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J. D. Ray, 'The Voice of Authority: Papyrus Leiden I 382', *JEA* 85 (1999), 190 (subsequently Ray, *JEA* 85, 190)

I. Mathieson, 'Magnetometer Surveys on Kiln Sites at Amarna', in B. J. Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports*, VI (EES Occasional Publication 10; London, 1995), 218–20 (subsequently Mathieson, in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports* VI, 218–20)

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Any of the traditional systems of transliteration may be used (but *q* for *ḳ*). Hieroglyphs used in the text should be accompanied by Gardiner sign-list numbers or, in the case of signs not in Gardiner, by slightly enlarged ink versions on a separate sheet. The latter also applies to cursive signs. Lengthy hieroglyphic passages must also be supplied separately.

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CONTENTS

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

REVIEWS

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

THE end of the old and the start of the new millennium saw the Society in full prosperity and health and actively engaged in its usual myriad of activities. Five major fieldwork projects, including an important study season for the Amarna Glass Project team, took place under the Society's auspices at Sais, Memphis, Amarna and Qasr Ibrim, and accounts of this work can be found in the 'Fieldwork' section which follows. The publication of fieldwork findings and results which is such an important component of all excavation was not neglected, and the year 2000 saw the appearance of two major volumes associated with ongoing EES projects. The Excavation Memoir *The Survey of Memphis,* II. *The New Kingdom and Post-New Kingdom Objects* by Lisa Giddy provides a descriptive catalogue of the varied stone, terracotta and other small finds from a site at which the Society has had a long-term commitment. Janine Bourriau, L. M. V. Smith and Paul Nicholson, *New Kingdom Pottery Fabrics* is an important contribution to our knowledge of still imperfectly known Egyptian ceramics based on many years of close examination of material from EES excavations at Memphis and Amarna. 2000 also saw the appearance of *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, edited by Anthony Leahy and John Tait, a collection of contributions by an international group of scholars in appreciation of a well known and much loved member and leader of Society expeditions over decades, Professor Harry Smith.

A major new project was embarked upon in the London office of the society as Dr Patricia Spencer undertook to typeset the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* in-house on EES equipment, in addition to her editorship and typesetting of *Egyptian Archaeology* and her other duties. This has involved a heavy commitment of time and energy on her part, as well as reformulation of timetables and working methods by all those involved in the production of the *Journal*. Inevitably there have been teething problems, contributing to the late appearance of this volume, but we have all learned in the process and anticipate a smoother run in the future. In tandem with this shift to in-house setting there have been a number of minor style changes within this volume. I would particularly like to draw the attention of would-be contributors to the revised 'Guidelines for Contributors' on the inside front cover of this volume and to request that they make every attempt to adhere to them to simplify editing and typesetting.

Throughout 2000 the Griffith Institute in Oxford continued to function from its temporary premises in St. John's Street, with virtually no access available to researchers to the archives of the Topographical Bibliography. Building work is on course for the Institute to move to its new permanent site nearby in the summer of 2001, when it is anticipated that business will soon return to normal.

Despite continued construction work and refurbishment of offices, storage areas and public galleries, 2000 has been an active year at the British Museum. There have been changes in staff at the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan, British Museum. Two long-serving and well known members of staff have left the Museum, Carol Andrews and Dr Morris Bierbrier. Two new members of academic staff have joined, Dr Neal Spencer (Cambridge) and Marcel Marée (Leiden), as well as Susanne Woodhouse who is now the departmental librarian. Of the ever popular Sackler event, Dr Nigel Strudwick, who with Dr John Taylor coordinated it, writes:

The British Museum's annual Raymond and Beverly Sackler Distinguished Lecture in Egyptology was given by Professor Jan Assmann of Heidelberg on 27 July 2000. Although well known in scholarly circles as one of Germany's leading Egyptologists, Professor Assmann has not lectured often in Britain, and his excellent lecture 'The Ramesside tomb and construction of sacred space' was warmly received. Having excited everyone's interest in Theban tombs, the next two days were taken up with a colloquium 'The Theban necropolis: past, present and future', with nineteen papers by a distinguished group of researchers from Egypt, Europe and North America. Subjects covered the whole range of the non-royal necropolis: the officials of the Middle Kingdom to the elite burials of Roman times formed the subjects of a number of papers; the excavation, meaning and conservation of ceramics, coffins, human remains and the tombs themselves were covered in depth, as was the history of the area, from the different stages of the development of the necropolis to its rediscovery and the problems faced today by those who live and work there. Papers from the colloquium are presently being edited for a forthcoming publication; abstracts may be found on the British Museum web site (www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk).

As is unfortunately so often the case, the year saw the demise of some important figures in the Egyptological firmament who, if they were not prominent within the Egypt Exploration Society, were highly influential in the wider sphere and who made substantial contributions to the academic field. Most readers will be familiar with their names. July 2000 was a particularly sad month, with announcements appearing regularly through the ether noting the loss of another colleague. Professor Oleg Berlev, the prominent Russian Egyptologist, died on July 7 at the age of 67. A prolific writer in Russian with a wide range of interests, his works were not always as well known outside his country as they deserved to be. His attempts to make better known Egyptian items in the great collections of Moscow and St. Petersburg stand as his most widely recognised achievement.

One of the most eminent French Egyptologists, Professor Jean Vercoutter, passed away on July 16, aged 89. He remained very active in the field, teaching and publishing for much of the twentieth century. The ancient Sudan was his speciality, and no scholar can proceed far in the study of its cultures without consulting Vercoutter's seminal works. A full obituary in French can be found at: http://www.egypt.edu/actualite/2000/000729/29juillet04.htm

On July 20 Professor Alan Schulman (born 1930) died in Tel Aviv. He spent much of his working life teaching at Queens College, New York, and was a frequent writer on many New Kingdom topics. His *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (1962) has been indispensible for much subsequent work on the Egyptian army.

Professor William Murnane died on 17 November, 2000, aged 55. An enthusiastic fieldworker, he was a valued member of the University of Chicago's Epigraphic Survey from 1972 to 1986, where he honed his epigraphic skills on Theban temples and gained an enviable knowledge of the sites and monuments in Egypt generally. His later career was spent teaching in the history department of the University of Memphis in Tennessee and as Director of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project, where his ability as an epigrapher was put to good use. He was always very kind and encouraging to young scholars, and he will be missed.

It remains for me as Editor-in-Chief of *JEA* to express our gratitude to all those involved in the production of this volume. Our contributors who have exercised their brains writing the articles and trying to master the *Journal*'s occasionally arcane house-style rules deserve

thanks, as do the scholars around the world who have given freely of their time and knowledge as expert referees. Our policy of anonymity prevents them being recognised personally, but they have contributed greatly to the betterment of this volume. Others involved can be named. Foremost among these must be Dr Patricia Spencer, who frequently went beyond the call of duty and her typesetting role to check references, fix text errors, offer editorial advice from her expertise as Editor of *Egyptian Archaeology*, etc. Dr David Jeffreys and Dr Anthony Leahy have offered useful advice on a variety of subjects. The indefatigable Daniel Lines has once again done an admirable job of proofreading the volume. Finally we would like to thank Commercial Colour Press who have taken over as printers for this volume.

FIELDWORK, 1999–2000

THE Society's fieldwork activities during 1999–2000 were concentrated on the four major settlement sites where it holds concessions. Excavation and/or survey and ongoing specialist studies took place at Sais, Memphis, Amarna and Qasr Ibrim, and Amarna hosted a major field study season of the Amarna Glass Project team. On a smaller scale, Neal Spencer, assisted by Penny Wilson, spent several days in October 1999 conducting a GPS survey at Samanud, as a complement to his EES Centenary Studentship Award epigraphic survey in 1998, aiming to produce a contour map of the ancient *tell*. In an additional attempt to flesh out our knowledge of northern Egypt, Jeffrey and Patricia Spencer visited Tell Deffeneh and Tell Belim in the north-eastern delta, in addition to Tell Abu Seifi in Sinai, as part of the Society's Delta Survey.

The EES, its field directors and all participants in its fieldwork projects would like to thank the officials of the Supreme Council for Antiquities in Egypt (SCA), in particular its Permanent Secretary, Gaballa A. Gaballa, for their assistance and support. Sincere thanks are also due to the Secretary of the Supreme Council, Magdi Abu el-Aala, to the staff of the security office at Abbassiya and to the officials of the local Inspectorates. The efforts of Rawya Ismail in the EES Cairo office to smooth and facilitate the Society's projects are also much appreciated.

Sais (Sa el-Hagar), 1999

THE season began on 13 September and lasted until 6 October 1999. The team members were Penelope Wilson (Field Director), Neal Spencer (surveyor), Daniel Lines (drill core supervisor), Martin Russell (archaeologist), Henry Fisher (archaeologist) and Abdulla Mohammed Abu el-Hassan (Inspector). We are very grateful for all the help and kindness received from the SCA Inspectorate at Tanta and from the people and guards at Sa el-Hagar itself.

Topographical survey

Although the 1997 season produced a map of the archaeological area at Sa el-Hagar and Kom Rebua, we also needed a map of the wider environs of Sais with details of the field usage in the area and local topography to provide the geographical context for the site. In addition, the village of Sa el-Hagar itself had not been mapped adequately. In order to do this the team used a hired Trimble GPS 4800 Total Station. The instrument uses satellites to give precise longitude and latitude measurements and height, in real time. It is calibrated to a local grid to give measurements accurate to the centimetre. All team members under the supervision of Neal Spencer helped with the survey.

We mapped the extent of Sa el-Hagar to the south and also discovered that the older part of the village stands on a small but noticeable *tell* 7–8 m above the general ground level. The survey extended west to the River Nile and mapped an old flood embankment running the inside length of the river bend, 3 km to the north to the village of Kafr Daour, and to the east taking in the el-Qadaba canal, the main road and the village of Kawady.

Drill core programme

A series of sixteen bore holes was sunk in two transects (a) west to east from the river across the northern Enclosure to the el-Qadaba canal and (b) across the 'Great Pit' area. Though the analysis of the core samples and cultural remains has not yet been made, the preliminary findings suggest that this method will be extremely successful in providing a 'keyhole' to the underlying archaeology at the site. The technique has, of course, been used in Egypt with great success (for example, at Buto and on the EES project at Memphis), and it seems ideal in the Delta because of the difficult nature of excavation there.

At Sais it appears that there are deep deposits of pottery and other cultural remains down to a depth of 5 m from the current ground surface in the Enclosure. In addition, the cores suggested that there were indeed the last courses of brickwork of the eastern wall in the North Enclosure, that to the west there may be traces of an extinct river channel closer to Sa el-Hagar than the river is now, and that there may also be a buried sandy *gezira* running just to the west of the site. These interesting results suggest that a future campaign with further drill core work will be equally successful and would essentially amount to 'pin-hole' excavation of parts of the site and its environs.[1]

Drill cores: first transect (across the North Enclosure)

Core	*Comments*
1, 2, 8	All cores are within the North Enclosure and within or close to the area designated as Antiquities land, Kom Rebua. Core 2 produced a potsherd at 6 m, while both Cores 1 and 8 brought up sherds from around 8 m from the ground surface. Core 8 showed two distinct bands of cultural material separated by a clayey layer with sand patches. Evidence of dense human activity, with some areas falling out of use.
3, 9	Theoretically both cores were on the line of the east and west Enclosure walls, respectively. Core 3 showed about 2.8 m of clay coming down to compact clay, which might well indicate a mud-brick wall built on clay. Core 9 contained more pottery down to 5 m, when the core-hole came down to compact clay. There may have been a break in the wall at this point.
10	Taken east near the el-Qadaba canal, it contained some pottery, but after 4 m was clean and the soil became more bluish-grey, perhaps indicating a former watercourse. This may be the old canal course.
4, 5, 6, 7	Cores to the west towards the Nile. None of the cores brought up clear cultural material, although there were some pottery flecks in the cores near to the surface. Core 5 contained grey/black mud at 4.3 m from the surface, indicating a watercourse of some kind and this also showed up at about the same relative level in Core 7. It may indicate that the river was further to the east than it is at present and therefore closer to the North Enclosure.

Drill cores: second transect (across the 'Great Pit')

Core	*Comments*
11, 12, 15	All in the 'Great Pit' area and started at the lowest ground levels. The ground seemed very disturbed at the surface, but in Core 15 there were two distinct layers of cultural remains

[1] I am grateful to Professor Mahmoud Gamili of the University of Mansoura and his team of soil scientists and geologists who enthusiastically gave us advice about the local river systems and the interpretation of the soil samples.

separated by clean clay. The lowest pottery layer was at 7.28 m below the ground surface (which is actually 7.69 m below present sea level).

13, 14 To the east of the 'Great Pit'. Core 13 showed a good concentration of pottery in the top two metres and then was clean. Core 14 was clean from the ground down, but then produced a sherd at 5 m. This could be intrusive, so more cores should be made in this area.

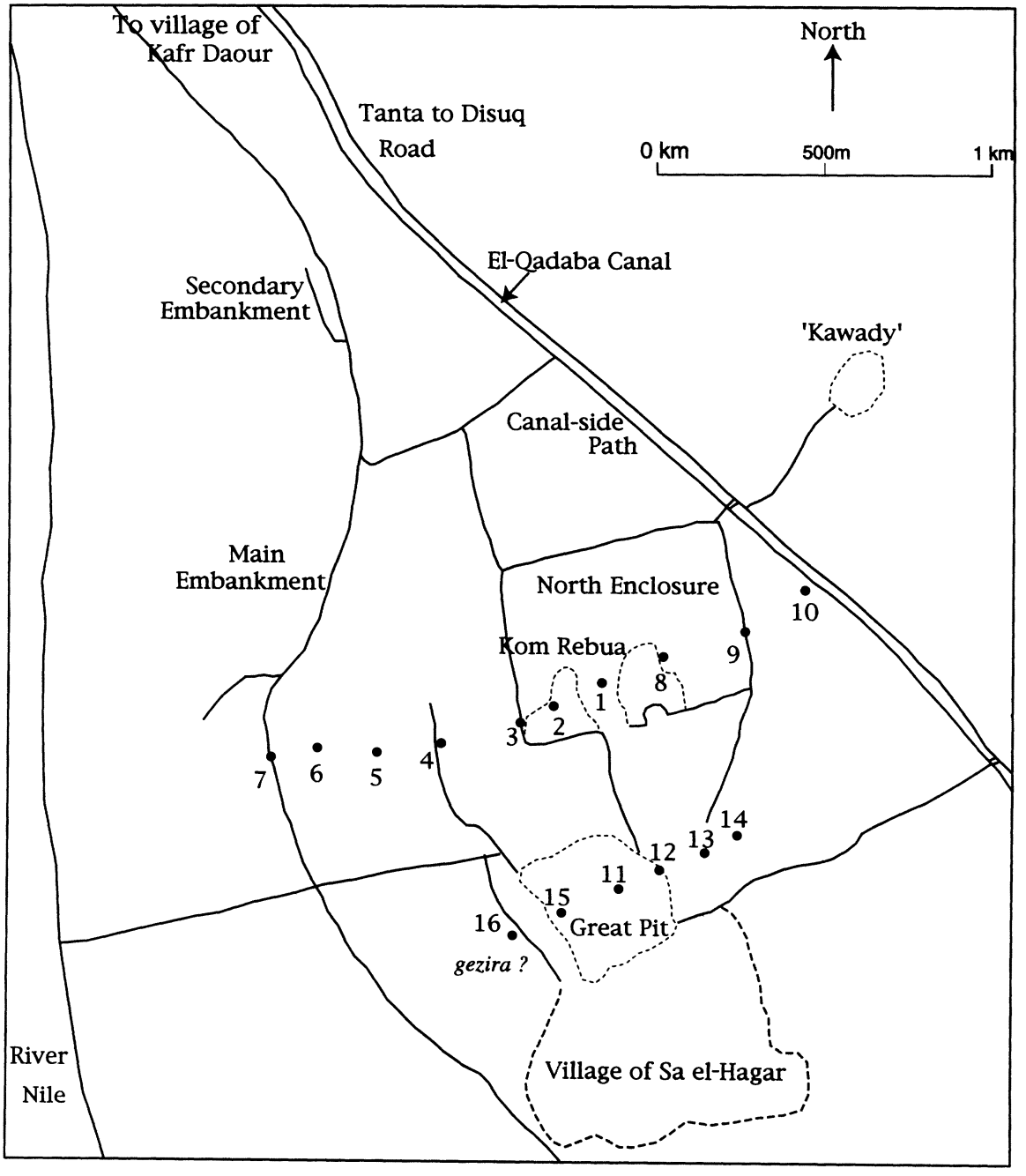

FIG. 1. Sketch plan of Sais 1999 drill-core transects.

16 To the west of the 'Great Pit' area, beyond the modern houses. There was pottery at the surface, but this stopped at 1 m. At 2.5 m we found sand. This was very clean and loose and went down possibly as much as 6 m from the surface (this was the extent of the core). It may be a *gezira* lying to the west of the modern village.

Archaeological investigations

a) A series of small trenches was dug around the limestone wall planned last year. They indicated that this does seem to be the last few courses, perhaps even the foundation courses, of a monumental structure. The larger stones are resting on smaller stone footings, on mud-brick. The wall seems to continue slightly to the west, with further massive blocks being disclosed. In addition, the stairs were cleared down to a threshold, but they were flooded by water, underlining the difficulties of excavation at the site.
b) A second limestone structure to the west was also cleared of rubbish in order that it could be planned and recorded. It too seems to be buried still under the surface soil and rubbish and its relationship with the main limestone wall is still unclear.
c) Two test trenches were dug on the east and west sides of the Enclosure wall to the north, in order to establish if they were indeed made of mud-brick under the disturbed surface. The results were inconclusive, despite clearing down to a depth of about 1 m and scraping and drying out the surfaces in the bottoms and sides of the trenches. The two trenches contained different contexts of mud and neither showed bonds or lines. Together with the drill core results, it seems that the west Enclosure wall in particular is somewhat irregular at this point. It may be that the mud-brick has been completely removed, or that the wall itself had a break exactly in the area in which we dug.
d) The surface material was scraped away from two small areas in Kom Rebwa to determine how much of the surface would need to be removed in the case of excavation. About 20 cm was removed to a harder surface and pottery and stone fragments from the surface layers were noted, although they were much degraded due to salt damage. The water-table seemed to be relatively high at this point and although there was clearly some material which could be removed, not much depth could be achieved in the trench before it filled with water.

Recording

A new block, said to come from the village of Damat, was copied and photographed. It shows the top of a double crown and is similar in size to the other quartzite blocks at Sais itself.

Archive work in Tanta

Work was begun in the SCA offices in Tanta examining the documentation and registers of the EAO/SCA kept there. The documentation for Sa el-Hagar has been put together in a huge library of folders and dates back to about 1960, although there are some older documents from before the 1952 revolution. Every involvement of the EAO in the village is documented, including their excavation reports for their work in the last twenty years. There is a fascinating wealth of material, and we began listing the excavations carried out at Sa el-Hagar and material found in the excavations as recorded in the registers. This proved very

useful in determining areas which have been excavated and the kinds of objects appearing from the work. My labours here were made possible by the good offices of the Chief Inspectors at Tanta and by the translating abilities of Fatma Ragab Kamal.

Preliminary results

The topographical survey and drill core results are beginning to suggest that the ancient topography of the area of Sais was different from that in modern times, as is to be expected. Although there is clearly more work to be done to confirm our very tentative results, it seems that to the west of the modern village of Sa el-Hagar there may be an ancient sand *gezira*, possibly the original settlement area. The river may well have been diverted to the west by this *gezira*, creating a kind of 'shadow' plain to the north. The western track of the river can be detected in our drill cores (5 and 7) and the 'flood embankment' to the west may well be a remnant of the river bank. It deserves further study. Over time the river has continued westward. Sais may then have been built on the *gezira* and the shadow plain. There always seems to have been a canal to the east, and this may have been a weaker branch of the river, split by the *gezira*. In effect, Sais would have been almost an island site, protected on all sides by the river, and this suggests a strategic reason for the choice of the site. Other Delta towns were built in similar conditions (such as Tell Balamun and Avaris/Piramesse), creating a picture in the Delta of cities built almost as islands in the floodplain of the river. The changes in the course of the river due to excessive flooding or riverine erosion may then be determining factors in the history of the Delta, affecting the fall and rise of its cities, such as Sais.

PENELOPE WILSON

Memphis, 1999

THE season ran from the beginning of September to the end of November. Team members attending in 1999 were: Bettina Bader, Janine Bourriau (Deputy Director), Amanda Dunsmore, Carla Gallorini, Lisa Giddy, Serena Giuliani, Lamia el-Hadidi, David Jeffreys (Field Director), Raymond Johnson, Ian Mathieson, Gwilym Owen, Will Schenck and Justine Way. We are most grateful to the Chairman of the SCA, Gaballa Ali Gaballa, and his staff at Abbassiya, as well as to Zahi Hawass, and (at Saqqara) Mohammed Hagras and Magdi Ghandour, for their help and cooperation. Special thanks are due to Shaban Mohammed Saat, now Chief Inspector at Mit Rahina, and the SCA representatives attached to our expedition, Mohammed Abd el-Minim and Zaky Awad.

The main aims of the 1999 season were to carry out an accurate survey of the Saqqara plateau and escarpment and to make a feasibility study of the east-facing cliff line; to continue the study of ceramics from the 1980s excavations on the west of Kom Rabiʿa; and to continue study of the reused Eighteenth Dynasty stonework in the small Ramesside Ptah temple on the north of Kom Rabiʿa.

Escarpment survey

Two weeks were spent checking and rechecking measurements of Cairo University survey

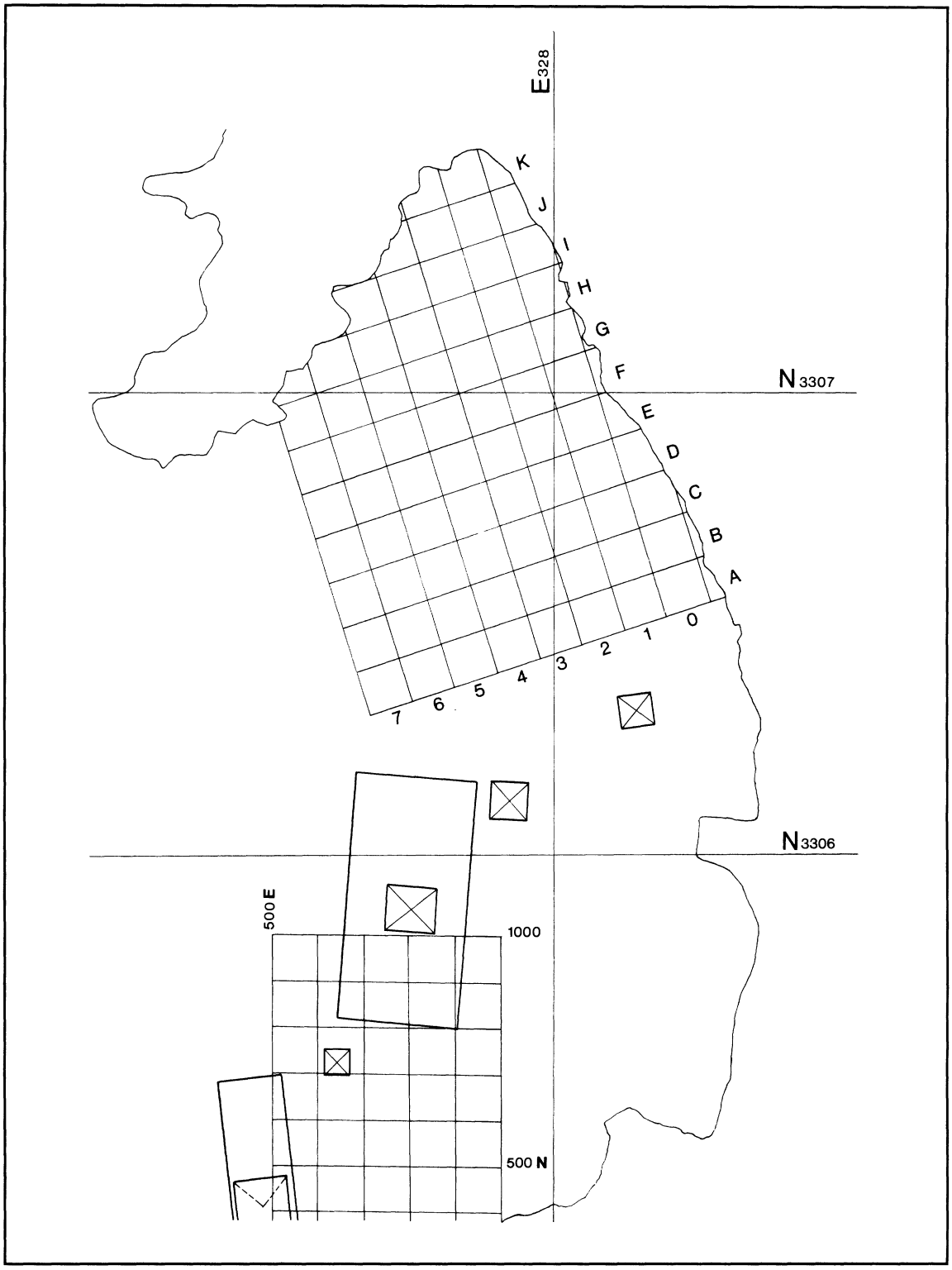

FIG. 1. The North Saqqara plateau, showing the main Cairo University triangulation (T) points. UTM grid intersects at 0.5 km intervals; contours at 5 m vertical intervals (for individual sites a–j, see text).

points taken in 1988 on the Saqqara plateau (fig. 1) and some new measurements not then visible were added. A photographic record was made of the eastern escarpment, especially sections of the cliff face which are not completely obscured by spoil dumps and windblown sand (see *Egyptian Archaeology* 16 (Spring 2000), 3–5). Ian Mathieson used GPS equipment loaned by NERC to obtain readings on a number of survey points across the Saqqara plateau, and also made three east–west resistivity meter traverses, concentrating on the south end of the escarpment at the west end of the old *gisr* (now the tourist road) and through the small valley south of the Aperia–Maya–Penrenut tomb group. We now have geographical values for these points (Table 1), and will have precise UTM and Survey of Egypt values after the data has been computed.[1] In this way we can begin to integrate and combine the many different grid systems used over the years for fieldwork on the plateau. Figure 2 shows two of the most important of these, Emery's North Saqqara grid for the Early Dynastic cemetery and Sacred Animal Necropolis,[2] and the local grid used by the Anglo-Dutch team excavating the New Kingdom elite tombs south of the Unas causeway.[3]

A photographic survey of exposed and accessible sites along the eastern escarpment of the North Saqqara plateau was made, including views of the current state of sites such as the tomb of Nakhtmin, the Anubieion galleries and enclosure, the Bubastieion (Aperia) tomb group, shaft tombs along the present tourist road, the Unas valley temple area, and the eastern and southern flanks of the monastery of Apa Jeremias.

Early Dynastic necropolis. It is very likely that much of the elite necropolis of the first two or three dynasties on the North Saqqara plateau (fig.1b) has already been exposed in a sequence of excavations by Mariette, Quibell, Firth and Emery. Despite speculation that the cliff face was also exploited for burials at this time, no firm evidence for this has been recorded. The existence of the New Kingdom tomb of Nakhtmin (fig. 1a) at a comparatively low-lying location might suggest that earlier use of the cliff face was less intensive than has sometimes been supposed (unless that tomb is itself an example of usurpation or reoccupation). Surface clearances in the last few weeks of the EES season in 1974, still just visible today, suggest that the cemetery continues uninterrupted down the gentler western slope of the escarpment towards the Abusir Valley.

One question of major interest is the means and direction of approach to the necropolis itself. If the general argument that the First Dynasty tombs spread out in linear fashion north and south from Tomb 3357 is accepted, then the broad valley leading up to this 'central' area from Abusir may have had a crucial part to play from the beginning, both in the transport of labour and material to the plateau top, and perhaps in the cognitive perception and mythology of the burial field.

The Anubieion (fig. 1c). Several stretches of the cliff face were exposed during the EES work on the Anubieion in the late 1970s, none of which showed any signs of being exploited for tombs or other purposes.[4] Some irregular sections had been screened off in the

[1] We are grateful to Jean-Yves Empereur for enabling us to correlate a GPS point of known value in Alexandria to the Saqqara survey points.

[2] Used in Emery's interim reports, e.g. 'Preliminary Report on the Excavations at North Sâqqara, 1968-9', *JEA* 56 (1970), pl. xviii.

[3] E.g. G. T. Martin, 'Excavations at the Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, 1975; Preliminary Report', *JEA* 62 (1976), figs. 1 and 2.

[4] D. G. Jeffreys and H. S. Smith, *The Anubieion at Saqqâra,* I. *The Settlement and the Temple Precinct* (Excavation

TABLE 1. *Survey Readings*

Geographical values of the main Cairo University survey points are given here to five decimal places of a second (1 second N = approximately 31 m, 1 second E = approximately 27 m). Distances between points, as measured with Electronic Distance Meter and the Geographical Positioning System (GPS), are also given for comparison.

Coordinates:

	D M S North	D M S South
T1	29 52 44.17630	31 13 07.00876
T2	29 52 30.10630	31 13 19.11869
T3	29 52 32.25480	31 12 47.50800
T4	29 52 19.90535	31 12 55.75335
T5	29 52 11.95881	31 13 26.06811
T6	29 52 12.29279	31 12 37.75534
T7	29 52 05.02951	31 12 54.49013
T8	29 51 56.66362	31 13 04.59326
T9	29 52 03.52358	31 12 45.39586
T10	missing	
T11	29 52 57.15924	31 12 36.58674

Distances:

	EDM	GPS
T1 T2	541.63	
T1 T3	639.29	639.228
T1 T4	806.13	
T1 T11	909.02	
T2 T3	850.92	851.128
T2 T4	701.35	
T2 T5	589.16	
T2 T7	1016.44	
T2 T8	1101.09	
T2 T10	904.64	(point removed 1990)
T3 T4	439.98	440.007
T3 T5		1208.902
T3 T6	668.10	668.166
T3 T7	859.02	859.166
T3 T8		1187.945
T3 T9	886.54	886.539
T3 T11	820.99	821.014
T4 T5	849.61	
T4 T6	536.91	
T4 T7	459.35	
T4 T8	753.98	
T4 T9	575.97	
T5 T7	873.98	
T5 T8	744.34	
T6 T7	501.75	
T6 T9	339.07	
T6 T11	1381.97	
T7 T8	374.03	
T7 T9	248.43	
T8 T9	556.93	

Late or Ptolemaic Period by brick and stone walls and projecting platforms, and by the Serapeum Way as it climbs to the top of the escarpment. However, rock shelves halfway up the cliff were built on in early times, as is clear in the case of the huge unfinished stone tomb recorded by Quibell beneath the south wall and gate of the Anubieion, and the Early Dynastic brickwork found by the EES north of Quibell's spoil dump.[5]

The Bubastieion (fig. 1d). The section of cliff face within the temple enclosure, and particularly the south-facing group of tombs including Aperia, Maya and Penrenut (see below), is the current concession of Alain-Pierre Zivie (fig. 1e) and the Mission Archéologique Française du Boubastieion.[6]

Both of these Late Period or Ptolemaic temple-town enclosures also contain parts of the escarpment that may have been ascended or traversed by pyramid causeways. The question of where the causeways and valley temples of Userkaf, Teti and the 'topless pyramid' (of Menkauhor or Merikare?) are located has never been resolved. One suggestion is that the Teti causeway passed over the north-west corner of the 'Quibell tomb'; another is that the south wall of the Bubastieion's was deliberately built over the eastern part of the Userkaf causeway.

Bakenrenef area. North and south of the tomb of Bakenrenef (fig. 1f), the cliff face on the left side of the modern tourist road is honeycombed with small-scale tomb shafts and pits and one or two very large deep (20+ m) shafts. Some lateral features, including a barrel-topped chamber at a high level, are also visible. Several of the rock-cut tombs in the escarpment here share an interesting feature in that they exhibit bovid figures, either cut in the rock so as to appear to emerge from the back of the cult chamber, or installed as free-standing statues. One of these tombs (Ramose) has been interpreted in the context of the 'Peak of Ankhtawy' and an associated 'Goddess of the Western Mountain';[7] this is probably the 'Grab mit Kuh' indicated by Baedeker in the bluff to the north of the Unas valley temple,[8] where several exposed stretches of cliff in this area have certainly been deliberately cleared of scree at some time (fig. 1g). Two other such tombs were recorded in the eastern escarpment by Pascal Coste in the 1820s,[9] and one more (Penrenut) has now been found in the south-facing cliff line west of Aperia.[10] A question also arises over the tomb of Bakenrenef and the badly damaged statue, surrounded by a false door, in the back (west) wall of its main cult room.[11] One free-standing bovid statue has been found in the New Kingdom tombs north of the Horemheb–Maya group,[12] and at the Late Period tomb of

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Memoir 54; London, 1988), figs. 55–6, pl. 1b.

[5] Jeffreys and Smith, *The Anubieion at Saqqâra* I, 114, pl. 27a.

[6] A.-P. Zivie, 'The "Treasury" of ʿAper-el', *EA* 1 (1991), 26–8; id., 'The Tomb of the Lady Maïa, Wet-nurse of Tutankhamun', *EA* 13 (1998), 7–8; id., 'La nourrice royale Maïa et ses voisins: cinq tombeaux du nouvel empire récemment découverts à Saqqara', *CRAIBL* (1998) 33–54.

[7] J. Malek, 'Two Problems Connected with New Kingdom Tombs in the Memphite Area', *JEA* 67 (1981), 158 n. 17.

[8] K. Baedeker, *Ägypten und der Sudân* (Leipzig, 1906), map following p. 135. This feature disappears from the map in the 1929 edition, and is not visible on contemporary aerial photographs.

[9] A.-P. Zivie, 'Pascal Coste Égyptologue', in D. Jacobi (ed.), *Pascal Coste: toutes les Égyptes* (Marseilles, 1998), 184.

[10] Zivie, *CRAIBL* (1998), 38.

[11] S. el-Naggar, 'Étude préliminaire du plan du tombeau de Bocchoris à Saqqara', *EVO* 1 (1978), 41–59.

[12] R. Gore, 'Ramses the Great', *National Geographic* 179/4 (April 1991), 12.

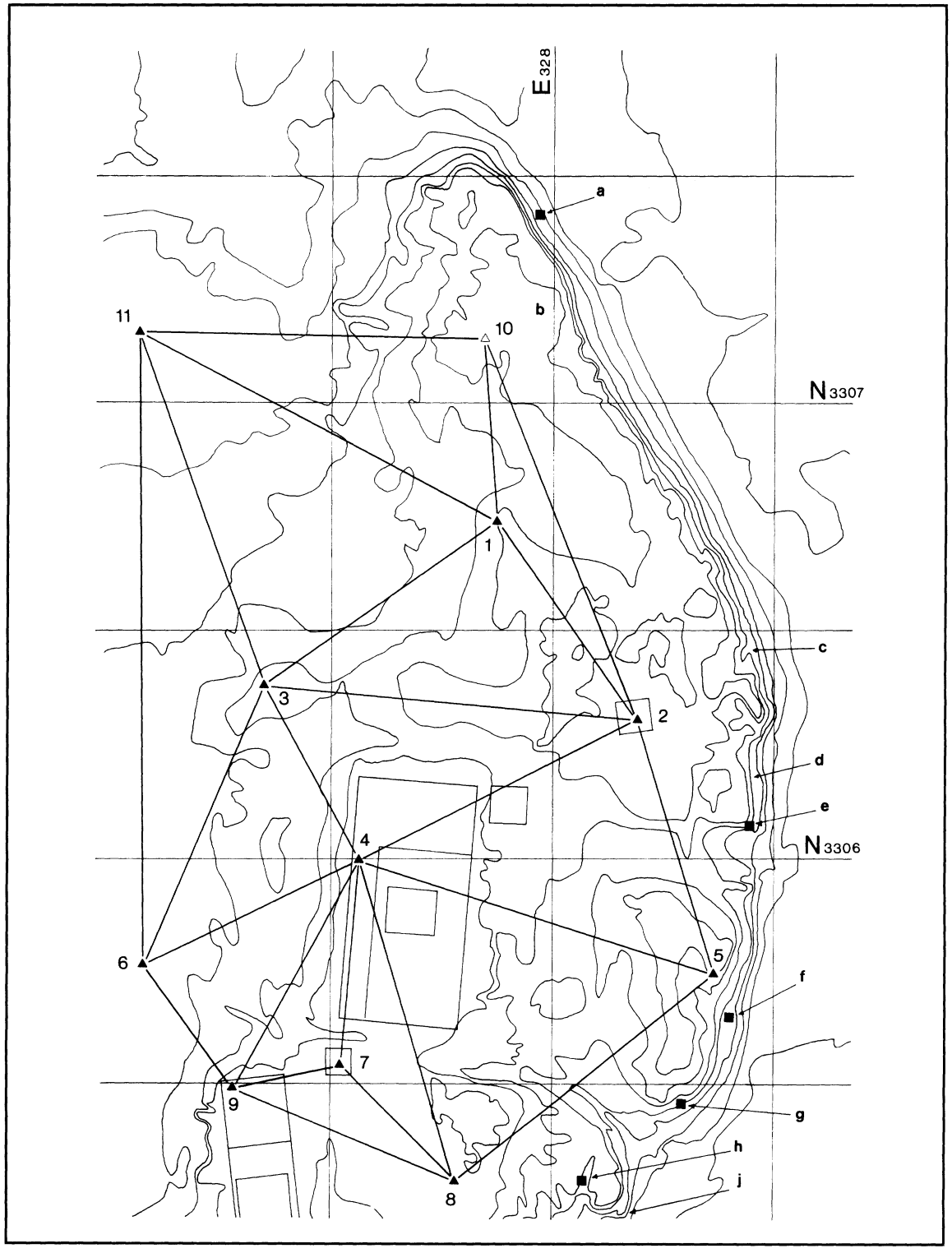


FIG. 2. Map of Saqqara plateau to show two of the main local grids used: to the north, Emery's grid (A–K/0–7) for the Early Dynastic and Sacred Animal Necropoleis; in the south, the grid used for the New Kingdom cemetery (Horemheb, Maya). UTM coordinates at 1 km intervals.

Esdhout, on the east side of the monastery of Jeremias (fig. 1h).[13] There certainly seems to be potential here for research into a landscape cult which was perhaps a Memphite counterpart of the Mountain Goddess at Thebes, particularly in view of the revival at both places of the pyramid as a feature of private tomb-chapels.

Apa Jeremias. Observations of the bay south of the main churches (fig. 1j) suggest that our picture of this important monastic town is far from complete: traces of brickwork here probably belong to a continuously built-up area from the plateau down to the potteries at the desert edge.[14] A full exposure and record of the area, to include the large cistern/well and aqueduct leading up to the south-eastern corner of the main stone-walled compound of the monastery, and the middens and residential areas to the north and east, would be of value.

Post-excavation work

Lisa Giddy completed her reconstruction of the Kom Rabi'a Middle Kingdom stratigraphy from the earliest recorded contexts of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty to Level V, which is immediately prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty. By the end of the season information on the Middle Kingdom levels had been added to the ceramics database from the site matrix.

The recording of Middle Kingdom ceramics continued throughout the study season. The corpus was reorganised in order to speed up recording, and contexts were then selected, sampled and recorded. A random sample of 15% of the total was made, and other significant contexts were added (e.g. those with interesting pottery and plant or bone remains). This season 50 contexts were sampled and over 2,000 sherds recorded, of which 400 were drawn and 200 photographed. A special study of the Pan Grave sherds was carried out, with fabrics identified and described by Serena Giuliani. Over 100 microphotographs were taken of fabrics, and 75% of the new data had been entered on the database by the end of the season. With similar working conditions it should be possible to complete the recording of Middle Kingdom contexts next season.

Ptah temple epigraphic survey

The focus of this year's epigraphic work continued to be the small deteriorating temple of Ptah built by Ramesses II, constructed in part from reused limestone blocks whose decoration, featuring the barque of Ptah-Sokar in raised and sunk relief, suggests that they came from a precinct within Amenhotep's great temple 'Nebmaatre-United-with-Ptah', dedicated specifically to Ptah-Sokar.

This season the reused architectural elements were studied in an attempt to understand the nature of the monument(s) of Amenhotep III which were the source of Ramesses II's building material. Three large sunk relief name-frieze blocks received special attention: they preserve a raised torus moulding, a sky element, and alternating plumed cartouches of Nebmaatre protected by solar falcons on *nbw* (gold) signs. One frieze faces right, while the other two face left, and all display a pronounced batter; a fourth block with a vulture also preserves similar architectural features. All four are roughly similar in size (just over 2 m

[13] J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908–9, 1909–10). The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* (Cairo, 1912), vii (sketch map, 'Tomb of Nesitahuti'), 30–3; pls. lix, lx.

[14] H. Ghaly, Pottery Workshops of Saint-Jeremia (Saqqara)', *CCE* 3 (1992), 161–71.

long), and two have mouldings on both ends, suggesting that they might be from a small pylon gateway; another block in the south sanctuary shows a cobra-flanked winged sun disk in raised relief, which may be part of the façade. Other fragments include an inscribed corner block and two cornice blocks, and there are name friezes of Amenhotep III from an interior location. The architectural elements suggest that the original monument was in close proximity to the Ramesside one, and the inscriptions and 'Deification Style' solar iconography of the reliefs, together with the fact that the decoration is partially unfinished, suggest a date late in Amenhotep III's reign.

DAVID JEFFREYS, JANINE BOURRIAU and W. RAYMOND JOHNSON

Tell el-Amarna, 2000

THE expedition worked for a full two months, between 28 February and 27 April 2000. The team comprised B. Kemp (field director), M. Bruning, J. MacGinnis, C. Murphy, A. Smith and N. Spencer (site supervisors), S. Dhargalkar and C. Rossi (architects), P. Rose and A. Dunsmore (New Kingdom pottery), J. Faiers, G. Pyke and A. Gascoigne (Late Roman pottery), A. Cornwell and A. Stevens (artefacts), G. Owen (photography), A. Clapham, R. Gerisch, C. Stevens and R. Owen (archaeobotany), P. Buckland (insects), and R. Luff (animal bones). Our SCA representative was Emad Abd el-Hamid of the el-Minia Inspectorate, and the expedition's work was also much expedited by his colleagues, Mahmoud Hamza, Samir Anis and Yahya Zakaria. The expedition is most grateful to Owen Evans of Haemmerlin (and to Alf Baxendale) for the gift of twenty wheelbarrows, to the University of Cambridge Sports and Social Club for the gift of three large electric ceiling fans, and to John Sharp of Fitzpatrick and Jack Thomson of Balfour Beatty for arranging transport and importation. The Amarna Research Foundation again made a generous grant towards the field expenses. The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research at the University of Cambridge continued to provide the expedition with its base in the UK, and its fieldwork fund made grants for post-excavation study to C. Stevens and R. Luff.

Kom el-Nana

For the first month excavations were reopened at Kom el-Nana, closed since 1994 on account of the local security situation, although we have been able to make occasional visits in the intervening years. Dampness from the intensively irrigated adjacent fields has continued to spread and now affects all ancient floor levels. Moreover, a small extension to the fields had recently been made inside the perimeter of the site, and local farmers had begun dismantling the barbed-wire fence which surrounds the central part. Our return was thus very timely. Excavation was divided between two sectors: Amarna Period buildings in the south-east and the central part of the early Christian settlement (see the contour map in *Egyptian Archaeology* 6 (1995), 8–9).

In the first of these areas, in previous seasons the expedition had cleared a group of houses inside its own enclosure, but left untouched an adjacent mound which was evidently part of the same complex. One aim of this season was to explore it with a view to completing an account of all of the buildings in this part of the site. It was quickly established that the tops of walls lay immediately beneath the sandy surface and were preserved to a maxi-

mum height of about a metre, but in contrast to the houses previously explored, at some period in antiquity they had been thoroughly cleared of their contents and the floors removed. A Late Roman coin low down in a patch of rubble is a possible guide to when this was done. Finding this to be so, there seemed little point in removing all the fill of every room. Instead, we removed only sufficient of the fill to establish the plan. It thus proved possible to work across the entire mound. What has been revealed (pl. I) is three sets of rooms laid out rather similarly to those of the earlier set, but facing north and with two of them joined together to create one larger unit. One interesting find was of a cache of pottery buried beneath the floor of one room over which blue dye seems to have been poured. At the same time we explored the southern enclosure wall, from the point where it was exposed in previous years to the beginning of the eastern pylon tower of the main south entrance. All of the Amarna Period buildings which form a ceremonial group in the south-eastern sector of the enclosure (the houses, the south pylon, the south pavilion and the central platform) have now been investigated, creating the basis for a final report on this part of the site.

At the Christian settlement, which covers much of the northern part of the enclosure, investigation began at the corner of a paved area discovered at the end of the 1994 season. This became the corner of a block of excavation squares laid out westwards and southwards. With a depth of two metres of sand and rubble over much of it, only a limited amount was completely excavated. The paved area turned out to be a courtyard surrounded by brick benches originally coated with white plaster. A part of it to the west is still buried beneath unexcavated debris. Lying on the pavement at one point was a small limestone table into which a pattern of peg-holes had been drilled, following a painted grid, perhaps the base for a game. On the south side we uncovered the apse and adjacent rooms of a small church (pl. II, 1). It had been constructed of mud-bricks but coated inside and out with plaster, that on the outside being thick, hard and smooth and decorated with at least one broad horizontal red line. The width of the church is 9.5 m, but everything beyond the apse to the west still lies buried. The plan takes in several tiny spaces and deep cupboards provided with shelves. The lower part of the apse seems to have been painted blue but the upper parts had born painted decoration of plant motifs and at least one human figure in the attitude of giving a blessing, accompanied by short lines of Coptic text. The decorated plaster had fallen as the building decayed. Many trays of fragments were recovered, some of them fairly large, which should form the basis of a future project of conservation and reconstruction. At various places on the walls, mostly on the outside, graffiti had been written in ink or scratched. The excavation yielded pottery, more fragments to add to the impressive range of fine glassware and a few more coins; two more ostraca came from sorting the pottery of past seasons. The discovery of the church greatly strengthens the identification of the site as a monastery, an idea which had emerged as a working hypothesis in previous seasons. A trial excavation further to the south, where the ground is lower, revealed the corner of an area where animals were kept, a useful indication of where the limits of the monastery proper are. Before the work here ended, replacements to the stolen fencing posts were concreted in place and the barbed-wire fence repaired, a signal that our interest in the site is far from finished.

Buckland's study of the insect faunas has cast an interesting light on the ancient environment of the monastery. Two contexts produced large insect faunas running to several hundred individuals, many contained in faecal pellets of an insectivorous animal, possibly a lizard. The presence of water beetles and species which live in and on wet mud, combined with the

scarcity of desert species, implies that the hunting territory of the predator was virtually wholly vegetated and thus that the site must have stood as an oasis in the desert. This agrees with evidence obtained from previous seasons that trees had once grown beside the monastery on the east. This points to the presence of a substantial source of water but where it was located has not yet been discovered.

Area south of the Great Palace

For the second month the fieldwork moved to the Central City. The principal excavation was sited on another portion of the large building to the south of the Smenkhkara Hall, O43.1, over an area adjacent to, and to the east of, last year's work. By the end of the season we had excavated and fully recorded a continuous spread of 23 five-metre squares (fig. 1). The depth of deposit varied somewhat. Over one part a mud-brick pavement lay beneath only the thinnest cover of sand; by contrast, at the eastern end a significant depth of brick rubble survived as fill between walls preserved above the original floor level. In general, much of the plan could be recovered. On the north, and separated by a corridor, lay a set of conventional parallel rooms, the one excavated specimen measuring 10.5 x 63 m. Grooved bricks showed that the roof had been a barrel vault. More examples of stamped bricks appeared here, some of them providing a variant of the stamp found last year. The remainder was subdivided into a complex set of spaces of which one towards the centre had been floored with stone rubble mixed with gypsum, probably the base for a stone floor or platform. The gypsum had filled many of the cracks between the surrounding brick walls, showing that both walls and gypsum were laid at the same time.

Several small shallow rectangular pits or rooms had been dug into the ground and lined with brick, similar to discoveries made last year. One of the linings still preserved at the top the beginnings of an inwards curve from a low vault. Another of the pits had been sunk into the middle of the stone-floored room. The first point to establish is whether they belong to the Amarna Period or were cut into the site at a much later time. Excavation constantly produces pieces of thick coarse pottery coffin that we were able to establish last year are of the Late Roman Period. As elsewhere at Amarna, the ruined mounds of the city had attracted burials. Four of the pieces this year came from faces with hair carefully modelled in the clay and painted. At some time in the perhaps not too distant past, the burials and their coffins had been thoroughly broken up and the pieces scattered. It is possible that some of the brick-lined chambers are the remains of the tombs themselves. In the case of some of those found last year, as well as one this year, the brick linings are integral with the main walls of the buildings. With the others found this year no definite conclusion can be reached, although from the way they seem to align to the surrounding walls it is more likely that they are original. However, they were so shallow that, if they had been roofed with vaults, the vaults would have risen above the level of the surrounding floors. A piece from a torso of a female statue in dark stone was the most significant find, its surface carved to reproduce delicately modelled garments.

Enough of the plan has now been recovered from this year's and last year's work to begin to evaluate how useful the nineteenth-century plans of Wilkinson and Lepsius are. The site has been eroded since their visits, leaving only fragments of what they saw as continuous walls. Much of our own work represents a sample strip across the width of the building, its diagonal course reflecting the greater degree of erosion towards the north-west. On the Lepsius plan there are some fairly clear points of contact with our own plans. I have marked

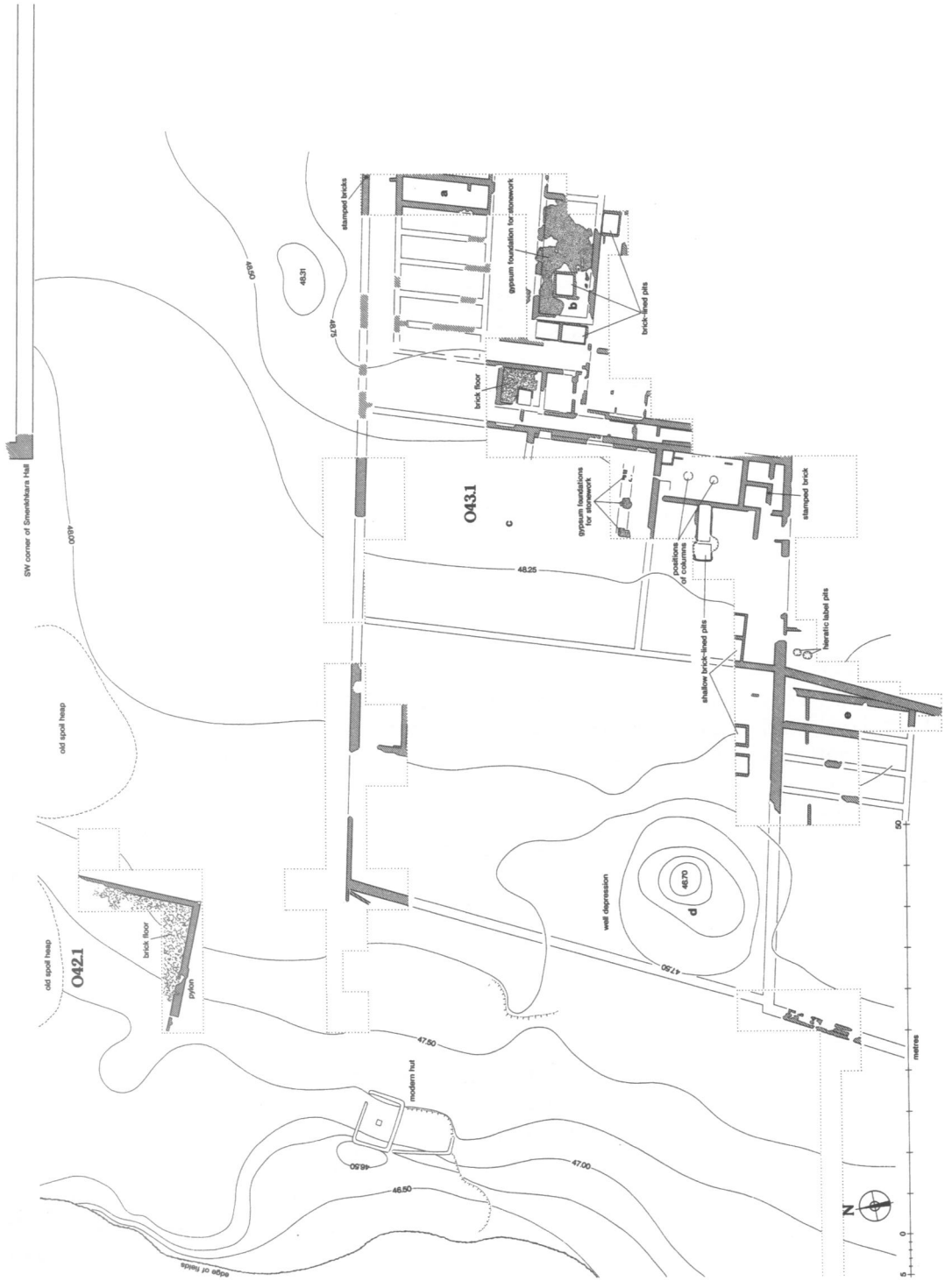


FIG. 1. Plan of the area south of the Great Palace, showing the excavations of 1999 and 2000. The letters 'a' to 'd' mark features which are probably to be identified on the Lepsius plan (fig. 2).

