964 hidden beneath an upright stone in the uppermost level outside the west entrance of the cathedral. A separate heading for inscriptions and graffiti would also have been welcome. Greek remained a liturgical language in the Nubian Church to the end, as a graffito etched on the north transept of the Coptic church outside the walls of the town showed. The word $\tau\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$ relating to the Trinity was plainly visible.

Two other statements call for comment. The author's suggestion (p. 78) that it 'may also have been the "Bosnians" who blocked the original doorways leading from the aisles to the sacristy and baptistry' cannot be upheld. On the north side, a well-constructed wall had been built, blocking the crypt from the sacristy before the burial of Bishop Timotheus took place. The bishop lay hunched up in an impromptu tomb beneath the arch of the crypt, closed off to the east by the wall, and to the west by a mass of windblown silt which filled the stairway leading to the crypt, beneath the stone flooring that sealed it. On the south side there was a wall of similar construction (pl. 8c, p. 75). Secondly, the conversion of the cathedral into a mosque was a late development and not an almost immediate action by the 'Bosnians' (p. 78). The *mihrab* niche stood a metre and a half above the original floor of the church, and the square pilasters roughly constructed of undressed stone held together with mud cement which formed part of the mosque rested on the latest surface near the centre of the church. They were the first objects to be removed (on 21 December 1963) in the 1963–4 season, and were separated from the cathedral floor by three clearly marked levels of domestic occupation which had accumulated after the abandonment of the building as a place of worship.

The author's plans and diagrams are clear and informative, but a number of the photographs have suffered in the process of reproduction.

The task of a reviewer is thankless. As the author suggests courteously, early work on the cathedral and podium area was not perfect, though in 1963–64 speed was all-essential. In particular, neither the settlement at the foot of the escarpment (not as extensive as believed) nor the substantial curtain-wall running from just west of the south-west bastion to the water's edge

to protect it, were investigated properly. But in this important study faults have to be identified. Two sections are brilliant, illustrating to the full the author's knowledge of ceramics and his ability to handle and explain simply and precisely a great mass of evidence. He presents readers with a clear picture of social and economic life at Ibrim from the late twelfth to the late fifteenth century. This, however, has to be balanced against an evident lack of the historian's curiosity. Why did Christianity decline? Who were the external enemies of Ibrim? Why was the site abandoned? Could the watch-tower and massive magazines possibly have served as residences in which the Eparch and his staff 'holed up' (p. 255) in the final years of the kingdom of Dotawo? The overriding role of Christianity in the lives of the Nubians, the influence of monasticism and the theocratic nature of their government also deserved greater attention. Excellent though much of this study is, a revised edition will be needed before it fulfils the author's hope of its becoming a model for future monographs on Qasr Ibrim.

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