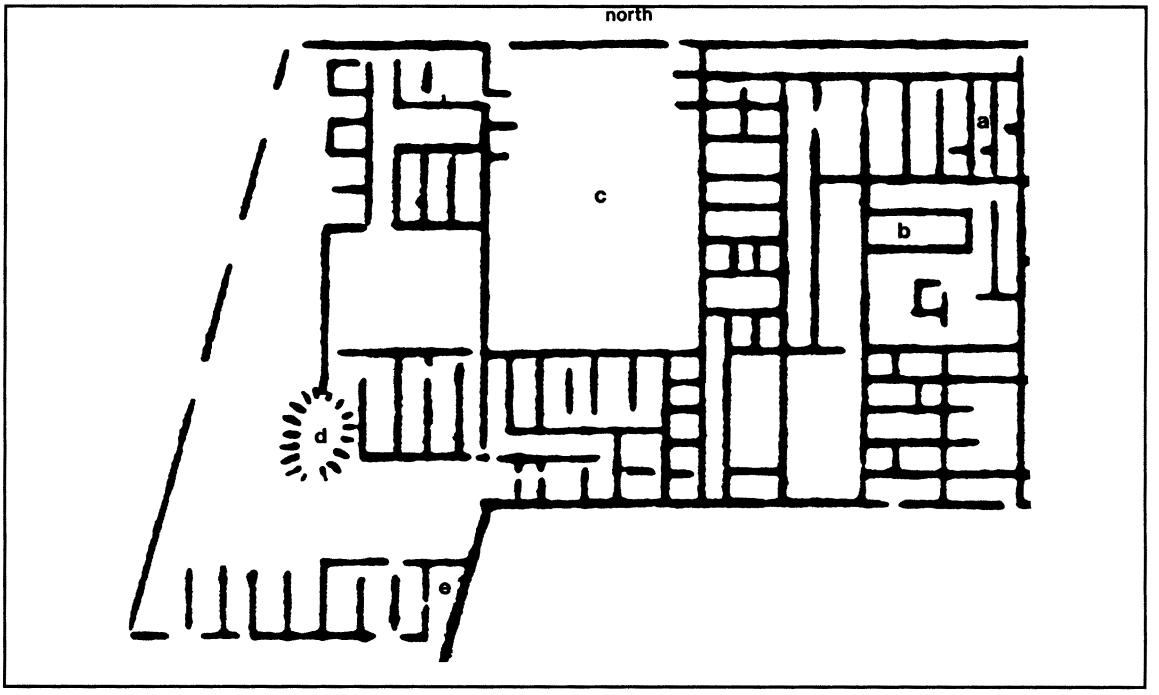


FIG. 2. A portion of the map of Amarna made by Erbkam for the Lepsius expedition (*LD* I, Abt. 64).

four of these as 'a' to 'd' on figure 2. They can be used as 'anchor points' to skew and stretch the Lepsius plan so that it reflects better the angles at which the walls run. The analysis is, however, only in a very early stage. A further point which requires evaluation is the extent to which the complicated depictions of buildings, seemingly beside the waterfront, in the tomb of Meryra can be related to what we have uncovered.

Two trenches were also dug across the surrounding wall of the Smenkhkara Hall, one on the south and one on the east. These revealed that, in order to create a level floor, across the whole of the south-eastern part a natural rise in the desert had been cut down by the builders, so removing any traces of earlier constructions. That something had stood here was, however, suggested by the discovery outside the wall of a large pit which had been filled with bricks from a demolished wall or building. This intact deposit was only partially explored but contained dry organic deposits (of the Amarna Period) which were sampled for future investigation. One of the trenches also revealed the bases of two of the huge brick piers which are a feature of the hall.

Small Aten Temple

Repairs and consolidation of the mud-brick fabric of the temple continued during the second month of the season, concentrating on the third and innermost pair of pylon towers. Most of the bricks from the middle had been robbed, leaving only a thin eroded edge. Both towers have now been filled and have the solid mass that one expects for Egyptian temple pylons. More was also done to remove Pendlebury's large dump on the north of the sanctuary and to spread it around the rear in order to build up the level of the ground closer to where it was in ancient times. A revised master-plan at a scale of 1:200 was drawn, which will provide the key plan for the final publication. In the course of making it, various small

areas were cleared of sand, primarily around the buttresses of the enclosure wall, and additional features found which were planned in detail. Some were parts of an enclosure wall which had stood here before the main temple wall was built.

Finally, four large sandstone blocks bearing the remains of texts and, in one case, a scene were copied (pl. II, 2). They show a pattern of erasures which seem to have been preliminaries to recutting the names and pictures of both Akhenaten and Nefertiti, perhaps in an attempt, after the death of Akhenaten, to win acceptance from a new regime.

Research at the field station

Much cataloguing and study continued at the field station, on pottery of both periods, on the large collection of mammal and fish bones and involving a reasssessment of the potential for future botanical studies. Rainer Gerisch extended his identification of tree species from charcoal to wood by examining the collection of spindle whorls. The identifications made include some from a coniferous source. Thanks to Ann Cornwell's patient work over the years we now have shelf lists for the bulk of small finds made since we began and now stored in the magazine, and this is a great help in locating material that needs extra study.

BARRY KEMP

Tell el-Amarna Glass Project: the study season, 1999

THE Society's expedition arrived at Tell el-Amarna on 29 August and worked for four weeks. The work this season was again made possible through the generosity of the Wainwright Fund, to whom I am grateful. I am also indebted to Barry Kemp for facilitating our project at the excavation house.

The team this year comprised Elina H. Brook (finds processing), Zadia A. Green (finds processing), Jennifer Hesford (pottery processing), Paul T. Nicholson (director), Gwil Owen (photographer—working on material for Margaret Serpico) and Pamela Rose (pottery processing). Willeke Wendrich and Hans Barnard kindly collected the equipment from the Danzas store prior to our arrival, so that the work was able to begin more rapidly and we are indebted to them for this.

Before arriving at site the party visited the offices of the SCA at Minya where they met with Mahmoud Hamza and Samir Anis, both of whom have been extremely helpful in expediting our work.

The magazines were opened on 30 August, and work on the finds began that afternoon. Our inspector, Usama Galal Redwan, who had been inspector to the mission in 1998, joined us the same day.

Excavations at site O45.1 have taken place in 1993, 1994 and 1998 and continue to yield significant results. The current season was designated a study season so that the backlog of finds material could be properly catalogued, drawn, photographed and studied prior to further excavation in the future. It is anticipated that no more than three more seasons of exploration will be necessary at O45.1, so that the current season can be seen as marking at least a half-way stage in the work, and will enable the site to be written up for final publication more rapidly than would otherwise be the case.

During the season Elina Brook and Zadia Green were able to catalogue the finds and sort

through some of the organic material. This information will be added to the Amarna organics register as part of the overall Amarna project by Ann Cornwell in 2000. It will then be possible for the O45.1 organic materials to be studied by relevant specialists alongside the material from other excavation sites at Amarna.

The artefacts were photographed by Paul Nicholson, for use in the final publication of the site, as well as for study purposes. Many of the finds comprise industrial debris which has not previously been recorded but which is important in understanding the processes involved in the manufacture of pottery, faience, glass and pigments at the site.

Study of the material concentrated particularly on some of the more enigmatic finds, such as the fragments of glazed sandstone. It is clear that these fragments are a by-product of another process, rather than artefacts in their own right, and it has proved possible to find joins among some of the fragments. It now seems likely that the sandstone was used as a kind of refractory stand during the making of glass or faience and as a result became glazed. The mechanism by which glazing took place is not apparent, but it may be part of the same process by which pigment became attached to coarse yellow plaster that seems to have formed the lining of a kiln. Experimental archaeology and laboratory studies have done much to elucidate the production of glass at Amarna, and the study of the finds this year has already begun to fill gaps in the picture and to raise new questions.

The pottery deserves particular mention in the context of O45.1. The excavations, although relatively small, have yielded a great deal of pottery. As the site includes a potter's workshop, and as such workshops remain a rarity in Egypt, it is clearly worth examining the material in some detail, particularly since the fired forms can in some cases be related to unfired material. The work this season concentrated on those contexts judged likely to be the most significant from the 1998 work, and Jennifer Hesford and Pamela Rose made a substantial start on processing this material.

The 1999 season proved very satisfactory, and has served to bring the finds recording process well up to date, as well as facilitating the final processing of the organics and further work on the pottery.

PAUL T. NICHOLSON

Qasr Ibrim, 2000

THIS season's excavations ran from 22 January to 18 March. A preparatory trip to Aswan the previous November revealed that the boats long used by the expedition for accommodation and work space had been sold by the Nubian Office of the SCA and were no longer available to the project. Thus, it was necessary to locate and hire another suitable boat, which was eventually accomplished, although as a result the duration of the season had to be reduced from three to two months.

The team members were P. Rose (field director and ceramicist), S. Ashley (illustrator), H. Barnard (photographer and surveyor), M. Biddle (archaeologist), A. Clapham (archaeobotanist), A. England (illustrator), K. Freese (archaeologist and medical officer), P. French (object registrar), J. Gidlow (archaeologist), D. Harris (archaeologist), E. Jenkins (archaeologist), B. Kjolbye-Biddle (archaeologist), K. Müller (field assistant), N. Spencer (archaeologist) and P. Wilson (epigrapher). M. Field and L. Green visited the site briefly, as did Alan and Patricia Lloyd on behalf of the EES. The SCA was represented in the field by

Fathi Mahmoud, whose kind and unflagging assistance in many aspects of the season's work is gratefully acknowledged, as is the help provided by SCA personnel in Aswan, and Chief Inspector Mohi el-Din in particular. The engineers of Kvaerner Construction International Ltd., based at Toshka, provided invaluable practical assistance as well as hospitality.

On arrival at the site, it was clear that the water level in Lake Nasser had continued to rise since the last field season, resulting in further losses. Areas excavated in 1998 are now flooded, precluding the possibility of continuing to expand the excavation area outwards from them. A combination of water action and percolation has effectively destroyed the mud-brick Taharqo temple, taking with it one of the two wall paintings of the pharaoh found in the 1970s.[1] Damage to the podium has accelerated, and a large crack has now opened between its outer face and the pavement. The outer face sags away noticeably from the bedrock on which it is footed.

As a result of the high water level, it was necessary to begin excavation in new areas of the site. The areas chosen, which lay to the west and north of the Cathedral, were selected with the intention of investigating the earlier phases of occupation on the site, which are the least known. Both areas were last excavated in the 1980s, when their overlying Christian remains were removed and some limited exploration was undertaken of the underlying deposits.

The western terraces

The first area of excavation lay north of the podium and west of the Cathedral. Earlier excavations had shown that for most of the Christian Period it was an open area, deliberately kept clear of buildings, which formed part of the 'terraces' around the Cathedral. The fill was thought to have been deliberately deposited. Only in one corner did structures intrude, and here a long sequence of ovens was found, each standing within a low mud-brick enclosure. These were presumably associated with buildings further to the north. A test trench through the fill showed that it was indeed of Early Christian date, and at least in the excavated area, it extended down to bedrock, suggesting the deliberate and usually thorough clearance of pre-existing structures. There were, however, a few indications of pre-Christian activity, including a small area of floor and wall fragments of early post-Meroitic date. Within the Christian fill were activity surfaces, including one or more structures of wooden posts, showing that the fill built up gradually, and was not all deposited at one time. It is also possible that a body was interred here in a mud-brick tomb during the Christian Period. The structure and the surrounding area had clearly been burnt and demolished within that same period.

A substantial stone feature was found at the southern margin of the excavations. It consisted of a solid, although ruinous, structure of large unshaped stones, laid in rough courses, and running east–west just north of the podium (pl. III, 1). Although only a small part of it was exposed this season, and much of it had been robbed out, the few ceramics found associated with it indicate that it is Meroitic or earlier in date. This feature remains to be investigated further next season.

Further north, a strip was opened behind the north-west bastion. Here the deposits were found to have been largely destroyed by later, mainly Ottoman, pitting for stone and for

[1] J. M. Plumley and W. Y. Adams, 'Qasr Ibrim, 1972', *JEA* 60 (1974), 229 and pl. xlix,1; J. M. Plumley, 'Qasr Ibrim, 1974', *JEA* 61 (1975), 20 and pl. xii.

storage, but sufficient remained to indicate the presence of Roman and earlier occupation layers close to the surface.

The crack that had opened up between the podium pavement and its outer façade showed that the pavement was bedded on a thick accumulation of soil. The state of the pavement, some blocks of which had already disappeared, suggested that it was worth lifting some of the slabs to investigate the underlying deposits, which, although waterlogged, may give some clue to the date of construction of the podium. Excavation rapidly revealed walls of two adjacent structures and collapsed masonry, the orientation of which is at an angle to the podium façade; these too remain to be explored further in coming seasons.

North of the Cathedral

Two adjacent areas were opened here. The first lay in the midst of a series of thick stone walls, originally exposed in 1986 but never excavated. The exposed walls define part of a building some 12 m by 16 m in size, and originally larger; at present the walls disappear under unexcavated areas on two sides. The building appears to be of Napatan date. It was of more than one storey; part of this season's excavations focused on a small square chamber which was found to have neither entrance nor plastered walls, unlike the other visible rooms of the structure. This appears to have served as a light well. Parts of the structure were in use into the Meroitic Period, by or during which time a number of alterations were made to it. These included the insertion of a wide stone stairway and an extension of the building to the east. Some areas, including the light well and the adjacent room to the west, were allowed to fall out of use. In the light well, on top of collapsed masonry from the walls, was an accumulation of deposits of the later Meroitic Period, at which time the room appears to have been used as a store. The fill included a thick layer of very well preserved plant remains, including both crops (including cultivated and wild sorghum, barley, and castor oil) and weeds. Other finds included fragments of papyri in Meroitic and Demotic, and a number of objects associated with textile manufacture.

A short distance to the east, an area was opened in the immediate vicinity of Temple 6, and adjacent to south wall of the stone building, which was here completely robbed out.[2] Excavation here uncovered a complex series of features, all of which pre-date the Meroitic Period and Temple 6. They include three aligned walls of mud-brick, apparently fairly flimsy since they are only of a single brick in thickness, which run into the robbers' trench of the south wall of the stone building, and were on a different orientation to it. This relationship can hopefully be clarified in future seasons' work. East of the easternmost of these walls, and extending under Temple 6, was a soft sandy fill deposit which contained a large number of finds which appear to originate from some sort of sacred structure, the location of which is at present unknown. They include large quantities of papyrus inscribed in hieratic, and two complete folded documents, small copper or bronze figurines of gods, bronze counterpoises from *menat*-collars (pl. III, 2), many faience amulets and figurines, wooden items including a cosmetic palette in the shape of a hunting dog at the throat of a prostrate gazelle, and fragments of an openwork scene showing the souls of Pe and Dep and protective goddesses.[3]

[2] B. N. Driskell, N. K. Adams and P. G. French, 'A Newly Discovered Temple at Qasr Ibrim: Preliminary Report', *ANM* 3 (1989), 11–54.

[3] P. Rose, 'Evidence for Early Settlement at Qasr Ibrim', *EA* 17 (Autumn 2000), 3–4.

South of Temple 6, excavation revealed a complex of narrow, often curved, heavily mud-plastered stone and mud-brick walls, many times altered and refurbished (pl. III, 3). The nature and size of the structure(s) they define is as yet unclear. Bundles of halfa grass loosely tied around with string from the collapsed rubble in this area probably came from their roofing.

The pottery from the work in the vicinity of Temple 6 showed that most of the features identified are pre-Meroitic in date, and some, if not most, belongs to the period of Twenty-fifth Dynasty activity on the site. It remains possible, however, that there is material of slightly earlier but post-New Kingdom date, nor is it clear that occupation of the site ceased at the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. It is hoped that the detailed study of both the pottery and finds in the forthcoming study season will shed light on the question of the chronology of the area.

The 'Church on the Point'

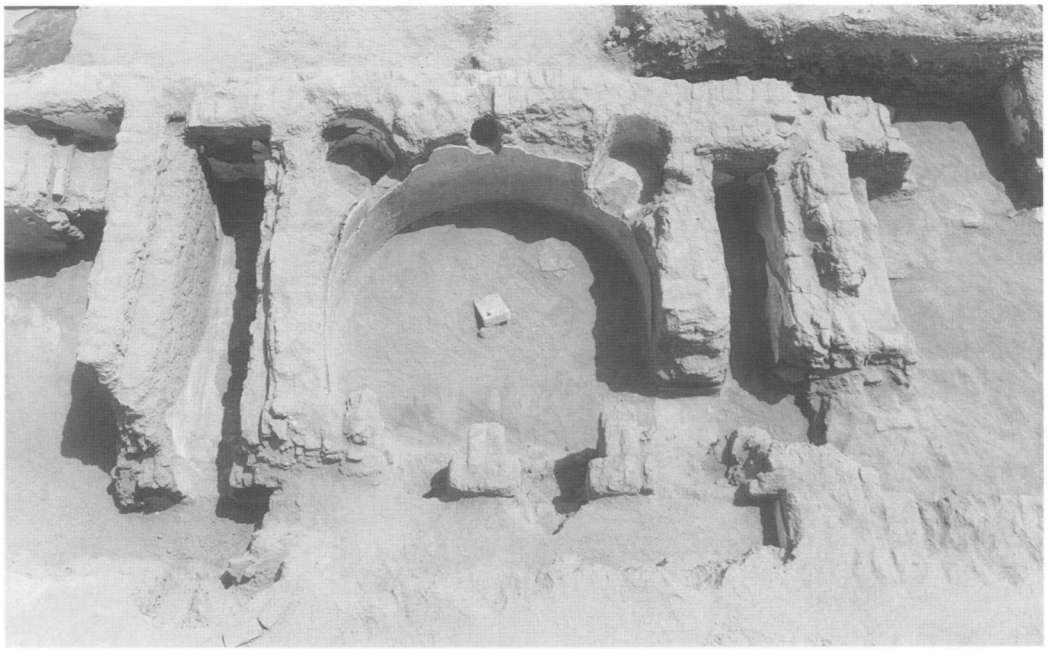
This church and monastic complex on the headland overlooking the fortress was excavated between 1990 and 1996 by Martin and Birthe Biddle, at which time the work which could be carried out without substantially disturbing the fabric of the standing building was completed. This season, however, the church was found to have been so much damaged that some further excavation of features previously inaccessible was carried out. The season also saw the final collation of drawings of the church for the forthcoming publication.

PAMELA ROSE

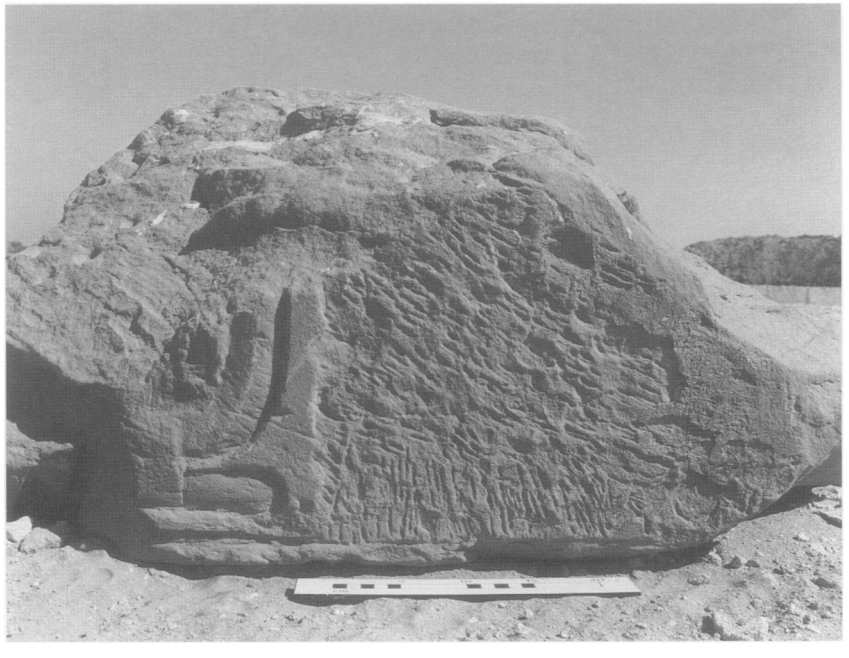
A group of houses of the Amarna Period in the south-east corner of Kom el-Nana, viewed towards the west

TELL EL-AMARNA (pp.12–17)

PLATE II



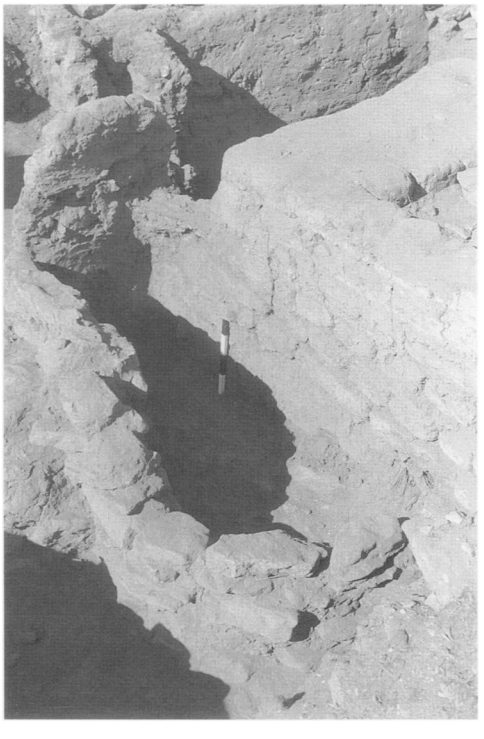
1. The apse of the church at Kom el-Nana



2. Sandstone block from the Small Aten Temple. Adjacent to a probably intact Aten cartouche, a panel bearing the names of the royal family has been erased and then coated with gypsum (preserved at the right-hand edge)

1. View of the stone feature north of the Podium, looking west

2. Counterpoise of *menat*–collar



3. Structures adjacent to Temple 6

WHAT A KING IS THIS: NARMER AND THE CONCEPT OF THE RULER*

By TOBY A. H. WILKINSON

Narmer, the best-attested Egyptian king from the period of state formation, reigned at a time of great social and political change, a time when the modes of self-expression and the mechanisms of rule employed by the governing elite were undergoing rapid and radical reformulation. In other words, Narmer presided over a crucial transition in the concept of the ruler. His reign displays certain features characteristic of Egypt's prehistoric past, but also some early examples of the new forms that were to distinguish pharaonic civilisation. A recognition of this dichotomy brings new insights into the meaning of Narmer's name, the artistic significance of his famous palette, and the identification of the early royal tombs at Abydos.

At the heart of ancient Egyptian civilisation lies the institution of kingship.[1] The spectacular achievements of pharaonic Egypt would have been impossible, even unimaginable, without the driving force of ideology; and that ideology centred on the role of the king. The creation and promulgation of the institution of kingship, a concept so resonant that it survived for three thousand years, must rank as the supreme accomplishment of Egypt's early rulers.[2]

Recent years have witnessed the publication of numerous studies concerning the formative period of Egyptian civilisation, the Predynastic to Early Dynastic transition, also known as the era of state formation.[3] It has become increasingly apparent that the institution, ideology and iconography of kingship were not invented overnight, at the beginning of the First Dynasty. Rather, they evolved over a long period of time,[4] beginning as early as the Naqada I Period.[5] At the end of the Predynastic Period, the concept of the ruler underwent a radical reformulation. This was part of a broader phenomenon of social and political change that accompanied the birth of the nation state. Among the various rulers attested during this period, one stands out: Narmer, whom the Egyptians of the First Dynasty seem to have regarded as a founder-figure,[6] and whose famous ceremonial palette serves today as an icon of early Egypt (fig. 1).

Because Narmer's reign is better attested than those of his immediate predecessors[7] (or, indeed, his immediate successors), it provides a fascinating window on the world of the ruling elite as they moved to consolidate their control of the embryonic Egyptian state. Narmer's reign illustrates this moment of history particularly well. It displays features char-

* The author is grateful to Margaret Serpico and to the two *JEA* referees for suggesting improvements to this article.

[1] D. O'Connor and D. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 9; Leiden, 1995).

[2] T. A. H. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt* (London, 1999),183–229.

[3] E.g. A. Perez Largacha, *El Nacimento del Estado en Egipto* (Madrid, 1993); T. A. H. Wilkinson, *State Formation in Egypt. Chronology and Society* (Oxford, 1996); B. Adams and K. M. Cialowicz, *Protodynastic Egypt* (Princes Risborough, 1997).

[4] J. Baines, 'Origins of Egyptian Kingship', in O'Connor and Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, 95–156.

[5] See below, n. 38.

[6] Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 66.

[7] Ibid. 69.

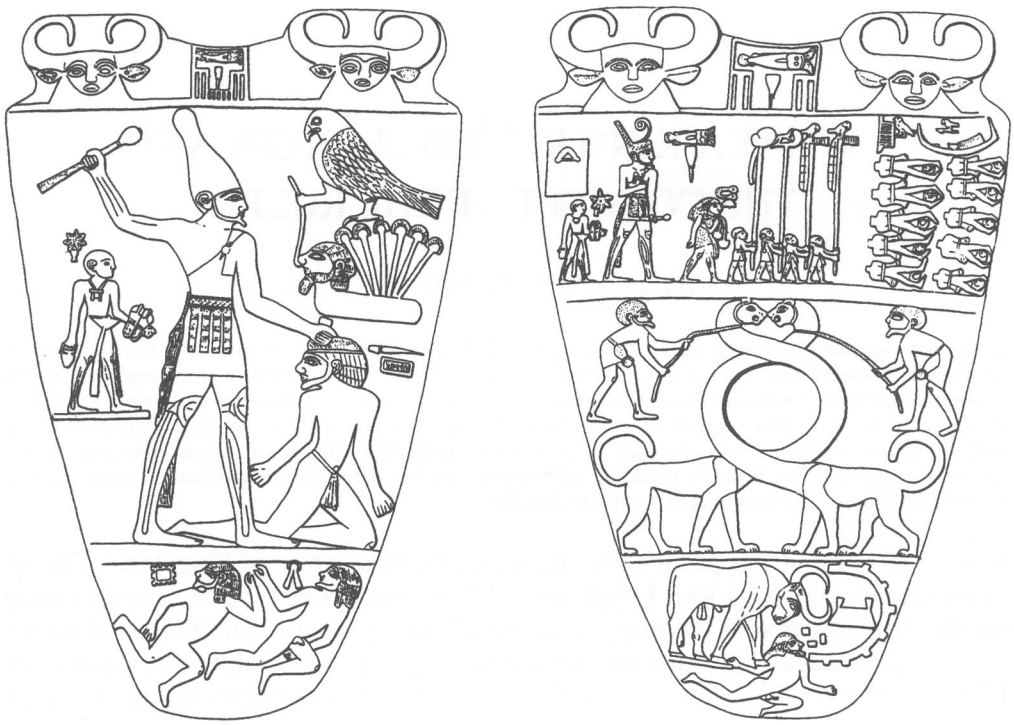


FIG. 1. The Narmer Palette (after B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization* (London, 1989), fig. 12).

acteristic both of the prehistoric way of life from which Egypt was emerging, and of the dynastic civilisation of Egypt's future. An examination of these features helps us to understand the process by which the concept of the ruler was recast at the beginning of the First Dynasty. The process is most clearly manifest in three aspects of elite culture: royal names, royal art, and the royal tomb.

Royal names

It is clear that royal names are of great importance for understanding the ideological concerns and emphases of the Egyptian ruling elite. Names in ancient Egypt were full of meaning, royal names especially so. We may assume that the primary name adopted by the king for use on his monuments, his Horus name, carried great symbolic weight. It expressed the power manifest in the king's person as the earthly incarnation of the supreme celestial deity. Yet, when it comes to the name of Narmer, all attempts at reading or translation seem to fail.[8] The combination of catfish (which had the reading *nʿr = nar*) + chisel (*mr = mer;* Gardiner sign-list U23) makes no grammatical sense according to current understanding of the Egyptian language. There are further problems concerning both elements of the name. Although the word *nʿr* is attested in Old Egyptian,[9] there remains some uncertainty sur-

[8] Cf. T. A. H. Wilkinson, 'A New King in the Western Desert', *JEA* 81 (1995), 205–10, n. 38.

[9] D. Wentworth Thompson, 'On Egyptian Fish-names Used by Greek Writers', *JEA* 14 (1928), 22–33, esp. 28.

rounding the reading of the catfish sign in the very earliest stages of the Egyptian script. As for the chisel sign, its more common phonetic value in hieroglyphic was *ꜣb* rather than *mr*. A further complication arises when one considers that this second element in the writing of Narmer's name was more often than not omitted. Clearly, the catfish alone was deemed adequate to write the king's name.[10] If any conclusion can be drawn from a study of Narmer's name, it is surely that the reading 'Narmer' is erroneous. What, then, does the name signify?

A royal name was nothing less than a concise theological statement, expressing the nature of the relationship between the king and the gods. The primary source of the king's authority was the ideology that cast him as god on earth. Hence, it is in the ideology of royal power—and in the associated iconography—that we may find clues to the meaning of Narmer's name. The aggressive, controlling power of wild animals is a common theme in the elite art of the late Predynastic Period. Several famous examples of carved, ivory knife-handles depict ordered registers of wild animals,[11] each line comprising animals of a distinct species, dominated by a 'controlling' animal of a different species.[12] Significantly, these 'controlling' animals include fish: on the bottom register of the Brooklyn knife-handle (flat side) an unidentified fish controls a line of oryx;[13] on the corresponding register of the Pitt-Rivers knife-handle, a catfish controls a line of ratels.[14] Within the belief-system of the late Predynastic Period, the catfish was evidently viewed as a symbol of domination and control, an ideal motif with which to associate the king.[15]

The direct association of controlling, wild animal and royal ruler is seen in other late Predynastic contexts. One of the two rock-cut inscriptions at Gebel Sheikh Suleiman, in the Second Cataract region of Lower Nubia, shows an outsize scorpion presiding over a scene of military conquest.[16] The scorpion clearly represents the victorious power of the (Egyptian) ruler. A similar role may be attributed to the scorpion motif which appears in front of the king on the Scorpion Macehead. Indeed, the scorpion in this context is perhaps more likely to be an expression of royal power rather than a 'name' in the modern sense of that term.[17] The Scorpion Macehead may, in this way, provide a parallel for the 'name' of Narmer (and there are good stylistic reasons for placing the Scorpion Macehead and the reign of Narmer very close in time). Since attempts to 'read' the name of Narmer have proved fruitless, it may well be that it is not a 'name' at all, but rather a symbolic association of the king with the controlling animal force represented by the catfish. The 'name' of Narmer seems to fit very well within the ideology and iconography of late Predynastic kingship, a stratum of thought which identified the king with the dominant forces of the wild (see also below).

[10] S. Quirke, *Who Were the Pharaohs?* (London, 1990), photograph on p. 44.

[11] K. M. Cialowicz, 'La composition, le sens et la symbolique des scènes zoomorphes prédynastiques en relief. Les manches de couteaux', in R. Friedman and B. Adams (eds), *The Followers of Horus. Studies Dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman* (Oxford, 1992), 247–58.

[12] B. Kemp, 'The Colossi from the Early Shrine at Coptos in Egypt', *CAJ* 10 (2000), fig. 14.

[13] Cialowicz, in Friedman and Adams (eds), *The Followers of Horus*, fig. 1.

[14] Ibid., fig. 3.

[15] The catfish evidently survived into the early First Dynasty as a powerful cultic symbol, as it appears in a procession of cult objects being presented to King Djer on a wooden label from Saqqara: W. B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1961), 59, fig. 21.

[16] W. Needler, 'A Rock-drawing on Gebel Sheikh Suleiman (near Wadi Halfa) Showing a Scorpion and Human Figures', *JARCE* 6 (1967), 87–92.

[17] Cf. the comments of J. Malek and W. Forman, *In the Shadow of the Pyramids* (Norman, 1986), 29.

The reign of Aha marks the beginning of a distinctively new tradition of royal names. From this point onwards, the Horus-falcon atop the *serekh* becomes inextricably linked to the overall meaning of the king's name. In the writing of Aha's name, the falcon grips the shield-and-mace hieroglyph (*ḥ3*; Gardiner sign-list D34) in its talons. Hence, the name is more correctly rendered as Hor-Aha,[18] 'Horus the fighter'. Although the image of a falcon grasping an offensive weapon recalls late Predynastic iconography,[19] the name itself represents a much more theologically contrived expression of royal power. The king's authority is now expressed, not in terms of the violent forces of nature, but by reference to the supreme celestial deity, Horus. The word or phrase within the *serekh* denotes a particular aspect of Horus that is manifest in his earthly incarnation, the king.[20] In the case of Aha, it is the fighting qualities of the falcon that are emphasised. Subsequent royal names of the First Dynasty emphasise other attributes: 'Horus endures' (*Ḥr-ḏr* = Djer), 'Horus flourishes' (*Ḥr-w3ḏ* = Wadj/Djet), 'Horus spreads (his wings ready for flight)' (*Ḥr-dwn* = De(we)n).[21]

This pattern of royal names clearly became firmly established—indeed, so firmly established that the name of Narmer seems to have been reinterpreted by later generations to conform to the new convention. This occurred as early as the middle of the First Dynasty. By the reign of Den, just four generations after Narmer, the formulation of the king's name as an epithet of the god Horus was standard. Older naming conventions seem to have been misunderstood or disregarded. The scribes drawing up the list of kings for Den's necropolis seal either could not understand Narmer's 'name' in its original form, or decided—following the decorum of the time—to recast it in the accepted mould. Hence, on the impression of the seal which has survived, the primary element of Narmer's 'name', the catfish, emblem of controlling power, has been transmuted into an animal pelt.[22] In combination with the chisel, used as a phonetic complement (with its more common value *3b*), the animal pelt gives the reading *s3b*. Hence, following the suggestion of John Ray, the name as a whole (*Ḥr-s3b*) has become 'Horus the dappled',[23] expressing the belief that the firmament of heaven was formed by the outspread wings of the celestial falcon, whose dappled feathers were the dappled clouds at sunrise and sunset. This form of royal name was much more in keeping with the cosmic, transcendent view of kingship current in the middle of the First Dynasty. This reinterpretation of Narmer's name is also attested on the later necropolis sealing of King Qaa, from the end of the First Dynasty.[24]

Royal art

Royal authority was expressed not only in the king's name but also in works of art. As the beginning of the First Dynasty marks a period of transition in the formulation of the royal name, it should come as little surprise that royal iconography undergoes a simultaneous re-

[18] Thus, W. B. Emery, *Excavations at Saqqara 1937–1938. Ḥor-Aḥa* (Cairo, 1939); idem, *Archaic Egypt*, 49–56.

[19] Kemp, *CAJ* 10, fig. 10.

[20] Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 201–3.

[21] For the last, see P. Kaplony, 'Sechs Königsname der 1. Dynastie in neuer Deutung', *Orientalia Suecana* 7 (1958), 54–69.

[22] G. Dreyer, 'Ein Siegel der frühzeitlichen Königsnekropole von Abydos', *MDAIK* 43 (1987), fig. 3.

[23] This intepretation of the name was first suggested by John Ray in an unpublished article. The author is indebted to him for a copy of the article and for permission to cite his interpretation here.

[24] G. Dreyer et al., 'Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 7./8. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 52 (1996), fig. 26.

codification. The transition from the late Predynastic Period to the First Dynasty—or, more specifically, to the reign of Narmer—is characterised by the invention of the canonical style of ancient Egyptian art,[25] the rules of depiction that were to survive, largely unchanged, for the best part of three millennia.

Animal imagery

Prior to Narmer, elite and royal art, like the carved ivory knife-handles discussed above, emphasises the wild realm of nature. This is particularly striking on the series of great, ceremonial palettes from the late Predynastic Period.[26] The Hunter's Palette,[27] probably one of the earliest in the series, shows a connection with still earlier incised palettes in its emphasis on the hunt. (In origin, it is likely that palettes were used in a ritual setting to prepare the face-paint worn by hunters.) At this stage, there is no explicit depiction of a ruler figure. Rather, a more communal involvement is suggested by the group of hunters. A slightly later artefact, the Oxford Palette,[28] shows a similar emphasis on the hunt, although in this case the wild animals are tamed by a 'controlling' figure, not another animal as on the knife-handles, but a man wearing a dog mask and playing a reed flute.[29] He is probably to be equated with the man wearing an ostrich mask on the Ostrich Palette in the Manchester Museum.[30] It seems that preparations for a hunt involved rituals whereby the participants (or one of their representatives) would don animal attributes in order to assume the controlling powers of nature thus represented. This, it was hoped, would ensure a successful outcome to the hunting expedition.

Towards the end of the Predynastic Period, the scenes portrayed on carved palettes shift from scenes of hunting to scenes of warfare. Controlling the untamed forces of nature has now been replaced, in the ideology of royal authority, by defeating the anarchic forces opposed to the king. However, the symbolism of the natural world has not yet been entirely abandoned. On the Battlefield Palette,[31] which predates the reign of Narmer by no more than a couple of generations, the theme is warfare but the ruler is shown as a fierce lion. As in the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman inscription, the figure of an aggressive wild animal is used as a metaphor for the king himself. The king embodies the attributes of a lion (or scorpion), and the use of explicit animal imagery emphasises this point. Hence, the art of the late Predynastic Period echoes the contemporary convention applied to royal names.

The last example of this iconographic tradition, portraying the king as an animal, is found on the last of the great ceremonial palettes, the Narmer Palette (fig. 1).[32] This is undoubtedly the most famous artefact of Narmer's reign, yet its very nature (as an object associated primarily with the hunt) harks back to Predynastic beliefs and practices. In the lowest register of the obverse, the king is shown as a wild bull, tearing down his enemy's stronghold and trampling him underfoot. The image is certainly a potent one, and the association of the

[25] W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Cambridge, 1989).

[26] These artefacts have been studied by many scholars, for example K. Cialowicz, *Les Palettes égyptiennes aux motifs zoomorphes et sans décoration. Etudes de l'art prédynastique* (Krakow, 1991). They may be compared most easily by referring to the illustrations in Davis, *The Canonical Tradition*, 141–59.

[27] Ibid., fig. 6.10.

[28] Ibid., fig. 6.9.

[29] Ibid. 142.

[30] Ibid., fig. 6.8b.

[31] Ibid., fig. 6.11.

[32] Ibid., fig. 6.14.

king with a wild bull did not disappear entirely from the ideology of Egyptian kingship. The bull's tail remained a standard element of the royal regalia throughout the dynastic period.[33] Moreover, the Horus-name of Thutmose III in the Eighteenth Dynasty expressed the identity of the king as a 'strong bull arisen in Thebes'. Yet, after the reign and monuments of Narmer, the king was never again represented in purely animal form. (In later periods, the king is occasionally shown as a human-headed griffin, but this is a hybrid form.) Hence, on a label of Aha, it is the king's *serekh* which smites a Nubian foe.[34] In the new decorum which stressed the divinity of the king, it appears to have become inappropriate to depict him directly as a wild beast. The imagery was retained, but was used in a more subtle fashion.

The reign of Narmer illustrates the transition between old and new systems of royal iconography. On an ivory cylinder from Hierakonpolis, it is the catfish element of the king's 'name' that smites rows of bound, Libyan captives.[35] On the obverse of the Narmer Palette, at the right hand side of the topmost register, the victorious king is represented as a falcon atop a harpoon. But when we turn the palette over, we find the new convention writ large: the king is shown in human form (although wearing a bull's tail) as a huge, towering figure, smiting his enemy with a mace. This, the quintessential icon of Egyptian kingship, with its origins far back in the early Predynastic Period, was to become the primary symbol of royal power from the reign of Narmer onwards. The Narmer Palette is thus a striking amalgam of earlier and later conventions of royal iconography. While the imagery of the obverse is rooted in the Predynastic Period, that on the reverse stands at the head of the dynastic, canonical tradition. Narmer's reign marked a defining transition in the concept of rule; nowhere is this better exemplified than on his palette, the most famous artefact of early Egypt.

Mesopotamian motifs, xenophobic iconography

In another way, too, the Narmer Palette represents an important turning point in Egyptian art history. The obverse bears the last significant example of a Mesopotamian motif used in royal art, the intertwined serpopards whose necks frame the central well. The use of Mesopotamian iconography in the elite art of the late Predynastic Period is a well-known and much discussed phenomenon.[36] From the comb-winged griffin seen on the Gebel Tarif knife-handle and the Two Dogs Palette to the 'master of the beasts' in the Hierakonpolis Painted Tomb and on the Gebel el-Arak knife-handle,[37] symbols of control and authority were borrowed from contemporary Mesopotamian iconography by Egyptian rulers anxious to develop and promote an ideology of power. The intertwined serpopards were perhaps symbolic of the opposing forces of nature which it was the king's duty to keep in check.

[33] Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 190–1.

[34] W. M. F. Petrie, *Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, II (MEES 21; London, 1901), pl. xi.1.

[35] J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, I (ERA 5; London, 1900), pl. xv.5; for a clearer illustration, see: P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, III (Wiesbaden, 1963), pl. 5, fig. 5.

[36] Recent contributions to the debate include: B. Teissier, 'Glyptic Evidence for a Connection between Iran, Syro-Palestine and Egypt in the Fourth and Third Millennia', *Iran* 25 (1987), 27–53; H. Smith, 'The Making of Egypt: a Review of the Influence of Susa and Sumer on Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia in the 4th Millennium BC', in Friedman and Adams (eds), *The Followers of Horus*, 235–46; H. Pittman, 'Constructing Context. The Gebel el-Arak Knife. Greater Mesopotamia and Egyptian Interaction in the Late Fourth Millennium BCE', in J. S. Cooper and G. M. Schwartz (eds), *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century* (Winona Lake, 1996), 9–32.

[37] Cf. U. Sievertsen, 'Das Messer von Gebel el Arak', *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 23 (1992), 1–75.

After the reign of Narmer, such artistic borrowings were abandoned in favour of indigenous Egyptian motifs, some of which (notably the king smiting his enemies) had their roots in the Predynastic repertoire.[38] The rosette, a symbol of control borrowed from Uruk iconography, had been used widely in Egyptian royal art of the late Predynastic Period:[39] examples include the Brooklyn, Carnarvon and Gebel Tarif knife-handles, and the Scorpion Macehead. It could easily have been adopted into Egyptian hieroglyphs, but it, too, was rejected in the recodification that occurred at the beginning of the First Dynasty. The last appearances of the rosette, as a symbol of the ruler, are on objects from the reign of Narmer, on his macehead and palette.

As Egypt's rulers rejected foreign iconography and turned instead to indigenous motifs, so too the official ideology towards the outside world underwent a profound change at the beginning of the First Dynasty. From the reign of Narmer onwards, Egypt's collective sense of itself—as encouraged, nay, dictated by the royal court—was defined and demarcated by reference to a 'collective other': Egypt's foreign neighbours.[40] State ideology henceforth characterised non-Egyptians as the human equivalents of untamed wild beasts, standing outside the Egyptian realm and therefore hostile to Egypt, its king, its people, and its way of life. The power of xenophobia to unite a country's population behind its ruler has been appreciated by despots and politicians since the beginning of human history. The ancient Egyptians were perhaps the first to recognise the instinctive force of this particular brand of ideology. Explicitly xenophobic iconography is first met in the reign of Narmer. The aforementioned ivory cylinder from Hierakonpolis names the rows of bound captives as Tjehenu (Libyans). Both the Narmer Palette and a newly-discovered year label of the same king from Abydos[41] show defeated captives that have been identified by at least one scholar as Asiatics,[42] perhaps inhabitants of the eastern Delta fringes or northern Sinai. The choice of subject matter for the Narmer Palette loudly proclaims the new propaganda of the post-unification Egyptian royal court. Now that a unified country had been forged, it was important to consolidate the boundaries of the state and match these political boundaries with ideological ones. For the next three thousand years, there followed an assault on the hearts and minds of the Egyptian people, to convince them that their security and well-being lay in the hands of the king, without whom Egypt's enemies would triumph and all would be lost. It appears that the credit is due to Narmer for laying this particular cornerstone of ancient Egyptian civilisation.

Royal tombs

The beginning of the First Dynasty marks a transition in the concept and outward manifestation of royal authority in a third sphere: the tombs of the ruling elite. Egyptologists have always regarded it as significant that the earliest tomb of a high official at North Saqqara, mastaba S3357, dates to the reign of Aha. The tomb clearly belonged to a close relative of

[38] A painted vessel from grave U-239 at Abydos, dated to late Naqada I, carries the earliest known example of this motif: G. Dreyer et al., 'Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 9./10. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 54 (1998), 77–167, esp. figs 12.1 and 13.

[39] Smith, in Friedman and Adams (eds), *The Followers of Horus*, 241–4.

[40] E. C. Köhler, 'History or Ideology? New Reflections on the Narmer Palette and the Nature of "Foreign" Relations in Predynastic Egypt', in E. C. M. van den Brink and T. E. Levy (eds), *Egyptian–Canaanite Relations During the 4th Through Early 3rd Millennia, BCE*, forthcoming.

[41] Dreyer et al., *MDAIK* 54, fig. 29 and pl. 5.c.

[42] Köhler, in van den Brink and Levy (eds), *Egyptian–Canaanite Relations*.

the king, as indicated by the use of royal, 'palace-façade' architecture for the external faces of the superstructure. The owner was probably Aha's younger brother or son, and must have held the most senior position in the Memphite administration, equivalent to the vizier in later periods.[43] It is likely that the highest offices of state were reserved for members of the royal family in the Early Dynastic Period. The importance of such individuals can be gauged by the scene on the obverse of the Narmer Palette (top register), where the king is *preceded* by an official (perhaps his eldest son) designated by the signs *tt* (probably an abbreviated writing of *wṯtw*, 'offspring').[44] The dating of S3357 to the reign of Aha has led some scholars to argue that Aha founded Memphis, or was at least the first king to reside there. This is unlikely for two reasons. First, the earliest burials in the necropolis of Helwan/el-Maasara, the principal cemetery serving Memphis in the Early Dynastic Period, predate the reign of Aha.[45] Second, recent soundings by the Egypt Exploration Society Survey of Memphis,[46] reinforced by earlier, isolated finds from nearby Abusir,[47] indicate that the city of Memphis was probably already in existence in the late Predynastic Period. The establishment of an elite cemetery at North Saqqara for the highest officials of the administration was almost certainly an innovation of Aha's reign (unless an earlier tomb remains to be discovered),[48] but it need not correlate with the date of the foundation of Memphis.

Aha's own burial complex at Abydos (fig. 2) offers further evidence that his reign was a period of innovation in mortuary provision. The chambers reserved for the king and his funerary equipment (B10, B15, and B19) are accompanied by rows of subsidiary burials for his retainers (B16). In this, Aha set a new precedent. In death as in life, the king would henceforth be surrounded by his attendants. This pattern was to remain standard throughout much of Egyptian history, from the Old Kingdom court cemeteries at Maidum and Giza to

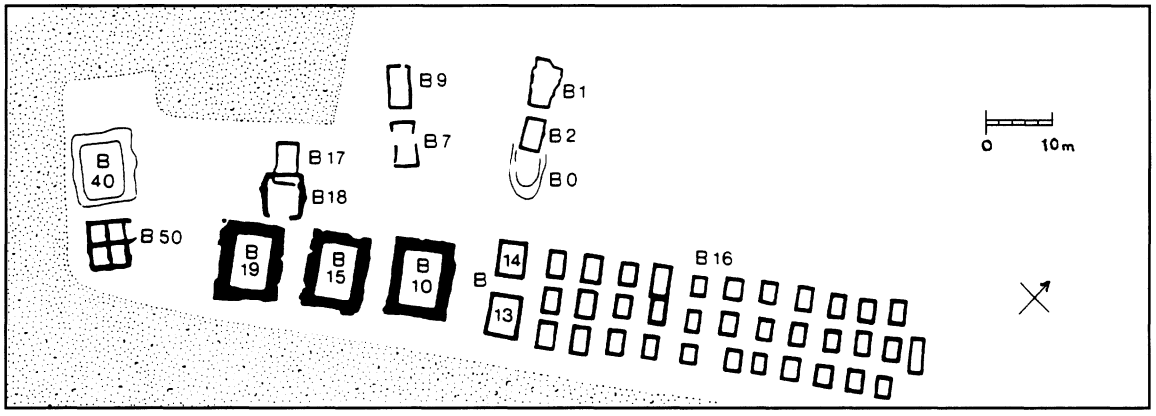


FIG. 2. Cemetery B, the early royal burial-ground on the Umm el-Qaab at Abydos (after G. Dreyer et al., *MDAIK* 52 (1996), fig. 1).

[43] Cf. Baines, in O'Connor and Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, 138; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 139.

[44] It is even possible that the title of the vizier, *ỉ3ty*, is derived from the same root.

[45] T. A. H. Wilkinson, 'A Re-examination of the Early Dynastic Necropolis at Helwan', *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 337–54.

[46] Idem, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 359.

[47] W. Kaiser, 'Einige Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Frühzeit. III', *ZÄS* 91 (1964), 36–125, esp. 106–8.

[48] The existence of an earlier, undiscovered tomb cannot be discounted, given that a previously unknown and massive mastaba tomb of the First Dynasty was only recently excavated by the Supreme Council for Antiquities in the area adjacent to the Antiquities Inspectorate at North Saqqara.

the tombs of high officials in the Third Intermediate Period royal cemetery at Tanis. The skeletal material from Aha's subsidiary burials indicates that the average age of death of the occupants was under 25 years.[49] This strongly suggests that the king's retainers were killed (or committed suicide) at the death of their royal master, to accompany him into the hereafter. Hence, the subsidiary burials in Aha's mortuary complex represent a new expression of royal authority, an authority which could now command the life and death of the king's subjects. By contrast with this totalitarian model of rule, the evidence from the preceding period suggests a rather humbler exercise of power. Certainly, Narmer's tomb at Abydos has no accompanying subsidiary burials. In this respect, his burial complex has more in common with its Predynastic forerunners than with the tombs of the First Dynasty kings.

This contrast may likewise be reflected in the chambers built for Narmer himself. The tomb of Narmer is generally identified as comprising the adjoining chambers B17 and B18. Even taken together, these constitute a very small interment compared with the mortuary complexes of Narmer's successors. There have been suggestions that B17/18 do not represent Narmer's tomb at all, and that his actual burial chamber remains to be discovered in an unexcavated portion of the Umm el-Qaab.[50] This is a possibility, but there are two other plausible explanations for the small scale of B17/18.

First, these twin chambers may be only one component of a tripartite royal tomb complex. It is noteworthy that Aha's mortuary complex comprises three almost identical chambers. There are indications that these may represent different stages of a long building programme.[51] Yet the final form of the complex, with three adjacent chambers of equal size, seems to have been deliberate. It is possible that Aha's tomb complex is not an aberrant form of royal burial but a direct copy of his predecessor's. Could Narmer's tomb also have comprised three equal elements? A striking feature of this part of Cemetery B is the close proximity of three sets of twin chambers: B17/18, attributed to Narmer; B7/9, attributed to the late Predynastic king 'Ka'; and B1/2, with its adjacent offering pit B0,[52] attributed by some to a late Predynastic king Iry-Hor.[53] They differ markedly from the single chambers of Predynastic Cemetery U. Chambers B17/18 are the only two built within a single pit, but otherwise the similarity among the three sets is striking. Notable, too, is the orientation of all three sets: they are strung out in a line running N-E—S-W, an arrangement followed by Aha's three chambers. One possible theory is that all three sets of twin chambers belong to one and the same mortuary complex, and thus to one and the same king. In this case, the only real candidate would be Narmer himself.[54] The discovery of inscriptions naming Narmer in both B1/2 and B7/9 would certainly support such a theory.[55] Chambers B7/9, attributed to a king 'Ka', could be seen instead as a tomb for the king's *ka*:[56] a fore-

[49] A. J. Spencer, *Early Egypt* (London, 1993), 79.

[50] E. C. Köhler, personal communication.

[51] W. Kaiser and G. Dreyer, 'Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 2. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 211–69, esp. 219.

[52] G. Dreyer et al., *MDAIK* 52, 49.

[53] Kaiser and Dreyer, *MDAIK* 38, 212; Spencer, *Early Egypt*, 76–7. Doubts about this attribution have been raised by T. A. H. Wilkinson, 'The Identification of Tomb B1 at Abydos: Refuting the Existence of a King *Ro/*Iry-Hor', *JEA* 79 (1993), 241–3; and A. O'Brien, 'The Serekh as an Aspect of the Iconography of Early Kingship', *JARCE* 33 (1996), 123–38, esp. 131–2.

[54] Cf. Quirke, *Who Were the Pharaohs?*, 21.

[55] Wilkinson, *JEA* 79, 242, nn. 14 and 19.

[56] B. Adams, *Ancient Nekhen. Garstang in the City of Hierakonpolis* (New Malden, 1995), 49.

runner of the separate *ka* annex seen in the tomb of Den,[57] in the south tomb of Netjerikhet's and Sekhemkhet's step pyramid complexes, and in the subsidiary pyramids of the Fourth Dynasty. Chambers B1/2, attributed to a king 'Iry-Hor' on the basis of pottery inscribed with the combination of a falcon and a mouth could have served as storage chambers to provide food and drink for the 'mouth of Horus (i.e. the king)' (*r-Ḥr*).[58] The recent discovery of an adjacent offering pit (B0), originally filled with wine jars and other pottery, may support this interpretation.

Second, if the traditional attribution of B0/1/2 and B7/9 to predecessors of Narmer is maintained, an alternative explanation for the small scale of B17/18 may be that Narmer's tomb complex represents the last gasp of an earlier, essentially Predynastic model of kingship, one that did not express itself through grandiose architecture (like the palace-façade tombs of royal relatives buried at North Saqqara and Naqada during Aha's reign) or the extravagant display of coercive royal power (the retainer sacrifice attested in Aha's subsidiary burials), but through the association of the king with the forces of nature. As we have seen, the reign of Narmer represents the end of an older ideology with its roots in the Predynastic Period. With the unification of Egypt, this older stratum of belief was evidently discarded, no longer considered sufficient for holding together the new state, nor appropriate for an all-powerful king at its head.

Conclusion

The beginning of the First Dynasty witnessed highly significant innovations in the spheres of titulary, iconography, and mortuary architecture. However, they are but manifestations of a wider phenomenon: the reformulation of the concept of rule during the period of state formation. This process succeeded in establishing the court-directed styles which were to be promoted vigorously by Egypt's kings until they had effectively snuffed out all traces of earlier, Predynastic cultural traditions. The reign of Narmer, in particular, marks an important transition between older, Predynastic and new, pharaonic brands of kingship. The surviving evidence from this brief period allows us to look back into the past and forward to the future civilisation of dynastic Egypt.

[57] G. Dreyer, 'Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 3./4. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 53–90, esp. 76–9.

[58] Adams, *Ancient Nekhen*, 49.

AN EARLY DYNASTIC QUARRY FOR STONE VESSELS AT GEBEL MANZAL EL-SEYL, EASTERN DESERT*

By JAMES A. HARRELL, V. MAX BROWN *and* MASOUD SALAH MASOUD

The quarry that supplied two of the stones used for vessels during the Early Dynastic Period, green tuff and tuffaceous limestone, has been found on Gebel Manzal el-Seyl in Egypt's Eastern Desert. Scattered across this 3 km long ridge are about 200 excavations, and littering the ground around them are hundreds of roughed-out vessel blanks, several of which are inscribed with the sign ∩. The blanks were carried across the desert at least 200 km to the Nile Valley where the final carving and polishing was done.

VESSELS carved from stone are common items of funerary equipment in tombs of the Late Predynastic Period through Old Kingdom.[1] In terms of numbers produced and stone varieties used, these vessels peaked during the First to Third Dynasties. Previously, the only known quarry for stone vessels of that date was one for alabaster gypsum at Umm el-Sawan in the Faiyum Depression (fig. 1).[2] For all the many other stone varieties employed for vessels, the specific quarry workings had not been identified, although the general geographic sources can be inferred for some. For example, it is known that granite from Aswan was used for vessels but the actual work sites that supplied the stone have not been recognized. Given the general absence of evidence for quarrying, one might suppose that the stones for most vessels were not quarried at all, but rather, were collected as loose blocks or boulders that were then carved. This might well be true for some stone varieties but it was not the case for two of those widely used during the Early Dynastic Period: tuff and tuffaceous limestone.[3] An extensive quarry for these stones was discovered by the authors at Gebel Manzal el-Seyl in Egypt's Eastern Desert (fig. 1).[4] This is only the second known quarry for stone vessels, and its presence in a remote part of the desert suggests that other vessel quarries exist and are still to be found.

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1 W. M. F. Petrie, *The Funeral Furniture of Egypt with Stone and Metal Vases* (BSAE 59; London, 1937); A. Lucas, revised by J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*[4] (London, 1962); A. A.-R. H. el-Khouli, *Egyptian Stone Vessels: Predynastic Period to Dynasty III* (Mainz am Rhein, 1978); B. G. Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Material and Forms* (Heidelberg, 1994).

2 Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 47–51; G. Caton-Thompson and E. W. Gardner, *The Desert Fayum*, I (London, 1934), 103–23.

3 Colour images of vitric tuff and tuffaceous limestone, along with many other varieties of stone used in ancient Egypt, can be seen at James A. Harrell's world wide web site (http://www.eeescience.utoledo.edu/egypt/). Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels*, pl. 5c, provides a colour photograph of what is probably tuffaceous limestone.

4 The authors' 'discovery' of the Gebel Manzal el-Seyl quarry was made possible by our Maʿaza Bedouin guide, Salah Ali Suwaylim, who told us about it. We are also indebted to Ahmed Bedawy, the expedition's able driver, mechanic and camp cook.

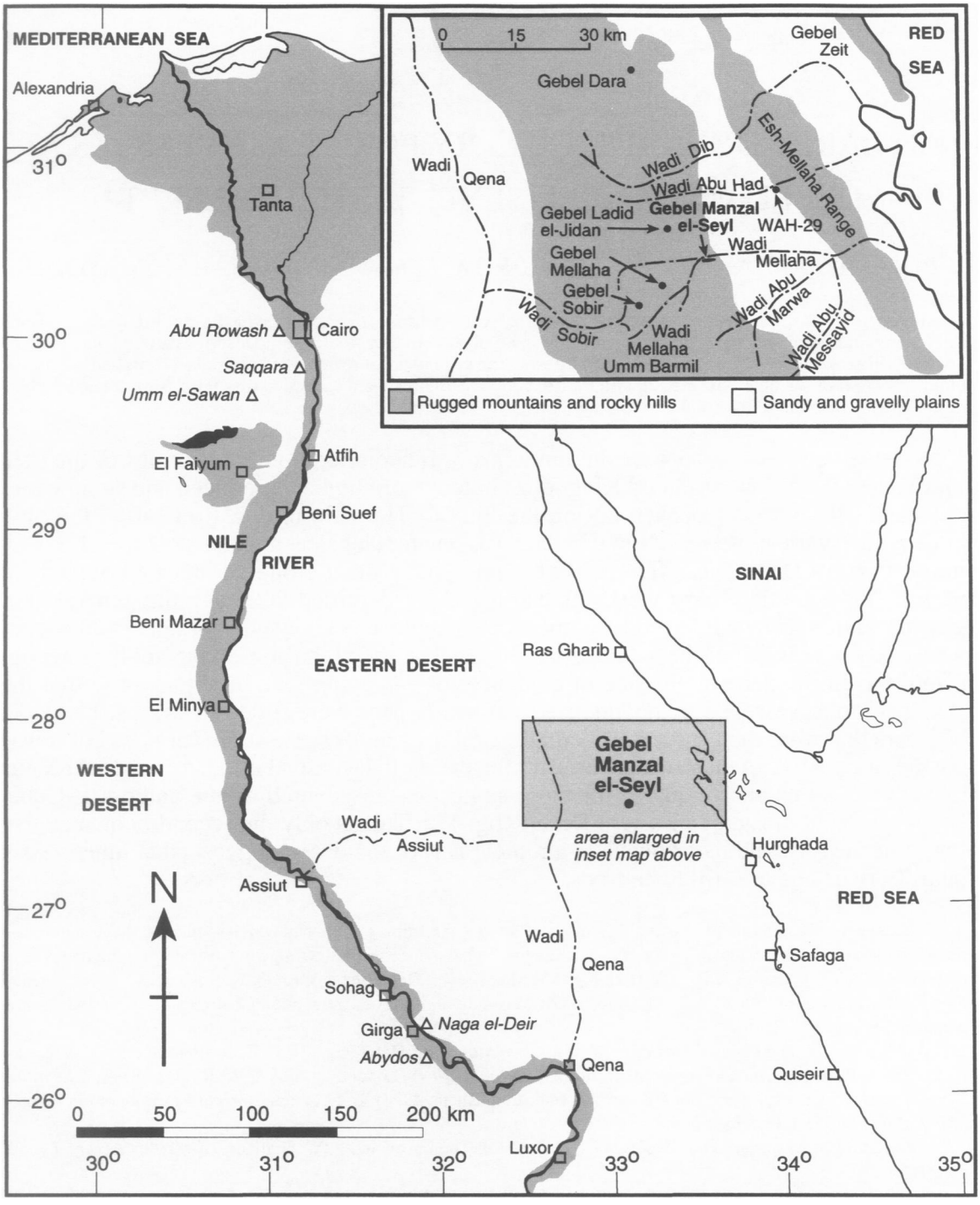


FIG. 1. Map of a portion of Egypt showing the location of the Gebel Manzal el-Seyl quarry and other sites mentioned.

The name 'tuff' refers to a rock that is both igneous and sedimentary in origin. It forms through the lithification of a sediment consisting of volcanic ash and cinders (i.e. micro- to megascopic pieces of glass, mineral crystals and volcanic rocks) which were originally airborne debris ejected during an explosive volcanic eruption. Once settled onto the earth's surface, the ash and cinders commonly mix with other, non-volcanic sediments such as calcitic mud. When the calcite predominates over the ash and cinders, the rock is termed a sedimentary 'tuffaceous limestone'. Vessels made from tuff and tuffaceous limestone are almost always misidentified in the archaeological literature as 'volcanic ash' (a sediment rather than rock name) when they are light bluish green or grey with a grainy texture, and 'schist' or 'slate' when they are dark green with a smooth texture. Only Aston,[5] who examined vessels in museum collections, correctly identified the tuff but she did not distinguish it from the tuffaceous limestone.

Most vessels previously identified as volcanic ash are tuff or tuffaceous limestone. Some of those identified as schist or slate are tuff, but most of these vessels are probably made from the greywacke sandstone and siltstone from Wadi Hammamat, another Eastern Desert quarry.[6] Greywacke looks very much like tuff but the two can be easily distinguished. The tuff, which always contains abundant calcite, will effervesce vigorously when a drop of dilute hydrochloric acid is placed on it. The greywacke, which has very little or no calcite, will not react noticeably. Also, the tuff is commonly banded whereas the greywacke is not.

Because vessels of tuff and tuffaceous limestone have not been accurately identified in the past, their abundance cannot be directly determined from published reports. However, based on the known abundance of all the other stones used for vessels,[7] nearly all of which would not be confused with the Gebel Manzal el-Seyl material, it is evident that the tuff and tuffaceous limestone account for something in the order of one per cent of the total or slightly more if only vessels of the Early Dynastic Period are considered. Of the other stone varieties used for vessels, travertine (the so-called Egyptian alabaster), limestone and basalt comprise the majority, with the rest pegmatitic diorite, various volcanic porphyries, granite, granodiorite, greywacke, serpentinite, alabaster gypsum, anorthosite gneiss, and others.

Gebel Manzal el-Seyl

Geological setting

Gebel Manzal el-Seyl is a 3 km long, linear ridge that is up to 100 m high (fig. 1; pl. IV, 1). It is located on the south side of Wadi Mellaha just east of its confluence with Wadi Mellaha Umm Barmil, and is about 75 km north-west of the Red Sea resort city of Hurghada. The coordinates of the ridge's central summit are 27^0 32.6' north latitude and 33^0 7.8' east longitude. The Arabic name for the ridge or *gebel* was given by the authors after the Maʿaza Bedouin name for the surrounding area, *manzal el-seyl,* which translates to 'the place where the flash floods (*seyl*) divide (*manzal*)'. This name apparently alludes to the tendency of flood waters from Wadi Mellaha Umm Barmil to split and flow around the ridge.

[5] *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 26–7.

[6] Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 28–32; J. A. Harrell and V. M. Brown, 'The Oldest Surviving Topographical Map from Ancient Egypt (Turin Papyri 1879, 1899 and 1969)', *JARCE* 29 (1992), 81–105.

[7] Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels*, fig. 170; Lucas and Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* [4], 421–8; and Harrell's own observations in museums.

Only one published geological report mentions the rocks in the Gebel Manzal el-Seyl area.[8] These are described as consisting predominantly of tuffs which have been altered by low-grade metamorphism and deformed into a series of large fold structures. Gebel Manzal el-Seyl itself consists of a well-layered succession of tuffs and related rocks that are folded into an asymmetrical anticline. The ridge crest roughly corresponds to the fold axis which has a WSW–ENE orientation. The original tuffaceous sediment was deposited in a lake or sea between 550 and 700 million years ago during the Late Precambrian era.[9] Rocks of equivalent age and character occur in many parts of the Eastern Desert and in the numerous published geological reports and maps that refer to them they are variously labelled as the 'calc-alkaline volcanics', or the 'Shadli', 'younger' and 'geosynclinal metavolcanics'.

Archaeological setting

The only Early Dynastic remains previously known from the Wadi Mellaha region are those reported by Bomann.[10] At Bomann's WAH-29 site in Wadi Abu Had, about 20 km north-east of Gebel Manzal el-Seyl (fig. 1), there is a large multi-roomed structure with walls of dry-laid, unworked stone. It dates from Dynasty 0 to the First Dynasty and is associated with copper mining as well as the extraction of colourless crystal and purple amethystine quartz. The copper mine may be the one discovered by the present authors on the west side of Gebel Ladid el-Jidan, 10.5 km north-west of Gebel Manzal el-Seyl (fig. 1). Stone tools and ceramics are common at WAH-29, but no stone vessels were recovered.

The quarry

Scattered along the length of Gebel Manzal el-Seyl are 39 quarrying areas which together contain about 200 individual excavations (fig. 2). The latter are mostly less than 5 m across but those in the 5–10 m range are common, and a few, all on the ridge crest, exceed 10 m in maximum dimension. The largest excavation, termed here the 'central summit quarry', is 50 m across with a worked face up to 10 m high (pl. IV, 2). The workings are linked by numerous footpaths worn into the hillsides, and the slopes below are heavily littered with tailings.

Quarry stones

Both tuff and tuffaceous limestone were quarried on Gebel Manzal el-Seyl. A petrographic analysis of numerous quarry samples reveals the following characteristics of these rocks. The tuff occurs in two gradational varieties, both of which have an overall andesitic composition. One variety is a 'vitric tuff' consisting predominantly of devitrified glass shards with minor (less than 33% of the rock) andesine plagioclase crystal fragments up to 1 mm across. Although the glass is now replaced by a microcrystalline groundmass of quartz and

[8] M. H. Francis, 'Geology of the Basement Complex in the North Eastern Desert Between Latitudes 27° 30' and 28° 00' N', *Annals of the Geological Survey of Egypt*, II (Cairo, 1972), 161–80, esp. 167–9.

[9] S. el-Gaby, F. K. List and R. Tehrani, 'The Basement Complex of the Eastern Desert and Sinai', in Said (ed.), *The Geology of Egypt* (Rotterdam, 1990), 175–84, esp. 178; M. A. Hassan and A. H. Hashad, 'Precambrian of Egypt', in R. Said (ed.), *The Geology of Egypt*, 201–45, esp. 224.

[10] A. Bomann, 'Discoveries in the Eastern Desert', *Egyptian Archaeology* 4 (1994), 29–30; id., 'Wadi Abu Had – Wadi Dib, Eastern Desert', *JEA* 81 (1995), 14–17; id., *Wadi Abu Had – Wadi Dib, Eastern Desert, Egypt*, unpublished report on the fourth field season to the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities (Cairo, 1995), 1–6.

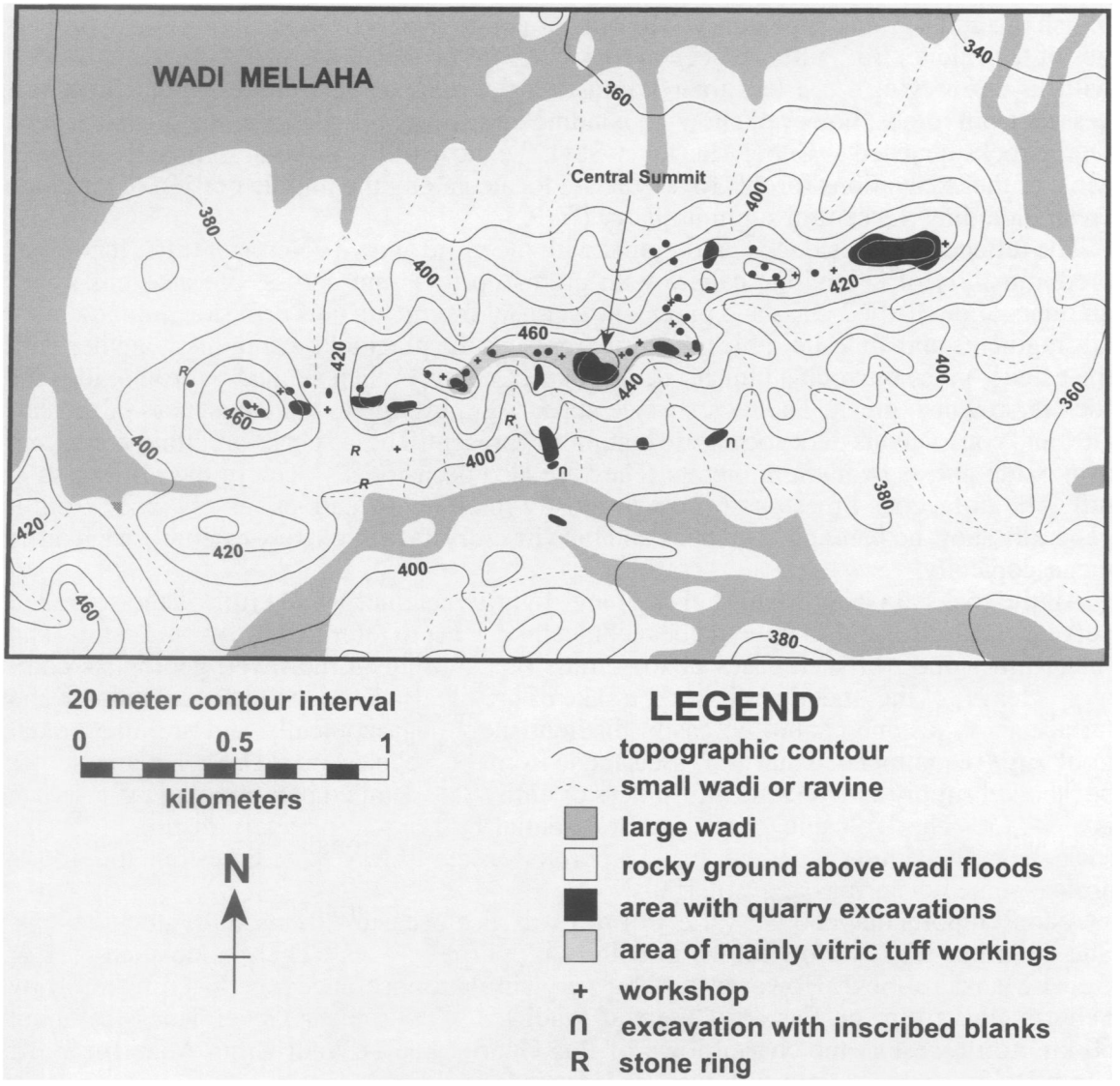


FIG. 2. Topographic contour map of the Gebel Manzal el-Seyl quarry.

plagioclase, the outlines of the original shards are still commonly seen. The other rock variety is a 'vitric-crystal tuff' that contains significant amounts (over 33%) of both devitrified glass shards and fragmented plagioclase crystals. Both tuffs also have up to a few per cent andesite rock fragments ('lithics') and rarer quartz crystal fragments. These are mostly less than 1 mm across but the lithics can be up to several millimetres in maximum dimension. Chlorite replaces all the mafic minerals in the lithics as well as some of the plagioclase. Plagioclase is partially replaced as well by calcite which also occurs as microscopic patches and veins distributed throughout the rock.

It is the chlorite that gives the tuffs their greenish colour. The vitric tuff is dark green with a smooth, non-grainy texture whereas the vitric-crystal tuff is medium green with a slight

bluish tint and a grainy appearance. The blue probably results from the luminescent properties of the calcite. Both tuffs, as seen in rock outcrops on Gebel Manzal el-Seyl, are banded with layers varying from less than 1 mm to a few tens of centimetres thick. Most tuff vessels from tombs, however, show no banding and so were made from the thicker layers. Of the rocks quarried at Gebel Manzal el-Seyl, the vitric tuff was the most heavily worked. Most of the excavations for this rock type are located along the middle portion of the ridge crest, including the central summit quarry (fig. 2).

The tuffaceous limestone is gradational with the vitric and vitric-crystal tuffs. It consists predominantly of crystalline calcite with grains up to 1 mm across, but also has minor amounts of devitrified glass and plagioclase crystal fragments plus occasional quartz crystal fragments and andesite lithics. Chlorite replaces the plagioclase and this, together with the calcite, gives the rock a bluish, medium green colour. When stained by iron oxides the rock is brownish green. The rock surface appears grainy, due to the coarseness of the calcite, and conspicuous dark specks are commonly present. These specks are lithic grains and iron oxide ghosts of mafic minerals. They are also occasionally seen in the vitric-crystal tuff. The tuffaceous limestone occurs in mostly thick layers and so vessels made from it generally show no banding. This rock and the vitric-crystal tuff closely resemble each other megascopically.

All the rocks at Gebel Manzal el-Seyl are slightly metamorphosed (this is the source of pervasive chlorite) and so it would be technically correct to refer to them as 'meta-tuff' and 'meta-limestone'. In such cases of low-grade metamorphism, however, geologists commonly leave off the 'meta' prefix for the sake of brevity. Because the vitric-crystal tuff and tuffaceous limestone cannot be easily distinguished megascopically and are also gradational, it is recommended that all vessels made from the Gebel Manzal el-Seyl quarry stones be labelled simply as 'volcanic tuff' unless or until more detailed petrographic information is available. The 'volcanic' prefix is not essential but serves to clearly distinguish these rocks from the similarly named 'tufa', a porous variety of travertine limestone that forms around some hot springs and waterfalls.

Aston[11] reports that another variety of tuff was also occasionally used for stone vessels. She describes it as 'yellow-brown in color with purple stripes'. There is no such rock at Gebel Manzal el-Seyl. However, tuffs of very similar appearance have been reported by Schürmann[12] from the Eastern Desert at Wadi Umm Arta (near Gebel Tinassib) about 60 km north-west of the coastal town of Ras Gharib, and at Wadi Umm Anab (near Bir Umm Dalfa) about 32 km south-west of Hurghada.

Quarrying methods

The quarry excavations are littered with the stone tools used to work the rock. These are mostly broken and are found where discarded by the quarrymen. The tools vary from large mauls that would have required two hands to hold (pl. IV, 3) to smaller ones that could be held in one hand (pl. IV, 4). Some of the latter were notched to take a wooden haft. From what can be seen in the quarry, it appears that the extraction process followed three steps. First, the quarrymen located a fracture-free rock mass of a size suitable for a vessel. This would be bounded by natural fractures that could be exploited for the rock's removal. Sec-

[11] *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 26.

[12] H. M. E. Schürmann, *The Precambrian Along the Gulf of Suez and the Northern Part of the Red Sea* (Leiden, 1966), 98, 101.

ond, a two-handed maul was used to loosen a block from the bedrock. As can be seen in plate V, 1, this was done by pounding along a bounding fracture. Perhaps the separation was aided by the use of rock wedges hammered into the opened fractures. Natural wedge-shaped rock splinters are plentiful on Gebel Manzal el-Seyl and their usefulness should have been obvious to the quarrymen. Third, a one-handed or hafted maul was used to dress the extracted block roughly and to shape it into the form of a vessel.

All the stone tools were fashioned from a fine-grained black rock known as 'dolerite'. Dolerite, which is just a coarser-grained version of basalt, occurs widely throughout the Eastern Desert as intrusive dikes cutting other rocks (but not those of Gebel Manzal el-Seyl). Pebbles and cobbles of dolerite are common in the wadi gravels on the north and especially south sides of Gebel Manzal el-Seyl, and so these are undoubtedly the source of the tools.

Vessel blanks

Scattered within and between the quarry excavations are hundreds of vessel blanks. These are only roughly shaped and are not hollowed out, which suggests that the final carving and polishing was done at workshops in the Nile Valley. The vessel blanks occur in three general forms, depicted schematically in figure 3. The cylindrical Type I blanks are rare in the quarry (only ten were observed) and contrast sharply with the more bowl-like, gradational Types IIa and IIb (pl. V, 2). The dimensions reported in figure 3 are based on spot checks within the quarry and so the ranges given should be viewed as only approximate. Because

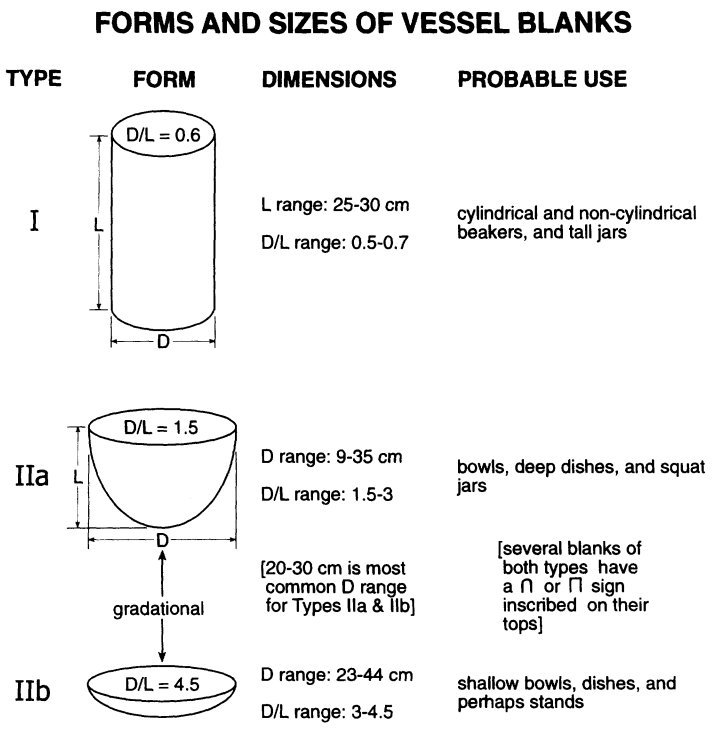


FIG. 3. Typology of vessel blanks found at Gebel Manzal el-Seyl.

tuff and tuffaceous limestone have generally not been recognized in the past, there are no records of the ranges in size and shape for the finished vessels, or of preferences between the two stone varieties for different types of vessels. However, it is James Harrell's impression, based on visits to museum collections, that both stone varieties were commonly used for cylinders and bowls (carved from Type I and IIa blanks) but that dishes (carved from Type IIb blanks) were primarily made from the tuffaceous limestone.

Wherever relatively large and level areas can be found on Gebel Manzal el-Seyl, as in the saddles between hilltops and on some summits, there are workshops (fifteen in total) with large concentrations of vessel blanks and chippings (the + symbols in fig. 2; pl. V, 3). It was in these places that much of the rough shaping was done. However, the presence of vessel blanks in the excavations themselves indicates that some of the work was performed there as well. The workshops also probably served as storage areas for the finished blanks.

In two of the excavations near the base of the ridge on its south side (the ∩ symbols in fig. 2), there are eleven vessel blanks (with nine of them in the easternmost excavation) which have inscribed on their upper surface a single sign resembling ∩, ⊓ or something in between (pl. V, 4). These probably represent the same character, with the signs varying in form because they were made by different persons. The blanks are of Types IIa and IIb, and have diameters between 16 and 23 cm. The signs were pecked into the blanks with a pointed object, most likely an angular rock fragment. Not all the blanks at these two excavations are so inscribed, and inscribed blanks are seen nowhere else on Gebel Manzal el-Seyl. The excavations with the inscribed blanks lie relatively close to each other and are well separated from most of the rest of the quarry workings. This suggests that the practice of inscribing blanks was restricted to a single, brief period when the two excavations were active.

None of the vessel blanks found in the alabaster gypsum quarry at Umm el-Sawan are inscribed, and none of the finished vessels from tombs have crude signs like those found at Gebel Manzal el-Seyl. In the latter case, none would be expected because the markings, if they ever existed, would have been removed when the blanks were carved into finished vessels.

The ∩ and ⊓ signs are clearly analogous to the so-called 'potter's marks' seen on the exteriors of some ceramic vessels. Such marks were first used in the Predynastic Period and continued to be applied down to the Roman Period, but they were never more frequently or systematically employed than during Dynasty 0 and the First Dynasty.[13] In his study of potter's marks on ceramics from the First to Third Dynasties, van den Brink[14] recognized two groups of single and multiple signs that include either ∩ or ⊓, his groups VII and XXI, respectively. Of the 155 pots in group VII, for example, ∩ occurs alone 9% of the time and with one or two other signs the rest of the time. Of the 56 pots in group XXI, 36% have ⊓ alone and the remainder have ⊓ with one or two other signs. The solitary ∩ sign also occurs on the back of some Third Dynasty faience tiles from Aswan.[15]

There has been much speculation on the meaning of potter's marks on ceramic vessels, and some of the same hypotheses can also be considered for the stone vessel blanks. The ∩ sign is the same as the hieroglyph for the numeral 10 (*mḏ*) and this has led both van den

[13] E. C. M. van den Brink, 'Corpus and Numerical Evaluation of the Thinite Potmarks', in R. Friedman and B. Adams (eds), *The Followers of Horus: Studies Dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman 1944-1990* (Oxford, 1992), 265–96.

[14] Van den Brink, 'Thinite Potmarks', in Friedman and Adams (eds), *Followers of Horus*, figs. 9 and 12.

[15] G. Dreyer, *Elephantine*, VIII: *Der Tempel der Satet, die Funde der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches* (AV 39; Mainz am Rhein, 1986), 89–93, figs. 51–2 and pls. 50–1.

Brink and Dreyer[16] to suggest that this symbol may have been used as an accounting device to mark every tenth blank produced in a particular quarry excavation. The resemblance to the *mḏ* sign, however, may only be a coincidence with 𓍿, and its variant 𓍾, being a non-hieroglyphic symbol denoting something else. It cannot represent, as has been suggested for ceramic pots, either contents or volumetric capacity as the blanks are not hollowed out and are, in any case, of different sizes. It also cannot refer to the quarry locality because the same sign is found on ceramic vessels produced elsewhere. Following the arguments of van den Brink[17] for markings on ceramic vessels, the 𓍿 sign could instead be a toponym for the administrative region or centre in the Nile Valley that operated the quarry and to which the blanks were taken for further carving. Unfortunately, it is not known what geographic area such a toponym might denote. It has, however, been observed by van den Brink[18] that both 𓍿 and 𓍾 occur on ceramic vessels found in tombs of the Abydos and Saqqara–Abu Rawash areas, with 𓍿 more common in the former and 𓍾 predominating in the latter. Some of the pottery sherds found at the Dynasty 0 to First Dynasty site (WAH-29) in nearby Wadi Abu Had bore potter's marks[19] but none included the 𓍿 or 𓍾 signs.

Missing features

Nowhere on or around Gebel Manzal el-Seyl have any pottery sherds been found. Their absence suggests that animal-skin bags, rather than ceramic vessels, were used to store and transport water. There is also no indication of a nearby source of water for the quarrymen. A well could have been dug in one of the adjacent wadis and if so, it is now buried under sand and gravel deposited by the innumerable floods that have swept down these wadis over the ages. It seems a well must have once existed because there is no nearby source of surface water.

Also absent from the Gebel Manzal el-Seyl area are the remains of stone huts for the quarrymen. If these had been in the wadis, then all traces could easily have been swept away by floods. The threat of flash floods, however, would have been well understood by the quarrymen and so one would expect that their huts, if any were ever built, would have been on the terraces that are out of reach of the floods. The fact that no such ruins have been found suggests that the quarrymen lived instead in either tents or brush shelters as the modern-day Bedouin sometimes do. There are four artificial stone rings on the lower flanks of the ridge (the R symbols in fig. 2). These are roughly ovoid to circular structures with diameters between 2 and 2.5 m, and are constructed from a single, loose course of cobbles and boulders. The stone rings are perhaps tent weights but, clearly, there are not enough of them to have accommodated all the men who worked at the quarry. It seems more likely that these structures are the more recent work of Bedouin.

Age of the quarry

There was nothing found in the quarry that can be used for dating: no pottery sherds are present and the dolerite tools are not diagnostic of any particular period. The inscribed signs on the vessel blanks are certainly consistent with an Early Dynastic age but are also

[16] Personal communications.

[17] Van den Brink, in Friedman and Adams (eds), *Followers of Horus*, 274–5.

[18] Personal communication.

[19] Bomann, *Report to Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities*, 5.

not diagnostic. There can be no doubt, however, that the Gebel Manzal el-Seyl quarry dates from the First to Third Dynasties because this was the only time that tuff and tuffaceous limestone vessels were manufactured and used for burial offerings.[20]

Transport of the vessel blanks

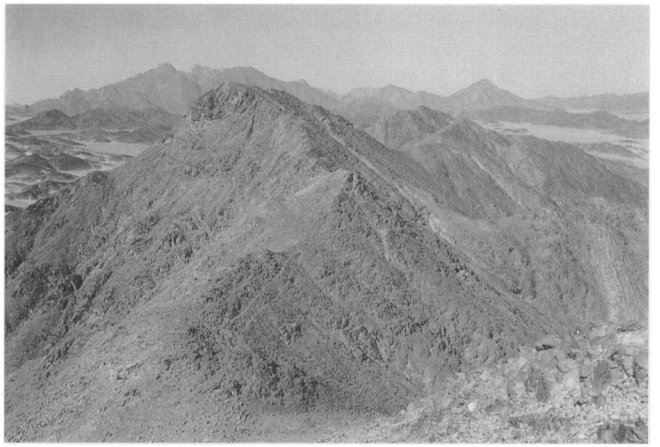
The vessel blanks were carried, probably by donkeys, across the Eastern Desert to the Nile Valley where the final carving and polishing was done. Early Dynastic cemeteries are clustered in two regions: (1) in Lower Egypt, including the Delta and the Nile Valley between Cairo in the north and Atfih in the south, and (2) in the Nile Valley in Upper Egypt between Girga in the north and Edfu south of Luxor. The Upper Egyptian cemeteries are by far the closest to Gebel Manzal el-Seyl. This being the case, the vessel blanks were probably brought to the Nile Valley at Qena by the shortest, traversable route (see the inset map in fig. 1). From Gebel Manzal el-Seyl this route would pass through the mountains to the west by following either Wadi Mellaha or its tributary, Wadi Mellaha Umm Barmil (the distances are the same for both). These connect over low divides with Wadi Sobir which then leads to Wadi Qena. The distance from the quarry to the confluence of wadis Qena and Sobir is about 50 km. From this point the donkey caravan could follow Wadi Qena southwards for about 160 km until it reached the Nile River at Qena. Alternatively, the distance could have been shortened by a few tens of kilometres by taking a more direct route between Gebel Manzal el-Seyl and Qena. This would involve following a series of smaller, interconnected wadis that lead southwestwards from Gebel Sobir to Wadi Qena. Once at the Nile River, the vessel blanks would be taken, probably by water, to the various workshops. These were perhaps near the cemeteries, especially those at Abydos and Naga el-Deir where most of the Early Dynastic vessels in Upper Egypt have been found.

The only feasible alternative to using Wadi Qena would be to proceed from Wadi Sobir across Wadi Qena to Wadi Assiut which empties into the Nile River at Assiut (fig. 1). This route is a few tens of kilometres longer and would also have involved more lengthy river transport to the workshops unless the final destination was the Abydos/Naga el-Deir area or Lower Egypt.

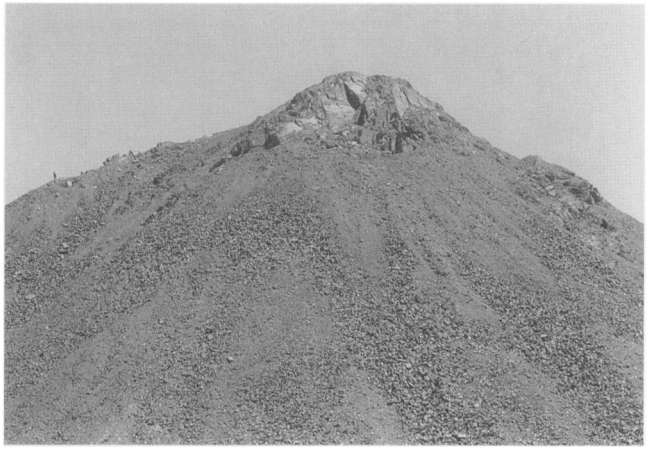
At present, it is not known where most of the tuff and tuffaceous limestone vessels have been found, but el-Khouli[21] provides a clue. Nearly all the vessels he reports as 'volcanic ash' (which are probably mostly vitric-crystal tuff and tuffaceous limestone) come from Abydos, Naga el-Deir and, to a lesser extent, Saqqara. Thus, both the Wadi Qena and Wadi Assiut routes appear to be suitable for the transport of vessel blanks and perhaps both were used.

[20] See Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 26–7, for 'tuff' and el-Khouli, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, *passim*, for 'volcanic ash'.

[21] El-Khouli, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*.



1. Gebel Manzal el-Seyl, looking west toward the central summit with Gebel Mellaha in the background



2. Central summit quarry on Gebel Manzal el-Seyl. Note the abundant tailings on the slope below the quarry

3. Two-handed maul (under the rock hammer which is 28 cm long)

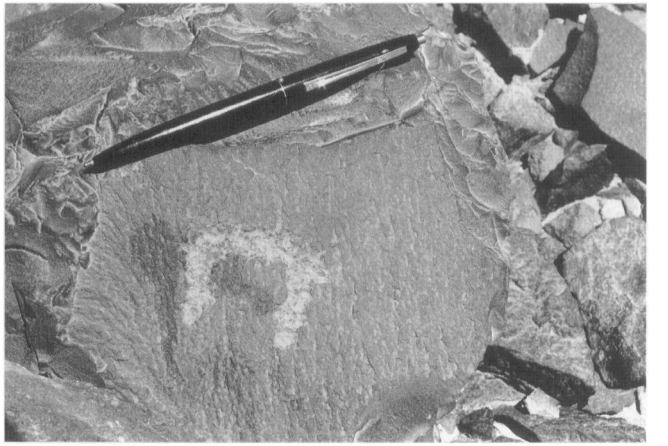
4. One-handed mauls, the middle one is notched to take a wooden haft. The pen is 15 cm long

GEBEL MANZAL EL-SEYL QUARRY (pp. 33–42)

1. Block of tuff showing where a maul was used (arrow) to separate the block from the bedrock along a bounding fracture

2. Examples of vessel blanks, including the Type I cylinder (above pencil on left), Type IIa bowl (above pencil on right), and Type IIb dish (below pencil). The pencil is 14 cm long

3. Workshop on Gebel Manzal el-Seyl with numerous vessel blanks



4. Vessel blank with inscribed on its top. The pen is 15 cm long

INSCRIBED BLOCKS FROM TOMB CHAPELS AT HAWARA*

By ELISA FIORE-MAROCHETTI

Publication of inscribed and decorated Middle Kingdom blocks found by Petrie in the area around the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Hawara, together with discussion of the religious concepts reflected in some of the texts.

THE Twelfth–Thirteenth Dynasty cemeteries of Hawara lie in the area termed the Crocodile Cemetery, north and east of the pyramid of Amenemhat III. Most of the tombs in the north cemetery were reused between the Twentieth and the Twenty-sixth Dynasties. Petrie excavated at least ten such tombs in 1889. Nothing of the Middle Kingdom architecture remained intact but fragments of stonework did survive, including some from the tomb of Amenysenebu, some from the tomb of Khentkhetiemsaef, some from the tomb of Renefankh, and one block, not published by Petrie, whose provenance from the same cemetery can be deduced from the Ashmolean Museum files.[1] The superstructures of these tombs were once free-standing single chamber stone chapels oriented to an astronomical north–south. Some had a sloping corridor starting to the north of the superstructure while others combined a vertical shaft, also starting to the north, with a sloping passage leading straight to the rock-cut burial chamber. A single chamber within the superstructure, located above the burial chamber, seems to have been the offering place. The tomb chapel of Amenysenebu, who was an official of the temple of Senwosret II at el-Lahun, and possibly lived at the time of Khendjer,[2] had a superstructure of this design together with a sloping corridor leading to the burial chamber. From the decorated superstructure, Petrie found only a few loose reliefs and inscribed blocks that had been thrown into the tomb shaft.

Two fragments from the chapel of the *jmy-r st* Khentkhetiemsaef,[3] the fragment without tomb provenance, and three from the chapel of the *mty n sꜣ* Amenysenebu are now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (numbers 1889.1018, 1019 (Khentkhetiemsaef); 1889.1020 (without tomb provenance); 1021, 1022, and 1034 (Amenysenebu)). The present location of the two fragments from the tomb of the *jry ʿt* Renefankh[4] is unknown. All of the Ashmolean reliefs are very close in style and paleography, with scenes and inscriptions in sunk relief.

* I am grateful to Helen Whitehouse for allowing me to study the blocks, for providing me with photographs, and for granting me permission to publish them, and to John Baines for discussing various aspects. I would also like to thank Katja Goebs and Geraldine Tomlin for their help.

[1] W. M. F. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* (BSAE 2; London, 1890), 18, pls. vii, 4, 8, 10; xi, 2–4, 5–7 (identified as belonging to 'tomb V' on pp. 22–3 of Petrie Notebook 39C), 9 and pl. x, 1.

[2] Listed in D. Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.–16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.): Dossiers 1–796* (ÄA 41; Wiesbaden, 1984), 108, D 125. However, his identity is uncertain.

[3] Listed in Franke, *Personendaten*, 291, D 471 (end of the Twelfth–Thirteenth Dynasty). The same name occurs on an offering table from Abydos (Cairo CG 23060). The name is discussed by P. Vernus, 'Sur une particularité de l'onomastique du Moyen Empire', *RdE* 22 (1970), 155–7.

[4] Listed in Franke, *Personendaten*, 245, D 380 (Amenemhat III–Thirteenth Dynasty).

Offering scenes

The rare Middle Kingdom examples of offering scenes from tomb walls include those of procession, the slaughtering of animals, and the deceased before the offering table.[5] Block 1889.1018 (pl. VI, 1; H. 0.70 × W. 0.23 × D. 0.12 m) depicts the slaughter of a long-horned ox, shown to the right of a large offering table with a jar and round loaf positioned on top. Part of a text on the left ends [...] *n tpj*; this probably continued to the left above the slaughtering scene, where traces of two signs, one perhaps *nfr*, are visible. The text on the right, inscribed in a vertical column, reads ←↓: [...*jry*] *ꜥt wdpw Rnj-snb.f* [...], 'storekeeper and butler Renisenbef'. On the far right of the block are an arm and two protruding elements of uncertain interpretation that are probably instruments of some sort (Petrie described them as 'man splitting fish').[6]

Block 1889.1019 (pl. VI, 2; H. 0.215 × W. 0.675 × D. 0.11 m) shows the upper body of a man leading a short-horned ox with his left hand. Parts of two birds, or possibly hieroglyphic signs for *w* and *m*, are visible in the right upper corner (Petrie read the various signs set in a column reading right to left: (1) [...]*w m*[...] (2) *wrš* / *m rᶜ* [...],[7] but the second half of the column is no longer legible).

Block 1889.1021 (pl. VII, 1; H. 0.35 × W. 0.55 × D. 0.07 m) shows Amenysenebu facing right and seated before a table piled with offerings. He wears a long striated wig and false beard, a carefully incised collar, and a short kilt with pleated triangular front projection. Above the table are four lettuce plants interspersed with three honey pots.[8] Above Amenysenebu are the ends of four columns of text reading↓→: (1) [...]*m* (2) [...] *ḥ*ꜣ*ty-*ꜥ (3) [..*ḥry*]*-tp qstj* (4) [...] *Jṯ-t*ꜣ*wy*, yielding '(1) [...] .... (2) [...] the count, (3) [...] chief of sculptors, (4) [...] Itjtawy'. Before him the text runs: *ṯ*ꜣ *bd šmᶜw*, 'pellets: Upper Egyptian natron'; *ṯ*ꜣ *bd mḥw*, 'pellets: Lower Egyptian natron'. On the right of the offering table are partial figures of two men, one above the other in sub-registers, facing left. Only the lower half of the top figure is preserved; he wears a short kilt with an overlap. The phrase *šdt ḥb*, 'invoking the festival (meal)' is inscribed before him. Of the second, the head and part of the upper body survive; he wears a short curled wig and a sash crosses his chest. Before him is cut: *rdjt qbḥw* [...], 'giving libation [...]'. A horizontal band between the figures bears the text: *ᶜ*ꜣ*mw wdpw Mnw-nfr* [...], 'the Asiatic, the butler Minnefer [...]'. The occurrence of Egyptian names borne by Asiatics is frequent at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and in the Thirteenth. They generally belonged to Asiatic people who settled in the north-eastern Delta at least from the reign of Amenemhat III onwards, or to peasants who were descendants of Asiatic soldiers, and thus probably born in Egypt. They were mainly employed on the land or by the treasury, supplying commodities for the Residence, or as household members.[9]

[5] The examples from the tombs of Beni Hasan, Meir, and el-Bersheh are grouped in J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, V (Paris, 1964), 234-50.

[6] Petrie Notebook 39C.

[7] Ibid.

[8] The same style of representation of honey pots and plants occurs on the Petrie Museum London stela UC 16808 (probably royal and attributed to the Thirteenth Dynasty): H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, II (London, 1979), 16, n. 72; pl. 13.9.

[9] W. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446)* (Brooklyn, 1955), 92–4; G. Posener 'Les asiatiques en Égypte sous les XIIe et XIIIe Dynasties', *Syria* 34 (1957), 154 n. 1, 163 n. 3; S. Quirke, 'The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom', *RdE* 37 (1986), 120; id., *The Administration of Egypt in the*

Cosmological scenes

Both the substructures and the superstructures of major Middle Kingdom tombs[10] were oriented to the cardinal points by means of astronomical techniques that integrated them with the cosmological function of the tombs as a whole. Cosmological sections of the solar mysteries are inscribed on the walls of the funerary chapels of tombs, appearing there in non-royal contexts at least from the late Twelfth Dynasty. The group of blocks studied here bear fragments of such texts.

Block 1889.1020 (pl. VII, 2; H. 0.14 × W. 0.41 × D. 0.06 m) shows the bow of a boat and part of its hull. On the deck are the lower limbs of two standing men facing to the right, with what seems to be a box-like shrine or stand positioned between them and the steering oar. The end of a caption, an inscription, or perhaps just the name of the goddess *Nwt* is written behind the boat. Middle Kingdom boats have a nearly horizontal bow with the stern rising quite steeply, often ending in a curved stern-piece that supports the loom of the steering-oar.[11] The boat depicted is very probably funerary, because no rowers appear at the bow. Boats shown with a coffin or a shrine and standing men, but without oars and towed by a sailing boat, usually depict pilgrimages.[12] This relief may represent either the funerary boat sailing the Nile from a place of pilgrimage to the tombs, or a celestial bark.[13]

On the left side of the block one can see a foot of a larger right-facing figure which was perhaps a standing deity, in this case Nut, if the caption in front refers to the figure, and part of a pedestal with a sloping front in the form of a *mꜣʿt*-sign. Min or Osiris may appear upon a plinth with this shape. This area is separated from the rest of the scene by an incised line that could be part of a staff or standard or simply a separating line.[14]

Block 1889.1022 (pl. VIII, 1; H. 0.45 × W. 0.26 × D. 0.12 m) bears part of the spell normally associated with the west face of pyramidia along its top. From left to right it reads:

Late Middle Kingdom (London, 1990), 103–4. W. K. Simpson listed and discussed Middle Kingdom writings of Itjtawy in 'Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty: I. The Residence of Itj-towy', *JARCE* 2 (1963), 54–5.

[10] J. P. Allen, 'Reading a Pyramid', in C. Berger, G. Clerc and N. Grimal (eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant* (BdE 106; Cairo, 1994), I, 5–28.

[11] E.g. B. Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs* (London, 1970), 83–6; D. Jones, *Boats* (London, 1995), 45.

[12] For the pilgrimage to Abydos, see examples in J. Vandier, *Manuel* V, 886–925; A. Göttlicher and W. Werner, *Schiffsmodelle im Alten Aegypten* (Wiesbaden, 1971), pl. xxvii. For the pilgrimage to Sais and Buto, see N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I and his Wife, Senet* (London, 1920), 20, pl. xix; F. Ll. Griffith and P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, II (ASE 2; London, 1893), 20, pl. ix (8).

[13] Standing men on a boat could also represent the *jḫmw-sk* as the 'crew of Re'. See R. Krauss, *Astronomische Konzepte und Jenseitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten* (ÄA 59; Wiesbaden, 1997), 143. S. Hassan (*Excavations at Gîza*, VI:I *The Solar-boats of Khafra, their Origin and Development, together with the Mythology of the Universe which they are Supposed to Traverse*, (Cairo, 1946), 42–55), discussed the solar character of the four boats around the Great Pyramid that are oriented according to the cardinal points, while J. Černý ('A Note on the Recently Discovered Boat of Cheops', *JEA* 41 (1955), 75–9), considered the existence of a fifth, for the pilgrimage or for the transport of the funeral, aligned to the causeway from the cultivation to the Great Pyramid.

[14] Divine figures appear on non-royal stelae from the reign of Senwosret III. The gods most commonly shown being worshipped by non-royal people in the Middle Kingdom are Osiris, Min, Ptah and Wepwawet: see M. Malaise, 'Inventaire des stèles égyptiennes du Moyen Empire porteuses de représentations divines', *SAK* 9 (1981), 259–83. For the plinth in the shape of the sign *mꜣʿt*, see id., 'Les représentations de divinités sur les stèles du Moyen Empire', in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin Emerito Oblata*, (Acta Iranica 23 = Hommages et Opera Minora 9; Leiden, 1984), 392–420, e.g. Louvre stela C12 of Amenyseneb (W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos* (New Haven, 1974), ANOC 58.2; time of Khendjer).

[*ḏd mdw ḫwj jmjwt tpj ḏw.f ḥ3 J*]*mnysnbw dj.f ḫnm* [*sw smjt jmntt...*], ['Speech to be recited: the two arms of Imiut, he who is upon his mountain, are around A]menysenebu, that the [Western Necropolis...] enfold him'. The 'pyramidion' formula derives from royal funerary traditions and is likely to have been inscribed upon most Middle Kingdom pyramidia. Other surviving examples are on stelae and sarcophagi.[15] Below, in eight columns reading right to left, is part of the text of an appeal to the living: (1) [...]...? [...] (2) *w ḥr nw* [...] (3) *Sbk šdt Jmny*[...] (4) *nb ḥm k3* [...] (5) *njwwt swḏ.ṯn* [...] (6) *.ṯn ḏd.ṯn* [*ḥtp*]*-dj-njswt* [...] (7) *jḫw 3pdw šs mnḫt n k3 n mty n* [*s3*...] (8) [...*jrrt*?]*.f ḫft* ?[...], '(1) [...] (2) [...] (3) Sobek of Crocodilopolis, Ameny[senebu...] (4) every [...], every *ka*-priest [...] (5) towns, you will hand on [your office to] your [children if] (6) you say an offering formula [...] (7) of oxen and fowl, calcite and linen, for the *ka* of the controller of [the phyle..] (8) [.... ....]'.[16]

The final block to be discussed here, 1889.1034 (pl. VIII, 2–3), is 0.47 m high, 0.33 m wide and 0.10 m deep, and bears part of a religious text mentioning Re. The horizontal line of inscription running along the upper edge of the more fully decorated side contains the offering formula (a): *ḥtp-dj-njswt Gb* [*nb t3wy wn.f ḥr*...], 'a boon which the king gives (to) Geb [lord of the Two Lands, may he open the sight...]'. The integration of the text parallels the east wall of the coffin-shaped mastaba of Khentkhetiemsaef in the cemetery north of the pyramid of Senwosret III at Dahshur.[17] The inscription is part of CT Spell 788, which is a section of the ritual text of the 'Opening of the Mouth', and also occurs on pyramidia, on coffins, on private stelae and on an offering table from Saqqara.[18] Most of the examples of the formula are inscribed on the east side of the tomb and all the examples are to be dated after the reign of Senwosret II.

It is worth considering the reasons for the naming of Geb in the offering formula on Ashmolean 1889.1034 (pl. VIII, 2). Arielle P. Kozloff[19] discusses the significance of Geb with relation to *mskt*, the Milky Way, which she suggests was a celestial form of Nut, the night sky. Geb would be identified with the constellation of Cygnus, floating in the celestial river of the Milky Way (stars, like the sun, appear to move through the sky in an east–west direction). The east side of the chapels was where offerings were placed: this may explain the mention of the god of earthly products in this position together with his stellar orientation.

To the right of this block face is a vertical column of text reading left to right with part of a common formula (b): *jm3ḫj ḥr Jnpw tpj ḏw.f nb t3 ḏsr mtj n* [*s3*...], 'the revered one before Anubis who is upon his mountain, lord of the necropolis, the controller of the [phyle ...]'. These two inscriptions frame a scene, of which a section preserved in the lower right corner shows the upper part of a figure of Amenysenebu, facing left. He wears close-cropped hair or a tight-fitting wig and an incised broad collar. Above his figure, a partially lost inscription in vertical columns reads, from left to right (c): [...] (1) *šsp.k t.k pn jm.f Rᶜ js* (2) *3ḫtj nb 3ḫt ḫnj.k msktt* (3) *mtj n s3 Jmnysnbw* [...], '[...] (1) may you receive this your bread from him like Re, (2) he of the horizon, lord of the horizon; may you travel (in) the night bark: (3)

[15] G. Lapp, 'Die Stelenkapelle des *Kmz* aus der 13. Dynastie, *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 250–1. See H. Willems, '*Chests of Life*' (Leiden, 1988), 168–9, and G. Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie* (SAGA 7; Heidelberg, 1993), 226–8, with examples on coffins and revision of the dating.

[16] As in the stela BM EA 101 (R. Parkinson,*Voices from Ancient Egypt* (London, 1991), 139–42) and in *Urk.* IV, 48, 5.

[17] Dahshur Mastaba 11 of Khentkhetiemsaef. In J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour,* I (Vienna, 1895), 28, fig. 47; Cairo CG 1473: L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, I (CG; Berlin, 1937), 160; E. Fiore-Marochetti, 'On the Design, Symbolism, and Dating of Some XIIth Dynasty Tomb Superstructures', *GM* 144 (1995), 49.

[18] P. Vernus, 'Deux inscriptions de la XIIème dynastie provenant de Saqqara', *RdE* 28 (1976), 123.

[19] 'Star-Gazing in Ancient Egypt', in Berger, Clerc and Grimal (eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant* IV, 169–76.

the controller of the phyle Amenysenebu [...]'. The concepts manifest in this passage are expressed in full in several spells in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts (e.g. PT Spell 473 § 926; CT Spell 839 §§ 44–5). Different sections of Pyramid Texts related to the ascent of the deceased to the sky in the *msktt*-bark and to his becoming a star occur in the subterranean part of the most important non-royal tombs in the nearby Twelfth Dynasty necropoleis, such as those of Senwosret-ankh at Lisht and Sa-aset at Dahshur.[20]

The orientation of funerary structures in Egypt probably has a cosmological significance. The concept that the deceased should ascend to the sky as Osiris, travelling through the underworld in the *msktt*-bark, occurs in the Pyramid Texts (e.g. PT Spell 513 §§ 1171–2). Coffin Texts and stelae[21] constitute the majority of the surviving evidence for Middle Kingdom references to the *mʿnḏt*- and *msktt*-barks. However, the word *msktt* occurs on a fragment, possibly from a religious text, from Dahshur Mastaba 2, dated to the time of Senwosret III.[22]

The *msktt* is usually the bark of the sun god at sunset (west), and he travels upon it in his nightly journey through the underworld. The *mʿnḏt* is his daytime bark, associated with the east. The two barks are also associated with the north and the south, the *msktt* often being the bark for travel towards the north of the sky.[23] While the sun's principal apparent motion is east–west, it also moves west–east, north–south and south–north. Barks are represented in the depictions of the four cardinal points on the east face of the pyramidion of Khendjer.[24] The juxtaposed barks do not depict simply sunrise or sunset but represent solar motion above, below and around the earth. Barks making the circuit with the sun are later depicted in temples and tombs and on coffins.[25] Bread and meal offerings travel upon these two barks (CT VI 287–8, Spells 661–2), and they can also represent the eyes of the dead (CT VI 124, Spell 531).

[20] W. Hayes, *The Texts in the Mastabeh of Se'n-wosret-ankh at Lisht* (MMA Egyptian Expedition 12; New York, 1937), cols. 312–60, 379, 419–20, 432–5; J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894–1895* (Vienna, 1903), 78–85, col. 23.

[21] E.g. Boston MFA 72.766a (late Twelfth Dynasty): R. Leprohon, *Stelae*, I (CAA Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Fasc. 2; Mainz am Rhein, 1985), 1,1/5; Munich GL WAF 35 of Wepwawetaa, from Abydos (reign of Amenemhat II): K. Dyroff and B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine,* II (Strasbourg, 1904), 3–7, pl. ii; K. Sethe, *Erlüterungen zu den Aegyptischen Lesestücken: Texte des Mittleren Reiches* (Leipzig, 1927), 74, line 7; Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, ANOC 20.2, pl. 30. This last example is in the context of wishes for the afterlife in the Abydos Formula; see M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom* (OBO 84; Göttingen, 1988), 60; Cairo CG 20024 from Akhmim: H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, I (CG; Berlin, 1902), 26; also discussed by J. Yoyotte, 'Les pèlerinages dans l'Égypte ancienne', in *Les pèlerinages* (Sources Orientales 3; Paris, 1960), 36.

[22] De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour* I, 21, fig. 26.

[23] J. Assmann, 'Sonnengott', *LÄ* V (1984), 1087–8; CT II 150, Spell 129, CT V 212b–214c Spell 407, 225d Spell 408, where the southern and the northern sky are mentioned; see K. Sethe, *Altägyptische Vorstellung vom Lauf der Sonne*, (Berlin, 1928), 25–6; E. Thomas, 'Solar Barks Prow to Prow', *JEA* 42 (1956), 77. The solar cycle with the *mʿnḏt*- and *msktt*-barks, again with a south–north motion, was discussed by Sethe, *Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne*, 21–6. His interpretation is revised by Krauss (*Astronomische Konzepte*, 131); see also Hassan, *Gîza* VI, 46–7; H. Schäfer, *Ägyptische und heutige Kunst und Weltgebäude der alten Ägypter* (Berlin, 1928), 112; and id., 'Altägyptische Bilder der auf- und untergehenden Sonne', *ZÄS* 71 (1935), 15–38; Thomas, *JEA* 42, 65–79. E. Hornung, 'Die Tragweite der Bilder—altägyptische Bildaussagen', *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 48 (1979 [1981]), 186, extends the arguments of Schäfer's critique of Sethe. The images in question combine the rising and the setting sun in its cycle through the sky and the netherworld. However, neither Schäfer nor Hornung discusses the north–south motion, which was briefly considered by D. Kurth, 'Zur Nord–Süd Fahrt des Sonnengottes', *GM* 83 (1984), 39–41. See also M. C. Betrò, *Saqqara,* III: *I testi solari del portale di Pascerientaisu* (*BN2*) (Pisa, 1990), 57–8.

[24] G. Jéquier, *Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire* (Cairo, 1933), 21, pl. vi.

[25] Thomas, *JEA* 42, 68–9.

On the narrow face of Ashmolean 1889.1034 (pl. VIII, 3) a single word is preserved from a horizontal line of inscription running along the top (d): [...] *ḥrt*, 'sky'. This could be the end of the inscription normally associated with the east face of pyramidia. However, below, in a vertical column read right to left is (e): *ḏd mdw jn ḫ3-b3.s ḥtp.kwj ḥr.s mrj.n.j mtj n* [*s3*...], 'speech by She of the thousand *bas*: I am content with it, O one whom I love, the controller of the [phyle ...]'.

This speech and the *ḫ3-b3.s* are normally sited to the north on coffins and pyramidia.[26] In the Pyramid Texts, *ḫ3-b3.s* is used of the northern starry sky, which implies that the stars are the souls of the dead, at this date presumably only the royal dead. This section of the spell has a parallel in the inscriptions in the burial chamber of the New Kingdom tomb of Bes at Kom Firin,[27] which are laid out in vertical columns and horizontal lines on each wall of the chamber as if it were a coffin or sarcophagus. The west wall of the tomb of Bes has the offering formula with Geb, while *ḫ3-b3.s* is mentioned on the north wall. Only el-Lisht coffin L1L2 mentions the *ḫ3-b3.s* in CT VII 1, Spell 788 with the *jḫmw-sk*, which are also northern stars, but differently positioned in relation to the *ḫ3-b3.s*.[28]

The speech of 'She of the thousand *bas*' that, as we have seen, normally faces north, is difficult to interpret. It could refer to the Souls of Heliopolis, as in CT VII 258–61, Spell 1030, and the suffix *.s*, 'she', could refer to Hathor, the mistress of the northern sky (see CT IV 177j–178a). Alternatively it could refer to Wadjet, who dwells in the starry sky (CT VII 167), to Neith, or more simply to Nut as part of the northern sky, since *ḫ3-b3.s* occurs as an epithet of Nut in PT §§ 784–5.[29] James P. Allen[30] sees the goddess in more general terms:

> Nut can be envisioned in geographic terms. Like the sky she is above the earth, supported by the atmosphere, Shu, beneath her. She has both a north and an east side as well as doorways and routes. There are stars in their midst in connection with which she is said to have a thousand manifestations (*ḫ3-b3.s*). Like the sky Nut is described as water.

The north–south orientation of the chapel of Amenysenebu could have been set astronomically. The *ḫ3-b3.s* could also be a constellation, with a fixed position in the north of the hemisphere. The *ḫ3-b3.s* seems to indicate one limit of the sky, where the deceased's jour-

[26] See the examples on the Late Period coffins in I. Nagy, 'Remarques sur quelques formules stellaires des textes religieux d'époque Saïte', *Studia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1977), 102–17; the pyramidion of Amenemhat III: Dieter Arnold, *Der Pyramidenbezirk des Königs Amenemhat III. in Dahschur*, I: *Die Pyramide* (AV 53; Mainz am Rhein, 1987), pl. 39; the pyramidion of Khendjer: Jéquier, *Deux pyramides,* 21 fig. 17, pl. vi.

[27] M. Basta, 'Excavations West of Kôm Firin 1966–1967', *CdE* 54 (1979), 190–1, figs. 5–7.

[28] J. E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht* (MIFAO 6; Cairo, 1902), 77, fig. 96; V. L. Davies, 'Identifying Ancient Egyptian Constellations', *Archaeoastronomy* 9, Suppl. *Journal of the History of Astronomy* 16 (1985), 102–4; A. Piankoff, 'The Sky-goddess Nut and the Night Journey of the Sun', *JEA* 20 (1934), 57–61. For the *jḫmw-sk* north of the ecliptic and *S3ḥ*-Orion and the *Dw3t* in the southern sky, south of the ecliptic, see Krauss, *Astronomische Konzepte*, 144, 155, 214.

[29] R. O. Faulkner, 'The King and the Star-religion in the Pyramid Texts', *JNES* 25 (1966), 160. In CT Spell 1030, the 'Spell for Navigating in the Great Bark of Re' comes at the beginning of the Book of the Two Ways. Faulkner (*The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, III (Warminster, 1978), 128 n. 1) translated the singular feminine suffix pronoun *.s* as referring in anticipation to *Iwnw*, 'Heliopolis', which is feminine in gender. For Hathor as goddess of the stars in the sky, see S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)* (MÄS 4; Berlin, 1963), 99–102. For the cult of Neith and Hathor, see also S. Schott, 'Ein Kult der Göttin Neith', in H. Ricke, *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf*, II (BÄBA 8; Cairo, 1969), 137; R. el-Sayed, *La déesse Neith de Saïs* (BdE 86; Cairo, 1982), 69–71.

[30] 'The Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts', in W. K. Simpson (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (YES 3; New Haven, 1989), 15.

ney through the *Dwꜣt* ends, having started from *Sꜣḥ*, Orion. The same pattern occurs in the inscription on the north face of the pyramidia of Amenemhat III and Khendjer. The first reads: 'Speech to be recited: may the *ba* of the Dual King Nimaatre be raised higher than Orion, may he pass through the Duat. Re-Harakhty—may he establish the son of Re of his body, Amenemhat, at the head of the *ḫꜣ-bꜣ(w).s*. Mekheneith says: may she rejoice with it...'[31]

I suggest that the siting of the inscriptions in the chapel of Amenysenebu incorporated the same cosmological conceptions traditionally expressed in the Middle Kingdom 'pyramidion' texts. On the east side of Ashmolean 1889.1034 the *msktt*-bark ended its nightly journey from west to east, from sunset to sunrise. The inscription runs from south to north, which is also one of the directions in which the *msktt* sails in the nocturnal sky. On this mastaba, the side of the block with the speech of *ḫꜣ-bꜣ.s* is very likely to have been part of one of the door-jambs on the east side of the chapel, as the position of the formula naming Geb suggests, at the entrance to the offering-chamber and oriented to the north. Ashmolean Museum 1889.1021, bearing an offering scene, would also have been on the east side, with 1889.1022 as part of the west side, positioned towards the realm of Anubis.

The orientation of the inscriptions in the tomb superstructure symbolised the distribution of celestial bodies and reflected the deceased's aspiration to participate in the cosmic cycle. The placement of scenes and inscriptions in the tomb of Amenysenebu shows a rare instance of a monument incorporating depictions of the funerary conceptions and solar beliefs that were expressed verbally in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts. The texts were related to the design of the tomb superstructure, whose form was symbolic of the cosmos. This decoration was both an indication of the meaning of the superstructures and probably also showed that rules of decorum had changed from the reign of Senwosret III, so that this religious matter could be shown in a way that was not possible earlier. This kind of text was not included in the decoration of tomb superstructures in Upper and Middle Egypt, pointing to an additional development further north in the area of the royal necropolis. This has to be related both to the closeness to the royal pyramids and to the design of the free-standing tomb superstructures: the best surviving example of this tomb symbolism is the coffin-shaped mastaba of the embalmer Khentkhetiemsaef.[32]

Jéquier[33] thought that pyramidion texts originated from coffins and were later adapted to pyramidia. Evidence shows that they appeared first in the royal context (but not on the sarcophagi of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty) and probably from the reign of Senwosret II in the so-called courtly type coffins and sarcophagi. There is an early example of CT Spell 788 adapted for a sarcophagus of a member of the royal entourage of Senwosret II which is truncated at the end, showing a reuse of a copied formula.[34] The later stela of

[31] Arnold, *Der Pyramidenbezirk*, 16, pls. 38–9; Jéquier, *Deux pyramides*, 19, 21–5, no. 23 and fig. 17. Jéquier (p. 24, no. 3) translated the caption ending of the north face of the pyramidion of Khendjer '... Mehenouit dit: ...', reading *Mḫnt*, the goddess who personifies the northern region of the world. Arnold (p. 16) translates the north side of the pyramidion of Amenemhat III ... *ḫꜣ-bꜣ.s mḥty N(t) ḥtpt.s*.... '....des nördlichen Sternenheeres. Neith ist zufrieden damit'. Jéquier's reading is supported by parallels on coffins such as Cairo CG 28030: P. Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, I (CG; Cairo, 1904); el Lisht coffin L1L1: S. Schott, '*Rs-N.t* und *Mḥ-Nt* als Häuser der Neith', *RdE* 19 (1967), 99–110. See now P. Dorman, 'The Inscription of the Model Coffins of Wahnoferhotep and Bener', in Dieter Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I* (New York, 1988), Appendix 1, 147–9. The position of the *ḫꜣ-bꜣ.s* on the north is clear enough from the context.

[32] For its symbolism, see Fiore-Marochetti, *GM* 144, 43–52.

[33] Jéquier, *Deux pyramides*, 25.

[34] The sarcophagus of Imenemhat-seneb, Florence Inv. N. 2181: E. Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Antichità*

Nebipusenwosret reveals an established tradition of the stellar beliefs for the afterlife among the court officials.[35]

The decoration of the small chapel of the controller of the phyle Amenysenebu, apart from being the only surviving instance of such a use of texts in a tomb chapel so far known, also provides a link between the tradition of the texts and the subsequent, highly developed funerary and solar texts of the New Kingdom, found still later on stelae, coffins and obelisks and on the walls of temples and tombs.[36]

Egizie, I (Rome, 1887), 438–9, n. 1704.

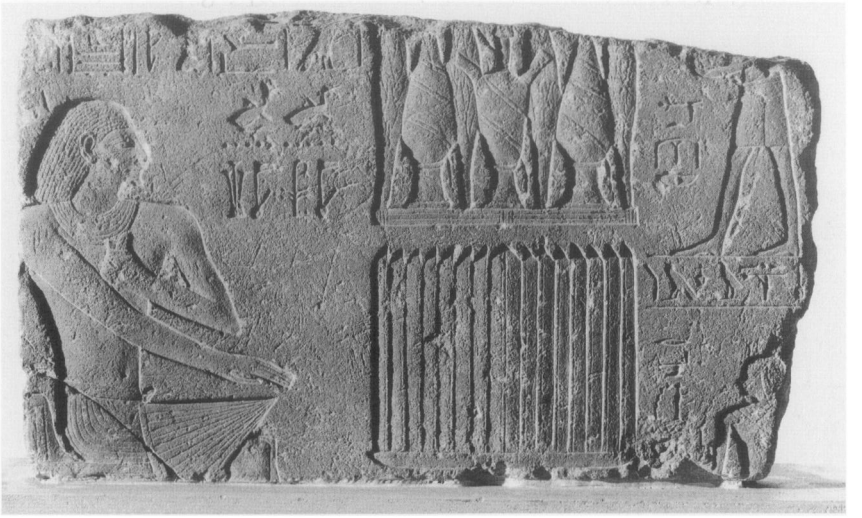
[35] BM EA 101 in Parkinson, *Voices*, 139–42.

[36] For Theban tombs, see J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (Theben 1; Mainz am Rhein, 1983), esp. Text 77 (TT 57, reign of Amenophis III); Text 51 (TT 41(3), Amarna Period), 10–14; Text 62c (TT 50(3), Amarna Period); Text 37 (TT 33(6), Saite), 48–9. All these have the *m'nḏt* and *msktt* associated with the *jḥmw-wrḏ* and *jḥmw-sk*. For the two stelae north and south of the entrance to the statue chamber in the first court of the tomb of Horemheb at Saqqara, see J. van Dijk, *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies* (Groningen, 1993), 135; G. T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Ḥoremḥeb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamun*, I (EES Excavation Memoir 55; London, 1989), pls. 22, 25. For temples, see J. Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism*, trans. A. Alcock (London, 1995), 17–29.

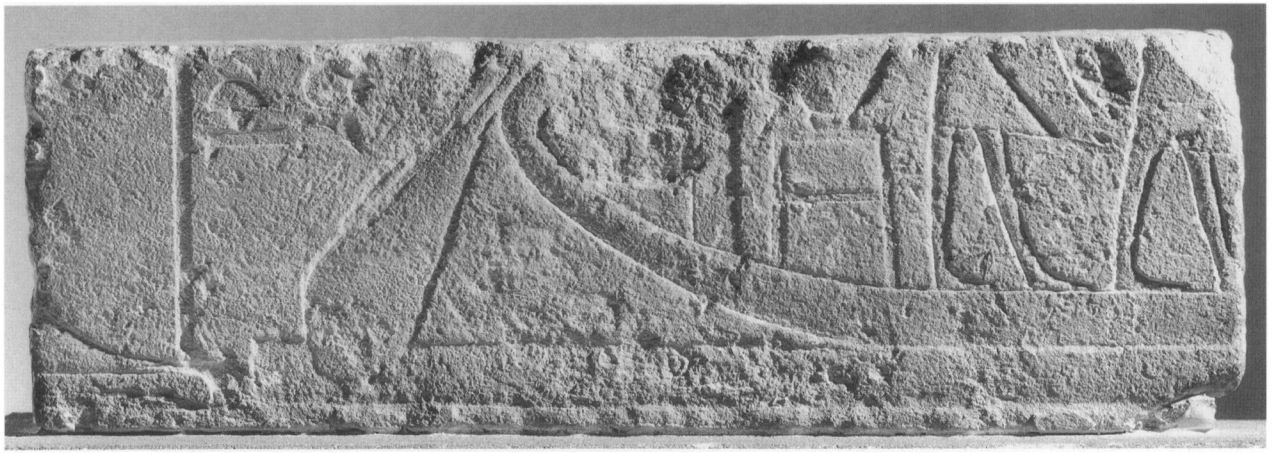
1. Ashmolean Museum Oxford 1889.1018 (*courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*)

2. Ashmolean Museum Oxford 1889.1019 (*courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*)

INSCRIBED BLOCKS FROM TOMB CHAPELS AT HAWARA (pp. 43–50)



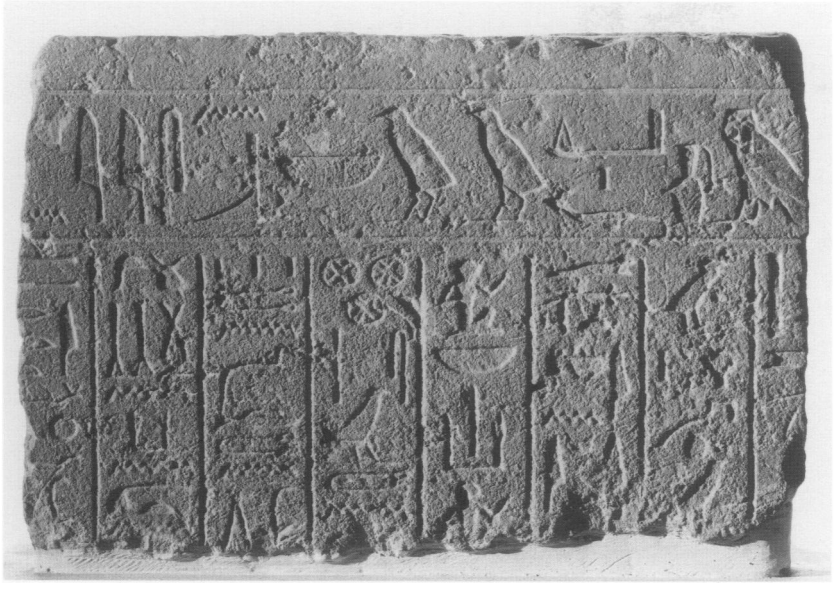
1. Ashmolean Museum Oxford 1889.1021 (*courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*)



2. Ashmolean Museum Oxford 1889.1020 (*courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*)

INSCRIBED BLOCKS FROM TOMB CHAPELS AT HAWARA (pp. 43–50)

PLATE VIII



1. Ashmolean Museum Oxford 1889.1022
(*courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*)

2. Ashmolean Museum Oxford 1889.1034
(*courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*)

3. Ashmolean Museum Oxford 1889.1034
(*courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*)

INSCRIBED BLOCKS FROM TOMB CHAPELS AT HAWARA (pp. 43–50)

IDIOSYNCRASIES IN LATE RAMESSIDE HIERATIC WRITING

By JAC. J. JANSSEN

In the search for an answer to the question of how great a degree of variation may be expected in a scribe's handwriting, a study is made of the hieratic of the recently (re)discovered P. Baldwin, the lost half of P. Amiens. 'Principal' variations, where, for instance, 'classical' instead of 'cursive' signs are used, are an indication, when occurring consistently, that two scribes were at work, whereas a sudden improvement of the style with only 'incidental' variations is probably due to a single scribe.

In a recent article in this *Journal*, Deborah Sweeney has studied P. Deir el-Medina IV, V, VI and XXII, concentrating on two subjects: the contents of these letters ('Friendship and Frustration', as her title runs) and their hieratic palaeography.[1] The question she raises is: are all four texts written by the same person or not? The words themselves are not clear in this respect. Therefore, she turns to the writing itself to find an answer. It appears that, on the one hand, there is a great deal of similarity between the shapes of the signs in all four letters; on the other hand, there are clear distinctions between them, and these are not regularly distributed among the texts. In some respects two or three of them seem to derive from one hand, but for other signs she is inclined to construct different relations. That leads her to a fundamental question: 'How great a degree of variation is to be expected within one person's handwriting?'[2]

This is indeed a basic problem, worthy of discussion in itself. Earlier generations of Egyptologists, approaching the matter of the writing from the standpoint of their intuition only, seem generally to have been certain in their opinions, but on what these were based remains obscure. As one example out of many, I refer to Gardiner's remarks on the writing of P. Amiens,[3] this particularly since I am at present preparing the publication of the second half of that text, called P. Baldwin (= P. BM 10061),[4] which was unknown to Gardiner.[5] In the introduction to his translation of P. Amiens he states that it is written 'in a highly cursive Late-Ramesside hand', with which one can easily agree. That the verso is decidedly more cursive than the recto he does not state. He then continues: 'Both *recto* and *verso* were written by the same scribe and treat of the same topic'. The latter is not quite correct, as appears evident from P. Baldwin, but that Gardiner could not see from the Amiens half. And what about his opinion concerning the hieratic? What proof is there that it was written, and that on both sides, by one and the same scribe?

[1] D. Sweeney, 'Friendship and Frustration: a Study in Papyri Deir el-Medina IV–VI', *JEA* 84 (1998), 101–22.

[2] Page 115, last sentence.

[3] A. H. Gardiner, 'Ramesside Texts Relating to the Taxation and Transport of Corn', *JEA* 27 (1941), 19–73: see p. 37.

[4] The two halves do not join perfectly, one or more lines being lost between them.

[5] See my announcement of the discovery, 'Papyrus Baldwin Rediscovered', *GM* 147 (1995), 53–60. A photograph of most of P. Baldwin recto III appears in R. Parkinson, *Cracking Codes: the Rosetta Stone and Decipherment* (London 1999), 165 (cat. no. 77).

Looking for a mere five minutes at the original, or even at photographs of the papyrus, one discovers several irregularities in the shapes of the signs. If these were distributed according to a fixed pattern, this would constitute an indication that more than one scribe had been at work. If, however, the variations were found in every column, they would probably be due to a single scribe—unless, that is, one type of sign occurs exclusively in the top lines, and a different one only in the bottom lines of a column, for that could well mean that somewhere halfway a second scribe took over. Even that is not absolutely certain. As we all know, our writing style tends to deteriorate gradually when proceeding down a page, because we get tired, or because we feel pressed to finish the work, or for some other reason. Then the lower lines show changes in the form of the letters. It can happen, however, that we suddenly realize how our writing has become less legible, and that we return in the middle of a page to a less cursive style, causing a rather clear break in the appearance of our text.

All this can also be formulated at a more formal, theoretical level. Some variations in the shapes of hieratic signs in a particular text are due to the unequal attention paid to them by the scribe. An example is the occurrence of a loop under signs by which they are connected: the scribe did not take the trouble to lift his brush from the papyrus. Such variations, which tend to appear irregularly, could be called 'incidental', whereas variations which show a completely different way of shaping a specific sign are 'principal'. Incidental variations occur in every handwritten text, and in the work of every scribe. Principal variations, on the other hand, may point to the work of different scribes, although this is not always the case.[6] If they occur systematically, for instance only in one column of a text and not in the others, the indication that two scribes were at work is strong.[7] Essential is the fact that the variations each occur several times: one instance or even two is not sufficient to draw a reliable conclusion.

Obviously, the subject is full of snags. Yet, in general, we may expect that certainly a letter, but also an administrative document, was the product of a single scribe, whether he created it himself or merely copied it.[8]

Let us now see what P. Amiens/Baldwin can teach us in this matter.[9] On the recto side, the Baldwin part (henceforth B) contains the lower half of the columns, the Amiens papyrus (henceforth A) their top half. There are four rather complete columns, plus the remains of col. I which are too fragmentary to be of much use in B, and in A are only slightly

[6] They may also be due to the position of a word in a text, e.g. in the heading of a letter. See my article 'On Style in Egyptian Handwriting', *JEA* 73 (1987), 161–7.

[7] In P. Turin 2008 + 2016, for instance (see my dissertation *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs* (Leiden, 1961), pls.iii–iv), of roughly the same date as P. Amiens/Baldwin, various writings of *'Imn* occur, but without any discernable system. There seems to be no reason in such a case to suggest that they are the work of two different scribes. Another example is the Sydney Ostracon discussed by C. J. Eyre, 'A "Strike" Text from the Theban Necropolis', in J. Ruffle, G. A. Gaballa, and K. A. Kitchen (eds), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman* (Warminster, 1979), 80–91. The variations which Eyre notes (pp. 86–7) are clearly 'incidental', as he himself states (he calls them 'free variations').

[8] That a text of the length of P. Wilbour, Text A, with over a hundred columns, was produced by more than one person is *a priori* to be expected. Gardiner, indeed, distinguished two hands (A. H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus* (Oxford, 1948), II, 5), without stating more than that one of them is more cursive than the other (he also calls the second scribe 'a slapdash amanuensis'). However, the size of this document is quite exceptional.

[9] The following should, of course, refer to the papyrus in its entirety, Amiens as well as Baldwin. To date I have not had the opportunity to study the original of the former, and one may rightly ask whether photographs, especially since the writing on the verso is so bad, are sufficient basis for verdicts regarding the hieratic. Therefore, my argument, particularly where the verso is concerned, is mainly based on the Baldwin papyrus.

better.[10] Col. V contains a summary, which appears to be of less use for our present purpose. The verso, in which B contains the top part of the columns, bears several unconnected texts. Those in cols. II, IV, and V are somewhat similar to those on the recto, while col. I is again very fragmentary; cols. B III and B VI are of quite a different nature from the others and hence not important in the present context. They have no counterpart (continuation) in A, being too short to reach down to the lower half of the sheet. On the other hand, verso col. A VI is not the continuation of verso B VI.

The regularity of the entries in cols. A/B II–IV, and to some extent also in verso cols. A/B II, IV, V, and A VI, which all contain the same type of information, provides us with useful evidence for the present purpose. In many of them we encounter the article *p3*, which presents an important criterion for the writing style.[11] Others are the name of Amun (in *pr Imn*, in toponyms, and in private names), and the phrase *m ỉt n*, 'being grain of'. The phrase *ḥr ḏnw n*, 'on the threshing-floor of', is equally frequent, in some cases alternating with *ḥr ḏnw pn*. It turns out, however, that it shows only few variant shapes, so that it is less suitable for comparison. The same holds true for the opening words of most lines: *rdỉt n.f*, in which *n.f* can be abbreviated to a single, long, curving stroke. The three mentioned above (*p3*, *Imn*, and *m ỉt n*) appear to present sufficient material for this study.

We start with the name *Imn*, neglecting the divine determinative, since that is absent from the writing of private names. There are two main forms in hieratic. The first one, which I will call the 'classical' form,[12] is  , which occurs throughout in B II (eleven times), but nowhere in any other column of B. On the other hand, it is also the only form in A III (at least nine times), which is the direct continuation of B II. All other occurrences of *Imn* are more cursive, in A as in B. They appear in two variants:  and  ,[13] with a few instances of a third type, namely  .[14] That the 'classical' form occurs only in B II and A III means that there is a transition in style in these columns, coinciding with the modern break of the papyrus into two parts. It looks as if a second scribe took over between cols. A II and B II, and the first one returned between A III and B III. In the A half of col. II and in the B half of col. III only cursive variants occur.

On the verso all variations of the cursive type are found. One special shape should be noted, namely  in verso B II, 12. The same occurs again in verso A II, 9.

Secondly, in B IV, 8 and 9, a more elaborate shape of *Imn* appears, although less clear than the 'classical' form, namely  . This shape is further found only three times in verso A VI.

The article *p3*[15] also occurs in two main shapes. In B II it shows what again may be called a 'classical' shape  , consisting of three parts: the bird's body, its wings, and the following *aleph*. Once more, this type reappears in A III. Nowhere else does one find a trace of a separate *aleph*. In some instances the *p3*-signs consist of two parts, the wings being indi-

[10] See A. H. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (London, 1940), 1–2.

[11] For the diagnostic value of *p3*, see my study quoted in n. 6.

[12] See *mn* (without the *i*) in G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* (Leipzig, 1927), II, no. 540.

[13] If it were not for the regularity of the entries one would hardly recognize this as *Imn*, and the first variant, although occurring in other texts too, is not much clearer.

[14] All these shapes occur with minor (incidental) variations. What is here presented is the average form.

[15] In P. Amiens/Baldwin only very few instances occur of the demonstrative pronoun *p3y* or the possessive pronoun *p3y.i* etc.

cate by a tick ( ), in others these two seem to be connected ( ). It is not clear whether the vertical element at the left-hand side is actually a combination of wings and *aleph*, or simply a prolonged tick for wings. A third possibility is found in the first two instances in B III, 2,[16] where a loop connects the bird's body with the wings ( ); that is, the scribe did not lift his brush from the papyrus. That also happened a few times in A II, for instance, in all three instances of A II, 7. This is clearly an 'incidental' variation, as against the conspicuously full shapes in B II and A III.

On the verso the writings of *p3* are generally cursive. In the first lines in verso B II, the most abbreviated form ( ) is found, but in lines 11 and 12 four times a shape appears: not quite the 'classical' form, but approaching it. In the continuation, verso A II, the wings are mostly still indicated separately. The result is somewhat simpler than the type of verso B II, 11–12, as if the scribe gradually forgot to be careful. In verso B IV the shape in two parts reappears, with all kinds of minor variations, while in verso A IV and B V a rough form in three parts occurs ( ), decidedly less clear than in verso B II, 11–12. In verso A VI all types are found.

The third item to be discussed is the group *m it n*. Once more, what could be called a 'classical' shape ( ) occurs everywhere in B II and A III, whereas elsewhere in the recto the forms are more cursive. In most cases the scribe did not lift his brush after the *m*, connecting it by a loop with the *n*, or even with *it*: (and).

On the verso we encounter the same pattern. The shapes in verso B II are extremely cursive , until line 11, where elaborate shapes appear , not quite the 'classical' ones, but almost. In the continuation verso A II only a few are clearly visible and these show a simplified form, such as in verso A II, 8. Verso B IV contains a similar form ( ), with all kinds of minor variations, while in verso B V, 9–15, much more cursive types again appear, such as , which are also found in verso A IV, 2–4.

What conclusions can be drawn from this evidence? The most important is that in B II and A III 'classical' forms of hieratic signs occur which are absent from the rest of the papyrus. This absence is particularly conspicuous in the cases of A II and B III, since these are the top half of the former and the bottom half of the latter column—although, since at present P. Amiens and P. Baldwin are separated and located in museums far apart, this situation can be discovered only by studying the entire text. If one becomes aware that the writing in B II and A III is different from that of the rest of the text, it becomes relatively easy to find further examples of this nature. For instance:

	B II / A III	A II and B III
(a) the papyrus-roll at the beginnings of some lines		
(b) the group at the beginnings of some lines		
(c) the word *rmnyt*, 'domain'		
(d) the phrase *st tn*, 'this place'		

[16] The other two *p3*-signs in this line are of the common type.

In the case of *ḏnw*, 'threshing-floor', A II and B III have different shapes:

B II / A III B III A II

   (but line 5: )

All these shapes appear with minor variations which are obviously 'incidental'. The 'principal' variations, however, are convincing: the half-columns B II and A III are written by scribes other than those responsible for the rest of the text.

Proof of this may occur in A III, 14, the last, rather fragmentary line of this part. After nine 'classical' forms of *m ỉt n* in the preceding lines here a cursive form appears, in which the *m* is connected by a curved line with the *ỉt*-sign, as in some entries of B III. This implies that the transition from 'classical' to more cursive signs—which very probably means from the work of one scribe to that of the other—takes place just above the modern break in the papyrus. Unfortunately, this line 14 is much damaged, so that no *pȝ* or *ỉmn* has survived to strengthen the argument.[17] However, *ḏnw* in this entry shows a loop under the *n*, while in *rmnyt* the *n* is connected by a curved line with the first of the ticks. The occurrence of these loops, typical for the scribe of A II and B III, seems sufficient evidence to state that the other scribe indeed took over again in line 14.[18]

Could it be that one man wrote in the two styles? Of course, a skilled scribe, even when he usually wrote accounts in a cursive form of script, was able to use the official, 'classical' signs which he had been taught as a boy. The appearance of these types is in itself not absolute proof. But I doubt whether the same scribe, in one single column, would first consistently use ligatures and then suddenly employ none at all, for this seems an unconscious habit which one could hardly suppress.[19] The stress lies, of course, on the word 'consistently'.

Turning to the verso, we found evidence for a change from very cursive to better recognizable signs at line 11 of verso B II. This is clear in the case of *pȝ* and *m ỉt n*, less so in that of *ỉmn*. There is, however, no evidence for a general transition in style. What happened was that the scribe, who wrote the first lines of the columns carelessly and extremely cursively,[20] from line 11 onward attempted to improve his writing.[21] Gradually, in verso A II, he lapsed back into cursive shapes,[22] ending only slightly better than he began. Yet there is no indication in the way the signs are formed that a different scribe was at work. The variations are incidental, not principal, which indicates the scope of a person's handwriting.

Several examples of such variations appear in the other columns of the verso, although not so clearly marking a transition. In verso A VI, for instance, we encounter three instances of a special type of the writing of *ỉmn* (), but this form turns up once in verso B IV, 8.

[17] Gardiner's *ỉmn* in this line (*Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 5, line 15) is certainly correct, but actually only the determinative exists, the rest being lost in a gap.

[18] Note also that in this line alone in col. A III *ḥr* (before *ḏnw*) is written with two ticks, whereas in the preceding lines it is clearly written out. The sign for '30' occurs in A III, 1, 2, and 3, as  (a 'classical' form) but in line 15 as  (as in A II, 5).

[19] Here may be one answer to Dr Sweeney's question quoted at the beginning of this article.

[20] It would have been difficult, perhaps even impossible, to recognize his writing if the entries had not been so similar.

[21] Perhaps already from line 10 onward, but here the signs are so much faded that they are almost illegible.

[22] But see the almost 'classical' form of *m ỉt n rmnyt* in verso A II, 9 and 10.

In that column we find all kinds of variations in the god's name ( ,  , ), without a clear proof that another scribe took over. Obviously, the range of possibilities within the handwriting of an individual is fairly wide. Exactly how wide in a specific case can be determined only by looking at the way he usually formed his signs, for instance, whether he connected them by refraining from lifting his brush. But it is only the consistency of such a habit that is decisive; a single deviation proves nothing.

Therefore, single letters, which in various words tend to occur only once or twice, are not the most suitable material for this type of study. A body of correspondence would be preferable, if the sender is known. Still better is a fairly large administrative papyrus with many repetitions. From such sources it may be possible to attain reliable conclusions as to the degree of variation in one person's handwriting.

ASSIMILATION AND DISSIMILATION AT WORK IN THE LATE EGYPTIAN VERBAL SYSTEM: THE VERB FORMS BUILT BY MEANS OF THE AUXILIARY *irỉ* FROM THE SECOND PART OF THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY UNTIL EARLY DEMOTIC *

By JEAN-MARIE KRUCHTEN

This article continues the author's work upon the gradual spread of the use of auxiliary *irỉ* in Egyptian. After the loss of the markers *.n.*- and gemination during the Eighteenth Dynasty, new marked verb forms were derived from the few unmarked Middle Egyptian verb forms which survived. These periphrastic patterns stood in complementary distribution with the simple verb forms inherited from Middle Egyptian which belonged to the same verbal category in ternary distribution (present / past / prospective), or, in the case of the 'emphatic' verb forms, in binary opposition (non-model / modal). Subsequently, the employment of the auxiliary *irỉ* spread by analogy to almost all the surviving suffixal verb forms.

In a recent issue of *Lingua Aegyptia*,[1] I explained how the verb forms built by means of the auxiliary *irỉ* appeared at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (during the period of Amenhotep III and IV) as a result of a process of *allonymic dissimilation*[2] brought about by the loss of the two main markers of the Middle Egyptian verbal system, suffixal *.n.*- and gemination.

At the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty, the *sḏm.n.f* verb forms lost their suffixal *.n.*- except for the emphatic *sḏm.n.f*, which was stressed differently, and the compound verb forms which were built with this emphatic *sḏm.n.f*.[3] Thus, the non-emphatic *sḏm.n.f* as well as the relative *sḏm.n.f* had already dropped their *.n.*- and become *sḏm.f* at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. However, the emphatic *sḏm.n.f* and the Negative Aorist *n sḏm.n.f*, because it has to be analyzed as *n* + an emphatic *sḏm.n.f*,[4] retained theirs until the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is the eventual disappearance of the suffixal *.n.*- from the emphatic *sḏm.n.f* and from the Negative Aorist, together with the extinction of the geminating verb forms,[5] another phonological process which happened to occur at about the same time, during the Amarna Period or a little earlier, which triggered some of the most drastic changes in the entire history of the Egyptian verbal system.

From the few unmarked Middle Egyptian verb forms which survived these phonological changes, because they included no such markers (for example, the prospective *sḏm.f*), or

* I am greatly indebted to Professor John Tait for improving my English text.

[1] J.-M. Kruchten, 'From Middle Egyptian to Late Egyptian', *LingAeg* 6 (1999), 1–51.

[2] For this term, see, for example, C. Hagège, 'The Language Builder', *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory* 94 (1993), 11–13.

[3] Kruchten, *LingAeg* 6, 6–22.

[4] J. P. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramids Texts*, (Bibliotheca Aegyptia 2; Malibu, 1984), §445; H. J. Polotsky, 'Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique', *Israel Oriental Studies* 6 (1976), §4.1.1.

[5] Nominal and relative *sḏm.f* / *mrr.f*, imperfective participle *sḏm* / *mrr*, and future converter *wnn*.

because they had already lost their suffixal *.n.-* by this time (relative *sḏm.n.f*), new marked verb forms were derived. These were obtained by substituting *irỉ* for the main verb and by using the infinitive thereof as the direct object of this new auxiliary. As might be expected, these periphrastic patterns stood in complementary distribution with the simple verb forms or other patterns inherited from Middle Egyptian which belonged to the same verbal category, either in a ternary (present / past / prospective) or in a binary system (non-modal / modal), according to whether there were two or one Middle Egyptian verb forms surviving in this particular category.

This is the reason why, in the case of the Late Egyptian emphatic verb forms, a binary opposition between a modal and an indicative verb form took the place of the ternary system with aspectual / temporal meanings (imperfective, perfective, and prospective < Present, Past, or Future) in use in the previous stages of the language. As a result of the loss of both the emphatic *sḏm.n.f* (past) and the geminating *sḏm.f* / *mrr.f* ('present'),[6] the Middle Egyptian nominal *sḏm.f* / *mr(y).f*, which had a prospective and, thus, a modal meaning,[7] survived alone of its verbal category into Late Egyptian with the same sense of obligation, volition, or doubt. On this unmarked verb form, in its Late Egyptian spelling *ỉ.sḏm.f*,[8] a new periphrastic pattern compound with *irỉ* was built to convey the missing non-modal sense. This is the reason why the Late Egyptian *ỉ.ỉr.f sḏm*, first attested under Akhenaten,[9] had a mere indicative meaning, and could be used indiscriminately regarding present, past or even future events,[10] to stand in contrast to the simple *ỉ.sḏm.f* with modal meaning, also devoid of any time indication.[11]

However, it is in the case of the Late Egyptian future formations built with *irỉ* that we have the best evidence for this process of dissimilation, thanks to a few unequivoqual and well-dated very early examples of the new patterns. At the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, there were three different non-verbal clauses with adverbial predicate, distinguished by their temporal meaning: subject (noun or pronominal preformatives of the First Present) + adverbial syntagm had a present meaning; *wn* + subject (noun or suffix pronoun) + adverbial syntagm had a past meaning; and *wnn* + subject (noun or suffix pronoun) had a future

[6] Basically a nominal aorist verb form, in context, its tense is often present or gnomic (Allen, *Inflection*, §258).

[7] P. Vernus, *Future at Issue. Tense Mood and Aspect in Middle Egyptian: Studies in Syntax and Semantics* (YES 4; New Haven, 1990), 16: 'The prospective *sḏm.f* is basically a "modal form". Hundreds of languages display one or more forms that may be labelled "modal forms"—sundry as may be their uses—since they share the same fundamental features, which is to mark an action as being not actual or not yet actualized at the moment of speaking or at any point of reference. This non actuality may be expressed in many ways: as a desire ("volitive"), as a wish ("optative"), as an order ("jussive"), as a possibility ("potential"), as a more-or-less counterfactual hypothesis ("irrealis"), as a prediction ("future"), and so forth.'

[8] The identity of the Middle Egyptian prospective *sḏm.f* and of the Late Egyptian prospective *sḏm.f* (*ỉ.sḏm.f* whenever used 'emphatically' in an initial position before its adverbial predicate) may be inferred from its use with the anomalous verbs *ỉw* / *ỉỉ* and *ỉnỉ*: Middle Egyptian *ỉw.t* = and *ỉn.t* = became Late Egyptian (*ỉ.*)*ỉw.tw* = and (*ỉ.*)*ỉn.tw* =.

[9] Pap. Mond 1, 16–17 ((*ỉ.*)*ỉr.t tm ỉr.t*); Mond 2, 2,26 (emend my transliteration *ỉ.ỉry.ỉ tm ḥ*ꜣ*b* (*LingAeg* 6, 24) to (*ỉ.*)*ỉry.ỉ tm ḥ*ꜣ*b*).

[10] Thus, in my opinion, the possibility that different forms distinguished in the spoken language might be concealed under the same writing (*ỉ.*)*ỉr.f sḏm* (for this hypothesis, see L. Depuydt, 'On a Late Egyptian and Demotic Idiom', *RdE* 45 (1994), 53–9) must be ruled out. The different writings of the Late Egyptian indicative emphatic verb form (besides the former *sḏm.n.f*, *ỉrr(y).f sḏm*, *ỉr.f sḏm* and even *ỉr.n.f sḏm* for hieratic (*ỉ.*)*ỉr.f sḏm*) found between the reigns of Akhenaten and Merneptah in the hieroglyphic inscriptions have to be explained as literary or graphic compromises between two stages of the language (Kruchten, *LingAeg* 6, 91–2).

[11] J. Winand, *Etudes de néo-égyptien*, I: *La morphologie verbale* (Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 2; Liège, 1992), §433.

/ prospective meaning.[12] The present and past patterns passed into Late Egyptian without any change since they included neither suffixal *.n.-* nor gemination. However, the non-verbal clause with adverbial predicate and future meaning *wnn* + noun / *wnn.f* + adverbial syntagm, in which the geminated *wnn* acted as a prospective marker as against the past marker *wn* and the zero-marker of the unmarked present, stopped being used in the vernacular language during, or shortly after, the reign of Amenhotep II, when gemination disappeared. Instead of the Middle Egyptian pattern built by means of *wnn*, two new formations can be found in the texts from then onwards with exactly the same shade of meaning (indicative future, often with a deontic force, mainly in promises, oaths or wills) as this earlier *wnn* pattern had expressed until then:[13] *iw.f* + adverbial syntagm when the subject was a pronoun, and *irì* + noun + adverbial syntagm whenever the subject happened to be a substantive. The earliest examples of *irì* + noun + adverbial syntagm are to be found in the Kahun papyri, a set of legal documents written between the twenty-seventh year of Amenhotep III and the fourth year of Akhenaten.[14] They have escaped detection and have been generally misunderstood until now.[15] The first example of *iw.f* + adverbial syntagm occurs in a letter sent by Amenhotep II to the viceroy of Kush in Year 23.[16] This formation clearly borrowed its *iw.-* from the corresponding verb form *iw.f r sḏm*, since the initial *iw* of the Third Future had already grown into a future marker by this time.[17] As for the *irì* + noun + adverbial syntagm pattern, there is only one way to explain its emergence. In spite of the fact that the following adverbial syntagm could not act as its complement, *irì* was mechanically added before the corresponding unmarked pattern with present meaning because *this was the way in which all the other new periphrastic verb forms were being derived from the surviving suffixal verb forms at this time.* Then *irì* spread from the non-verbal formation to the verb form itself.[18]

On the other hand, beside this basic use as a marker to build up the five new verb forms[19] which took the place of the vanished emphatic *sḏm.n.f*, Negative Aorist or geminating Middle Egyptian verb forms[20] (allonymic dissimilation), the verb *irì* had already lost, at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, its full meaning, and so could act as an auxiliary in two other much rarer cases. Different explanations have to be brought forward to account for these uses, since in both cases there was no need to oppose periphrastic formations to simple verb forms as a way to express opposite or different meanings.

[12] A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*[3] (Oxford, 1957), §§118, 2; 326; 440, 3: this *wnn* had its root in the Old Egyptian prospective *sḏm.w.f* of *wnn*; for the prospective *sḏm.w.f* of the 2ae geminatae (*tmm* in the case of *tm*), see Allen, *Inflection*, Table 20). This explains its *indicative* future meaning. This future *wnn* must be distinguished from the substantivizer *wnn*, which is basically an infinitive (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*[3], §299).

[13] Stèle juridique de Karnak, 5-6 (*wnn* subject + adverbial syntagm and *wnn.f* + adverbial syntagm in a sale agreement).

[14] *irì šʿt /gꜣb / hrw ḥr šʿt /gꜣb.ì / hrw*, 'a *shat*-ring / an equivalent / a day (of servant) shall be on (another) *shat*-ring / my equivalent / (another) day' (P. Berlin 9784, 26–7; Gurob II, 2, 18–19; Berlin 9785, 16–17) have their exact grammatical parallel in the Ramesside formula *irì pꜣ ʿꜣ r.f m qb*, 'the donkey shall be (charged) against him as double' (O. DM 133, r° 5–6), another way of stating that double has to be paid whenever one fails to fulfil an agreement through insolvency or unwillingness.

[15] J. Winand, 'Les constructions analogiques du Futur III', *RdE* 47 (1996), 128–38. For three other close parallels from Akhenaten's Boundary Stelae (oaths!), which have also gone unnoticed, see Kruchten, *LingAeg* 6, 43.

[16] *Urk.* IV, 1344, 9; see Kruchten, *LingAeg* 6, 41, n. 190.

[17] Winand, *Morphologie*, §762.

[18] First occurrence in P. Cairo 58054, v° 3 (under Amenhotep III or later; see Kruchten, *LingAeg* 6, 6, n. 25; 40).

[19] *i.ir.f sḏm* emphatic verb form, *i.ir sḏm* active participle, *i.ir.f sḏm* relative verb form, *bw ir.f sḏm* Negative Aorist, *irì NN sḏm* Third Future.

[20] Nominal *sḏm.f* / *mrr.f*, imperfective participle or relative verb form and *wnn* prospective formations.

(1) *Negative imperative*
From the early Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, the verb *irỉ* had been used as a negative verbal complement after the vetitive *m* of the imperative and before the infinitive of the main verb, which was seen as its direct object.[21] For instance, in Pahery, 3, we read *m ỉr snḏ* instead of **m snḏ*, which would be expected in more 'classic' Middle Egyptian. This periphrastic pattern continued without change into Late Egyptian and survived until Coptic,[22] probably because it was an effective way to strengthen the too insubstantial negation of the imperative.

(2) *Verbs of more than three consonants*
In Late Egyptian, the verbs of four or more consonants (in practice, some full or partial duplicated roots such as *ḫtḫt, ḫnḫn, qnqn,* or *swtwt*, and a few causatives of triconsonantal verbs such as *smtr* or *sḫpr*) could not be used as a suffixal or participial verb form because they had only an infinitive and a stative.[23] Thus, whenever it was the perfective active, the perfective passive, or the autonomous or non-autonomous prospective *sḏm.f* which was meant, their infinitive had to act as the direct object of the verb *irỉ* put into the corresponding verb form. These *ỉr(y).f sḏm* periphrases had the same past or prospective sense as that which the corresponding *sḏm.f* verb forms of ordinary verbs would have. For the same reason, such verbs are expected to have *ỉ.ỉr sḏm* as their active participle and *ỉ.ỉr.f sḏm* as their relative verb form. As a result, any distinction between a past and a general present meaning was blurred in their case since it was no longer possible to oppose a simple verb form to its marked counterpart for lack of any *ỉ.sḏm* participle or *ỉ.sḏm.f* relative verb form of these verbs. Since verbs of four consonants or more[24] already had to be periphrased by means of the auxiliary *irỉ* in Middle Egyptian, it is certain that this basic inability of the verbs of more than three consonants to be put into any verb form other than the infinitive or the stative goes back to long before the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty. If the earliest Late Egyptian examples of this use of *irỉ* spotted by Winand[25] do not chance to turn up before the time of Ramses II, it must be on account of the small number of occurrences of such rare verbs.

To summarize, the auxiliary *irỉ* served three rather different purposes at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty: (1) its commonest use by far was as a marker to distinguish new specific verbal patterns from the unmarked suffixal or participial verb forms inherited from the earlier stages of the language; (2) it was used as a mandatory auxiliary in the case of verbs of more than three consonants whenever they had to be put into verb forms other than the infinitive or the stative; and (3) it coalesced with the *m* of the negative imperative as a way of strengthening it.

In this paper, which aims at carrying on my previous study published in *Lingua Aegyptia*, I examine how, during the span of time between the Nineteenth Dynasty and the appearance of early Demotic, the employment of the auxiliary *irỉ* gradually spread from these few basic uses to all the suffixal verb forms still surviving in Late Egyptian, with the exception of the

[21] Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*[3], §340, 2.

[22] J. Černý and S. I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (Rome, 1985), §25.1.1.

[23] Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 160–1.

[24] Reduplicated roots, compounds such as *ỉs-ḥ3q* or *w3ḥ-tp*, causatives of three consonants, according to Gardiner (*Egyptian Grammar*[3], §485, 1) and others.

[25] Winand, *Morphologie*, §323.

perfective active *sḏm.f* of verbs of less than four consonants and of the *ḫr-sḏm.f* ('Praesens Consuetudinis'). These last surviving suffixal verb forms were also periphrased by means of *irỉ*, but much later, during the Roman Period.

Four issues will be dealt with here: the use of *irỉ* in the Late Egyptian cleft sentences; the introduction of periphrastic *irỉ* into the formations which had included the Middle Egyptian *sḏm.t.f* verb form; the substitution of the periphrastic Negative Aorist *bw ỉr.f ỉỉ(.t) / dỉ(.t) / rḫ* for the suffixal Negative Aorist of the anomalous verbs *ỉỉ, rdỉ* and *rḫ*; and the expansion of the emphatic *ỉ.ỉr.f sḏm* to the detriment of the non-periphrastic emphatic *ỉ.sḏm.f*. For this survey, I shall mainly rely on the data gathered by my colleague Jean Winand in his very useful *Etudes de néo-égyptien*, 1. *La morphologie verbale*.[26]

The use of *irỉ* in the Late Egyptian cleft sentence

There are three cleft sentences in complementary distribution according to their temporal meanings in Late Egyptian (Present *mntf ỉ.ỉr sḏm*, Past *mntf ỉ.sḏm* and Future *mntf ỉ.ỉr.f sḏm*, more rarely *mntf ỉ.sḏm.f*).[27] The present and past patterns correspond to the Middle Egyptian present (imperfective) and past (perfective) participial statements, if we disregard the prothetic *yod* of the Late Egyptian verbal spelling and the substitution of the periphrastic participle built with *irỉ* for the vanished imperfective (geminating) Middle Egyptian active participle (*ỉ.ỉr sḏm* instead of *sḏm / mrr*).[28]

The future pattern is more puzzling since only its shorter variant *mntf ỉ.sḏm.f* can be equated with the corresponding Middle Egyptian formation. As evidenced by some examples with the verb *ỉnỉ*,[29] the *ỉ.sḏm.f* of its second member was either the non-autonomous prospective *sḏm.f* (*mntf ỉ.ỉn.tw.f*) or, if the lack of suffix *.t* in the spelling of this anomalous verb may still be considered as relevant, the prospective *sḏm.w.f* inherited from Old Egyptian[30] still in use in the Middle Egyptian participial statements with future meaning (*ntf ỉn.f* < Late Egyptian *mntf (ỉ.)ỉn.f*).[31]

However, on closer examination, it appears that all the examples of this rarer formation listed by Neveu occur in early Ramesside texts[32] and in long-lived literary compositions which probably went back to this period (the *Miscellanies*).[33] In any case, none of them is later than the Nineteenth Dynasty. As for the periphrastic future cleft sentence *mntf ỉ.ỉr.f sḏm*, it cannot be found prior to the Year 3 of a king of the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Merneptah, Amenmesses or Sethi II),[34] and all its other occurrences are found in the *Late Ramesside Letters* from the very end of the Twentieth Dynasty.

Thus, it is absolutely clear to me that the periphrastic pattern built by means of *irỉ* (*mntf ỉ.ỉr.f sḏm*) took the place of the Middle Egyptian future cleft sentence *ntf sḏm.f* (*sḏm.w.f*) in

[26] Winand, *Morphologie*.

[27] Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 525–36; F. Neveu, *La langue des Ramsès. Grammaire du néo-égyptien* (Paris, 1996), 243–4.

[28] Kruchten, *Ling Aeg* 6, 49–57.

[29] This is clearly shown by the examples built with the anomalous verb *ỉnỉ: nts ỉ.ỉn.tw.st* (O. Gardiner 55, v° 5–6, quoted by Winand, *Morphologie*, ex. 627).

[30] Winand, *Morphologie*, §422 (268).

[31] Vernus, *Future at Issue*, 55–60.

[32] Mostly from the reign of Ramesses II: P. Anastasi I, 14, 1–2 (before Year 5 of Ramesses II; see H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi* I. *Übersetzung und Kommentar*, (ÄA 44; Wiesbaden, 1986), 264); *KRI* II, 97, 13 (the so-called Poem of Pentawer); *KRI* III, 437, 13–14 (graffito, Year 50 of Ramesses II).

[33] P. Anastasi V, 19, 2 (Sethi II).

[34] *KRI* IV, 79, 8 (P. Bologna 1086).

its Late Egyptian spelling *mntf i.sḏm.f*, still in use during the early Nineteenth Dynasty.

Middle Egyptian	Late Egyptian	Middle and Late Egyptian values
+ ~~*ntf sḏm / mrr*~~	*mntf i.ir sḏm* ↑	present
- *ntf sḏm / mr* →	*mntf i.sḏm*	past
- *ntf sḏm.f* →	Nineteenth Dynasty: *mntf i.sḏm.f*	
	Twentieth Dynasty: *mntf i.ir.f sḏm*	future
(ternary distribution)	(ternary distribution)	

Since the periphrastic participle *i.ir sḏm* conveyed a general present meaning, the cleft sentence which was built with it could express only this value. Thus, in practice, the *mntf i.ir sḏm* participial statement sometimes expressed the ability to perform an action (meaning 'it is he who can ...'),[35] besides more often stressing the sense of habit. However, the synchronous or unspecified present had to be rendered by means of a relative clause built with *nty* followed by the First Present (pseudo-cleft sentence *mntf pꜣ nty ḥr sḏm*, meaning 'it is he who is ...ing' or 'it is he who ...s').[36]

According to the same principle, the *mntf i.sḏm.f* pattern which was etymologically connected with the prospective *sḏm.w.f* could express the indicative as well as the modal future. That explains why the derived periphrastic pattern *mntf i.ir.f sḏm* is also attested with each of these values. This circumstance probably accounts for the lack of any corresponding pseudo-cleft sentence clause built with *nty* followed by the Third Future **mntf pꜣ nty iw.f r sḏm* to express the indicative or unspecified future.[37]

irí in the formations which originated from the Middle Egyptian *sḏm.t.f* verb form

Alone of all the markers of the former verbal system, the suffix *.t* which was distinctive of the Middle Egyptian *sḏm.t.f* verb form[38] remained unaffected by the phonological changes of the Amarna Period. It survived into Late Egyptian as *.tw* (a common Late Egyptian writing of the ending *t* whenever it was pronounced together with a suffix pronoun or another unit).[39] As a result, all the Middle Egyptian formations built with the *sḏm.t.f* verb

35 See Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, ex. 1495.

36 Neveu, *La langue des Ramsès*, §42.2.1.2. and §42.2.1.4.

37 Neveu, *La langue des Ramsès*, §42.2.1.5.

38 Concerning this verb form, see the bibliography compiled by I. Nebe, 'Bibliographie zu den Negationen (vom Alten Reich bis in die Griechisch-Römische Zeit)', *GM* 137 (1993), 11, to which add L. M. J. Zonhoven, 'Studies on the *sḏm.t.f* Verb Form in Classical Egyptian I (*ḏr sḏm.t = f*)', *BiOr* 53 (1996), 613–44; 'Studies on the *sḏm.t.f* II (*r sḏm.t.f*)', *OLP* 28 (1997), 5–31; 'Studies on the *sḏm.t.f* III (*n sḏm.t.f*)', in J. van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde* (Egyptological Memoirs 1: Groningen 1998), 383-400; 'Studies on the *sḏm.t.f* IV (passive *sḏm.t.f* / *ms.(y)t = f*), *ZÄS* 125 (1998), 81–95; 'Studies on the *sḏm.t.f* V (*sḏm.t.f*)', *BiOr* 55 (1998), §20.

39 Winand, *Morphologie*, §§458–62.

form survived into the early Nineteenth Dynasty in this new Late Egyptian spelling with the same temporal values they had in the previous stages of the language: *n sḏm.t.f*, 'he has not yet heard', became *bw sḏm.tw.f*, and *r sḏm.t.f*, 'until he hears', is found in early Ramesside texts as *i.sḏm.tw.f*.

However, by the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, all the formations which had their roots in the Middle Egyptian *sḏm.t.f* verb form had already been turned into the corresponding periphrastic patterns by means of the auxiliary *iri*. *bw ir.tw.f sḏm*[40] (Sahidic, before nominal subject, ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-)[41] had taken the place of *bw sḏm.tw.f*, and *i.sḏm.tw.f* had become either *i.ir.tw.f sḏm*[42] or, through merging with the compound preposition (*r*-)*šꜣꜥ*,[43] *šꜣꜥ-i.ir.tw.f*, shortened into *šꜣꜥ.tw.f sḏm* (Sahidic, before nominal subject, ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ-).[44]

Substitution of the periphrastic Negative Aorist for the suffixal Negative Aorist of the anomalous verbs *ii*, *rdi* and *rḫ*

During the Nineteenth Dynasty, there were still three verbs which had a suffixal Negative Aorist of their own beside the common periphrastic pattern *bw ir.f.sḏm* that had superseded the former *n sḏm.n.f*[45] and had been attested with the other verbs from the beginning of the reign of Ramses II onwards.[46]

bw rḫ.f was the Late Egyptian spelling of Middle Egyptian *n rḫ.f*, the negative counterpart of (*iw*)*rḫ.n.f*,[47] meaning 'he knows' (basically, 'he has learned').[48] As for the anomalous verbs *iw* / *ii* and (*r*)*di*, both used what was felt as an alternative root as a marker to bar any confusion with their perfective *bw sḏm.f*. This is the explanation for the suffixal Negative Aorists *bw iw.f* and *bw didi.f* sometimes found in early Ramesside inscriptions or in the long-lived literary texts which went back to this period. These anomalous Negative Aorists had clearly to stand in contrast to the corresponding perfectives *bw ii.f* and *bw di.f*, which were inherited from Middle Egyptian.[49]

The first occurrences of the common periphrastic Negative Aorist of the latter verbs (*bw ir.f ii.t* and *bw ir.f di.t*) appeared during the Twentieth Dynasty. However, *bw rḫ.f* survived until the time of Taharqa, or even until Coptic, at least in some dialects (Sahidic ⲙϣⲁ-, Achmimic ⲙⲉϩⲉ-).[50] Its periphrastic counterpart *bw ir.f rḫ* is not attested before the Third Intermediate Period.[51]

[40] Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, § 20.8.

[41] W. Till, *Koptische Grammatik (saïdischer Dialekt) mit Bibliographie, Lesestücken und Wörterverzeichnissen*, (Leipzig, 1955), § 320.

[42] Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 415–16.

[43] Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 417.

[44] Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §312.

[45] Under its post-Amarna spelling *bw sḏm.n.f*.

[46] Kruchten, *LingAeg* 6, 30–5.

[47] Besides the more often used *iw.f rḫ*(*w*) pattern.

[48] Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*[3], §414, 4.

[49] Kruchten, *LingAeg* 6, 35; as regards *bw ii.f*, the transition from the Middle Egyptian perfective *n iw.f* to the early Late Egyptian perfective *bw ii.f* has probably to be explained as a change of spelling. For such a change of spelling between Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian, see, for example, H. Satzinger, 'Egyptian 'Ayin in Variation with *ḏ* ', *LingAeg* 6 (1999), 141–51.

[50] W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 201*b*–202*a*; H. J. Polotsky, 'Ägyptische Verbalformen und ihre Vokalisation', *Orientalia* 33 (1964), 274–5.

[51] Winand, *Morphologie*, §§384–5.

Disappearance of the modal emphatic *i.sḏm.f*[52]

Until the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the modal emphatic *i.sḏm.f* could still be found with the verbs *irí*, *rdí* and *ḏd*.[53] However, in Demotic, there no longer are examples of this verb form to be found in the texts written in colloquial language.[54] This is not surprising, since the modal emphatic *i.sḏm.f* has turned out to be the initial form of the prospective *sḏm.f* before an adverbial predicate,[55] and the employment of this verb form was already on the wane at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.[56]

Thus, after the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the periphrastic Late Egyptian *i.ir.f sḏm* with indicative meaning alone survived of its verbal category. Through this process, the three emphatic verb forms which were still standing in a ternary aspectual / temporal distribution at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty (*sḏm.f* / *mrr.f*, *sḏm.n.f* and prospective *sḏm.f* / *mr(y).f*) had first been reduced to two in Late Egyptian (the indicative *i.ir.f sḏm* versus the modal *i.sḏm.f*) and eventually to one at the beginning of the Saite Period (the periphrastic *i.ir.f sḏm*).

As a result of this shift from a ternary to a binary system and then to a single verb form, the *i.ir.f sḏm* emphatic verb form lost whatever temporal or modal value it had had in the previous stages of the language. This circumstance explains the fact that its most characteristic unit, the *i.ir* = prefix (spelled *iir* or sometimes *r-ir*,[57] Coptic ϵ- or ⲇ- [Bohairic]) became an 'emphatic' marker.[58] In Demotic and Coptic, this prefix acted as an emphatic converter appended to the various primary tenses (present, past and future tenses)[59] before the nominal or pronominal subject as a way of compensating for the vanished Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian emphatic verb forms with specialized temporal or modal values.

Conclusions

In addition to the verbal formations including *irí* already existing in late Middle Egyptian (vetitive *m-ir*, substitutes for the suffixal verb forms and participles of the verbs of more than three consonants), Late Egyptian developed two main categories of verb forms built by means of the auxiliary *irí*.

In the first case (that of allonymic dissimilation), the formation of new verbal patterns built with *irí* was prompted by the loss of the two main markers of the former verbal system around the Amarna Period. All the Middle Egyptian verb forms which still included the suffix *.n.*- or duplication disappeared by the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The verb forms built with *irí* which appeared at about the same time had to stand in contrast to the simple verb form from which they were derived, mostly along with another verb form, as a way to supply the missing temporal or modal meaning within the same verbal category (*present* versus past and future: *i.ir sḏm* participle, *i.ir.f sḏm* relative verb form and *bw ir.f.sḏm* Negative Aorist; *future* versus present and past: Third Future with a noun as subject

[52] On this topic, see now P. Cassonnet's recently published *Etudes de néo-égyptien: Les Temps Seconds i.sdm.f et i.irí.f sḏm entre syntaxe et sémantique* (Paris, 2000).

[53] Winand, *Morphologie*, §436.

[54] J. H. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System* (SAOC 38; Chicago, 1976), 119–20; R. S. Simpson, *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees* (Oxford, 1996), 171–2.

[55] Winand, *Morphologie*, §429.

[56] Winand, *Morphologie*, §§349–53.

[57] Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, 99–100 (Table 11); Simpson, *Demotic Grammar*, Table XIIf.

[58] Simpson, *Demotic Grammar*, 172–4.

[59] Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, 99–119; Simpson, *Demotic Grammar*, § 11.4.1 (Protatic—temporal second tense).

and corresponding non-verbal formations; *indicative* versus modal: emphatic *i.ir.f sḏm*). These marked patterns obtained by using *irỉ* as an auxiliary remained in ternary distribution or binary opposition to the verb forms inherited from Middle Egyptian throughout Late Egyptian until Demotic. This is the way in which most of the Late Egyptian verb forms built with *irỉ* came into being, even in the case of the negative autonomous verbal patterns. However, in this verbal category, the periphrastic Negative Aorist *bw ir.f.sḏm*, after the middle of the Twentieth Dynasty, could no longer be contrasted with its unmarked counterpart from which it had been drawn, because the too inconspicuous *bw sḏm.f* with past meaning (Middle Egyptian *n sḏm.f*) had soon been superseded by the more specific *bwpwy.f sḏm* (Middle Egyptian *n pꜣ.f sḏm*).

There were also a few Late Egyptian verbal patterns which included *irỉ* and did not have to stand in contrast to their bare counterpart for the sake of expressing another temporal or modal value. The periphrastic participial statement *mntf i.ir.f sḏm* had the same meaning as *mntf i.sḏm.f*. Both the *bw ir.tw.f sḏm* and the *bw sḏm.tw.f* verb forms conveyed the idea that an expected action has not yet been accomplished. *i.ir.tw.f sḏm* and *šꜣʿ-i.ir.tw.f sḏm* require the same translation as does *i.sḏm.tw.f*. There was no difference of meaning whatever between the periphrastic and the suffixal Negative Aorists of the anomalous verbs *ỉỉ* / *ỉw, rdỉ* and *rḫ*. However, in all these cases, it can easily be demonstrated that the periphrastic formation had always appeared later than the suffixal pattern and had gradually taken over from it from the second part of the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards.

To put it another way, the verb forms built with *irỉ* which appeared after those prompted by the phonological changes of the Amarna Period were in complementary distribution with their corresponding simple verb form, not according to their temporal or modal value as the result of another process of allonymic dissimilation, but diachronically, as the result of a steady process of spreading by analogy of the periphrastic patterns to the detriment of the former suffixal or participial formations. Thus, in their case, there clearly was a process of *assimilation*.

By the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the bipartite verbal formations, in which the nominal or pronominal actor expression precedes the infinitive or the stative of the main verb, had already been existing for more than a thousand years, without much change if we disregard the introduction of the pronominal preformatives of the First Present. The earliest of them were the *ỉw.f ḥr sḏm* and *ỉw.f r sḏm* pseudoverbal patterns which appeared at the end of the Fifth Dynasty. However, during the second part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the loss of the last *sḏm.n.f* and geminating verb forms, along with the simultaneous emergence of no fewer than five different verb forms built with *irỉ* to compensate for this loss, toppled the balance between the suffixal verb forms inherited from Old Egyptian and these more recent bipartite formations. From then onwards, the suffixal verb forms constituted mere leftovers in the Egyptian verbal system and the number of their occurrences in the texts dropped. As such, they were doomed to be superseded by the new synthetic verbal patterns. During the Roman Period, the process of assimilation of the surviving suffixal verb forms was completed. The periphrastic formations built with the auxiliary *irỉ* followed by the infinitive of the main verb as its object spread by analogy to the 'Praesens Consuetudinis' and the Perfective Active of the verbs of less than three consonants. Thus, *ḫr-sḏm.f* became *ḫr-ỉr.f sḏm* (Coptic, ϣⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ,[60] and *ỉr.f sḏm* took over from the Perfective Active *sḏm.f* (Coptic, ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ).[61]

[60] See Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, 132.

[61] Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, 178.

THE STATUE BM EA 37891 AND THE ERASURE OF NECHO II'S NAMES*

By ROBERTO B. GOZZOLI

A new publication of the statue BM EA 37891, originating from Sais and to be dated to the first half of the seventh century BC, is presented. The text of the back pillar lists festivals held during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The erasures of the pectoral are discussed, in parallel with other statues and documents, allegedly dated to the reign of Necho II, which show effacements and recutting in the royal cartouches. One of them, Stockholm NME 78, is partially published anew. The different documents give a glimpse of the complexity of the *damnatio memoriae* problem.

Description (pls. IX–XI)

THE statue BM EA 37891, of which no date or source of acquisition is known, is broken just below belt level, with only the upper portion preserved.[1] It is made of schist,[2] and has the dimensions of 36 cm in height and 16 cm in width. The man wears the usual wide shoulder-length wig of Saite times. The face is well modelled with the eye almond-shaped with plastic eyebrows rendered as straight bars with outer ends dropping sharply. The right shoul-

* This paper is part of my thesis *Psammetico II. Il suo regno e i suoi monumenti*, examined in December 1995 at the University of Pisa under the direction of Edda Bresciani, to whom warm thanks are due. I have to thank the Trustees of the British Museum and the entire Department of Egyptian Antiquities there for information, photographs and the authorisation to publish them, especially Richard B. Parkinson for drawing figure 1, B. George, curator of the Egyptian Section of the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, and R. Fazzini, Curator of the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture, Brooklyn Museum, for photographs, help and information about NME 78. I deeply appreciated the kindness of D. Bergman, then Wilbour Librarian at the Brooklyn Museum, and H. De Meulenaere for help and advice. M. A. Leahy greatly improved the quality of this paper with suggestions on earlier drafts as well as correcting my English. Helpful advice has been received from the referees of this journal. Every opinion and mistake remains my own, however.

[1] Publications: *Egyptian Inscriptions, from the British Museum and Other Sources by Samuel Sharpe*, second series (London, 1855), pl. 40 a; *Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum Described by S. Sharpe* (London, 1862), 90–1. Quotations and list of the festivals: H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum aegyptiacarum. Altägyptische Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1883–91), 243, 495; G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte* (BdE 11; Cairo, 1936), 12 n. w; R. el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Sais et ses divinités* (BdE 69; Cairo, 1975), 284 § 104 and Appendix C; idem, *La déesse Neith de Saïs* (BdE 86; Cairo, 1982), II, 443 doc. 561; A. Spalinger, *The Private Feast Lists of Ancient Egypt* (ÄA 57; Wiesbaden, 1996), 83–4. Mention of the erasures present on the statue: J. Yoyotte, 'Néchao', *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplement*, fasc. 31 (1958), 370–1; B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1960), 51, 56 (hereafter *ESLP*); H. De Meulenaere, *Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Epoque* (Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 19; Istanbul, 1966), 28; A. J. Spalinger, 'Psammetichus II', *LÄ* IV, 1169–72, with an error in the museum number. For a recent photograph of the front view of this statue, see C. Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1990), 140 fig. 122. Here I refer only to the works used for the publication of the inscription. A complete bibliography of the statue can be found in PM VIII.2, 865 (no. 801-763-282).

[2] The description is based on a direct examination of the statue, made during a visit to the British Museum in October 1997, with the help of S. Quirke and J. Taylor. The British Museum *Egyptian Saloon Catalogue* (circa 1840), page 109 says: '1 ft 2 ¼ in h. Green Basalt'. The old number of the object in this catalogue is ES 493.

der is completely missing, while on the left shoulder there is an inscription reading 'The Lord of the Two Lands, Psammetichus'. The upper body is softly worked, with a groove marking bipartition reaching the belt; the chest shows considerable reworking, especially around the neck and for the addition of the pectoral.[3] On the lower right side of the neck, and partially also on the left side, small beads of an earlier, shorter necklace are still visible and it is possible to reconstruct the shape of the original ornament, probably a bead necklace with a rectangular pectoral as a pendant. A later reworking led to the carving of the present, longer necklace or cord, having as pendant the figures of a goddess and a king.[4] On the left the pendant has a representation of Neith, identified by the Red Crown; before her is the figure of a pharaoh, and her right arm passes over the king's right arm. The pharaoh is identified by the inscription 'The good god, Neferibre', the prenomen of Psammetichus II. His headgear is interesting: he wears the same crown as is represented on the intercolumnar slabs BM EA 20 and Vienna ÄS 213.[5] Below the cartouche appears the lower part of another one, probably a mistake made by the carver at the time of recutting. The lower part of the statue below the belt is missing, but from the curve of the folds on the kilt and the angle of the arms it seems likely it was a kneeling statue with the palms of the hands supported on the thighs, although a reconstruction as a man holding an offering table or *nw*-pots cannot be entirely excluded.[6] The back pillar (pl. X), now 28.5 cm high at its maximum and 8.2 cm wide, has a three-column inscription, with the lower part missing. Given the posture of the man, it is probable that the lost section is not considerable. The statue may originally have been about 40 cm in height.

Inscriptions (pl. X and fig. 1)

Translation

(1) An offering[a] which the king gives and which Osiris *ḫnt Ḥwt-bỉt*[b] gives,[c] an invocation offering of oxen, fowl, cloth, alabaster, incense, unguent, of every good thing on which [a god][d] lives ...

[3] For the bipartition of the body during the Saite period, see O. Perdu, 'Un monument d'originalité', *JEA* 84 (1998), 124 n. 3, with earlier bibliography. J. Josephson, 'Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period Revisited', *JARCE* 24 (1997), 2, points out that the bipartition starts with the Twelfth Dynasty, following information given to him by R. Fazzini.

[4] As noted by Andrews, *Egyptian Jewellery*, 140 caption to fig. 122, the original pectoral contained the name of a pharaoh. Pectorals with figures of king and god(s) are also found on the statues of Iahmes-sa-Neith and Ptahhotep; see *ESLP*, 67–8 (no. 57 A–B), pls. 54–5, fig. 134; 76–7 (no. 64) and fig. 151. The statue of Iahmes-sa-Neith, broken into two pieces, is now held at the Louvre, E. 25390 and E. 25475, the latter formerly Brooklyn Museum 59.77. It has been dated to Amasis' reign; cf. Josephson, *JARCE* 24, 11–12 nn. 69–70.

[5] The bibliography of these intercolumnar slabs is given in K. Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI-XXX* (Mainz, 1988), 46–7. New publications of Vienna ÄS 213 are M. Eaton-Krauss, 'A Falsely Attributed Monument', *JEA* 78 (1992), 285–7, and H. Satzinger, *Das Kunsthistorische Museum in Wien. Die ägyptisch-orientalische Sammlung* (Mainz, 1994), 46–7. The most recent photograph of the slab is in R. Schulz and M. Seidel (eds), *Egypt. The World of the Pharaohs* (Cologne, 1998), 279, fig. 12. For the use of this cap in early Saite times, see the recent discussion by A. Leahy, 'Royal Iconography and Dynastic Change', *JEA* 78 (1992), 228–39, and the opposite view of E. Russmann, 'Kushite Headdresses and "Kushite" Style', *JEA* 81 (1995), 227–32.

[6] The position with hands along the thighs is peculiar to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (cf. Perdu, *JEA* 84, 125 n. 14). Similar examples: statue in two fragments of Nekhthorheb, held at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen, number 1648, and Museo Civico Archeologico Bologna 1838 (H. De Meulenaere, 'Une famille de hauts dignitaires saites', in H. De Meulenaere and L. Limme (eds), *Artibus Aegypti* (Brussels, 1983), 35–41); statues of Iahmes and Iahmes-sa-Neith,

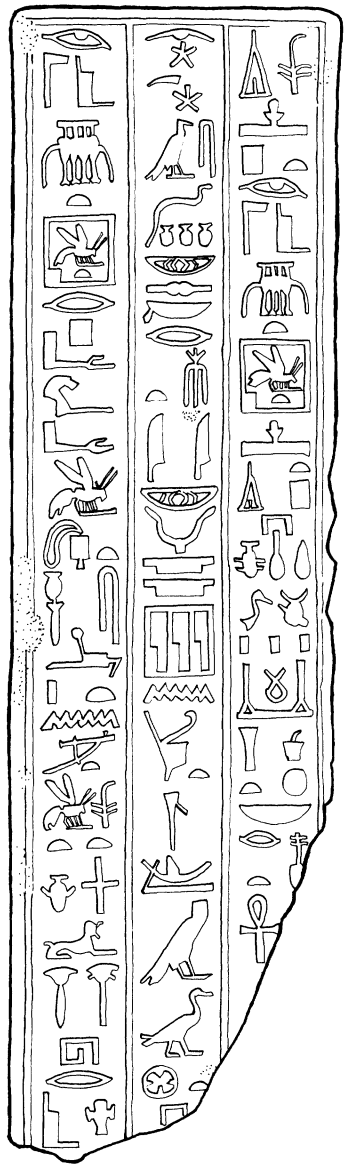


FIG. 1. British Museum EA 37891. Inscription on the back pillar (drawing by R. B. Parkinson).

(2) Month Festival, Half-month Festival,[e] *sꜣḏ*-Festival,[f] Sokar Festival,[g] *msyt*-Festival, Festival of the Opening of the Doors of the Temples of Neith,[h] Festival of the God's Journey in Sais[i] [...]
(3) Osiris *ḫnt Ḥwt-bỉt*, the noble, the treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole beloved friend of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,[j] confidant of the Lord of the Two Lands,[k] being in peace on [his] place,[l] [...][m]

published in *ESLP*, 59–61, (no. 52 A–B), pls. 48–9, and 67–8 (no. 57 A–B), pls. 54–5. To my knowledge, the other two positions are not attested during the Saite Period.

Commentary

To minimize redundancy, I refer the reader to the bibliography quoted by el-Sayed, *Documents*, Appendix C (no. 31 of his list), and Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists*, 83–4, for the feasts mentioned on this statue, supplying here further bibliography if published later or needed for the discussion.

(a) For the form of the sign *ḥtp*, see J. Buurman et al., *Inventaire des signes hiéroglyphiques en vue de leur saisie informatique* (Informatique et Égyptologie 2; Paris, 1988), P 4 (sixth variant).

(b) *Wsir ḥnt Ḥwt-bit*, 'Osiris who is in the *Ḥwt-bit*'—see el-Sayed, *Documents*, 207 also for this quotation, and 199–208, for divinities connected to this temple and the temple building itself.

(c) For the offering formula during the Saite Period, see W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (ÄF 24; Glückstadt, 1968), 195, and the recent study by H. Satzinger, 'Beobachtungen zur Opferformel: Theorie und Praxis', *LingAeg* 5 (1997), 177–88, in particular 177. The Saite formula as mostly present on statues with back pillar is the subject of a very recent study by K. Jansen-Winkeln, 'Zum Verständnis der "Saitischen Formel" ', *SAK* 28 (2000), 83–124, where all earlier bibliography is quoted.

(d) *ḫt nb nfrt ꜥnḫ [nṯr] im.sn*, 'everything good on which a god lives'. The restoration seems certain, with the sign *nṯr* lost on the right of the column.

(e) *n.t*, 'Half-month Festival'—*Wb.* II, 198, 2; el-Sayed, *Documents*, 79. On the transcription *smdt*, see *Wb.* IV, 147, 1; R. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (SAOC 26; Chicago, 1950),12 § 42; R. Hannig, *Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800–950 v.Chr.)* (Mainz, 1995), 711 and 1064; and Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists*, 83. This feast and the following one are also mentioned in Cairo CG 672, published by el-Sayed, *Documents*, 73–93. The second column of EA 37891 defines the time when the offerings were made.

(f) For the *sꜣḏ*-Festival during the Old Kingdom, see U. Luft, 'Das *sꜣḏ*-Fest im Alten Reich', in D. Mendel and U. Claudi (eds), *Ägypten in afro-orientalischen Kontext. Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens* (Cologne, 1991), 237–44. The revival of archaism, originating during the Libyan Period, saw its major development during the Saite Dynasty. Whether or not the phenomenon of archaism is related to the taking of power by 'foreign' dynasties and their need to be linked to a long established tradition is a question open to debate. Indeed, the revival of traditional cults and artistic features rapidly expanded to the different levels of Egyptian society. An updated bibliography and discussion of archaism can be found in P. Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past. Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty*, (London, 1994), xxxv-xlii, 1–5, and S. Neureiter, 'Eine neue Interpretation des Archaismus', *SAK* 21 (1994), 219–54.

(g) *Skr*, 'Sokar Festival'. There are three recent works on this feast, all by C. Graindorge-Héreil, 'Les oignons de Sokar', *RdE* 43 (1992), 87–105; *Le dieu Sokar à Thebes au Nouvel Empire* (GOF 4/28; Wiesbaden, 1994), 169–310, for the rituals at Thebes; 'La quête de la lumière au mois de Khoiak: une histoire d'oies', *JEA* 82 (1996), 83–105. The festivals of Sokar and Osiris were assimilated from the beginnings of the New Kingdom—see A. Gaballa and K. A. Kitchen, 'The Festival of Sokar', *Or* 38 (1969), 35.

(h) *ḥb wp ꜥꜣwy Ḥwwt (n) Nt*, 'Festival of the Opening of the Doors of the Temples of Neith': consult el-Sayed, *Documents*, 79 n. g and 142 n. d. For the name *Ḥwt Nt* and its variants, see el-Sayed, *Documents*, 111–12 n. f; idem, *La déesse Neith* I, 13–16. The *wpt rnpt*–Festival is not mentioned here, contra el-Sayed, *Documents*, Appendix C, nr. 1.

(i) *ḥnt / ḏꜣi nṯr m Sꜣw*: *Wb.* V, 511–12. Doubts remain about the reading *ḥnt* or *ḏꜣi* for the ship-sign (Gardiner Sign List P1): the former is only attested on the statue at Musée Dobrée, Nantes 1255, cf. el-Sayed, *Documents*, 160–5. The ⌐ of Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, 40 a, followed by Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 243, and el-Sayed, *Documents*, Appendix 1, has to be corrected; the sign is only partially intelligible, although I am assigning the value *nṯr* to it here. I incline to consider it to be a mummiform figure, with the feet not clearly shaped, with the frontal part as a false beard. It would thus be a variant of a recumbent mummy Gardiner Sign List A54 (cf. E. Drioton, 'Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIIIe Dynastie', *RdE* 1 (1933), 38, no. 24), but the value is not otherwise attested. The other

interpretation is to see it as a crook, in this following a copy sent me by M. Bierbrier a few years ago,[7] but this does not convince me on the basis of the characteristics of the sign itself. The upper part is not rounded as in the crook, but is flat instead, and what I regard as the false beard would be not well shaped for the final part of the object. I do not accept the reading by Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists*, 83: *ḫnt nṯr[t] m S3w*, which refers to Neith and is paralleled by the 'Great Navigation of Her Majesty' of the Musée Dobrée statue. The reference to Osiris, not Neith, is clear. Herodotus (II, 170-1) (see A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II. Commentary 98–192* (EPRO 43; Leiden, 1988), 209, and *Erodoto. Le Storie, libro II* (Milan, 1989), 389) expostulates on the pains of Osiris, represented by night on the sacred lake of the Neith temple on the night of the twenty-fourth day of Khoiak; see P. Barguet, *Le papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre* (BdE 37; Paris, 1962), 41–2; Gaballa and Kitchen, *Or* 38, 42. On the *neshmet*–bark, see Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar*, 222–7.

(j) For these titles, see S. Pernigotti, 'Un frammento di statua saitica nel Museo Civico di Bologna', *SCO* 26 (1977), 273 n. g, on the statue Bologna 1812; this statue has been republished in idem, *La statuaria egiziana nel Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna* (Bologna, 1980), 57–9, no. 23.

(k) *imy-ib nb t3wy* for the translation 'confidant' (*Wb.* I, 72). The sign used for *nb* is the sphinx with uraeus (*Wb.* II, 182: F. Daumas (ed.), *Valeurs phonetiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco romaine* (Montpellier, 1988), I, 235 no. 403); I consider the signs  as variants of the usual 

(*Wb.* V, 217; Daumas (ed.), *Valeurs phonetiques*, II, 404 no. 199).

(l) *ḥr ḥr st*,  is here translated as 'peaceful' (*Wb.* II, 496–7; R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 159).

(m) This part contained the name of the owner, now lost. E. Feucht, *Pektorale nichtköniglicher Personen* (ÄA 22; Wiesbaden, 1971), 44 and 55, suggested the name Bes.[8]

Discussion

The provenance of the statue must be Sais, given the festivals mentioned. The structure of the text on the back pillar, although fragmentary, is similar to that of the statue Cambridge Fitzwilliam 393,[9] in which the offerings for an individual named Psammetichus are linked to particular feasts. The list of festivals on EA 37891 is divided into two different series: first those celebrated in every period of the year, then the others connected to the month of Khoiak. There is no apparent order in the latter section, because the festival of Sokar, celebrated on the twenty-sixth day of Khoiak, is followed by the festival of the procession of the god in Sais, celebrated on the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth day of that month, while the date of the *msyt*-festival during the month of Khoiak is uncertain.[10] The stylistic analysis of the object leads to the following considerations: the wide wig and the so-called 'Saite smile'[11] recall the statuary of the epoch of Psammetichus I, but as for the date, it is impossible stylistically to give a more precise date than the first half of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Obviously the modifications of the pectoral and its cartouche date to the reign of Psammetichus II. The cartouche on the left shoulder has no changes inside, unlike the statue Louvre E. 10709,[12] on which the cartouches on the shoulders, both naming *Nfr-ib-R*ᶜ, and

[7] Letter of 11 August 1995.

[8] She also dates the statue to the reign of Psammetichus I (p. 44).

[9] E. A. W. Budge, *A Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1893), 120–2.

[10] All these dates follow el-Sayed, *Documents*, Appendix C.

[11] *ESLP*, 31, 56.

[12] Photograph of the statue in J. Yoyotte and S. Sauneron, 'Le martelage des noms royaux éthiopiens et la campagne nubienne de Psametik II', *BSFE* 2 (1949), plate opposite p. 46.

the cartouche on the chest bearing the name *Psmṯk* all contain erasures. EA 37891 is paralleled by the statues of Ipi (Michael Abemayor collection) and Harbes (MMA 19.2.2), both of them with original cartouches:[13] the former has the name *Nfr-ỉb-Rᶜ* on the right shoulder, the latter *Psmṯk* on the left one. A bust from Memphis has a cartouche *Nfr-ỉb-Rᶜ* on the chest,[14] attached to a necklace, similar to that on the British Museum statue. On EA 37891 the original pectoral was deleted because it contained the name of a pharaoh,[15] and the only possible name is Necho. Indeed, to alter the names *Wꜣḥ-ỉb-Rᶜ* and *Wḥm-ỉb-Rᶜ* only required a change of the median sign. The mystery remains as to why the bead necklace suffered a similar fate, a *unicum* among all the documents connected with the dossier on the *damnatio memoriae* of Necho II. In seeking an answer, and because EA 37891 has been associated with the erasure of the names of Necho II, I will give a list of the objects cited as belonging to the reign of this king,[16] royal and private, with or without a new inscription. It will be noted when the object is inserted in this list by my own observation or has already been included by some other scholar.

I. Royal monuments

a) With recutting

1) Intercolumnar slab, Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 213:[17] recutting of the cartouches reading Neferibre and Psammetichus in the scene captions, with none of the earlier signs now visible.[18] The cartouches on the torus with the name Psammetichus show no signs of having been recut.
2) Naos from Athribis, Cairo CG 88205:[19] modifications of the titulary and cartouches on the upper part of the naos and on both sides, with replacement of Necho II's names by those of Psammetichus II.
3) Headless sphinx, Baltimore WAG 22.104:[20] inscriptions on the base show recut of names *Nfr-ỉb-Rᶜ* and *Psmṯk* in the cartouches on both sides, with no traces of the earlier name. The name *Nfr-ỉb-Rᶜ* between the paws of the sphinx is original and no signs have been recut.
4) ? Base and lower part of a statue of Osiris, Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5911:[21] the cartouches have the prenomen and nomen of Psammetichus II superimposed over those of the original owner, possibly a Nubian ruler. Indeed, two statues of Osiris made

[13] Both statues published in *ESLP*, 54–5 (nos. 47–8).

[14] Now Baltimore WAG 22.198. The photographs published by G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), 52, pls. xxvi and cxiii, and *ESLP*, 56 and fig. 111, seem to show erasures, as *ESLP* remarks.

[15] As remarked by Andrews, *Egyptian Jewellery*, 140 caption to fig. 122.

[16] Earlier lists are present in *ESLP*, 50–1, and Spalinger, *LÄ* IV, 1171.

[17] See n. 5 above.

[18] A letter from H. Satzinger dated 31 January 1995 confirms the note by Eaton-Krauss, *JEA* 78, 286.

[19] L. Habachi, 'Athribis in the XXVIth Dynasty', *BIFAO* 82 (1982), 216–21.

[20] I owe this information to S. Harvey, then Assistant Curator in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, in a letter of 6 September 1997. For the studies of the object, see Steindorff, *Catalogue*, 48–9 no. 142; S. Sauneron and J. Yoyotte, 'La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II et sa signification historique', *BIFAO* 50 (1952), 171 n. 4; A. Leahy, 'Saite Royal Sculpture: A Review', *GM* 80 (1984), 64, none of them commenting on the erasure. Notes on this statue are based on information given by S. Harvey, who kindly informed me that, according to the museum files, J. Capart in the 1930s dated the statue to Psammetichus II's reign.

[21] E. Rogge, *Statuen der Spatzeit (750-ca. 300 v.Chr.)* (CAA; Mainz, 1992), 49–51; Leahy, *JEA* 78, 229 n. 32.

by Piye were usurped by Psammetichus II;[22] there are no signs as yet of usurpation of cult statues of Necho II.[23]

b) Without recutting

1) Stela from Tura, Year 2 (?) of Necho II:[24] there are signs of the chisel used for recutting throughout the six-column inscription, but in the decoration of the lunette, the cartouches *Wḥm-ib-Rᶜ* and *Nkɔw* seem intact.
2) Graffito no. 97 from Wadi Hammamat:[25] both cartouches of Necho II are erased, but the nearby graffito no. 99 did not suffer a similar fate.[26]
3) Altar from Deir el-Abiad:[27] the central column of the surviving inscription, with the titulary and the name in the cartouche damaged, says: 'The good lord, the Lord of the Two Lands, ...-Ra, beloved by [Mehit] the great, mistress of Behedet'.[28] On the left side the names *Wḥm-ib-Rᶜ* and *Psmṯk* are written in the cartouches, followed by the traditional epithets. An inscription symmetrical to that of the left side is carved on the right one, and a long column inscribed on the right part of this side contains the first three names of the titulary of Psammetichus II, and in the cartouches is the repetition of the names *Wḥm-ib-Rᶜ* and *Psmṯk*.

II. Private monuments

a) With recutting

1) Statue Cairo CG 658 of Horira:[29] the name *Wḥm-ib-Rᶜ-nfr* was changed to *Nfr-ib-Rᶜ-nfr*, and on the right side of the base, an earlier nomen was changed to *Psmṯk*.[30] The presence of the names of Necho II's children, with the epithet 'King's Son / Daughter' and the absence of a cartouche bearing the name Psammetichus, the future king, permit one to date the statue to the second king of the dynasty.
2) Statue Cairo CG 807, also of Horira:[31] the statue has the central sign of the cartouche modified to *nfr*, on the front of the base (l. 3), as well as in the second column of the back pillar. The inscription on the left side of the pillar has a cartouche in which the central

[22] J. Yoyotte, 'Le martelage des noms royaux éthiopiens par Psammétique II', *RdE* 8 (1951), 219, for quotation and bibliography.

[23] Also Rogge, *Statuen*, 49, is uncertain for the chronology of the statue.

[24] Bibliography: *LD* III, 273 a; G. Daressy, 'Inscriptions des carrières de Tourah et Másarah', *ASAE* 11 (1911), 257–68. A precise date is not given in the inscription itself. The text has only 'The year after the reunion of the Two Lands', following Daressy, *ASAE* 11, 260.

[25] J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammamat* (MIFAO 34; Cairo, 1912), 70 and pl. xxiv for the inscription.

[26] Couyat and Montet, *Ouâdi Hammamat*, 71.

[27] H. Gauthier, 'Un autel consacré à la déesse Mehit', *ASAE* 35 (1935), 207–12; Sauneron and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 50, 158. I follow the text as published by Gauthier.

[28] Whether such damage was accidental is very difficult to say. Gauthier did not note anything of it, but hacking out of the text could be possible, at least for the inscription in the central column. However, a new collation of the whole text is needed to solve such doubts.

[29] Recent publications and studies: R. el-Sayed, 'Quelques éclaircissements sur l'histoire de la XXVIe Dynastie, d'apres la statue du Caire CG. 658', *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 29–44; idem, *Documents*, 93-108; K. Jansen-Winkeln, 'Zu den Denkmälern Erziehers Psametiks II', *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 196–7.

[30] Cf. Jansen-Winkeln, *MDAIK* 52, 197.

[31] L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, III (CGC; Berlin 1930), 104–5; R. Buongarzone, 'La *rw(y)t* e il *mr rw(y)t*', *EVO* 18 (1995), 51–4; Jansen-Winkeln, *MDAIK* 52, 188–92; O. Perdu, 'Une «autobiographie» d'Horirâa revisitée', *RdE* 48 (1997), 165–84.

sign, not readable, is erased without any recutting.

3) Statue Louvre E.10709:[32] both shoulders have the cartouche reading *Nfr-ỉb-Rᶜ*, with *nfr* and *ỉb* modified, while on the chest there is a necklace with the cartouche *Psmṯk*, completely recarved, and no trace of the earlier signs.
4) Lintel fragment, from the tomb of Padihorresnet (TT 196):[33] the prenomen is partially erased and the name *Wḥm-ỉb-Rᶜ* has been transformed into *Nfr-ỉb-Rᶜ*.
5) Statue from Ephesus, held in the Efes Museum at Selçuk, no. 1965. It belongs to a priest named *ỉḫꜣt*.[34] Modifications are in the cartouche of the plaque attached to the belt. In those on the sash belt, the Horus name *Mnḫ-ỉb* has replaced a former *Sỉꜣ-ỉb*, and the earlier cartouches have been changed into *Nfr-ỉb-Rᶜ* and *Psmṯk*. The cartouche *Nfr-ỉb-Rᶜ* on the right shoulder shows traces of a former *wḥm*.[35]

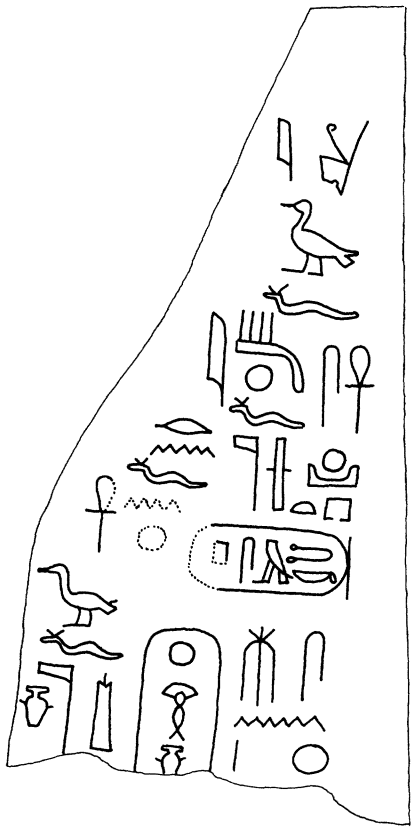


FIG. 2. Stockholm NME 78. Inscription on the left side. The erasures before the cartouches are represented by a dotted line.

[32] See n. 12 above.

[33] E. Graefe, 'Zwei Ergebnisse einen Inspektion des Grabes No.196 in Assassif', *CdE* 46 (1971), 239 n. 8; idem, 'Fouilles de l'Assassif 1970–1975', *CdE* 50 (1975), 24.

[34] Published by E. Winter, 'Eine ägyptische Bronze aus Ephesos', *ZÄS* 97 (1971), 146–55.

[35] Winter, *ZÄS* 97, 152–3.

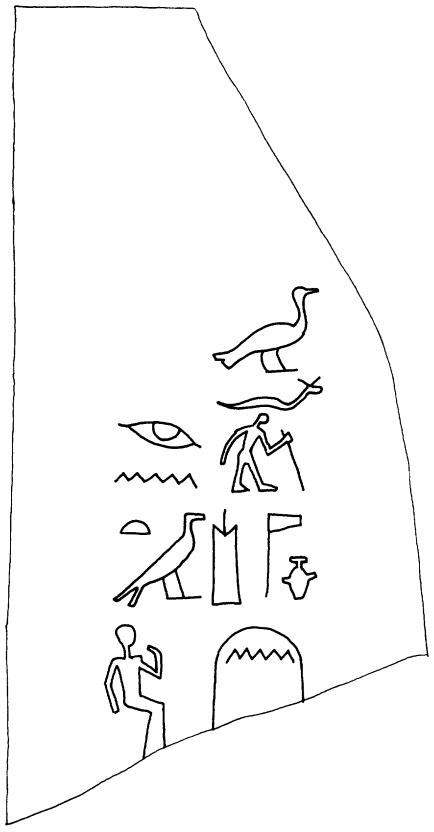


FIG. 3. Stockholm NME 78. Inscription on the right side.

6) Statue Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet NME 78:[36] this represents an osirophorus statue in black basalt now 24.5 cm high, with head and lower part missing. As the erasures on it have never been published, I present here a new study of both sides of the statue itself based on photographs. On the lateral left side of the back pillar, signs of erasure can be seen in front of the cartouche *Psmṯk*, in the area comprising the signs *ʿnḫ*, *n* and *ḫ*, and even the *p*-hieroglyph in the cartouche. No sign is changed in the cartouche with the name Wahibre, and  is clearly visible inside the cartouche on the right side, where the only possible name is thus *Nkɔw*.[37] For the sake of completeness I give the translation of both sides:

Left side (fig. 2 and pl. XI, 1–2): 'By his son, the revered one, who makes his (i.e. his

[36] Original publication by K. Piehl, 'Quelques textes égyptiens', *Actes du 8e Congrès des Orientalistes, Stockholm 1889* (Leiden, 1891), 53–5, no. 8. The statue is quoted by J. Yoyotte, 'Prêtres et sanctuaires du nome héliopolite à la Basse Epoque', *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 112; *ESLP*, 50; Sayed, *BIFAO* 74, 40 n. 2; and V. Laurent, 'Une statue provenant de Tell el-Maskoutah', *RdE* 35 (1984), 151. The lateral inscriptions were kindly collated on my behalf by B. George, curator of the Egyptian Section.

[37] Necho appears as a private name; cf. H. Ranke, *Die ägyptische Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935), I, 213 (16) (hereafter *PN*).

father's) name live, (the father of)[38] the god, the *imy ỉḫt-ˁ* priest,[39] *ˁnḫ-Psmṭk*.[40] His son, in the heart of the god of Heliopolis,[41] *Wỉḥ-ỉb-Rˁ*,[42] born by ...'[43]
Right side (fig. 3 and pl. XI, 3): 'His elder son, in the heart of the god of Heliopolis, *N* (...), whom *Tỉ-šrỉ-* ... has borne'.[44]

The back pillar shows no modifications, being without any royal names.

Although this statue seems to be linked to the *damnatio memoriae* of Necho II, it is very difficult to be sure of this. In fact, the prenomen *Wỉḥ-ỉb-Rˁ* and the name Psammetichus in the cartouches seem original. On the other hand, the name N(echo) suggests to me a date in Necho II's reign when the other child of the statue owner could have been born. I see in the name Wahibra the nomen of Psammetichus, and from the stylistic point of view, the bipartition of the back pillar confirms the date to be of the first half of the dynasty.[45] As regards what is visible now, the erasure seems to be mostly outside the cartouche, and the hacking out before the cartouche with the name *Psmṭk* does not seem accidental. One of the possible explanations is that some sort of change from an earlier epithet of the basilophorous name to the current one happened, but if so, the reasons for that change are still unknown.

7) Fragmentary statue from Buto, no. 586, representing a man with two female figures, one of them probably wearing the Red Crown, carved on his chest.[46] On the left of the group is a short inscription, in which the name *Nfr-ỉb-Rˁ* appears in a cartouche. However, the cartouche of *Nfr-ỉb-Rˁ* in the back pillar inscription is written over an illegible earlier one. On the statue's left shoulder, there is an inscription reading 'Lord of the Two Lands, Psammetichus'.

b) Without recutting

1) Statue Cairo CG 928:[47] group of a man with two children. The man has a cartouche with the name *Nkỉw* on his chest, but the sign of the bull has been deleted.

2) Donation stela of Neshor from Hermopolis in the Mendesian nome, Mandel collection, New York:[48] both cartouches bearing the names *Wḥm-ỉb-Rˁ* and *Nkỉw* in the first line of

[38] The sign *mr* (Piehl, *Actes*, 55, adds a question-mark) is not visible from the photograph. Laurent, *RdE* 35, 151 (b), does not question the sign, but the collation by B. George confirms the absence of the sign itself. I restore *ỉt*, as appears on the Naophorous Tourajeff and a statuette in the art market, both cited by Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 54, 90, 112 n. 4.

[39] For this group of priests, see Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 54, 89–90; Laurent, *RdE* 35, 150–2.

[40] On this name, see *PN* I, 63 (24); Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 54, 111–13. See *ESLP*, 54 (no. 47), for further comments about this statue.

[41] I propose as restoration <*m*> *ỉb nṯr ỉwn*, to my knowledge otherwise unattested.

[42] As a private name, see *PN* I, 72 (28).

[43] The name appears to start with *P-Rˁ-*, but both signs are still uncertain following B. George's collation. Piehl, *Actes*, 55, does not restore any sign on this part.

[44] The final part of the mother's name as well as the end of the inscription are missing. For various female names in the Late Period starting with *Tỉ-šrỉ-*, see PN I, 368–70.

[45] *ESLP*, 53–4 (no. 42), for a stylistic analysis of the art of this phase of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, with the note that the incision of the amulet cord and the use of the three-column inscription on the back pillar mainly date to the time of Psammetichus II.

[46] S. Bedier, 'Die Statue Nr. 586 aus Buto', *DE* 44 (1999), 19–35, who remarks (p. 34) that the erasure could have been made by Psammetichus II on a statue of a Kushite king's follower or have been associated with the *damnatio memoriae* of his father's names. That the Buto statue has a female figure in the Lower Egyptian crown carved on its chest is an interesting feature, resembling that on EA 37891.

[47] Borchardt, *Statuen* III, 159; *ESLP*, 50.

[48] Published by A. P. Zivie, *Hermopolis et le nome de l'Ibis* (BdE 66; Cairo, 1975), 87–96.

the inscription have been deleted.

3) Donation stela, Chicago OIM 13943:[49] there is damage to the signs *wḥm* and *m* in the prenomen, and the signs *kꜣ* and *w* of the nomen appear erased in the first line of the inscription. The rest of the titulary was left untouched.

This list of monuments shows a fair number of private monuments and a few royal ones with erasure. But to date, among royal monuments, only the naos from Athribis is manifestly reworked by Psammetichus II, and this could be an act of usurpation, not of hatred of his father.[50] The others have changes or erasures which do not leave any trace of earlier names, or no new name is cut. Alternative explanations can be offered for each object. The stela from Tura is damaged and hacked out but the cartouches are intact, so the reason for such destruction is not completely clear. The intercolumnar slab could belong to the reign of Psammetichus I, but have been left incomplete at the time of his death and reused by his grandson. Indeed, there are similarities in the decoration of Psammetichus I's and Psammetichus II's slabs, as Eaton-Krauss noted.[51] The altar from Deir el-Abiad has the strange mixture of the prenomen *Wḥm-ib-Rᶜ* and the nomen *Psmṭk*, but I have already remarked on the problems with this text.[52] Furthermore, some monuments belonging to Necho II are known from the Delta, with a probable provenance at Sais;[53] if some sort of revenge were to be taken against this king, the capital was the first place from which Necho II's monuments would have to disappear. The funerary stelae of the third and fourth Apis bulls of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty have the royal names intact,[54] and the same it is true for two small bronze statues of the king in the Philadelphia and Brooklyn museums.[55] Other objects to have reached us include the statue Louvre A 83,[56] and the reliefs in the Walters Art Gallery (22.135) and in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (no. 46).[57] Even a monumental inscription has survived from this period, the fragmentary stela from Elephantine,[58] so that the list is large enough to say that Necho's names are preserved throughout Egypt. This is very different from the results of the execration campaign carried out by Psammetichus II against the Kushite kings in Egypt and Nubia itself, during which no site was spared.[59] A fragment from Ausim has an inscription with the names of Necho and Psammetichus;[60] while they

49 A. Leahy, 'Two Donation Stelae of Necho II', *RdE* 34 (1982–3), 84–91.

50 A. Schulman, 'Some Remarks on the Alleged Fall of Senmut', *JARCE* (1970), 37 is still pertinent on this point. For a study of the disgrace of Senenmut, see now P. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut* (London, 1988), 141–57.

51 *JEA* 78, 286. K. Myśliwiec, *Herr Beider Länder* (Mainz, 1998), 157, suggests that this slab had modifications because Psammetichus I followed the 'Kushite' style for the cap carved on it. Therefore his monument suffered the same fate of those belonging to the Nubian pharaohs.

52 See n. 28 above.

53 See L. Habachi, 'Sais and its Monuments', *ASAE* 42 (1943), 378–82 and 396.

54 Louvre IM 133 and IM 132, published by E. Chassinat, 'Textes provenant du Sérapeum du Memphis', *RT* 22 (1900), 20–1 (lxiv) and 167 (xc).

55 Philadelphia E. 13004: photographs in Yoyotte, 'Néchao', 366 fig. 608, and *ESLP*, 50–1, figs. 95–6. Brooklyn 71.11: photographs in R. Fazzini, *Images for Eternity. Egyptian Art from Berkeley and Brooklyn* (New York, 1975), 116-17, figs. a, b. Leahy *GM* 80, 70, suggests that one or both statuettes could belong to Necho (I).

56 *ESLP*, 51 (no. 44); Yoyotte, 'Néchao', fig. 609.

57 *ESLP*, 49.

58 F. Junge, *Elephantine*, XI (Mainz, 1987), 66–7, pl. 40 c; D. B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, 1992), 462, for a bibliography.

59 Yoyotte, *RdE* 8, *passim* is still the best study.

60 A. Kamal, 'Quelques fragments provenant d'Ouasim', *ASAE* 4 (1903), 91–2.

could belong to either the first or the second kings of these names,[61] I am more inclined to the latter possibility. In this way, filial piety would also have been shown to his father by Psammetichus II.

The presence of erasure on the private monuments is considerable, but until now only Horira's, Neshor's and *Ỉḥ*ꜣ*t*'s statues and the lintel from the tomb of Padihorresnet are clearly dated to the reign of Necho II. Chronological data are missing for the other objects and the date is only given by the presence of the prenomen or nomen of Psammetichus II in the modified cartouches. Further distinction has to be made for an important official like Horira. The modification of his name can be associated with a typical phenomenon of Psammetichus II's reign: the appearance of the basiliphorous beautiful name for officials strictly linked to the royal court.[62] Its use is manifest for generals and military commanders like Potasimto, Amasis, Nekhthorheb and Neshor. All can be connected directly or indirectly with Psammeticus II's Nubian campaign, Amasis and Potasimto as the generals leading the expedition, Nekhthorheb and Neshor as important military officials could have played some role in the preparation of the campaign. So Horira, a long-time member of the royal court, received such an award after the victorious return of the army. Following the hypothesis as set up by De Meulenaere and Jansen-Winkeln, this official could have changed his former personal name *Wḥm-ib-R*ᶜ*-nfr* adopted during the reign of Necho II into the beautiful name *Nfr-ib-R*ᶜ*-nfr*, introducing 'Horira' as his personal name. After the end of Psammetichus II's reign, 'Horira' became his only name.[63] A statue of Osiris (Cairo CG 38236) and a torso in a private collection in Germany, both of them with no changes in the cartouches, are the only documents on which the official is named *Ḥr-ỉr-*ᶜꜣ as well as *Nfr-ỉb-R*ᶜ*-nfr*.[64] Accepting such a hypothesis, the various modifications of his statues could be explained—Horira just wanted to show the royal favour he had received.[65]

The erasures on the statue from Ephesus as well as on the lintel of Padihorresnet's tomb can be explained differently. During Psammetichus II's reign, these officials could have maintained their posts already held under Necho II. As assumed by Graefe,[66] Padihorresnet

[61] Leahy, *GM* 80, 68.

[62] On this see De Meulenaere, *Le surnom*, remains fundamental, along with his additions in 'Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque', *OLP* (1981), 127–34.

[63] De Meulenaere, *Le surnom*, 28; Jansen-Winkeln, *MDAIK* 52, 198.

[64] Bibliography: Jansen-Winkeln, *MDAIK* 52, 192–6 (Cairo CG 38236) and 197 (torso).

[65] I agree with the conclusions of Jansen-Winkeln, *MDAIK* 52, 198, about the date of the various objects belonging to *Ḥr-ỉr-*ᶜꜣ/ *Wḥm-ib-R*ᶜ*-nfr*. That his basilophorous name was used generally only during Psammetichus II's reign is confirmed by the tomb of Horira himself, probably dating to Apries' years of rule; cf. Jansen-Winkeln, *MDAIK* 52, 198, in which the basilophorous name no longer appears. De Meulenaere, *Le surnom*, 18–19 n. 86, 29–30, suggests that the basilophorous name was a kind of reward for special achievements. Some basilophorous names include warrior epithets in them: *Nfr-ib-R*ᶜ*-nḫt* (Amasis), *Nfr-ib-R*ᶜ*-nb-qn* (Potasimto), *Ḥr-mnḫ-ib-nḫt* (Nekhthorheb), *Psmṯk-mnḫ-ib* (Neshor), *Nfr-ib-R*ᶜ*-nb-pḥty* (Udjahorresnet), eulogizing the kingly power. A prosopography of these military officials is in P.-M. Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens de la Basse Epoque* (Anthony, 1985), 87–94, 124–5. I propose to date Udjahorresnet to Psammetichus II's reign, in this following De Meulenaere, *Le surnom*, 6. The last private object found to be dated to the reign of Necho II is a silver statuette of a woman, held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Th. M. Davis Bequest 1930, 30.8.93, published by L. Becker, L. Pilosi and D. Schorsch, 'An Egyptian Silver Statuette of the Saite Period. A Technical Study', *MMJ* 29 (1994), 37–56. As visible from the figures 9–11 there, the cartouches with the names *Wḥm-ib-R*ᶜ (right shoulder) and *Nkꜣw* (left shoulder) are intact. S. Thomas, 'A Saite Figure of Isis in the Petrie Museum', *JEA* 85 (1999), 232–5, has published a statuette of Isis belonging to Psamtik, also with 'a good name' Psamtik. If the hypothesis of a haplography is rejected, this is the only case in which the personal and the 'beautiful' names are the same. It is also a proof of the use of the 'beautiful name' as only appearing during Psammetichus II's reign; see Thomas, *JEA* 85, 234 and n. 4.

[66] See n. 33 above.

died at the beginning of Psammetichus II's rule, and the cartouche present in the tomb changed into that king's. The changes on Louvre E. 10709, with the complete erasure in both cartouches of prenomen and nomen, could be linked to the Nubian campaign, as was assumed in earlier studies.[67] Following this idea, the erasures on this statue, made at the time of the expedition, could hide the prenomen of any of these Kushite kings; only Shebitku is ruled out. In fact, his prenomen is *Nfr-kȝ-Rᶜ* and only a change of the *kȝ*-sign was needed in order to render it identical to that of Psammetichus II.[68] The statue from Buto may have suffered the same fate as Louvre E.10709. The statue Stockholm NME 78 may belong to Necho II's reign, but probably has to be deleted from the dossier of the *damnatio memoriae*. Excluding EA 37891, the only private statue demonstrating an attack on Necho is Cairo CG 928, in which the *kȝ*-sign of 'Necho' is erased. But the statue at Nantes, mentioned above, has an owner named Necho-Menekhib, a mixture of father's and son's names, very strange for an execrated king.[69]

The only support for the *damnatio memoriae* hypothesis does not come from statues, but from donation stelae. In fact, we know that when the renewal of the donation was made, a new stela was needed,[70] so it was not enough to change the name of an earlier king to that of the ruling one in order to maintain the donation. At the same time four other donation stelae have no erasure,[71] so that the solution to the problem of the hacking out of Necho II's names is not easy to find, because different objects of the dossier are contradictory.

Other *damnationes memoriae* are attested during the Saite Period. Apries' and Amasis' names suffered it. The names of Apries were erased from a statue for private revenge,[72] while Amasis was execrated during the early phase of Persian rule in Egypt, when Cambyses wanted to recall his own link to Apries, the legitimate pharaoh.[73] These later *damnationes* do not have any points of contact with that of Necho II, who was the acknowledged ruler, and during whose reign no internal conflicts are known.

67 Sauneron and Yoyotte, *BSFE* 2, label of the photograph opposite p. 46 for the date; Yoyotte, *RdE* 8, 237 n. 3 (with doubts). Other private statues are dated to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty: Yoyotte, *RdE* 8, 219 (CG 1053), 221 and 235 fig. 2 (Cairo JE 44665). Cairo CG 1053 was originally published by L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten,* IV (CGC; Berlin, 1934), 40.

68 Cf. J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (MÄS 20; Berlin, 1984), 269–71, for a list of the names of these kings.

69 That the cartouches on the shoulders of some statues naming Psammetichus could have been cut later than the original carving cannot be excluded; cf. Bedier, *DE* 44, 34. However, the only statue surely dated to Necho II's reign, Cairo CG 658, belonging to Horira, has the cartouches changed in the original inscriptions, but no cartouches added on its shoulders.

70 For instance, the stelae Cairo JE 36863 and Berlin 15393, with bibliography in D. Meeks, 'Les donations aux temples dans l'Égypte du Ier millénaire avant J.-C.', in E. Lipiński (ed.), *Temple and State Economy in the Ancient Near East* (OLA 6; Leuven, 1979), II, 677–8 (26.3.3 and 26.4.17), refer to the donation of the same land in Psammetichus II's and Apries' reigns.

71 A list of all known donation stelae is in Meeks, in Lipiński (ed.), *Temple and State Economy* II, 675–6, to which add Leahy, *RdE* 34, *passim.* The stela 26.2.7 is also cited by M. el-Alfi, 'Varia from the Delta and Upper Egypt', *DE* 32 (1995), 46–7.

72 P. Munro, 'Die Statuen des *Ḥrw* aus Baqlîya und Tell el-Balâmûn. Kestner-Museum 1980.84 / Lausanne 9 / Turin 3026', in *Festschrift für G. Fecht* (ÄAT 12; Wiesbaden, 1987), 328–32; A. Leahy, 'The Earliest Dated Monument of Amasis and the End of the Reign of Apries', *JEA* 74 (1988), 198 n. 74.

73 A list of the monuments belonging to Amasis can be found in E. Bresciani, 'Una statua della XXVI dinastia con il cosiddetto «abito persiano»', *SCO* 16 (1967), 277 n. a, and H. De Meulenaere, 'La famille du roi Amasis', *JEA* 54 (1968), 183–4 n. 3, to which the headless sphinx from Buto (Leahy *GM* 80, 60) must be added. For a recent (reversed) photograph of the sphinx of Amasis, earlier held in Musei Capitolini, Rome, and now in Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori there, (no. 35), see E. A. Arslan (ed.), *Iside. Il mito, il mistero, la magia* (Milan, 1997), 391, also quoting earlier biblio-graphy.

The loss of Syrian territories and problems with mercenary forces have been used as explanations for the disgrace of Necho in the eyes of his contemporaries. The quotation of Herodotus (II, 30) and the biography of Neshor have been considered as proofs of the persistent problems in Egyptian internal policy during the dynasty.[74] However, the presence of some rebellious forces in Egypt during the dynasty does not necessarily mean a general state of internal disorder throughout the country for the period under examination.[75] Despite the defeat of Carchemish of 605 BC being a serious blow to the Egyptian dreams of a Levantine empire, Necho II was able to convert that defeat into a maritime policy. He built a powerful fleet and repelled the Babylonian invasion of 601 BC.[76] Instead, the revival of the name 'Necho' during the Persian Period, at that time when it became a symbol of the Egyptian independence from the stranger, could be seen as a proof for the absence of any hatred against him.[77]

Mercenary forces, military officials and garrisons were important for the whole of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty,[78] and Amasis as general led an insurrection against the pharaoh himself, but their importance should not be exaggerated. The king was the ruler of Egypt and wanted to be seen as such.[79] The royal texts of the period are full of the ideology used during the glorious times of the New Kingdom, although, of course, ideology and reality can be very distant. However, I regard it as incorrect to suppose that the whole dynasty was torn by internal dissension, which, on the basis of both Egyptian and Greek sources, appears chronologically limited to Apries' reign only. I continue to wonder whether there ever was such a thing as a *damnatio memoriae* against Necho II.[80]

Bresciani, *SCO* 16, 279 n. 2, refers to the story of Herodotus (III, 2) making Cambyses a son of a daughter of Apries, and having the Persian king trace his lineage to Apries himself. A new study of Amasis' *damnatio memoriae* will be made by M. A. Leahy.

74 H. Schäfer, 'Die Auswanderung der Krieger unter Psammetich I. und der Söldneraufstand in Elephantine unter Apries', *Klio* 4 (1904), 156–8 for the translation of the Neshor inscription. A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II. Commentary 1-98* (EPRO 43; Leiden, 1976), 129, agrees about the historical reality of the mutiny narrated by Herodotus, which happened during Psammetichus I's reign, in this following H. De Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie* (Leuven, 1951), 41–3.

75 I wonder whether the Egyptian tradition recalled by the Greek historian of the mutiny under Psammetichus I could not have had the king named simply as Wahibre. It was the prenomen of Psammetichus I as well as the nomen of Apries, and thus could have been interpreted as referring to the founder of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. That a tradition unfavourable to Apries survived is clear from the Herodotean *logos* regarding the revolt of Amasis (II, 162): the king raged unjustly against his emissary Patarbemis on his return from his mission to bring back the rebelling general, and the few followers of the king left him and defected to Amasis.

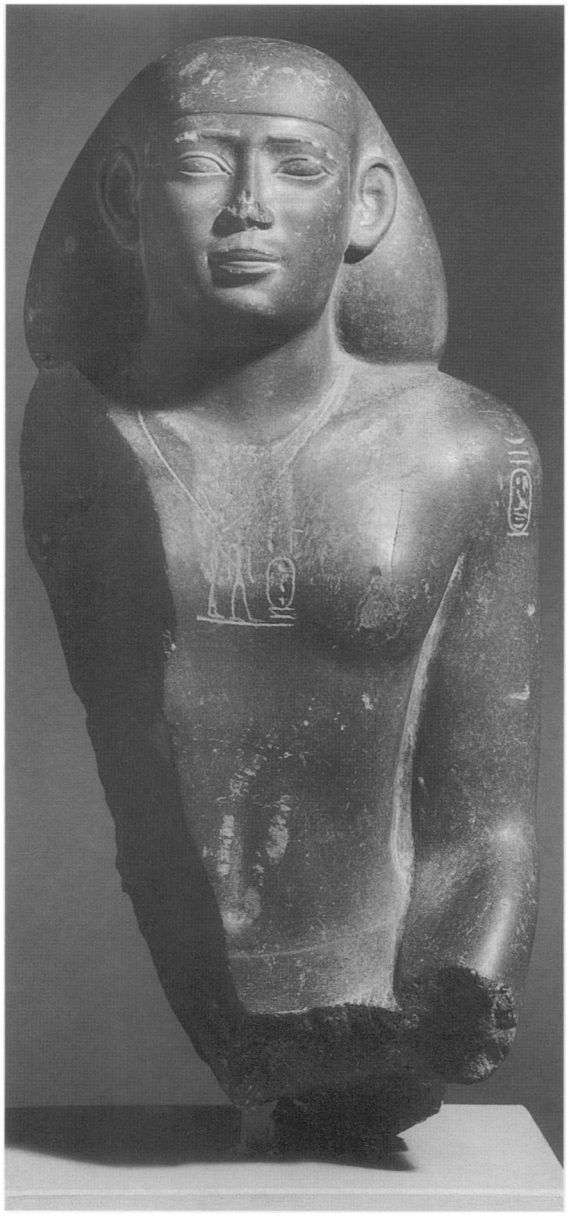
76 E. Lipiński, 'The Egypto-Babylonian War of the Winter 601–600', *AIOS* 32 (1972), 239–41, for a study of this campaign. For the maritime policy of Necho, see A. Spalinger, 'Egypt and Babylonia: A Survey', *SAK* 5 (1977), 232.

77 *ESLP*, 51–2, 68. De Meulenaere, *Le surnom,* 28 n. 7, notes that the name 'Necho' returned in use during Amasis' reign. For the presence of the name *niqau* = Necho in Carian, see J. D. Ray, 'Aegypto-Carica', *Kadmos* 37 (1998), 131.

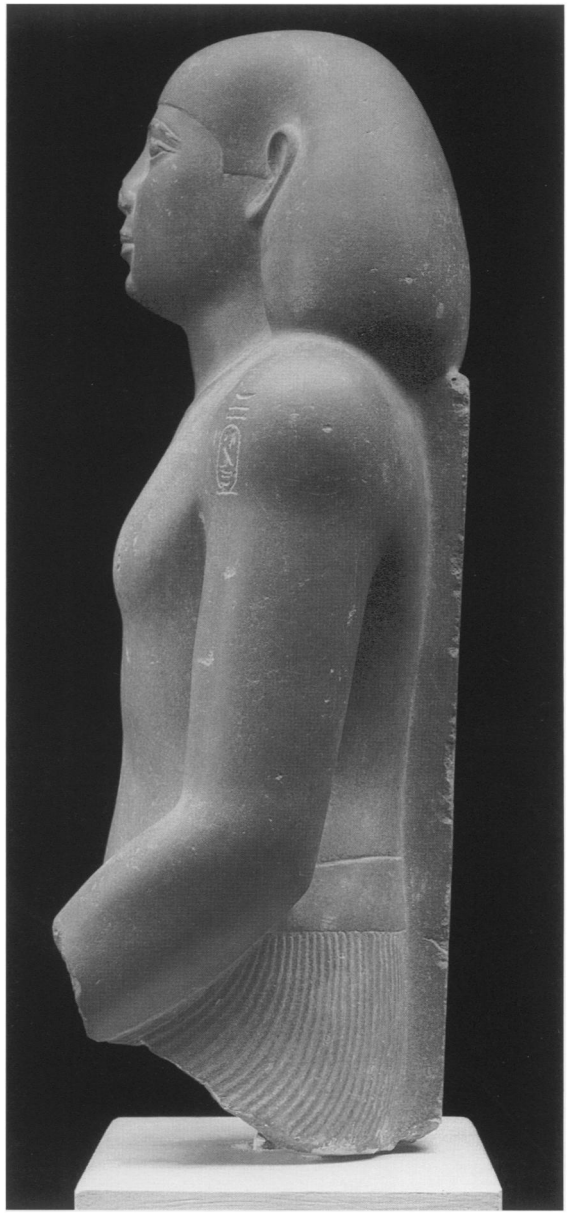
78 Cf. Chevereau, *Prosopographie*, 84–102, for generals and military officials dated by him to the Saite Period.

79 For example, the inscriptions of the Nubian war of Psammetichus II (P. Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past,* 337–50 (Shellal) and 365–71 (Tanis)), have a structure which recalls closely that of Tuthmosis III's Gebel Barkal stela. See the fourth chapter of my unpublished MPhil thesis submitted in 1999 at the University of Birmingham under the supervision of M. A. Leahy, entitled *Continuity and Change. Structure and Composition in the Egyptian Royal Historical Texts 1070–525 BC*, 67–9.

80 In a letter of 2 May 1994, H. De Meulenaere expressed his doubts about a solution of this problem. And his opinion is still valid. It is unlikely that an answer can be found without the discovery of some as yet unknown historical document. My thoughts and doubts about the argument can be found in E. Bresciani (ed.), *L'Antico Egitto*, (Novara, 1998), 236, *s.v.* 'Necao', substantially agreeing with what N. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, translated by I. Shaw (Oxford, 1992), 362, has written.

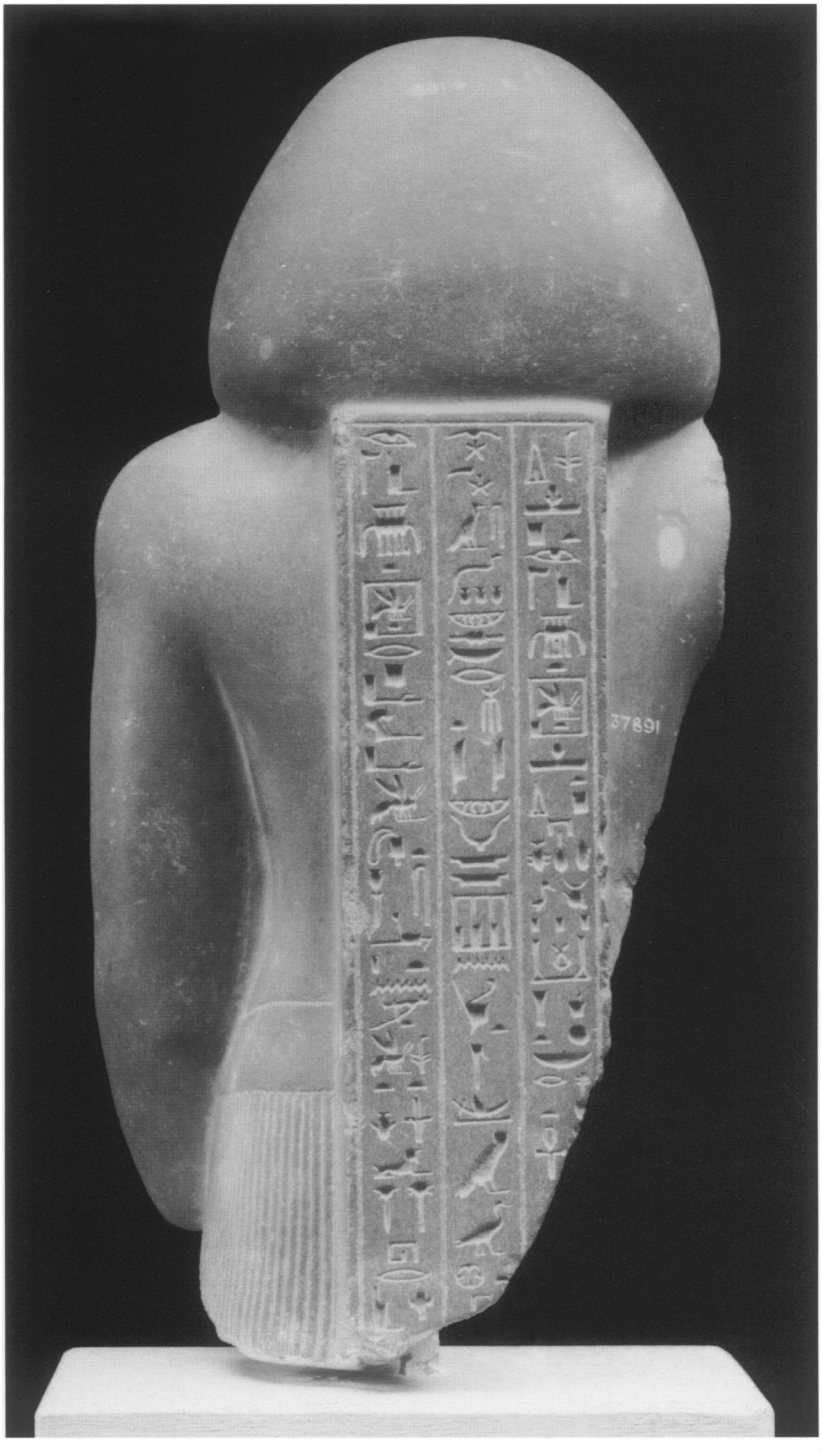


1. British Museum EA 37891, front
(*copyright of the British Museum*)



2. British Museum EA 37891, left side
(*copyright of the British Museum*)

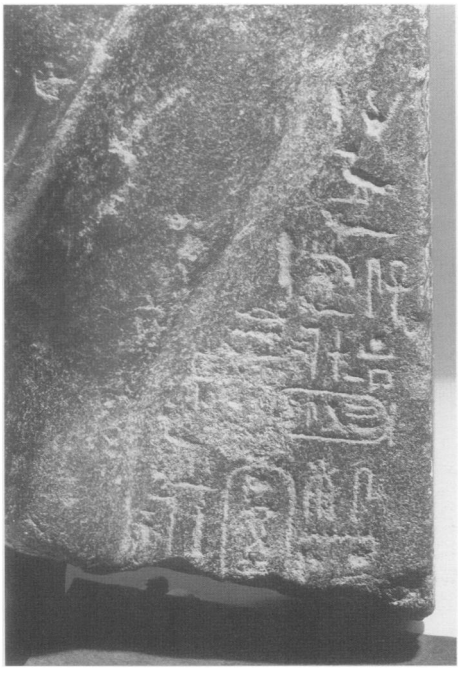
PLATE X



British Museum EA 37891, back (*copyright of the British Museum*)

THE STATUE BM EA 37891 (pp. 67–80)

1. Stockholm NME 78, left side (*photograph courtesy of CLES*)



2. Stockholm NME 78, detail (*photograph courtesy of CLES*)

3. Stockholm NME 78, right side (*photograph courtesy of CLES*)

THE FUNERARY PAPYRI OF THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY AT OXFORD*

By MARC COENEN

In this contribution the unpublished funerary papyri belonging to the papyrus collection of the Bodleian Library at Oxford are surveyed. Six copies of the Book of the Dead, one *Amduat* papyrus and four *Documents of Breathing* are presented and described.

A well-kept secret of the endlessly diverse holdings of the Bodleian Library is the small but nevertheless fascinating collection of Egyptian papyri, mostly unpublished.[1] Altogether, fifteen funerary papyri are kept in the Bodleian and they form a mere fraction of the total number of Egyptian papyri in the collection.[2] Only the unpublished funerary papyri written in hieroglyphs, in Book of the Dead cursive or in hieratic are included here. The mummy wrappings inscribed or decorated with Book of the Dead spells and/or vignettes fall beyond the scope of this contribution.[3]

First, the different copies of the Book of the Dead are examined. Subsequently, a fragmentary *Amduat* papyrus is described, and finally, the copies of the *Document of Breathing* are presented. In each of these three categories, the papyri are ordered chronologically. Their provenance is as a rule not recorded in the files of the Bodleian. Where available, this information is given.

* This article has been written whilst I have been a Postdoctoral Fellow of the Fund for Scientific Research —Flanders (Belgium). With pleasure I thank C. Wakefield, Senior Assistant Librarian, for giving me access to all Egyptian papyri housed in the Bodleian Library, and for his permission to publish this survey. He has also provided information on the origin of the papyri. I am, furthermore, grateful to the members of staff of the Oriental Reading Room for their assistance in handling those manuscripts which are of somewhat inconvenient size. My thanks are also due to the Fund for Scientific Research—Flanders (Belgium), for granting me a travelling allowance during the academic year 1998-99 which has enabled me to study the funerary papyri in the Bodleian Library and various other collections in the United Kingdom. Finally, I would like to thank J. Lace for improvements to my English. Any remaining errors are, of course, my responsibility.

[1] For the history of this papyrus collection and a survey of its published papyri, see C. Wakefield, 'The Egyptian Papyri in the Bodleian Library', *The Bodleian Library Record* (subsequently *BLR*) 14 (1991), 94–7. The funerary papyri are briefly presented in M. Coenen, 'The Egyptian Funerary Papyri in the Bodleian Library', *BLR* 16 (1999), 450–69.

[2] The Bodleian Library also houses a few ritual texts. For Ms. Egypt.a.3 (P), see M. Smith, 'New Egyptian Religious Texts in the Bodleian Library', *BLR* 14 (1992), 242–6, and id., 'New Middle Egyptian Texts in the Demotic Script', in G. M. Zaccone and T. R. di Netro (eds), *Atti del Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia,* II (Turin, 1993), 491–5. Another unpublished ritual text is Ms. Egypt.d.8 (P). This hieratic papyrus contains the seventh, eight and ninth stanzas of the *Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys* and is a part of the unpublished P. BM EA 10332; see M. Coenen, 'New Stanzas of the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys', *OLP*, forthcoming.

[3] The mummy wrappings in the collection are Ms. Egypt.a.2; Ms. Egypt.a.4. Section I; Ms. Egypt.c.6 (P); Ms. Egypt.c.7 (P) and Ms. Egypt.e.4 (P).

Books of the Dead

Most funerary papyri in the collection are Books of the Dead. There are two fragments of New Kingdom Books of the Dead, the remnants of one copy dating to the Third Intermediate Period and parts of three different Ptolemaic examples.

Ms. Egypt.f.1

This fragment of a New Kingdom Book of the Dead is not kept in a frame, like the other papyri presented here, but is glued into a booklet. The following rudimentary description of the papyrus is given on page one:

> Fragment of *Hieratic* Inscription on
> Paper relating to the offerings made to
> the *Ka* of a certain Scribe.
> Thebes
> Given by the Rev. Greville J. Chester.

The papyrus proper is glued upside-down on page two. A provisional transliteration, transcription and translation is given on page three of the booklet. The heading on the right side of this page reads 'British Museum, London: W.C.', which suggests that a member of the British Museum staff was on some occasion consulted.

The fragment measures 7.5 cm by 7.5 cm and contains a part of Spells 136b and 149a, spread out over 7 incompletely preserved columns of text.[4] Although the script is identified as hieratic in the description on page one of the booklet, the text is in fact written in Book of the Dead cursive. The ink used throughout is black and there is no trace of a vignette. The owner's name is unfortunately lost, as in column 4 the papyrus breaks off after his title 'scribe' (*sš*). The Reverend Greville John Chester (1830-1892)[5] donated this papyrus to the Bodleian in 1890.[6] This is not the only papyrus that this collector of antiquities, who from 1865 until his death in 1892 regularly visited Egypt, gave or sold to the Bodleian Library.

Ms. Egypt.d.7 (P)

This is another fragment of a New Kingdom Book of the Dead. It is 17.6 cm in length and has a maximum height of 13 cm. Only eleven incomplete columns of the Negative Confession of Spell 125 are preserved. The text is written in black ink in Book of the Dead cursive, but there are also a few rubrics. The owner's name is not preserved, and the verso is no longer visible. Nothing is known of the origin of this fragment.

[4] For a parallel, see G. Lapp, *Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum*, I. *The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477)* (London, 1997), pls. 81–2.

[5] W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*[3], revised by M. L. Bierbrier (London, 1995), 96–7.

[6] Wakefield, *BLR* 14, 94–5.

Ms. Egypt.d.10 (P) and Ms. Egypt.d.11 (P)

The fragments in the frames denoted as Ms. Egypt.d.10 (P) and Ms. Egypt.d.11 (P) are, according to the proper name they contain, all that remains of the Book of the Dead of a certain chantress of Amun named Djed-Khons-ius-ankh.

Seven fragments of differing size comprise Ms. Egypt.d.10 (P). The largest fragment measures 9 cm in length and 20.3 cm in height, while the smallest is only 1.1 cm long and 2.7 cm high. On the recto stands an unidentified hieratic text, written in black ink. In line 1 of the largest fragment, the owner is identified as the 'Osiris Djed-Khons-ius-ankh' (*Wsir Ḏd-Ḫnsw-iw.s-ʿnḫ*).

Ms. Egypt.d.11 (P) consists of five fragments of hieratic script of differing size. The largest fragment, which displays 11 incomplete lines of writing, is 12.5 cm long and 21.8 cm high, while the smallest measures only 1.5 cm in length and 6.5 cm in height. These parts contain the remnants of Spell Pleyte 166 and of Spells 23–7. At the bottom of the papyrus the owner is identified as the 'Osiris chantress of Amun Djed-Khons-ius-ankh' (*Wsir šmʿj.t n ỉmn Ḏd-Ḫnsw-iw.s-ʿnḫ*).

At present the fragments of both frames are erroneously mounted together. There are no traces of a vignette and no rubrics, and the verso is left blank. The script and especially the owner's title suggest a dating to the first half of the Third Intermediate Period. The text originates in all likelihood from Thebes. The various parts of this Book of the Dead were bought from the Revd. G. J. Chester in 1890.[7]

Ms. Douce Or.d.7-12 (P) (pl. XII, 1)

This long Book of the Dead is one of the Library's earliest acquisitions of Egyptian material. It was acquired in 1834 as part of the bequest of the antiquary Francis Douce (1757-1834).[8] It is one of the few funerary papyri of the collection that has found its way into the Egyptological literature. In her study of the judgement scene, Christine Seeber makes mention of the Book of the Dead of a certain *ỉs.t-wr.t* kept in the Bodleian Library.[9] Though she fails to mention the shelf-mark, she is unquestionably referring to Ms. Douce Or.d.7-12 (P), as it is the only Book of the Dead in the entire collection commissioned for a deceased woman named Esoeris (*ỉs.t-wr.t*). Her mother is called Esuris (*Ns-Ḥr*). Neither the owner nor her mother is allotted priestly titles.

This Book of the Dead is kept in 6 frames, covering together a length of 2.86 m with a maximum height of 18.2 cm. The papyrus contains consecutively Spells 18, 23, 26, 28, 30, 43 (without title), 44–6, 48 (without title), 49, 50, 52, 81a, 82 (without title),[10] 83, 54 and 56–7, in hieratic script. Each spell stands in its own column, headed by the corresponding vignette in line drawing.[11] The papyrus ends, however, with the vignette only of Spell 125.

[7] Information kindly provided by C. Wakefield (letter of 29 March 1999).

[8] Wakefield, *BLR* 14, 94. For the life and works of F. Douce, see F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, IV (Oxford, 1897), 488-9.

[9] Chr. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengericht im Alten Ägypten* (MÄS 35; Munich, 1976), 226, no. 70; see also M. Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques et des dessins, sur papyrus, cuir ou tissu, publiés ou signalés* (Paris, 1987), 243.

[10] The accompanying vignette shows a falcon!

[11] See for this layout M. Mosher, 'Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period', *JARCE* 29 (1992), 149–51 (style 2).

In contrast to the other vignettes, this one extends for the full height of the papyrus. The owner's name and that of her mother are too common to propose identifications with namesakes known to us from other sources or to pin-point the place of origin.[12] This Book of the Dead is dated to the Ptolemaic Period by Seeber.[13]

Ms. Egypt.a.1 (P) and Ms. Egypt.b.2 (P)

A major problem for the reconstruction of the transmission of the Book of the Dead during the Late Period is the lack of a significant number of precisely dated texts.[14] One of the few copies that can be dated on the basis of genealogical research is the papyrus of the Memphite priest Khons-iu (*Ḫnsw-iw*),[15] son of Rempnophris (*Rnp.t-nfr.t*). An impressive number of funerary stelae and several other objects, scattered in collections all over the world, can be ascribed to the family of this high priest.[16] From the wealth of prosopographical and genealogical data that these objects have provided, it has been shown that Khons-iu died in 249 BC.[17]

Different parts of the Book of the Dead of Khons-iu[18] are preserved in the British Museum, London,[19] in the Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna,[20] and in the Archaeological Museum, Zagreb.[21] New additions to this list are sections in the John Rylands Library, Manchester,[22] and the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

From a prosopographical point of view, the fragment of the opening vignette in Zagreb is particularly interesting. On the vignette in line drawing, the deceased is depicted with both arms raised in adoration before an enthroned Osiris. The accompanying hieroglyphic caption identifies the owner as the 'Osiris, king's scribe, pure priest of the open court in the temple of Ptah and prophet, Khons-iu, justified, born to Rempnophris, justified' (*Wsỉr sš-nsw wʿb m pȝ wbȝ.t m pr Pṯḥ ḥm-nṯr Ḫnsw-iw mȝʿ-ḫrw ms n Rnp.t-nfr.t mȝʿ-ḫrw*). In the

[12] Ibid. Mosher's style 2 occurs not only in Memphite Books of the Dead dating to the fourth and third centuries BC, but is also found in Theban copies of the late Ptolemaic Period. A thorough examination of the text of the spells themselves is needed to determine to which of these traditions the papyrus is to be assigned.

[13] Seeber, *Untersuchungen*, 242 (type E I /a/ 3).

[14] For a survey of precisely dated copies of the Book of the Dead, see L. Limme, 'Trois «Livres des Morts» illustrés des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire à Bruxelles', in H. De Meulenaere and L. Limme (eds), *Artibus Aegypti* (Brussels, 1983), 95, n. 68. For dating late funerary papyri in general, see the recent article of S. Quirke, 'The Last Books of the Dead', in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities. A Tribute to T. G. H. James* (British Museum Occasional Paper 123; London, 1999), 83–98 (with further references).

[15] *Pros. Ptol.* III and IX 5874.

[16] Stela BM EA 375 is Khons-iu's own funerary stela; see J. Quaegebeur, 'Inventaire des stèles funéraires memphites d'époque ptolémaïque', *CdE* 49 (1974), 66–7.

[17] J. Quaegebeur, 'The Genealogy of the Memphite High Priest Family in the Hellenistic Period', in D. J. Crawford, J. Quaegebeur and W. Clarysse, *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis* (Studia Hellenistica 24; Leuven, 1980), 52 (family tree) and 65, no. 5.

[18] U. Verhoeven, 'Internationales Totenbuch-Puzzle', *RdE* 49 (1998), 221, n. 3.

[19] P. BM EA 10045 and 10322. See S. G. J. Quirke, *Owners of Funerary Papyri in the British Museum* (British Museum Occasional Paper 92; London, 1993), 44, no. 108.

[20] P. Vienna 3856–8, 3862, 3864 and 3866–9. See H. Satzinger, 'Übersicht über die Papyri der Ägyptisch-Orientalischen Sammlung in Wien', *GM* 75 (1984), 32–3. A photograph of P. Vienna 3862 is published in id., *Das Kunsthistorische Museum in Wien. Die Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung* (Mainz am Rhein, 1994), 34–5, pl. 20 a–c.

[21] P. Zagreb 886. See J. Monnet Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb* (Paris, 1970), 167.

[22] Hieratic Papyrus 4, which consists of five parts. I thank A. Young of the Special Collections of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester for allowing me to work on this papyrus.

spells of the various different parts kept in London, Manchester, Oxford and Vienna, the owner is simply introduced as the 'prophet Khons-iu, justified, born to Rempnophris, justified'.

The two fragments of Khons-iu's Book of the Dead in the Bodleian are Ms. Egypt.a.1 (P) and Ms. Egypt.b.2 (P). The former is 32.7 cm in length and 66.2 cm in height. It consists of one column of hieratic script containing parts of Spells 7–8, 15 and 17. There are 48 lines of writing. Except for a few rubrics, the text is written in black ink. The column of text is headed by a skillfully drawn vignette in line drawing, showing scenes taken from the vignette of Spell 110 (Field of Reeds).[23] Ms. Egypt.b.2 (P) is much smaller than Ms. Egypt.a.1 (P). It measures only 20.8 cm in length and 35.6 cm in height. This part consists of one column of 26 lines of hieratic script, which includes a part of Spell 111. There are two rubrics in this fragment, but no vignette.

Ms. Egypt.a.42 (P) (pl. XII, 2)

One of the first copies of the Book of the Dead to be published in facsimile was the so-called Cadet papyrus, which is now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (P. BN 1–19).[24] This papyrus was one of the longest and most complete Ptolemaic Books of the Dead discovered in Thebes by the members of the Commission des Sciences et des Arts during the Napoleonic expedition (1798–1801). A carefully executed facsimile of this 9.10 m long and 22.8 cm high papyrus is included in the *Description de l'Egypte*.[25] It shows a series of Book of the Dead spells in hieroglyphic script, and above these a row of finely-drawn and brightly-coloured vignettes, which covers the full length of the manuscript.[26] In several places the owner is identified as the 'god's father Petemestous,[27] justified, born to Setjaïrtbint,[28] justified' (*ỉt-nṯr Pȝ-dỉ-Ỉmn-nb-ns.t-tȝ.wj mȝʿ-ḫrw ms n Sṯȝ-ỉr.t-bỉn.t mȝʿ-ḫrw*).

The similarities between Ms. Egypt.a.42 (P), which measures 49.5 cm in length and 16 cm in height, and the Cadet papyrus are numerous. Not only is the layout of both texts identical, but they are also decorated with similarly elegant vignettes in colour. Moreover, the Oxford papyrus was also made for a 'god's father Petemestous, justified, born to Setjaïrtbint, justified' (*ỉt-nṯr Pȝ-dỉ-Ỉmn-nb-ns.t-tȝ.wj mȝʿ-ḫrw ms n Sṯȝ-ỉr.t-bỉn.t mȝʿ-ḫrw*). Ms. Egypt.a.42 (P) contains in its 29 completely preserved columns of hieroglyphic writing a part of Spell 18. It has, more precisely, the text of columns 79 to 66 of the Cadet papyrus.[29] The number of variants between both texts is negligible. Moreover, in several places they display precisely the same graphic peculiarities and scribal errors. As far as the text is concerned, the only differences are the lack of rubrics in Ms. Egypt.a.42 (P) and the different division of the text over the columns: the text, divided over 14 columns in the Cadet

23 Photograph in Coenen, *BLR* 16, 456. See n. 11 for the layout of this papyrus.

24 P. Barguet, 'Le Livre des Morts', in *Textes et languages de l'Egypte pharaonique,* III (BdE 64/3; Cairo, 1974), 47 and the note to pls. 72–5 in C. C. Gillispie and M. Dewachter (eds), *Monuments of Egypt. The Napoleonic Edition*, II (Princeton, 1987). For the general after whom the papyrus is named, see *Who was Who*^{3}, 78.

25 E. Jomard (ed.), *Description de l'Egypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Egypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française. Antiquités, Planches*, II (Paris, 1821), pls. 60–75.

26 Mosher, *JARCE* 29, 149 and 172 (style 3). This style appears sometime between the second and first centuries BC.

27 *Pros. Ptol.* III 5745.

28 *Pros. Ptol.* III 7218.

29 Jomard, *Description de l'Egypte. Antiquités, Planches* II, pl. 74. The numbering of the columns in the *Description de l'Egypte* is inverse to the Egyptian order.

papyrus, is here spread out over 29 columns. The vignette of the Oxford papyrus is an almost identical copy of the one found in the narrow frieze above columns 92 to 66 of the Cadet papyrus. The omission of the deceased depicted on top of columns 87 and 86 of the Cadet papyrus is the only difference.

The striking similarities in layout and text seem to indicate that Ms. Egypt.a.42 (P) and the Cadet papyrus were copied from the same model and possibly produced in the same local workshop, perhaps even by the same hand. Although the genealogical information is identical in both papyri, it is unfortunately too limited to link the owners with certainty. Notwithstanding this fundamental objection, one cannot help wondering whether Ms. Egypt.a.42 (P) might not be a fragment of a second copy of the Book of the Dead commissioned for the owner of the Cadet papyrus.

In any event, thanks to the identical stylistic layout applied in Ms. Egypt.a.42 (P) and the Cadet papyrus, the former can be dated to the second century BC or later[30] and allotted a Theban origin. This papyrus fragment only came to light in the Bodleian in 1990. Its history prior to that date is unknown.[31]

An *Amduat* papyrus from the Third Intermediate Period

Ms. Egypt.b.3 (P)

This fragmentary *Amduat* papyrus, which dates to the Twenty-first or Twenty-second Dynasty and originates from Thebes,[32] is one of the five papyri acquired from the Revd. G. J. Chester in 1890.[33] The manuscript, now kept in two frames, shows several scenes of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth hours of the *Amduat*. Frame 1 contains one large fragment, which is 31.6 cm in length and 20.3 cm in height, while frame 2 encloses five fragments of different size. As mounted, the fragments of frame 2 cover a total length of 38 cm, with a maximum height of 21.5 cm. Only two registers are preserved and there is no indication to suggest the existence of a third. The scenes from the *Amduat* are in line drawing, and the accompanying captions in hieroglyphic script are written entirely in black ink. The verso is blank. Unfortunately the papyrus does not provide the owner's name or his or her title.

Documents of Breathing

The third and last category of funerary papyri in the Bodleian is the *Document of Breathing* group. *Documents of Breathing* tended to replace the Book of the Dead in Thebes and the surrounding area in the Graeco-Roman Period. The Egyptian titles on these papyri clearly indicate that the Egyptians themselves divided the *Documents of Breathing* into three categories.[34] They made a distinction between the *Document of Breathing Made by Isis*, the *First Document of Breathing* and the *Second Document of Breathing*. There also exist countless abbreviated versions, but their classification is still somewhat problematic and requires

[30] See n. 26.

[31] Wakefield, *BLR* 14, 96.

[32] A. Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (OBO 86; Freiburg and Göttingen, 1989), 186–8 (subtype A.II.2).

[33] Wakefield, *BLR* 14, 94. See also n. 5 above.

[34] For this classification of the *Documents of Breathing*, see M. Coenen, 'Books of Breathings. More Than a Terminological Question?', *OLP* 26 (1995), 29–38.

further research. The Bodleian Library holds four *Documents of Breathing*, more precisely two *Documents of Breathing Made by Isis*, one copy of the *First Document of Breathing* and a fragmentary abbreviated version.

Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P) (pl. XIII, 1-2)

At present, this papyrus, which is 136 cm long and 28 cm high, is mounted upon a support of linen and kept under glass in a large wooden frame. The edge of the papyrus on the left side as well as the upper and lower edges are no longer visible, as they are hidden under the wood of the frame. The frame itself bears the text: '"Book of Respiration" of a priest of Ammon Nes-paut-taui, son of Isis—Ms.Egypt.c.2'. As will be shown below, the filiation is incorrect and the text can be identified more precisely as a *Document of Breathing Made by Isis*.[35]

The papyrus contains five columns of hieratic text and two coloured vignettes. The columns contain 20, 7, 22, 23 and 24 lines respectively. Short red or occasional black guidelines are drawn at regular intervals within the columns in order to help the scribe keep the lines of text straight and level.[36] The text has been written with a rush, and black ink is used throughout the text.[37] Double-lined margins mark the top, bottom and side borders of both vignettes and of all columns except the first. The reverse side of the papyrus is no longer visible, but was presumably left blank.

The papyrus itself is of good quality and, notwithstanding a few minor gaps, is almost completely preserved. As regards the structure of the roll, there are in total nine joins (*kolleseis*), and the average distance between them is 13.7 cm.

Layout and vignettes. The vignettes of Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P) frame the text of the *Document of Breathing* proper on either side, giving a useful indication of the normal layout of a funerary papyrus of this kind.[38] There are, however, two aberrations. Firstly, the opening vignette is preceded by an extra column of text. This contains interesting genealogical information and a short funerary text that is not part of the *Document of Breathing* proper. Secondly, the opening vignette is not set level with the base of the columns of text, as it has paragraph 1 of the *Document of Breathing* placed underneath it.[39]

The scenes depicted in the vignettes are typical of this funerary composition.[40] The opening vignette (see pl. XIII, 1) shows the deceased raising both arms in adoration before an

[35] This copy is to be added to the list compiled in M. Coenen, 'An Introduction to the Document of Breathing Made by Isis', *RdE* 49 (1998), 37–8. Another addition to that list is P. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 179–81 (information kindly provided by D. Devauchelle). Three copies housed in the Louvre have been recently published by F.-R. Herbin, 'Trois manuscrits originaux du Louvre porteurs du *Livre des Respirations fait par Isis* (P. Louvre N 3121, N 3083 et N 3166)', *RdE* 50 (1999), 149–239. A full transcription of all copies currently known, is included in the edition of the *Document of Breathing Made by Isis*, which I am preparing for publication.

[36] W. J. Tait, 'Guidelines and Borders in Demotic Papyri', in M. L. Bierbrier (ed.) *Papyrus: Structure and Usage* (British Museum Occasional Paper 60; London, 1986) 75–6.

[37] For the usage of Egyptian rush versus Greek reed in Graeco-Roman texts, see Quirke, in Davies (ed.), *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities*, 85.

[38] Coenen, *RdE* 49, 39.

[39] Only the recently rediscovered fragment of the opening vignette of the *Document of Breathing Made by Isis*, P. Louvre N 3126, displays exactly the same layout. I thank M. Etienne of the Musée du Louvre for supplying me with a photocopy of the inventory card of this unpublished fragment.

[40] Coenen, *RdE* 49, 40.

enthroned Osiris, who holds crook and flail in his hands and wears the *ꜣ*tf-crown.[41] The accompanying hieroglyphic caption identifies the deceased as the 'god's father, Spotous, son of Harsiesis' (*it-nṯr Ns-pꜣwtỉ-tꜣ.wj sꜣ Ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t*).

The closing vignette (see pl. XIII, 2) depicts the Weighing of the Heart and occupies the full height of the papyrus. In contrast to the opening vignette, no captions identify the figures depicted there. Only the pillars and the cornice of the Hall of the Double Truths are drawn. On the right stands Thoth. He holds a brush in his right hand and thus stands ready to write down the outcome of the weighing. On his ibis head he wears the *ꜣtf*-crown with plumes, ram horns and a solar disk. A falcon-headed and an ibis-headed god attend a balance with empty scales.[42] The hybrid monster that devours any heart found unworthy to enter the hereafter sits on a socle in front of the balance, holding a knife in each paw. Above the back of the monster stands the deceased, with both arms raised in adoration of the gods depicted at the left end of the hall. There, an enthroned Osiris supervises the whole process, with his wife Isis standing behind him, and the four sons of Horus on a lotus flower in front of him.

The style of the vignettes of Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P) is strikingly similar to that of three unpublished *Documents of Breathing Made by Isis*, namely P. Berlin 3135,[43] P. Lafayette College[44] and P. Louvre N 3216.[45] The vignettes are so alike, that they are unquestionably copied from the same model. The sole difference worth mentioning is the colour. Except for the outline of the figures, which is drawn in black ink, and a few parts left unpainted, all figures in the opening and closing vignette of Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P) are coloured in different shades of red, whereas in the other manuscripts different hues are used.

The stylistic similarities between these vignettes shed new light on the dating of the papyri in question. Relying solely upon the handwriting, papyri from this group have been dated by some scholars as late as the second or third century AD,[46] while others have preferred a date around the end of the first century BC.[47] The approximate dating of Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P) to the second half of the second century BC (see below) suggests that both datings are too late. In my opinion, a dating between 150 and 50 BC could be argued for the whole group, based upon the typical style of the vignettes.

Division of the text. Exceptionally, the opening paragraph of a *Document of Breathing Made by Isis* is preceded by a column of text containing genealogical information and/or passages with a content typical of funerary texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt. Besides the text pre-

[41] Compare, for instance, with the opening vignette of P. Louvre N 3284; see F.-R. Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité* (OLA 58; Leuven, 1994), pl. 29.

[42] Compare with D. Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris. Eine Studie zum Totenglauben im römerzeitlichen Ägypten* (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 6; Mainz am Rhein, 1990), 9.

[43] A drawing of the closing vignette of this unpublished papyrus can be found in Seeber, *Untersuchungen*, 52, fig. 4 and a photograph in J. Quaegebeur, 'Books of Thoth Belonging to Owners of Portraits? On Dating Late Hieratic Funerary Papyri', in M. L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks. Burial Customs in Roman Egypt* (London, 1997), pl. 35.1.

[44] Unpublished.

[45] For a photograph of its closing vignette, see Quaegebeur, in Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks*, pl. 35.2.

[46] E.g. G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*[2], III (Leipzig, 1936), 15.

[47] Quaegebeur, in Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks*, 73.

[48] See E. Brunner-Traut and H. Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen. Tafeln* (Mainz am Rhein, 1981), pls. 12–13, and M. Coenen, 'The Dating of the Papyri Joseph Smith I, X and XI and Min Who Massacres His Enemies', in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors and H. Willems (eds), *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur* (OLA 85; Leuven, 1998), 1104–6.

sented here, P. Tübingen 2016[48] and the membra dispersa Bodleian Library Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D and P. British Museum EA 10260 (see below) are the only other *Documents of Breathing Made by Isis* with such an extra column. The complete text of this *Document of Breathing* consists of seventeen paragraphs.[49] Few copies contain all of them. As in most examples, paragraph 17, with the directions for wrapping the text with the mummy, is omitted here. The remaining sixteen paragraphs and the other texts are divided over the different columns in the following manner:

Column I, 1–13	Genealogical information
Column I, 14–20	Unidentified funerary text
Column II, 1–7	Paragraph 1
Column III, 1–8	Paragraph 2
Column III, 8–13	Paragraph 3
Column III, 14–16	Paragraph 4
Column III, 16–22	Paragraph 5
Column IV, 1–9	Paragraph 6
Column IV, 10–11	Paragraph 7 (abbreviated)
Column IV, 11–14	Paragraph 8
Column IV, 14–16	Paragraph 9
Column IV, 16–20	Paragraph 10
Column IV, 21–3	Paragraph 11
Column V, 1–2	Paragraph 12
Column V, 3–6	Paragraph 13
Column V, 6–9	Paragraph 14
Column V, 10–16	Paragraph 15
Column V, 17–24	Paragraph 16

Transliteration and translation. The column of text to the right of the opening vignette begins with thirteen lines of genealogical information and ends with a series of short wishes for the deceased's life in the hereafter (lines 14–20). The name of the owner and of his antecedents are preceded by several interesting titles. These lines in column I are given in transliteration and translation below. For the sake of convenience, all proper names are underlined in the translation. A transcription can be found on plate XIV together with a photograph of the original.

(1) *tȝ šᶜ.t snsn n ỉt-nṯr ḥm(-nṯr) n ỉmn-Rᶜ* (2) *nsw-nṯr.w rḫ-ḫ.wt wr m Wȝs.t ỉqr m ḏbᶜ.w.f* (3) *n pr ỉmn-Rᶜ nsw-nṯr.w mr wᶜb Sḫm.t m ỉwnw-* (4) *Šmᶜ Ns-pȝwṯi-tȝ.wj {sȝ} sȝ ỉt-nṯr ḥm (-nṯr) n ỉmn-Rᶜ nsw-nṯr.w* (5) *ḥm(-nṯr) n Ḫnsw pȝ ỉrỉ sḫr.w m Wȝs.t ḥrj-sšṯȝ* (6)*ᶜb-nṯr n {pr} pr Wsỉr Wn-nfr ᶜnḫ(.w) Ḥr-sȝ-ȝs.t mȝᶜ-ḫrw* (7) *sȝ ỉt-nṯr ḥm(-nṯr) n ỉmn-Rᶜ nsw-nṯr.w ḥm (-nṯr) n Ḫnsw pȝ* (8) *ỉrỉ sḫr.w m Wȝs.t rd.wj-nṯr ỉmn ḥȝ.t sp 2 Ḥr sȝ ỉt-nṯr ḥm (-nṯr) n* (9) *ỉmn-Rᶜ nsw-nṯr.w ḥm(-nṯr) n Ḫnsw pȝ ỉrỉ sḫr.w m* (10) *Wȝs.t ḥm(-nṯr) n Mnw smȝ ḫrwj.w.f* (11) *ḥrj-sšṯȝ ᶜb-nṯr m Wȝs.t nḥṯ wn ᶜwj p.t m* (12) *ỉp.t-s.wt wᶜ wᶜw ḥnᶜ nsw nṯr.w m ỉs.t* (13) *Wsỉr-wr sȝ mỉ nn ᶜnḫ.f-Ḫnsw*

(1) The *Document of Breathing* of the god's father and prophet[a] of Amonra- (2) sonther, great scholar in Thebes, deft of fingers (3) of the domain of Amonrasonther,[b] overseer of the priests of Sekhmet in Hermonthis[c] (4) Spotous, {son of}[d] son of the god's father and prophet of Amonrasonther, (5) prophet of Khons-who-governs-in-Thebes, keeper of secrets, (6) purifier of the gods of the domain of Osiris-Onnophris,[e] may he live, Harsiesis, justified, (7) son of the god's father and prophet of Amonrasonther, prophet of Khons-who-

[49] For the division into seventeen paragraphs, see Coenen, *RdE* 49, 43–4.

(8) governs-in-Thebes, *rd.wj-nṯr* of Amun *ḥ3.t sp* 2[f] Horos, son of the god's father and prophet of (9) Amonrasonther, prophet of Khons-who-governs-in-(10) Thebes, prophet of Min-who-massacres-his-enemies, (11) keeper of secrets, purifier of the gods in Thebes,[g] the victorious,[h] he who opens the doors of heaven in (12) Karnak, the most unique one who is together with the king of the gods in (his) dwelling place (13) Osoroeris, son of the priest of the same rank Chapochonsis.

Notes

(a) For the abbreviated writing *ḥm* for the title *ḥm-nṯr*, 'prophet' or 'god's servant', see Coenen, in W. Clarysse et al. (eds), *Egyptian Religion,* 1105–6.

(b) Deft of fingers of the domain of Amonrasonther: At present I know no other priests of the Graeco-Roman Period who bore the same title. Perhaps it refers to the function of scribe, which Spotous may have held in the domain of Amun in Thebes. Compare with P. St Petersburg 1115, 188 (*The Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor*), where the scribe who copied the story labels himself 'a scribe deft of fingers' (*sš iqr n ḏbʿ.w.f*) and with P. St Petersburg 1116 B (*The Prophecy of Neferti*), where it is said of Neferti that 'he is a scribe deft of fingers' (*sš pw iqr n ḏbʿ.w.f*). See respectively A. M. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories* (BAe 2; Brussels, 1932), 48, and W. Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 10.

(c) Overseer of the priests of Sekhmet in Hermonthis: For this kind of priest, whose main duties in the Graeco-Roman Period were the practice of medicine and the examination of sacrificial animals presented to the temple, see F. von Känel, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet et les conjurateurs de Serket* (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes. Sciences religieuses 87; Paris, 1984), 235–83.

(d) The attempt of the scribe to remove the first *s3*, 'son of', was not successful because it is still clearly visible. The erased text presumably read *s3 Ḥr-s3-3s.t*, 'son of Harsiesis'.

(e) The part 'of the domain of Osiris-Onnophris' of the title 'purifier of the gods of the domain of Osiris-Onnophris' was added after the original text had been erased.

(f) *rd.wj-nṯr* (*n*) *Ỉmn* (*t3*) *ḥ3.t sp* 2 : The elements *nṯr* and *Ỉmn* are added later between lines 7 and 8. For other examples of this title, see Coenen, in Clarysse et al. (eds), *Egyptian Religion*, 1105, n. 15. Perhaps one should read *rd.wj-nṯr* (*t3*) *ḥ3.t sp 2* (*n*) *Ỉmn*, with an honorific transposition, as suggested by J.-M. Kruchten (letter of 15 March 1997). A comparison with the much older title *wʿb n ḥ3.t Ỉmn*, 'pure priest of the fore of Amun', suggests that this priest took part in the procession of the sacred bark of Amun as a bearer. A possible translation is therefore 'the two feet of the fore of Amun'. However, as in this translation the element *sp* 2 cannot be accounted for, it is preferable to leave the title untranslated for the present.

(g) Purifier of the gods in Thebes: The element *nṯr* is added later between lines 10 and 11.

(h) Thebes, the victorious: For further references to this epithet of Thebes, see H. De Meulenaere, 'Recherches sur un *P3-wrm* thébain', in C. Eyre, A. Leahy and L. Montagno Leahy (eds), *The Unbroken Reed. Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A.F. Shore* (EES Occasional Publications 11; London, 1994), 217, a.

Owner and dating. The owner's mother is not mentioned in the genealogy. She is only mentioned once, without title, in column V, line 10, where the owner is introduced as 'the god's father' Spotous, born to Senmonthis' (*ỉt-nṯr Ns-p3wtỉ-t3.wj ms n T3-šrỉ.t-Mnṯw*). The owner of Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P) is therefore a certain Spotous, son of Harsiesis and Senmonthis. The available data allow us to trace his antecedents back four generations and reconstruct the family tree shown in figure 1.

Spotous and his antecedents primarily took part in the cult of the Theban deities Amonrasonther and Khons-who-governs-in-Thebes. More importantly, however, one of the titles borne by the owner's great-grandfather enables us to link Spotous to a priestly family that, in the second century BC, officiated in the Theban cult of the god Min-who-massacres-his-enemies.[50]

[50] Coenen, in Clarysse et al. (eds), *Egyptian Religion*, 1103–14 (with further references). For Horos' Book of the Dead, P. Louvre N 3207–9, see id., 'Horos, Prophet of Min Who Massacres His Enemies', *CdE* 74 (1999), 257–60.

Chapochonsis
|
Osoroeris
|
Horos
|
Harsiesis × Senmonthis
|
Spotous

FIG.1. Spotous' family.

Given the fact that not only all proper names but also most of the titles recorded in Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P) occur within that priestly family, there can be no doubt about the identifications proposed here. In the following survey, the general titles of 'god's father and prophet of Amonrasonther' and 'prophet of Khons-who-governs-in-Thebes' are not taken into account, as they feature on almost every object that is to be ascribed to one of the members of this family. If one compares the new information with the data already available on this family, it is surprising that several priestly functions are allotted to Spotous' father, Harsiesis (I), while in P. Tübingen 2012, XIII, 10-11, he is merely introduced as a 'priest of the same rank' (*mỉ nn*) as the god's father and prophet of Amonrasonther, Mentemes, the owner of this Book of the Dead.[51] Horos (I), the grandfather of Spotous, also bears the rare title *rd.wj-nṯr n ỉmn tȝ ḥȝ.t sp* 2 in P. Tübingen 2016, I, 7.[52] From the sheer number of titles ascribed to Osoroeris (I), it is clear that he was the most important member of the family. It is their link to him that his descendants wanted to emphasize. Most of the titles borne by him in Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P) are also ascribed to him in P. Tübingen 2012 and/or in P. Tübingen 2016. His duty as 'he who opens the doors of heaven in Karnak' is only found in P. Tübingen 2012, XIII, 12, and the title 'most unique one who is together with the king of the gods in (his) dwelling place' is bestowed upon him in P. Tübingen 2016, I, 11-12. As in both Tübingen papyri, Osoroeris bears the conspicuous title 'prophet of Min-who-massacres-his-enemies' as well as that of 'keeper of secrets and purifier of the gods', we are clearly dealing with one and the same person.

Thanks to Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P), we can now ascribe another unpublished *Document of Breathing Made by Isis* to the same family. P. Vienna 3863,[53] of which the lower part is lost, was, according to column I, lines 4-6, made for the 'god's father and prophet of Amonrasonther, keeper of secrets, purifier of the gods and prophet of Khons-who-governs-in-Thebes Horos, son of the priest of the same rank Harsiesis, and the name of his mother is Senmonthis' (*ỉt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr n ỉmn-Rᶜ nsw-nṯr.w ḫrj-sštȝᶜb-nṯr ḥm-nṯr n Ḫnsw pȝ ỉrỉ sḫr.w m Wȝs.t Ḥr sȝ mỉ nn Ḥr-sȝ-ȝs.t rn mw.t.f Tȝ-šrỉ.t-Mnṯw*).

As the Harsiesis of P. Vienna 3863 has the same rank (*mỉ nn*) as his son Horos, nothing prevents an identification with Harsiesis (I) of the family tree set out in figure 2, who is in fact the father of the owner of Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P). Note that in the latter papyrus the same titles are allotted to Harsiesis (I), with only one minor difference: in the Oxford papyrus Harsiesis (I) is not just 'purifier of the gods', but 'purifier of the gods of the domain of Osiris-Onnophris'. It is the name of the mother of the owner of P. Vienna 3863 that removes

[51] Coenen, in Clarysse et al. (eds), *Egyptian Religion*, 1106–7.

[52] Ibid. 1104–6.

[53] Satzinger, *GM* 75, 33.

all doubt. Her son is a brother of Spotous, the owner of Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P). This priest is therefore identical with Horos (II) of the family tree given in figure 2.

A comparison between the titles borne by Horos (II) in his own funerary papyrus, P. Vienna 3863, and in the Book of the Dead of his grandson, P. Tübingen 2012, XIII, 9-10, is interesting. In the Tübingen papyrus, Horos is introduced as 'the priest of the same rank, keeper of secrets, purifier of the gods and stolist of Khons, Osiris and Epoeris' (*mỉ nn ḥrj-sšt*ꜣ *ꜥb-nṯr ḏb*ꜣ *mnḫ.t n Ḫnsw Wsỉr Ỉp (.t)-wr.t*).[54] Here, 'priest of the same rank' refers to the title 'god's father and prophet of Amonrasonther', the sole position held by his grandson Mentemes, the owner of P. Tübingen 2012. It is noticeable that the title 'stolist of Khons, Osiris and Epoeris' does not feature in Horos' own funerary papyrus, P. Vienna 3863. This problem does not, however, preclude the proposed identification.

Yet another *Document of Breathing Made by Isis* is in all likelihood to be ascribed to this family. In P. Louvre N 3285, I, 4-5,[55] the owner is introduced as the 'god's father and prophet of Amonrasonther, and prophet of Khons-who-governs-in-Thebes Harsiesis, justified, son of the priest of the same rank Horos, justified, and the name of the mother is Touaksis, justified' (*ỉt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr n Ỉmn-Rꜥ nsw-nṯr.w ḥm-nṯr n Ḫnsw pꜣ ỉrỉ sḫr.w m Wꜣs.t Ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t mꜣꜥ-ḫrw sꜣ mỉ nn Ḥr mꜣꜥ-ḫrw rn n mw.t Tꜣ-wgš mꜣꜥ-ḫrw*). It would be presumptuous to identify the owner of this papyrus as the Harsiesis (I) or (II) of the family tree set out in figure 2 solely on the basis of such general titles. Therefore, supplementary evidence is needed.

During a study visit to the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the Musée du Louvre in the spring of 1998, I identified the unpublished fragments P. Louvre N 3204 b and c as the remnants of the verso of P. Louvre N 3285.[56] When joined together, the fragments provide an incomplete hieratic inscription of two lines and a short demotic inscription. The hieratic text reads as follows: '(1) [*The Docu*]*ment of Breathing* of the [god's father] and prophet of Amon[rasonther ///] (2) [/// Harsi]esis, justified, son of the priest of the same rank, keeper [of secrets] and purifier of the gods Ho[ros], justified, and the name of his mother is Touak[sis], justi[fied]' ([*Tꜣ š*]ꜥ*.t snsn n* [*ỉt-nṯr*] *ḥm-nṯr Ỉmn*[*-Rꜥ nsw-nṯr.w ///*] (2) [/// *Ḥr-sꜣ*]*-ꜣs.t mꜣꜥ-ḫrw sꜣ mỉ nn ḥrj* [*-sštꜣ*] *ꜥb-nṯr Ḥ*[*r*] *mꜣꜥ-ḫrw rn n mw.t.f Tꜣ-wg*[*š*]*mꜣꜥ* [*-ḫrw*]). The demotic inscription gives us, once more, the owner's name, Harsiesis. These fragments show that Horos, the father of Harsiesis, has exactly the same titles as the homonymous owner of P. Vienna 3863, the Horos (II) of the family tree in figure 2. He has the same rank as his son and is furthermore 'keeper of secrets and purifier of the gods'.[57]

The most prominent title of the priestly family under study is unquestionably 'prophet of Min-who-massacres-his-enemies'. However, it occurs far less often than the titles 'prophet of Amonrasonther, prophet of Khons-who-governs-in-Thebes, keeper of secrets and purifier of the gods'. All or most of these titles are mentioned in the Tübingen papyri, Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P), the Joseph Smith papyri, P. Louvre N 3207–9, P. Vienna 3863 and on statue Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 227.[58] For this reason, it cannot be excluded that the owner

[54] Coenen, in Clarysse et al. (eds), *Egyptian Religion*, 1106–7.

[55] T. Devéria, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens écrits sur papyrus, toile, tablettes et ostraca en caractères hiéroglyphiques, hiératiques, démotiques, grecs, coptes, arabes et latins, qui sont conservés au Musée égyptien du Louvre* (Paris, 1881), 131 (IV, 1).

[56] My thanks are due to Chr. Ziegler and M. Etienne of the Musée du Louvre for allowing me to study these papyrus fragments.

[57] These two titles are to be added to the survey given in Quirke, in Davies (ed.), *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities*, 89.

[58] For these items, see the references given in n. 50.

of P. Louvre N 3285 is to be identified with the Harsiesis (I) or (II) of the family tree below. At the same time, taking into account the fact that the proper names Harsiesis and Horos are extremely common, and that the titles involved are not particularly exceptional, an identification with their namesakes in this priestly family remains, for the time being, hypothetical.

In all likelihood, Graff. Med. Habu 229, 3 introduces another member of this same priestly family.[59] The graffito, written on one of the interior walls of the small temple of Medinet Habu, commemorates the entry into service in Djeme of the 'god's father and prophet of Amonrasonther Harsiesis, son of Mentemes, son of Har[siesis], son of Horos' (*it-nṯr ḥm-nṯr n ʾImn-Rᶜ nsw-nṯr.w Ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t sꜣ Mnṯ-m-ḥꜣ.t sꜣ Ḥr-*[*sꜣ-ꜣs.t*] *sꜣ Ḥr*). As Harsiesis' antecedents coincide with those of the owner of P. Tübingen 2012, and Mentemes, the name of his father, is not very common in Ptolemaic Thebes, one may reasonably assume that he is also a member of the family presented here.

The integration of all data currently available gives us the family tree set out in figure 2.[60] The *Document of Breathing Made by Isis* P. Louvre N 3204 b + c and N 3285 is not included in the survey because the identification of its owner with a member of this family remains to be proven.

Unfortunately, line 1 of Graff. Med. Habu 229, which could have had the date, is no longer visible. Therefore, an absolute date for the floruit of this family in the Ptolemaic Period is still lacking. However, in my article on the dating of the P. Joseph Smith I, X and XI,[61] it was argued at length that the latest possible dating for that *Document of Breathing* is the first half of the second century BC. From figure 2, it is clear that Spotous, the owner of Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P), is a grandson of Horos (I), the owner of the Joseph Smith papyri. As a consequence, at most 40 to 50 years separate Horos (I) from his grandson Spotous and therefore, Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P) must have been written sometime in the second half of the second century BC. P. Vienna 3863 can now be dated to the same period, because the owner of this papyrus is Spotous' brother. Finally, if the above proposed inclusion of the owner of P. Louvre N 3285 in this priestly family should be proven correct, then this papyrus can also be dated to the second century BC.

Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D (pl. XV, 1)

These papyrus fragments belong to the small collection of papyri which the Revd. Vivian Eccles Skrine[62] donated to the Bodleian Library in 1912.[63] They were bought in Egypt by Colonel Vivian, Skrine's brother-in-law, not long after the Battle of Tell el-Kebir in 1882. At present, only a *Litany of the Sun* papyrus[64] and an *Amduat* papyrus,[65] forming part of this lot, are published. In the literature, both documents are usually referred to as the Skrine papyri.[66]

Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D consists of several fragments and is the missing upper section

[59] H. J. Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu* (Demotische Studien 10; Sommerhausen, 1989), 138–9.

[60] The family tree set out in figure 2 updates the one given in Coenen, in Clarysse et al. (eds), *Egyptian Religion*, 1110.

[61] Coenen, in Clarysse et al. (eds), *Egyptian Religion*, 1110–11.

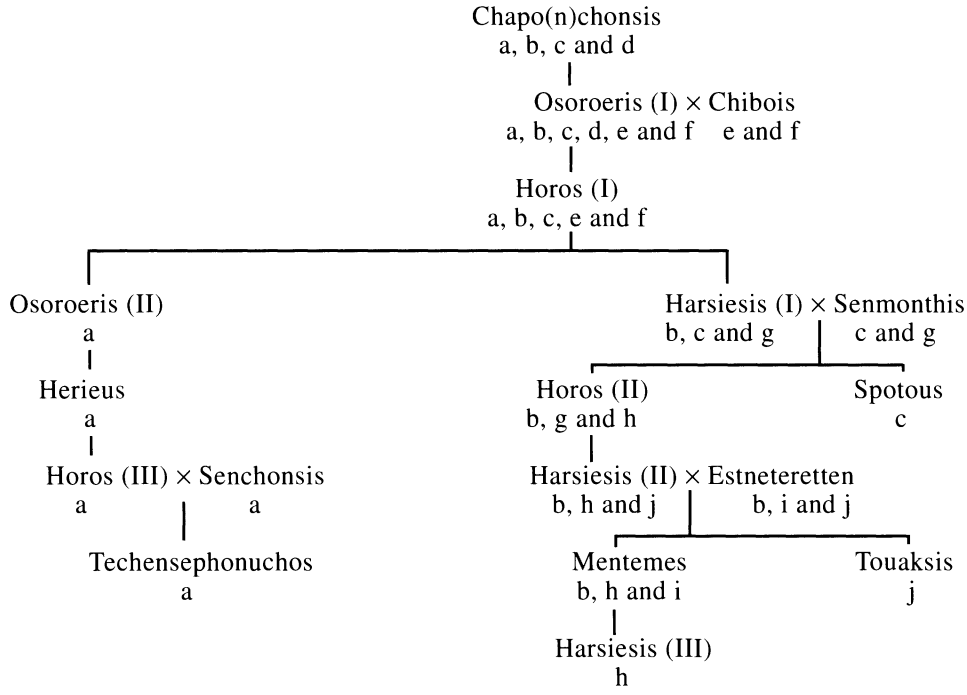
[62] *Who was Who*³, 393.

[63] Wakefield, *BLR* 14, 95 and *Who was Who*³, 96–7.

[64] Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section A. See A. M. Blackman, 'The Funerary Papyrus of Nespeḥer'an', *JEA* 5 (1918), 24–35 and pls. 3–4.

[65] Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section B. See A. M. Blackman, 'The Funerary Papyrus of Ἐnkhefenkhons', *JEA* 4 (1917), 122–9 and pls. 26–8.

[66] Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, 262, and Niwiński, *Studies on Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, 348–9.



The objects that at present can be ascribed with certainty to specific members of the family are identified in the above family tree as follows:[67]

a. P. Tübingen 2016 (*Document of Breathing Made by Isis*)
b. P. Tübingen 2012 (Book of the Dead)
c. Bodleian Library Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P) (*Document of Breathing Made by Isis*)
d. Statue Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 227
e. P. Joseph Smith I, X and XI (*Document of Breathing Made by Isis*)
f. P. Louvre N 3207, 3208 and 3209 (Book of the Dead)
g. P. Vienna 3863 (*Document of Breathing Made by Isis*)
h. Graff. Med. Habu 229, 3
i. Mummy wrapping Turin 1873
j. P. Louvre N 3167 and N 3222 (*Document of Breathing Made by Isis*)

FIG. 2. A family of prophets of Min-who-massacres-his-enemies.

of the unpublished P. BM EA 10260.[68] Not much is known of the origin of the part housed in the British Museum. It was amongst the first group of antiquities assembled by the British Consul-General Henry Salt (1780–1827).[69] Combined, the different parts provide us

[67] Further references on the objects listed here can be found in n. 50.

[68] These fragments are to be added to papyrus 5 of the list compiled in Coenen, *RdE* 49, 37. A full transcription of these fragments is included in the edition of this funerary composition, which I am currently preparing for publication. For the London part, see Quirke, *Owners of Funerary Papyri*, 37, no. 63. This part is being prepared for publication by F.-R. Herbin. I thank W. V. Davies and R. Parkinson of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum for allowing me to work on the London portion.

with an almost complete copy of the *Document of Breathing Made by Isis*.[70] Only the right upper corner of the opening vignette is still missing.

Both the London and the Oxford papyrus are kept in two frames. Frame 1 of the London portion contains the remnants of the opening vignette and shows the deceased with a deity leading him by the hand to a god seated on a throne. Three gods stand behind the enthroned deity. Most of the missing heads of this beautifully coloured opening vignette are to be found among the six fragments preserved in frame 1 of Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D. When placed in their correct positions, the fragments cover a total length of 42.5 cm, with a maximum height of 12.3 cm. The right end of the sky hieroglyph depicted on fragment 1 (length 25 cm and height 7.6 cm) is lost. This large fragment further contains parts of the crowns worn by the deities to whom the deceased is introduced. The head preserved on fragment 2 (length 7.9 cm and height 6.5 cm) matches the remnants of the last headdress of fragment 1. The headdress and the hieroglyphic caption (*Nb.t-ḥw.t*) written in front of it identify this goddess as Nephthys. Fragment 3 (length 8.2 cm and height 6 cm) is to be placed to the right of fragment 2 and shows the head of Isis, which is coloured green. The name of the goddess (*ꜣs.t*) is written in hieroglyphs in front of her typical headdress. In fragment 4 (length 8.7 cm and height 5.9 cm), the falcon-headed Horus is depicted in front of Isis. He wears the double crown, and the accompanying caption gives his name in hieroglyphs (*Ḥr*). The right end of the latter fragment shows a part of the *ꜣtf*-crown worn by Osiris. Thus, in the opening vignette the deceased is introduced to Osiris, Horus, Isis and Nephthys. The head of the god who introduces the deceased and the head of the deceased himself are, however, lost. Given the fact that the skin of this god is coloured black, one may assume that originally jackal-headed Anubis was depicted.

Frame 1 of the London half also contains sixteen lines of hieratic writing, placed to the left of the opening vignette. Fragments 5 (length 7.7 cm and height 6.3 cm) and 6 (length 15 cm and height 12.3 cm) of frame 1 of the Oxford part contain the opening sentence of this column and a few traces of signs pertaining to line 2. The opening sentence reads: 'Hail Osiris Kephalon, justified, born to Ta-n[a]-kau, justified' (*ḥꜣj Wsir Gpln mꜣʿ-ḫrw ms n Ta-n[ꜣ]-kꜣ.w mꜣʿ-ḫrw*). The text of this additional column is a combination of passages typical of funerary compositions from Graeco-Roman Egypt, but does not belong to the *Document of Breathing* proper. That text is to be found in the remaining part kept in London and Oxford.

The papyrus enclosed in frame 2 of Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D measures 56.5 cm in length and is 12.5 cm high. It has two columns of hieratic writing, both consisting of nine complete lines and one fragmentary line. These lines match the fifteen almost complete lines of the first column, and the two fragmentary and fourteen complete lines of the second column, preserved in frame 2 of P. BM EA 10260.

Division of the text. The text of the *Document of Breathing Made by Isis* can be divided into seventeen paragraphs.[71] As in most copies of this mortuary composition, paragraph 17 with the directions for wrapping up the text with the mummy, is omitted. Paragraph 12 is also

[69] Quirke, *Owners of Funerary Papyri*, 12.

[70] For another *Document of Breathing* divided over different collections, see M. Coenen, 'A Remarkable Judgement Scene in a Document of Breathing Made by Isis. Papyrus Florence 3665 + 3666 and papyrus Vienna 3850', *Orientalia* 68 (1999), 98–103 and pls. 19–23.

[71] See n. 49.

absent. The other paragraphs are divided over the two columns of the London and Oxford part in the following way:

Paragraph 1	Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D, II, 1–4
Paragraph 2	Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D, II, 4–9
Paragraph 3	Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D, II, 9 and P. BM EA 10260, II, 1–4
Paragraph 4	P. BM EA 10260, II, 4–6
Paragraph 5	P. BM EA 10260, II, 6–11
Paragraph 6	P. BM EA 10260, II, 11-15 and Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D, III, 1–2
Paragraph 7	Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D, III, 2–3
Paragraph 8	Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D, III, 3–5
Paragraph 9	Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D, III, 5–6
Paragraph 10	Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D, III, 6–9
Paragraph 11	Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D, III, 9 and P. BM EA 10260, III, 1–3
Paragraph 13	P. BM EA 10260, III, 3–4
Paragraph 14	P. BM EA 10260, III, 4–6
Paragraph 15	P. BM EA 10260, III, 6–10
Paragraph 16	P. BM EA 10260, III, 10–16

Owner and dating. The owner of this *Document of Breathing* is the 'Osiris Kephalon, born to Ta-na-kau' (*Wsir Gpln ms n Ta-nꜣ-kꜣ.w*).[72] No priestly functions were cited for either the owner or his mother and they are not known to me from other sources. As for all *Documents of Breathing*, a Theban origin and a dating to the late Ptolemaic or early Roman Period cannot be far from the truth.

Ms. Douce. Or.b.10 (P)

This *First Document of Breathing* and the previously discussed Book of the Dead Ms. Douce.Or.d. 7-12 (P) were bequeathed to the Bodleian Library by the antiquary F. Douce in 1834.[73] In its present state of conservation, the manuscript has a length of 124 cm and a height of 28.5 cm. Although the beginning is severely damaged and reconstructed in a somewhat unsatisfactory way, the papyrus would originally have been of similar size.

On the frame enclosing the papyrus, the text is incorrectly identified as 'The Book of Dead'. Two hand-written notes are glued to the back of the frame. The first note reads:

> Mem[da] on the back of M.S.
> From Eddem — (the last letters of this word not legible)
> 80 miles from Thebes, towards the first cataract.
> Bought of Belzoni, left by Mr. Douce.

The second note reads:

> 'Copy of the „Todtbuch" belonging to a lady named Ta-au—'(last letters not legible MC).

[72] Neither name is recorded in H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I (Glückstadt, 1935) or in Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits*. For the proper name Kephalon (*Gphln*), see E. Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch*, I (14) (Wiesbaden, 1996), 1021.

[73] These papyri are in fact the earliest acquisitions of Egyptian material; see Wakefield, *BLR* 14, 94. For F. Douce, see n. 8 above.

Thus the manuscript is one of the many objects sold by the well-known Italian adventurer Giovanni Battista Belzoni (1778–1823),[74] who in the years 1816 to 1818 collected antiquities in Thebes on behalf of H. Salt, the British Consul-General in Egypt. The identification of the partly legible place of origin given in the first note is problematic. An origin 80 miles south of Thebes is unconvincing, as *Documents of Breathing* are a typical Theban feature. Most likely the papyrus had been brought to that place by the finder, after he had either dug it up or found it in one of the many necropoleis in the Theban area. The second note wrongly identifies this *First Document of Breathing* once more as a Book of the Dead.[75]

A series of vignettes in line drawing, placed across the top of the seven columns of hieratic writing, originally covered the complete length of the manuscript. Amongst the few scenes that still remain are those of: a human-headed *ba*-bird seated on a socle; Anubis holding the mummy upright; the tree goddess bringing a libation offering;[76] the Weighing of the Heart; and four standing demons holding a knife in the left and the sign of life in the right hand. The fragments of the severely damaged first three columns are at present erroneously mounted together. There are no rubrics, and the verso, now no longer visible, was presumably left blank.

The layout, style and the themes of vignettes are not unusual for this type of funerary papyrus, as these also feature, for instance, in P. Berlin 3028,[77] P. Florence 3662,[78] and Hieratic Papyrus 6 of the John Rylands Library.[79] The similarities among these papyri are so striking that they are in all likelihood copied from the same model in the same local workshop.

In this type of *Document of Breathing* the owner's name is only mentioned once, in the opening sentence. This sentence, which is unfortunately only partly preserved, introduces the deceased (or his or her mother ?) as the 'Hathor Aset ///' (*Ḥw.t-ḥr ʾs.t ///*). As for most *Documents of Breathing*, a dating to the end of the Ptolemaic Period or the early Roman Period can be proposed.

Ms. Egypt.g.3 (P)

In 1887, Ms. Egypt.g.3 (P) was donated to the Bodleian by the Revd. G. J. Chester.[80] This incomplete papyrus is an abbreviated *Document of Breathing* and probably dates to the Roman Period. It measures 7.4 cm in length and is 8 cm high. From the flow of the text, it is clear that the manuscript is preserved over its complete length. The beginning of the text with the owner's name is lost. Seven complete lines of hieratic writing and a few traces of

[74] *Who Was Who*[3], 40–1. Another Oxford papyrus presumably to be associated with Belzoni is the literary abnormal hieratic P. Queen's College; see J. Baines, K. Donker van Heel and H. W. Fischer-Elfert, 'Abnormal Hieratic in Oxford: Two New Papyri', *JEA* 84 (1998), 234–6.

[75] This erroneous identification is repeated in Madan, *Summary Catalogue*, 629, no. 22023.

[76] For a similar scene in another *First Document of Breathing*, see J.-Cl. Goyon, *Le papyrus du Louvre N 3279* (BdE 42; Cairo, 1966).

[77] Unpublished. See U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften* (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 19 / 3; Stuttgart, 1986), 23, no. 21.

[78] A. Pellegrini, 'TA ŠAT EN SEN-I-SEN-I MEH-SEN ossia il Libro Secondo della Respirazione', *Bessarione* 8, series 2. 6 (1903–1904), plate opposite p. 158.

[79] I thank A. Young of the Special Collections of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester for allowing me to work on this unpublished papyrus, which contains, besides the text of the *First Document of Breathing*, the text of the *Second Document of Breathing*.

[80] Wakefield, *BLR* 14, 94.

another line are preserved on the recto. There is no vignette. On the verso stands one poorly preserved line of writing.

Conclusion

For a considerable time, this small collection of funerary papyri has been a little-explored part of the diverse holdings of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Only rarely can so many papyri of a single collection be dated by genealogical research and joined with other parts of the same manuscript scattered in other collections in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in Europe. It is hoped that this presentation will stimulate further research.

Appendix

Below are listed the unpublished funerary papyri discussed above together with those already published, in alphabetical order according to shelf-mark, with their content identified.

Ms. Douce. Or.b.10 (P)	*First Document of Breathing*
Ms. Douce. Or.d.7-12 (P)	Book of the Dead
Ms. Egypt.a.1 (P)	Book of the Dead
Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section A	*Litany of the Sun*[81]
Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section B	*Amduat*[82]
Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D	*Document of Breathing Made by Isis*
Ms. Egypt.a.42 (P)	Book of the Dead
Ms. Egypt.b.2 (P)	Book of the Dead
Ms. Egypt.b.3 (P)	*Amduat*
Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P)	*Document of Breathing Made by Isis*
Ms. Egypt.d.7 (P)	Book of the Dead
Ms. Egypt.d.10 (P)	Book of the Dead (?)
Ms. Egypt.d.11 (P)	Book of the Dead
Ms. Egypt.f.1	Book of the Dead
Ms. Egypt.g.3 (P)	Abbreviated *Document of Breathing*

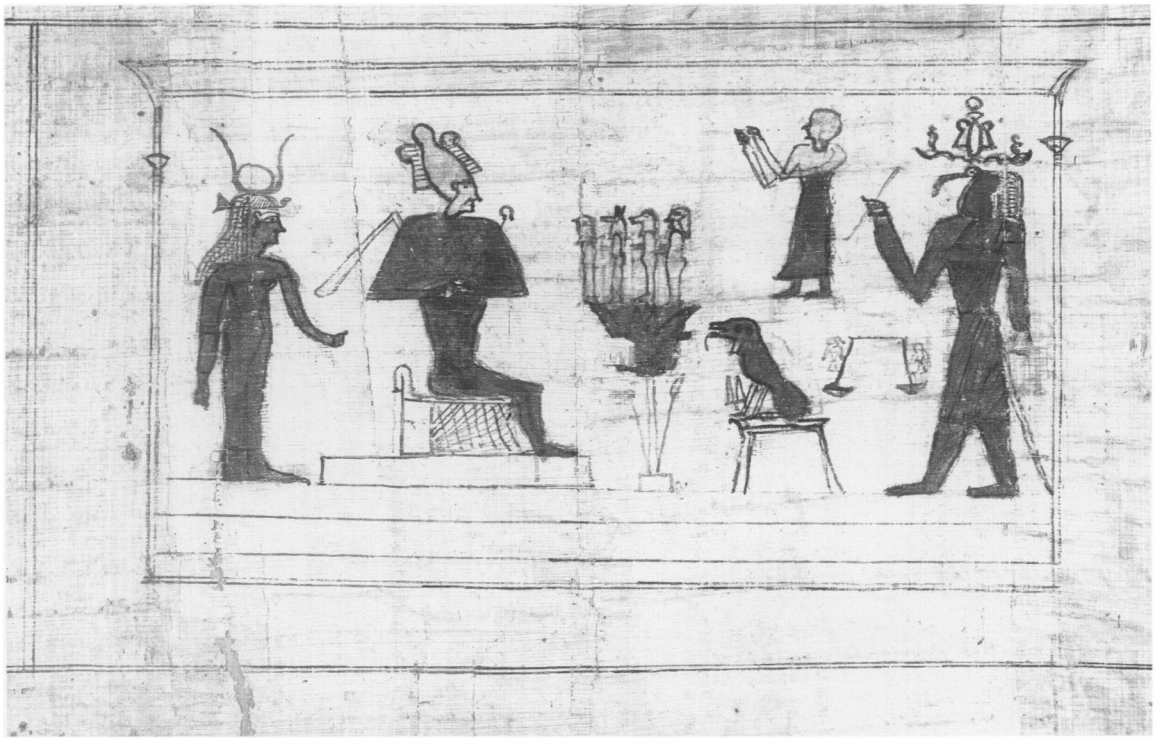
[81] See n. 64.
[82] See n. 65.

PLATE XII

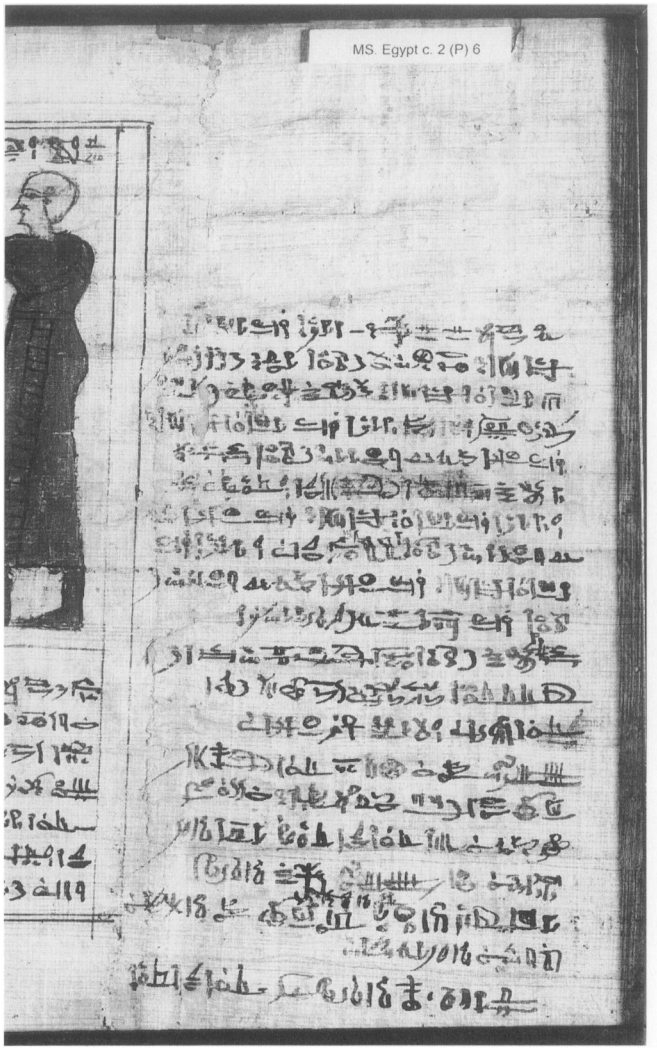
1. The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Extract from Ms. Douce Or.d.7-12 (P) (*photograph kindly provided by the Book of the Dead Project Bonn/Cologne*)

2. The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Ms. Egypt.a.42 (P) (*photograph kindly provided by the Book of the Dead Project Bonn/Cologne*)

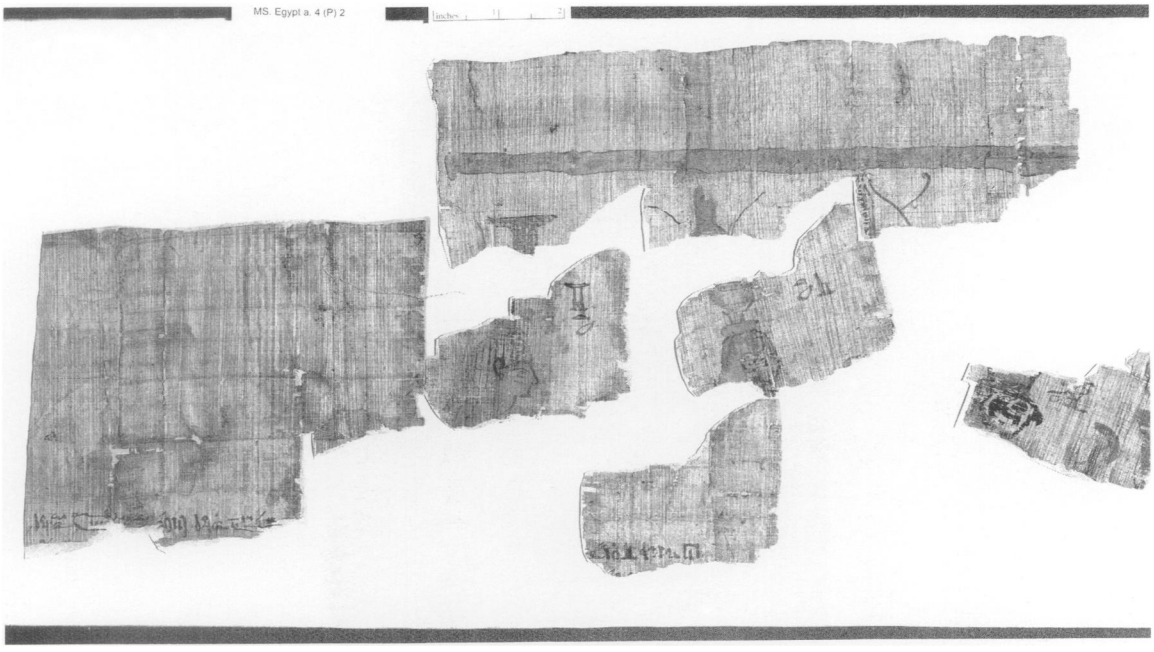
1. The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Opening vignette of Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P)



2. The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Closing vignette of Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P)

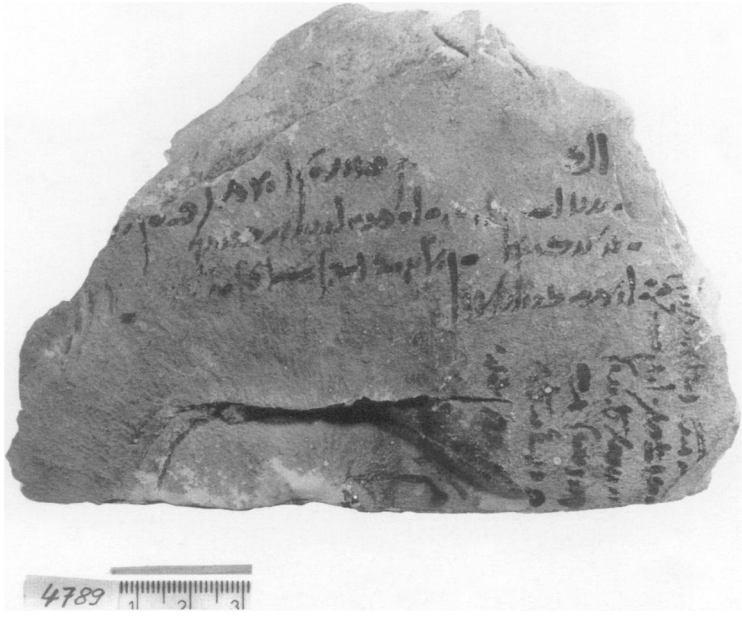


The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Column I of Ms. Egypt.c.2 (P) and transcription



1. The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Remnants of the opening vignette of Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D

FUNERARY PAPYRI OF THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY (pp. 81–98)



Ostrakon Leipzig ÄM 4789

EIN WEIZEN-ÜBERWEISUNGSAUFTRAG (pp. 99–109)

EIN WEIZEN-ÜBERWEISUNGSAUFTRAG ZUGUNSTEN DES (TEMPEL)-WIRTSCHAFTERS HOR (DAS DEMOTISCHE KALKSTEIN-OSTRAKON LEIPZIG ÄM 4789) *

Von URSULA KAPLONY-HECKEL

The limestone ostracon Leipzig ÄM 4789 belongs to a group of more than one hundred short texts on limestone ostraca in European collections, originating from an unknown temple. They differ from all short texts otherwise known in their documentary type, and in their inclusion of the name of a deity (hitherto unread), which appears in men's names. To this European group may be added thirteen similar pieces in Cairo; these limestone and potsherd ostraca entered the Egyptian Museum in 1922, from Nagᶜ el-Mesheikh, as is recorded in the *Journal d'Entrée*. The goddess *Mḥjt* was worshipped at Nagᶜ el-Mesheikh / Lepidotonpolis so the cursively written name of the deity of the limestone ostraca is to be deciphered as *Mḥjt,* and the personal names as *Pȝ-ḫl-Mḥjt*, *Pȝ-šr-Mḥjt*, *Pȝ-dj-Mḥjt*, *Pa-Mḥjt*, *Mḥjt*, *Mḥjt-tȝj=f-nḫtt* and *Ns-Mḥjt*. So far, no Greek or Demotic texts are known from the site. The documentary type of letter-orders and letter-receipts of these Nagᶜ el-Mesheikh limestone ostraca is to be found also in unpublished Abydos limestone ostraca in Oxford and in Khargeh potsherd ostraca in New York (to be published in *Enchoria*, in preparation), but is unknown in the rest of Upper Egypt (e.g. Thebes, Gebelein, Edfu and Elephantine). Probably all these letter-orders and letter-receipts date to the early Ptolemaic Period.

Von den 49 demotischen Kurz-Texten auf Tonscherben[1] und Kalkstein-Brocken[2] der Sammlung[3] Georges Michaelides[4] ist der hier vorgelegte Kalkstein-Brocken 1993 in Italien aufgetaucht und befindet sich jetzt im Ägyptischen Museum in Leipzig. Der Text enthält einen Auftrag vom Regierungsjahr 17 und ist zwei Jahre später für Verwaltungsnotizen wiederverwendet worden. Im folgenden werden nach Umschrift und Übersetzung (Erstschrift und Zweitschrift) von der interessanten Erstschrift Datum (**I**), Herkunft (**II**), Inhalt und

* Für Harry Smith in alter Freundschaft

[1] Von den demotischen Tonscherben der ehemaligen Sammlung Michaelides (GMi) stammen wohl die meisten aus Theben, nämlich neun frühe Kurz-Quittungen u.a. für *nḥḥ* vom Regierungsjahr 35, 38 (2x), für Salz vom Regierungsjahr 23, 31, fünf frühe Nekropolen-Steuer-Quittungen vom Regierungsjahr 5, 22, 38 (2x), u. a. eingezahlt von *Pa-nȝ-sȝ-Pȝ-ḫl-Ḥnsw* (vgl. St. V. Wångstedt, 'Demotische Bescheinigungen über Begräbnissteuer', in: *Or Su* 23–24 (1974–75), 7–43), sowie Tagebuch-Auszüge.—Gehört der fragmentarische Tempel-Eid nach Theben?—Ein paar spätptolemäische Listen stammen den Personen-Namen nach aus Edfu.—Die drei Gebelein-Belege umfassen einen Brief des [... *sȝ*] *Ḥtp-Sbk* 'vor Sobek' an den Hathor-Gottesdiener [...] in Geld- und Weizen-Angelegenheiten, eine Liste von drei Männern und drei Frauen, sowie eine fragmentarische Orakel-Anfrage wegen der <Frau> *Tȝ-šrt-mnḫ*[...].

[2] Die restlichen Kalkstein-Ostraka GMi enthalten Urkunden und Akten; zu Einzelheiten vgl. unten **IV**.

[3] Eine sehr große Holz-Tafel (DO GMi 301) enthält Tagebuch-Auszüge aus dem Regierungsjahr 16. Die *c.* zehn demotischen /bilinguen Mumien-Täfelchen GMi bleiben hier beiseite.

[4] Einige demotische Papyri GMi haben wir im Mai 1997 in der University Library Cambridge gesehen; die meisten befinden sich wohl im BM, London; von einigen ist der Standort unbekannt. NB: Einige kleine Papyrus-Fragmente GMi gehören zu der Naneferkasokar story P. Carlsberg 303 und zu anderen narrative texts in Kopenhagen, wie Kim Ryholt (Brief vom 6. Dez. 1999) mir mitgeteilt hat. Unter den Papyri Michaelides befanden sich 1969 auch ein paar kleine brüchige feine helle und wurmstichige Fragmente (Breite : Höhe 3:7, 5:8, 5:8, 2, 5:1,5, 3:1,5 cm) vom Toten-Papyrus des *Sdḫ* aus dem Mittleren Reich, vgl. P 10482, in *VOHD Ägyptische Handschriften* 3 (1986), 53, Nr. 115.

Prosopographie (**III**), sowie die verwandten Texte im Überblick (**IV**) behandelt, schließlich im Anhang die Zeitgenossen des Tempel-Wirtschafters Hor aufgelistet.[5]

DO Leipzig Ägyptisches Museum Inv. Nr. 4789 (fig. 1, pl. XV, 2)

Breite: 14,5 cm; Höhe: 9,5 cm; Dicke: 6 cm
Erstschrift, beschädigt: 3 ½ Zeilen
Zweitschrift, um 90 Grad nach links gedreht: 8 Zeilen-Enden

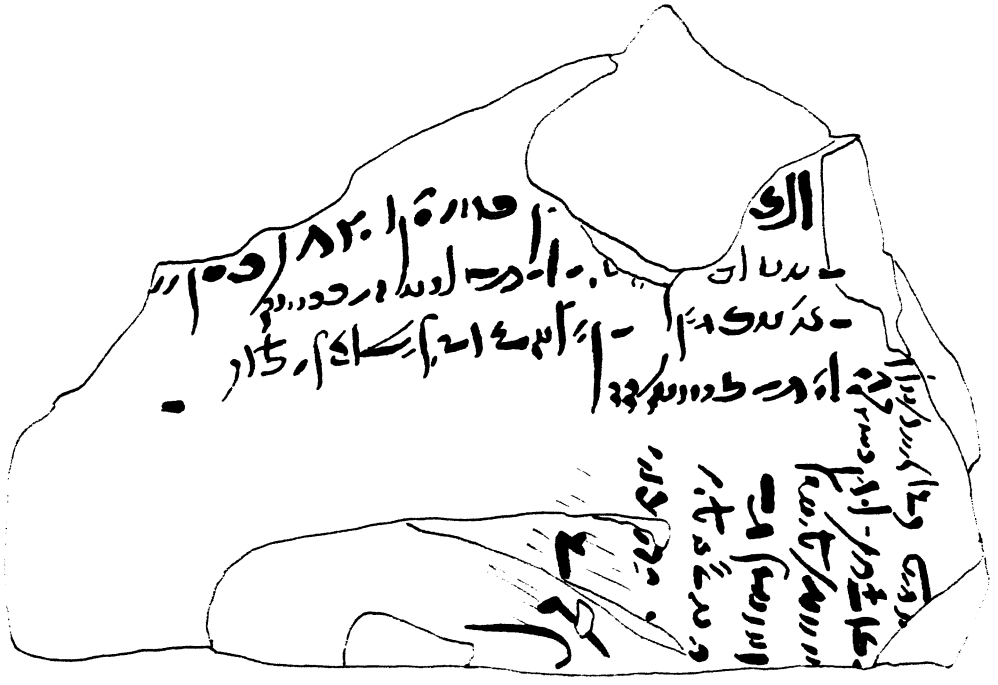


FIG. 1. Leipzig ÄM 4789.

Erstschrift Regierungsjahr 17: 6. Dez. 231 v. Chr., vgl. unten **I**.

(1) *iw-ir-ḥr* [...] *mj sḫ=w swt* 10 ⅔ *ntj* [a] *sḫ* ... [...]
(2) *n P3-*... [...] *n ḥ3t-sp* 17 *tpj 3ḫt sw* 2 *r ibd* 2 *3ḫt sw* 3
(3) *n Ḥr p3 šn*ˁ *sḫ P3j=f-t3w-*ˁ*wj-B3stt s3 Ns-Mỉn r ḫrw=f*
(4) *n ḥ3t-sp* 17 *ibd* 2 *3ḫt sw* 18

(1) An [...]: Veranlasse, daß sie 10 ⅔ (Artaben) Weizen <von den Weizen-Mengen>, die[a] [...]
(2) dem *P3-*... [...] für das Regierungsjahr 17 vom Tag 2 des ersten Überschwemmungsmonats bis zum Tag 3 des zweiten Überschwemmungsmonats (gut)geschrieben sind,

[5] Vermutlich gibt es zu diesen Leuten noch mehr mir unbekannte Belege, die man bisher noch nicht hat einordnen können; die Liste soll das Identifizieren verwandter Texte erleichtern.

(3) dem <Tempel>-Wirtschafter (*šnʿ*) Hor (gut)schreiben!
Geschrieben von *Pȝj=f-tȝw-ʿwj-Bȝstt*, dem Sohn des Zminis, auf sein Geheiß.
(4) Im Regierungsjahr 17, am Tag 18 des zweiten Überschwemmungsmonats.

Zweitschrift Regierungsjahr 19: 12. Dez. 229 v. Chr., vgl. unten **I**.

(5) [... *pr*]-*ḥḏ ntj ʿwj*<=*j*>(?) *wp-st* ...
(6) [...| *r-ỉr=w snhj n ḥȝt-sp* 19 *ỉbd* 2 *ȝḫt sw* 25
(7) [...[*r pȝ ḥr rsj n Mḥjt* [b]
(8) [...] ... *Pȝ-dj-Mḥjt* 17 [c]
(9) [...*r h*]*n r pȝ ʿḏ rsj*
(10) [...] ... *hn r ỉmntj*
(11) [...] *wp-st*
(12) [...] (Spuren)

(5) [... vom <Tempel>-Schatz]haus, die zu <meinen> Lasten sind: Spezifikation: ... [....]
(6) [...], das sie im Regierungsjahr 19 am Tag 25 des zweiten Überschwemmungsmonats registriert haben,
(7) [...] auf der Süd-Gegend der (Göttin) *Mḥjt*
(8) [...] ... *Pȝ-dj-Mḥjt* 17 <...>;
(9) [...] ... bis hin zur südlichen Seite;
(10) [...] bis nach Westen;
(11) [...] Spezifikation: ...
(12) [...] (Spuren)

Anmerkungen

(a) Das Relativsätzchen *ntj sḫ* ... kann sich nicht auf die indeterminierten Weizen-Mengen (*swt* 10 $\frac{2}{3}$) beziehen. Vielmehr ist ein determiniertes Beziehungswort, etwa <aus den Weizen-Mengen> (*ḫn nȝ swwt*) zu ergänzen.

(b) Zur Göttin *Mḥjt* vgl. unten **II**!

(c) Falls sich diese Reste einer privaten Buchführung [... *pr*]-*ḥḏ ntj ʿwj*<=*j*>(?) auf die Registrierung (*snhj*)[6] von Bauern für die Acker-Arbeit beziehen, ist vielleicht '17 <Leute>' zu ergänzen. Parallelen sind mir unbekannt.

[6] Der Terminus *snhj* 'registrieren' (*Wb.* IV, 167) ist bei einer Felder-Inspektion schon im Mittleren Reich belegt (Pap. Harageh, publiziert von P. Smither, 'A Tax-Assessor's Journal of the Middle Kingdom', in: *JEA* 27 (1941), 74–6, pl. xi), fehlt aber im Glossar von Erichsen. *snhj* kommt auch in dem kleinen (nur 3 cm breiten und 10 cm hohen) Fragment DP CCG 30991 r, 7 vor, das Spiegelberg als 'Brief' definiert. Die Text-Reste (ro, x + 2 [...] [die] du mir geschickt hast; ro, 4 [...] Urteil [...]; ro, 5 [... (Göttin)] Triphis [...]; ro, 7 [...]*r snhj* [...]; ro, 8 [...] die Großen, die [...]; ro, 9 [...] Ich bin es, der [...]; vo, x + 2 [...] Wahrheit [...]; vo, 3 [...] Geschrei [...]; vo, 4 [...] ich werde [...] meinen Tod machen [...]) in einer schönen (Gebelein?)-Hand weisen eher auf einen literarischen Zusammenhang (vgl. z.B. Anchscheschonqi 17, 22); übrigens ist der Text vom Recto zum Verso 'waagrecht gewendet' (im Gegensatz zu Briefen, die vom Schreiber 'senkrecht gewendet' werden; vgl. U. Kaplony-Heckel, 'Der demotische Papyrus Loeb 80 und ein Überblick über die demotischen Gebelein-Briefe und -Verwaltungsschreiben Anm. 24', in: *Studia Varia Brux.* V. *Papyri in Honorem Johannis Bingen octogenarii* '*P. Bingen* (OLA, Leuven 2000), im Druck. Ob CCG 30991 + [...] + Heidelberg Inv. Dem. 777 + [...] + CCG 30706 + [...] + 30708 + [...] (lauter sehr kleine, ebenfalls 'waagrecht gewendete' literarische Fragmente, unp.) zusammengehören, ist zu überprüfen.

Kommentar

I Erstschrift und Zweitschrift sind m. E. von geübter mitteldemotischer Hand geschrieben; Leipzig 4789 ist also in die frühe Ptolemäerzeit zu datieren. Dazu paßt der frühe[7] Schreiber-Name *P3j=f-t3w-ʿwj-B3stt*. Für das Regierungsjahr 17 mit dem Tag der Brief-Ausstellung (Monat 2 Tag 18) und der verflossenen Zeitspanne (vom Tag 2 des ersten Monats bis zum Tag 3 des zweiten Monats) gibt es fünf Möglichkeiten:

a) Regierungsjahr 17 aus der Herrschaft des Ptolemaios I.: Der Brief vom 20. Dez. 289 betrifft die Zeit 4. Nov. bis 5. Dez. 289 v. Chr.

b) Regierungsjahr 17 aus der Herrschaft des Ptolemaios II.: Der Brief vom 15. Dez. 269 betrifft die Zeit 21. Okt. bis 21. Nov. 269 v. Chr.

c) Regierungsjahr 17 aus der Herrschaft des Ptolemaios III.: Der Brief vom 6. Dez. 231 betrifft die Zeit 21. Okt. bis 21. Nov. 231 v. Chr.

d) Regierungsjahr 17 aus der Herrschaft des Ptolemaios IV.: Der Brief vom 30. Nov. 206 betrifft die Zeit 16. Okt bis 15. Nov. 206 v. Chr.

e) Regierungsjahr 17 aus der Herrschaft des Ptolemaios V.: Der Brief vom 25. Nov. 189 betrifft die Zeit 10. Okt bis 10. Nov. 189 v. Chr.

Für die Zweitschrift vom Regierungsjahr 19 Monat 2 Tag 25 kommt der 27. Dez. 287 v. Chr., der 22. Dez. 267 v. Chr., der 12. Dez. 229 v. Chr. oder der 2. Dez. 187 v. Chr. in Frage.

II Wann und wo Michaelides Lpz 4789 erworben hat, ist unbekannt. Es steht nur soviel fest: Leipzig ÄM 4789 gehört zu einem einzigen[8] geschlossenen Fund-Komplex von etwa 120 demotischen Kurz-Texten auf Kalkstein und vier (?) auf Tonscherben. Für die dreizehn Belege im Ägyptischen Museum Cairo gibt das *Journal d'Entrée* Cairo[9] die Herkunft an: 'Nagʿ-el-Mesheikh 1922'.[10] Die weit über hundert Exemplare in europäischen Sammlungen scheinen ausnahmslos im Handel[11] erworben[12] zu sein und sind bis auf neun Belege

[7] Vgl. *Demot. Namenbuch*, 446.

[8] Darüber hat St. Grunert als erster 1984 in Leiden referiert: 'Zum Wortschatz der demotischen Ostraka in Prag', in: S. P. Vleeming (Hrsg.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography* (Studia Demotica 1, Leuven 1987), 135–40, bes. Seite 139. Grunert kannte damals nur die Prager Ostraka und W(ångstedt) 87, 88, s. unten **IV**.

[9] Meine Notizen von 1963 und 1992 aus dem *Journal d'Entrée* Cairo Vol. X (von 1922–27) nennen für die demotischen Ostraka Cairo JE 51012 (P 29 pup 31), 51013 / 51014 (P 24 bas 12 r 7) und 51213–22 (P 24 bas 12 r 6, mit dem Vermerk Kalkstein) 'Nagʿ-el-Mesheikh 1922, documents, von Spiegelberg 1927 gelesen'. Die Originale habe ich zwar von 1983 bei einer hurtigen Ostraka-Durchsicht für Gebelein-Belege nicht mehr in Erinnerung; aber man hat mir 1957 im Photo-Labor des Museums überzählige Positionsphotos geschenkt, die, mit dem Scanner vergrößert, eindeutig zu den übrigen Kalkstein-Kurztexten gehören. Außerdem existieren im *Demot. Namenbuch* Photographien von Cairo JE 51014 und 51218, die mir Vittmann dankenswerterweise (nach der Würzburger Sommerschule 1994) in Xerokopien geschickt hat.

[10] In Nagʿ el-Mesheikh/Lepidotonpolis (auf dem Ost-Ufer des Nils nördlich von Balyana) wird die Fischgöttin *Mḥjt* verehrt, vgl. F. Gomaà, in: *LÄ* IV, 107 s.v. 'Mesheikh'.

[11] 1912 ist P 12975 durch Pieper in Dendera gekauft worden (laut Brief von Dr. I. Müller, Pap. Slg. Berlin vom 4.8.1997). 1926 bzw. 1943 sind die Kurz-Texte E 64.1926 ff. bzw. E.G.A. 382.1943 ohne nähere Angaben ins Fitzwilliam Museum gekommen, 1963 hat E. Winter Wien D 351 und 352 bei einem Händler in Ägypten erworben (Brief Juni 1997). 1964 hat Wångstedt O. W(ångstedt) 87, 88 in Cairo gekauft. Wann und wo Herbert Thompson († 1944) das reiche Cambridge University Library (UL) Material (ehemals Sammlung Herbert Thompson) erworben hat, darüber fehlt in seinem Nachlaß an der Oriental Faculty der Universität Cambridge jeglicher Hinweis. Ebensowenig gibt es Nachrichten von H. O. Lange über die beiden Kopenhagen-Belege. Wann und woher das Prager Material im Náprstkovo Museum eingetroffen ist, weiß man nicht (vgl. Grunert, a.a.O.).

[12] Ich habe in den letzten Jahren weder in Pisa, noch in Oxford (Bodl. Eg. Inscr. und DO Ashmol.), Chicago, Ann Arbor oder Toronto (ROMA) verwandte Kalkstein-Kurztexte gesehen.

unpubliziert (s. **IV**).

Alle diese Texte haben vier Merkmale gemeinsam:

a) Schriftträger ist—mit wenigen Ausnahmen—Kalkstein, oft sehr verwittert.

b) Als Datum ist aus paläographischen und prosopographischen Gründen die frühe Ptolemäerzeit (vor 200 v. Chr.) anzusetzen.

c) Inhaltlich gliedert sich das Material in Briefe, eingeleitet durch *iw-ir-ḥr* oder ohne Einleitung, mit Aufträgen und Quittungen (mit und ohne Verbum) von Weizen, Geldern u. a., sowie in Verwaltungstexte: Tempel-Tagebuch-Auszüge, Listen u.ä. An Ortsnamen[13] kommen vor: Achmim, Psoi, 'Die Insel des Sonnenkäfers', 'Die Insel', 'Die Häuser von *ʾInbd* (?)'.

d) Als Gottheit, die alle diese Texte zusammenbindet, erscheint die Göttin[14] *Mḥjt*,[15] und zwar allein und in Männer-Namen[16] der Konstruktionen *Pꜣ-ḫl-Mḥjt*, *Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt*, *Pꜣ-dj-Mḥjt*, *Pa-Mḥjt*, *Ns-Mḥjt*, *Mḥjt-tꜣ=f-nḫtt* und nur *Mḥjt*.[17]

III Der Brief betrifft ein Rechtsgeschäft:[18] Der Adressat, eingeleitet mit *iw-ir-ḥr*, bekommt den Auftrag (Zl. 1-3), an eine dritte Person Weizen zu überweisen. Der Text schließt mit Schreiber und Datum. Der Inhaber (Zl. 2) des zu belastenden Kontos ist vermutlich mit dem ungenannten Absender identisch, auf dessen Geheiß (Zl. 4) der Schreiber den Überweisungsauftrag ausgestellt hat. Die Überweisung ist für *Ḥr pꜣ šnᶜ* bestimmt und beläuft sich auf 10 $\frac{2}{3}$ (Artaben) Weizen. Die Überweisung bezieht sich auf eine abgelaufene Zeitspanne (Zl. 3) von 32 Tagen; das macht pro Tag $\frac{1}{3}$ Artabe Weizen aus, also zehnmal soviel wie in den Tagebüchern aus Erment.[19] Dort gehört es zum Aufgaben-Bereich des *šnᶜ*, am Tempel die täglich eingehenden Weizen-Rationen (*ᶜqw*) und die Fest-Rationen für die Tempel-Angehörigen zu verwalten, ihnen den Überschuß gutzuschreiben und bei Bedarf einen Vorschuß zu geben.

[13] Achmim: UL 137 ... *Pa-rtj sꜣ Ns-Mỉn iw.ỉr šm r Ḫntj-Mỉn*; ähnlich UL 129, 131;
Psoi/Ptolemais Hermiu: UL 67 *r-tꜣ=w r Pꜣ-sj sw* 20 *swt* 6;
Die Insel des Sonnenkäfers (?): Wien D 352 r, 12f. ... *tꜣ mꜣj* [*pꜣ*] *ᶜp(j?)* (vgl. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 59, s.v. *ᶜpj* (Hausw. 5,4); Cairo JE 51019, II, x + 7: *tꜣ mꜣj pꜣ* [...].
Die Insel (*tꜣ mꜣj*): Kopenhagen Nat. Mus. 11680, r, 2 *r ḥwt-nṯr n tꜣ mꜣj* (+ Haus-Determinativ!), ähnlich in Zl. 6, 13, 15, 17;
Die Häuser von *ʾInbd* (?): ODL 133, ro., 3 *nꜣ ᶜwjw ʾInbd* (?) (Lesung D. Devauchelle).

[14] NB: Vor mehr als vierzig Jahren ist diese Gottheit schon Harry Smith begegnet, dem dieser Artikel gewidmet ist, und zwar im Zeugennamen *Pꜣ-dj-ʾImn-ʾIpj sꜣ Pꜣ-šr-*... (DP BM 10589, vo. 7) vgl. H. S. Smith und A. F. Shore, 'Two Unpublished Demotic Documents from the Asyut Archive', in: *JEA* 45 (1959), 52–60, pls. vi–vii.

[15] Die Lesung *Mḥjt* für die Zeichen-Kombination '± *m* + Peitsche *mḥ* + Determinativ der sitzenden Göttin + Falke-auf-der-Stange' für eine Gottheit paßt gut zur Herkunft aus Nagᶜ el-Mesheikh. Grunert (Ms Prag) liest die fragliche Gottheit bald *Pꜣ-wr* (Prag 3865 und W(ångstedt) 88), bald *Mḥjt* (Prag 3855), bald *Tꜣ-rpjt* (Prag 3846).

[16] *Demot. Namenbuch*, S. 516 und 552 verzeichnet die obigen Namenbildungen unter 'Fragliches', vermerkt aber auch Zauzichs vorsichtige Lesung *-Tpj* (?).

[17] Daß man *Mḥjt*, also den bloßen Namen der Gottheit, als Männername gebraucht, ist auch bei *Twtw* der Fall.

[18] Der Leipziger Auftrag 'Veranlasse, daß sie ... schreiben!' entspricht in unserem heutigen Bank-Wesen einem bargeldlosen Überweisungsauftrag.

[19] Vgl. U. Kaplony-Heckel, 'Das tägliche Brot. *ᶜq* "Brot, Ration" auf demotischen Erment-Ostraka' in: N. Grimal und B. Menu (Hrsg.), *Le Commerce en Égypte ancienne,* (BdÉ 121, Kairo 1998), 209–40; übrigens gehören zu ebendemselben Erment-Tagebuch-Archiv zwei weitere Texte: das Kalkstein-Ostrakon Zürich 1895 (alte Nummer 33), von St. V. Wångstedt, 'Verrichtung von Tempeldienst und Zuteilung von Gerste (?) wegen Misswuchses', in: *Or Su* 33-35, (1984–6), 499–504, publiziert, und DO BM 19948 (unv.), 'Regierungsjahr 4, vom vierten Überschwemmungsmonat Tag 19. Die Abrechnung meiner *ᶜqw* vom Tag 19 an ... Tag 19: Ich trat ein in Erment (*ʾIwn-Mntj*), um die Trankopfer zu besorgen. Ich ging ... zu *Ḥr-sꜣ-ʾIst sꜣ Pꜣ-mr-qd*. Er sagte: Sie haben ihn (den *ᶜq*) aufgegessen'.

Vier Personen sind genannt:

a) Der Adressat [...], der die Weizen-Überweisung erledigen soll;[20] er führt Buch über Weizen-Guthaben.

b) Der Auftraggeber *P3-...-[...]* überweist für 32 Tage 10 $\frac{2}{3}$ Artaben Weizen; der Auftrag geschieht 16 Tage nach Ablauf der 32 Tage.

c) Der Begünstigte heißt *Ḥr p3 šn*ˁ.[21] Dieser <Tempel>-Wirtschafter Hor tritt auch in anderen Kalkstein-Briefen[22] und in den großen Akten in Kopenhagen, Paris und Wien[23] aus Nagˁ el-Mesheikh auf.

d) Der Schreiber *P3j=f-ṯ3w-ˁwj-B3stt*, der Sohn des Zminis, ist unbekannt; seines Vaters Name Zminis ist in den Kalkstein-Ostraka von Nagˁ el-Mesheikh belegt.

An Gottheiten treten in Nagˁ el-Mesheikh, das für die Ptolemäerzeit aus griechischen und demotischen Belegen unbekannt ist, die Götter *Šw*, *Tfnwt* und *Twtw* auf, auch in Männer-[24] und Frauen-Namen.[25] Genannt werden ebenso die Reinigungspriester (*n3 wˁbw*) des Horos, des *N3-nfr-ḥtp*, des *N3-nfr-ỉb-p3-R*ˁ und der Gottesdiener des Horos. Ähnliche Briefe mit Aufträgen (*ỉw-ỉr-ḥr* NN *mj dj=w* ..., 'An NN. Veranlasse, daß sie ... auszahlen!') haben sich auf kleinen Tonscherben aus der Oase Charge[26] und auf handlichen Kalkstein-Ostraka aus Abydos[27] erhalten, sind aber unveröffentlicht.

IV Von dem ganzen Komplex ist, wie gesagt, nur für die Belege des Ägyptischen Museums Cairo die Herkunft aus Nagˁ el-Mesheikh durch das *Journal d'Entrée* in Cairo gesichert. Publiziert sind bisher neun Kalkstein-Belege, die St. V. Wångstedt in Oberägypten und St. Grunert in der Thebais lokalisieren:

O. Stockholm MME 1973: 62, ehemals W(ångstedt) 87,[28] 'Abrechnung'; O. Stockholm MME 1973: 64, ehemals W(ångstedt) 88,[29] 'Quittung über Wein(?)' (Regierungsjahr 11), 1964 in Cairo erworben

[20] Vgl. unten z. B. den Adressaten *Twtrs* (= Theodoros, ist das ein Hebräer?) in den Auszahlungsaufträgen der Sammlungen Michaelides und Prag (s. unten Anhang). Mehrere Auszahlungsaufträge gehen an Leute mit nicht-ägyptischen Namen: Die Adressaten gehören demnach nicht zum Tempel, sondern stehen in staatlichen Diensten.

[21] Vgl. G. Vittmann, 'Zwei Spätzeittitel', in: *SAK* 21 (1994), 338 ff. NB: In Gebelein sind Tempel-Wirtschafter (*p3 šn*ˁ) selten; vgl. DP Heid Inv. Dem. 714 II, 5, 6, 8 <mit falscher Lesung>—U. Kaplony-Heckel, 'Woher kommen die Zeugen?', in: *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt, Studies Presented to L. Kákosy* (Stud. Aeg. 14, Budapest 1992), 326 ff. Dazu kommt aus dem Tagebuch DP Heid Inv. Dem. 709 + BM 059 + 060, verso, 7 ff. (unv.) *Ḥnsw-Ḏḥwtj s S3-Sbk p3 šn*ˁ. Das Recto enthält einen Ehe-Vertrag.

[22] Nach den Lieferaufträgen und Quittungen in Cambridge (unv.) auf den Namen des *Ḥr p3 šn*ˁ war er wohl anderthalb Jahrzehnte im Amt.

[23] Es heißt Wien D 351, vo, II, 4: *r* 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ *sp* $\frac{1}{2}$ *ḏrt Ḥr p3 šn*ˁ: Das macht 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ (Artaben Weizen); Rest(schuld) $\frac{1}{2}$ (Artabe Weizen) in der Hand des (Tempel)-Wirtschafters Horos.

[24] St. V. Wångstedt, 'Demotische Ostraka aus ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit', *Or Su* 18 (1969), 99 f. Nr. 25.

[25] Wien D 352.

[26] Aus den Grabungen von Winlock am Hibis-Tempel, heute in New York, MMA (vgl. Beiheft zum Archiv für Papyrusforschung, Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses in Berlin 1995), sowie unseren Artikel 'Die 28 demotischen Hibis-Ostraka in New York' (in Vorbereitung für *Enchoria* (2000)).

[27] Im Ashmolean Museum Oxford befinden sich aus den Abydos-Grabungen von Petrie (1900) und Garstang (1909) z.T. stark verwitterte demotische Kalkstein-Ostraka aus dem III. Jht. v. Chr.: DO Ashm. 824 bis 884 (Petrie), 893 bis 895 (Garstang); die kleinen Stücke tragen Urkunden, sehr große Brocken Akten-Auszüge. Die Kurz-Aufträge Ashm. 840, 846, 861, 869–73, 878, 880 und 894–5 sind eingeleitet durch *ỉw-ỉr-ḥr* und stammen aus den Regierungsjahren 4, 5, 29 und [...]. In Ashm. 870 heißt es im Text '... die Lieferungen vor Osiris'.

[28] Wångstedt, *Or Su* 18, 99 f. Nr. 25, mit Photo.

[29] St. Wångstedt, 'Demotische Steuerquittungen nebst Texten andersartigen Inhalts', in: *Or Su* 16 (1967), 38 ff. Nr. 14 mit Photo. Lies (anders als Wångstedt) Zl. 1: *sw* 20 *ỉrp* (?); Zl. 2: *sw* 11; Zl. 4 *P3-šr-Mḥjt* (Wångstedt *Nḥt.t-ỉmn* (?), dagegen Grunert in: Vleeming (Hrsg.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography*, 139: *P3-šr-p3-wr*). Für das Regierungsjahr 11 (nach Wångstedt aus der Herrschaft des Ptolemaios VI. Philometor oder des Auletes, d.i. 171/0 oder 71/0 v. Chr.) kommt

O. Prag 3858, 3868, 3871, 3874, 3878, 3883 und 3889,[30] sieben Brief-Quittungen (?) zugunsten des Theodoros (Regierungsjahr 2, 4, 6, 7)

Die unpublizierten[31] Belege[32] verteilen sich über Cairo und europäische Sammlungen (und Sidney?) folgendermaßen:

Berlin[33] P 12975 Auftrag (Regierungsjahr 16)

Cairo Ägyptisches Museum[34] 13 Tempel-Tagebücher, und zwar:

auf Kalkstein	JE 51213–51222 (Regierungsjahr 5, 16)
auf Tonscherben(!)	JE 51012–51014 (Regierungsjahr 5, 7, 9)

Cairo (ehemals Slg. Michaelides, heutiger Standort unbekannt) 20 Belege (Regierungsjahr 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23): 5 Aufträge, 2 Quittungen,[35] 13 Akten-Auszüge[36]

Cambridge Fitzwilliam-Museum 5 Belege (Regierungsjahr 9, 16):

E 64.1926	Kurz-Auftrag (ohne Adressaten)
E 65.1926	Tempel-Tagebuch, verwittert
E 66.1926	Auftrag
E 69.1926	Recto Auftrag,[37] Verso Liste
E.G.A. (= E. Gayer-Anderson gift) 382.1943	Tempel-Tagebuch

Cambridge University Library (ehemals Slg. Herbert Thompson) 44 Belege (Regierungsjahr 3, 9, 11, 13, 14, 22, 24, 29, 37): 7 Auszahlungsaufträge an *Ḥr pꜣ šnᶜ*, 12 weitere Aufträge;[38] 11 Quittungen für Lieferungen des *Ḥr pꜣ šnᶜ*, 5 weitere Quittungen;[39] 8 Akten-Auszüge,[40] 1 Brief

Kopenhagen Nationalmuseum (ehemals Slg. H. O. Lange) 11680, 11681 zwei Tagebuch-Auszüge, verwittert

Paris ODL 133 großes Tempel-Tagebuch (Regierungsjahr 18?)

Prag[41] Náprstkovo Muzeum 30 Belege (Regierungsjahr 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 16): 15 Urkunden (Aufträge und Quittungen), 15 Akten-Auszüge (Tagebücher, Listen, Abrechnungen)

Uppsala Viktoria Museum C 87 (ehemals Slg. Ambassador Adolf Croneborg) kleines Fragment einer Quittung (?)

Wien Pap.-Slg. D 351 und D 352 zwei große Tempel-Tagebuch-Auszüge.

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m. E. eher das III. Jht. v. Chr. (295/4, 275/4, 237/6 oder 212/1 v. Chr.) in Frage. Wångstedt geht nicht auf die Eigenart der 'Quittung' ein.

[30] St. Grunert, 'Sieben demotische Geschäftsbriefe aus der Thebaïs', in: *Altorientalische Forschungen* 19 (1992), 219–26, mit hand copies.

[31] Auf der II. demotischen Sommer-Schule in Köln (August 1997) habe ich das Problem des unbekannten Gottes vorgetragen. Daß D. Devauchelle den ansehnlichen Kalkstein-Brocken ODL 133 in Photo und Xerox nach Köln mitgebracht und vorgetragen hat, dafür gilt ihm mein besonderer Dank.

[32] Vgl. auch DO IFAO (Neg Nr. 77#2434),4f. (unp.) mit der Nennung von *Mntj-ḥtp ... pꜣ wᶜb Mḥjt* (?), wohl aus dem II. Jht. v. Chr. Ein eigenartiger Text!

[33] Die Photographie von P 12975 habe ich zufällig bei der ersten Berlin-Reise 1962 erhalten.

[34] Die drei Tonscherben Cairo JE 51012/JE 51013/JE 51014 (Tagebuch vom Regierungsjahr 5) aus Nagᶜ el-Mesheikh gehören wohl in dieselbe Zeit wie die Kalkstein-Kurztexte.

[35] Aufträge an *Twtrs*: GMi 202–3, andere Aufträge: GMi 201, 204 und 206–8; NB die beiden *inj*-Qu GMi 209, 210.

[36] GMi 210 (Palimpsest), 228–30, 232, 234–6 und 238–42.

[37] E 69.1926: *iw-ir-ḥr pꜣ=j ḥrj* (selten!) *Pa-ḥj sꜣ Pꜣ-dj-Mtr mj tw=w swt* ....

[38] Aufträge: UL 73, 76, 115, 125, 129, 136–7, 142, 152, 187, 250 und 252; für *Ḥr pꜣ šnᶜ* vgl. unten Anhang.

[39] Quittungen: UL 46, 50, 96, 113 und 143; zu *Ḥr pꜣ šnᶜ* vgl. unten Anhang.

[40] Akten-Auszüge: UL 45, 49, 54, 67 (Regierungsjahr 37), 97, 111, 130 und 301.

[41] Die Eigenart der Prager Kalkstein-Ostraka und den Zusammenhang mit W(ångstedt) 87, 88 hat Grunert 1984 in Leiden vorgestellt (vgl. pp. 135–40 in: Vleeming (Hrsg.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography*. Ich danke ihm sehr dafür, daß er mir 1995 seine Unterlagen zugänglich gemacht und der Auswertung (nach telephonischer Anfrage Juni 1997) zugestimmt hat.

Vielleicht stammt aus Nagᶜ el-Mesheikh auch der große Tonscherben Sidney R 102, ein Tempel-Tagebuch-Auszug über Bau-Tätigkeit und die Entlöhnung der Bauleute.[42]

Anhang: Der (Tempel)-Wirtschafter Hor (*Ḥr pꜣ šnᶜ*) aus Nagᶜ el-Mesheikh und seine Zeitgenossen

S = Sohn des
V = Vater des
GMi = Georges Michaelides
Lpz = O. Leipzig 4789
P = Berlin Papyrus-Sammlung
Sidney vgl. oben **IV**.
UL = Cambridge University Library
Wien = Wien Papyrus-Sammlung

ʾIw=f-ᶜnḫ	V	*Wrš* (?)	Cairo JE 51213, II, 5
Wpj (?)	S	*Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt*	UL 59
Wrš (?)	S	*ʾIw=f-ᶜnḫ*	Cairo JE 51213, II, 5
Wrš (?)	(S)	*Pꜣ-ᶜḥm* (?)	GMi 210
Wrš	S	*Pa-rtj*	P 12975, 5; Prag 3873
Wḏꜣ-rn=s			Wien D 352
Pꜣ-ᶜḥm (?)	(V)	*Wrš* (?)	GMi 210
Pꜣ-ᶜḥm	V	*Ns-Ḥr*	GMi 240
Pꜣ-wr-Tjw	S	*Mḥjt*	Fitzwilliam E.G.A. 382, 1943
Pꜣ-rmṯ-qnqn			Cairo JE 51213, II, 5
Pꜣ-rmṯ-qnqn	S	*Pa-rtj*	ODL 133, ro., 9
Pꜣ-rmṯ-qnqn	S	*ʾIp-Min*	ODL 133, ro., 17
Pꜣ-ḥf	V	[...]	GMi 240
Pꜣ-ḥr-Mḥjt	*pꜣ rmṯ-...*		GMi 241
Pꜣ-ḥr-Mḥjt	S	*Sꜣ-Ḫnsw*	Prag 3846
Pꜣ-šr-ʾImn	*pꜣ wn*		Prag 3844
Pꜣ-šr-pꜣ-wr-Tjw	S	*Pꜣ-šr-pꜣ-mwt*	Cairo JE 51219, ro, I, 6
Pꜣ-šr-Bꜣstt	V	*Ptlwmjs*	GMi 241

[42] Vgl. *Catalogue of the Museum of Antiquities* (ehemals Sammlung Nicholson) *of the Sidney University, compiled by the Curator Mr. Edward Reeve (1860-1870)*, R 102: 'Fragment of a large Jar. 9 inches long, 6 ¼ inches wide'. Das große Bruchstück (recto 16 Zeilen-Enden, verso 1 Zeilen-Anfang) trägt die Überschrift '[Die Abrechnung] des (Tempel)-Magazins'; vermerkt wird:

(4) Tag 13 Baumeister 1, macht ½ <Silberling??>

(6) Tag 20 21 22 23 vier Tage ohne Bauen

(10) [...] der (Tempel)-Wirtschafter [...] von den (Tempel)-Magazinen und den Kai-Anlagen ([...] *pꜣ šnᶜ nꜣ pr-ḥḏ.w nꜣ qr.w*).

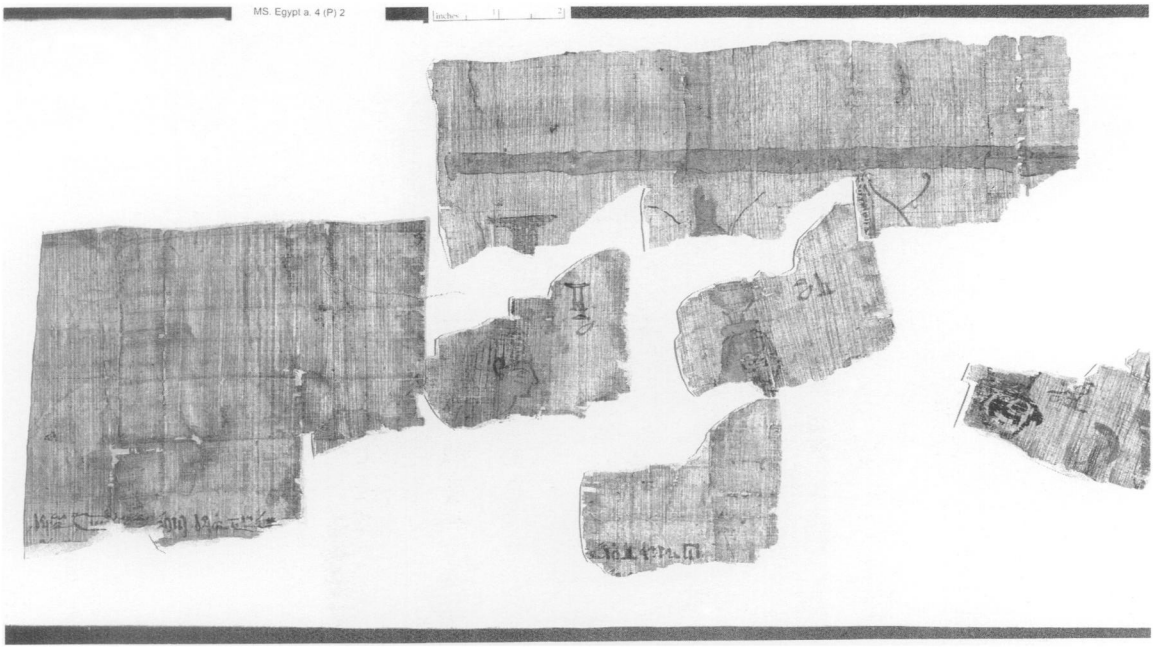
Es kommt zwar kein *Mḥjt* Personenname vor, aber die genannten Männer wie *Ḏd-ḥr pꜣ qd* (Zl. 7: der Baumeister Teos), *sḫ Ns-Min* (Zl. 12: der Schreiber Zminis), *Pꜣ-dj-Ḥr-wr* (Zl. 8,14) und *Hrjw* (Zl. 13) passen m. E. zu den Tonscherben-Tagebüchern Cairo JE 51013–15. Ich danke Dr. Lawler für die Übersendung der Xerokopie; die Originalphoto dazu befindet sich bei S. P. Vleeming, Trier.

Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt			Fitzwilliam E 66. 1926, GMi 229, ODL 133, ro, 11, Prag 3855, 3868, UL 115,Uppsala VM C 87, W(ångstedt) 87, Wien D 352
Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt	*pꜣ rmṯ Pa-rtj*		Cairo JE 51213, II,1
Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt	*pꜣ ḥm-nṯr Ḥr*		GMi 241
Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt	*pꜣ šnᶜ*		UL 115, 119, 137, 187, 250, 252
[Pꜣ-šr]-Mḥjt	*pꜣ šnᶜ*		Kopenhagen 11680, ro, 1
Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt	V	*Pꜣ-dj-ỉmn-ỉpj*	Siut: DP BM 10589, vo., 7
Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt	S	*Pꜣ-dj-Mḥjt*	GMi 204
Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt	S	*Pa-wr*	P 12975, 1; Wien D 352, ro., 10, 13
Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt	V	*Pa-tꜣ-ršj* (?)	GMi 209
Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt	S	*Ns-ỉmn*	GMi 234 (2x), ODL 133, vo
Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt	V	*Ḥr*	Theben-West: DP Turin Suppl 6080 B = Botti, DM 3, vo. 9, DP Turin 2129 = Pestman, Amenothes 1, vo. 9
Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt	S	*Ḥr-pꜣ-bk*	W(ångstedt) 87
Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt	S	*Sn-Ḫnsw*	Prag 3846
Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt	S	*...-Mḥjt*	GMi 204
Pꜣ(j=j)-šr-Mḥjt	V	*Ḏd-ḥr*	Elephantine: P 15504
Pꜣ-šr-Ḥr	S	*Wrš* (?)	Cairo JE 51213, 8
Pꜣ-šr-Twtw			Wien D 352
Pꜣ-šr-Twtw	S	*Pa-wr*	GMi 228; Cairo JE 51014, 1
Pꜣ-šr-Twtw	S	*Pa-rtj*	ODL 133, vo.
Pꜣ-šr-Twtw	S	*Ḥr-sꜣ-ỉst*	Cairo JE 51213, 1
Pꜣ-dj-ỉmn			UL 136
Pꜣ-dj-ỉmn-ỉpj	S	*Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt*	Siut: DP BM 10589, vo., 7
Pꜣ-dj-Wpj	S	...	Cairo JE 51219, ro, II, 10
Pꜣ-dj-Mḥjt	S	...	Prag 3868
Pꜣ-dj-Mḥjt	V	[...]	Lpz 4789
Pꜣ-dj-Mḥjt	S	*Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt*	GMi 204
Pꜣ-dj-Mḥjt	S	*Ḥr*	Prag 3889
Pꜣ-dj-Mḥjt	S	*Ḏḥwtj-...*	UL 92
Pꜣ-dj-Nfr-ḥtp	(S)	*Sꜣ-n-Ḫnsw*	Cairo JE 51213, II, 6
Pꜣ-dj-Ḥr	S	*Pꜣ-šr-Twtw*	GMi 240
Pꜣ-dj-Ḥr -wr			Sidney R 102, ro, 8. 14
Pꜣ-dj-Šw			W(ångstedt) 87
Pꜣj=f-ṯꜣw-ᶜwj-Bꜣstt	S	*Ns-Mỉn*	Lpz 4789
Pa-wr	S	*Pꜣ-dj-Bꜣstt*	Cairo JE 51219, ro, II, 9
Pa-Mḥjt	S	*Pꜣ-šr-...*	Cairo JE 51220, I, x + 4
Pa-Mḥjt	S	*Pa-nꜣ*	GMi 241
Pa-Mḥjt	S	*Ns-Mỉn*	Prag 3883
Pa-nꜣ			Cairo JE 51220, II, x + 2
Pa-rtj			GMI 206, 232, Prag 3874
Pa-rtj	*pꜣ ḥm-nṯr Mḥjt*		Cairo JE 51014, 5
Pa-rtj	*pꜣ ḥmw*		GMi 241, Prag 3862
Pa-rtj	S	*Ns-Mỉn*	UL 137
Pa-rtj	S	*Ḥr*	Cairo JE 51213, I, 6

Pa-Ḥr	S	*Pa-tȝwj*	GMi 240
Pa-Ḥr	S	*Ḏd-...*	GMi 241
Pa-ḫj	*pȝ sḫ-*[...]		GMi 203
Pa-ḫj	S	*Pȝ-dj-Mtr* (?)	Fitzwilliam E 69.1926
Pa-tȝ-ršj (?)	S	*Pȝ-šr-Mḥjt*	GMi 209
Pa-tȝwj-pȝ-ḫm			GMi 240
Pa-tȝwj	S	*Ỉmn-...*	GMi 230
Pa-tȝwj	S	*Pȝ-dj-M...*	GMi 230
Mḥjt	S	*Mḥjt*	Prag 3862
Mḥjt	S	*Pȝ-wr* (?)	Fitzwilliam E.G.A. 382, 1943
Mḥjt	S	*Pȝ-dj-Mḥjt*	Wien D 352
Mḥjt	S	*Pa-Mḥjt*	Wien D 352, ro., 17
Mḥjt-...			GMi 208, P 12975
Mḥjt -...	S	*Ns-Mỉn*	GMi 234
Mḥjt-tȝj=f-nḫtt	*pȝ mr-šn*		GMi 206
Mḥjt-tȝj=f-nḫtt	*pȝ rmṭ Pa-rtj*		Cairo JE 51213, II, 2
Mḥjt-tȝj=f-nḫtt	*pȝ ḥm-nṯr Mḥjt*		GMi 241; Fitzwilliam E.G.A. 382,1943
Mḥjt-tȝj=f-nḫtt	*pȝ ḥm-nṯr Šw*		ODL 133, ro, 14
Mḥjt-tȝj=f-nḫtt	S	*Ns-Mỉn*	GMi 234
Nȝ-nfr-ib-Rᶜ	S	*Pa-rtj*	Cairo JE 51215, vo, 5
Ns-Ỉmn			UL 151, 152
Ns-Ỉmn (?)	S	*Pȝ-ḫl-Mḥjt*	UL 109, 119
Ns-Mỉn	*pȝ ḥm-nṯr Šw*		GMi 241
Ns-Mỉn			Sidney R 102, ro, 12
Ns-Mỉn	*pȝ sḫ-dj*		GMi 232 (vgl. Prag 3841, 3867)
Ns-Mỉn	S	*Pȝ-ḫl-Mḥjt*	UL 119
Ns-Mỉn	S	*Pȝ-šr-Mḥjt*	GMi 201, 203, Prag 3858, UL 108
Ns-Mỉn	S	*Pa-Mḥjt*	Prag 3883
Ns-Mỉn	S	*Pa-rtj*	GMi 204
Ns-Mỉn	S	*Pa-ḫrd*	GMi 240
Ns-Mỉn	S	*Ns-Mỉn*	Prag 3844, 3851
Ns-Mỉn	S	*Ns-Mḥjt*	UL 115, 140
Ns-nb-nṯr-Mḥjt (?)	S	...	GMi 206
Ns-Ḥr	S	*Pȝ-ᶜḫm*	GMi 240
Ns-Ḥr	S	*Pa-tȝwj* (?)	GMi 240
Ns-Šw-Tfnt			W(ångstedt) 87
Lbj	*pȝ mr-šn*		GMi 204,
Hrjw			Sidney R 102, ro, 13
Ḥr			UL 250
Ḥr	*pȝ mr-šn*		ODL 133, ro. 15
Ḥr	*pȝ ḥm-ntr Ḥr*		Cairo JE 51014, 4
Ḥr	*pȝ šnᶜ*		Lpz, UL 58, 59, 92, 103, 106, 108, 109, 117, 121, 131, 134, 139, 140, 145, 146, 151, 171, Kopenhagen 11680, vo, 16, ODL 133, ro, 15, Wien D 351, vo, II, 4
Ḥr	S	*Pȝ-šr-Mḥjt*	Prag 3878

Ḥr	S	*Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt*	Theben-West: DP Turin 2129 = Pestman, Amenothes 1, vo, 9, DP Turin Suppl 6080 B = Botti, DM 3, vo, 9
Ḥr	S	*Pa-Ḥr*	GMi 240
Ḥr-pꜣ-bk	S	*Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt*	GMi 207, Prag 3840, UL 92, W(ångstedt) 88
Ḥr-pa-Ỉst	S	...	GMi 241, Prag 3865
Ḥr-m-ḥb	S	...	GMi 208, Prag 3866, Wien D 352, ro, 7
Ḥr-ḫb			P 12975, 4; Prag 3874, 3878
Sꜣ-Ḫnsw			GMi 241, Prag 3883
Glꜣ	(S)	*Pꜣ-dj-Nfr-ḥtp*	Cairo JE 51220, I, x + 5
Glꜣ	(S)	*Mḥjt*	Cairo JE 51014, 6
Tꜣ-šrt-Twtw			Wien D 352, ro, 15
[*Tꜣ-šrt?*]*-Mḥjt-tꜣj=f-nḫtt tꜣ ꜥꜣt*			Wien D 352, ro, 16
Ta-Šw			Wien D 352, ro, 16
Ta-Th (?)			Wien D 352, ro, 16
Twtw	S	*Pꜣ-šr-Mḥjt*	Wien D 352, ro, 17
Twtw	S	*Ḥtpj* (?)[43]	Wien D 352, ro, 1
Ḏḥwtj-ỉr-dj=s	V	[...] *pꜣ ḥmw*	Kopenhagen 11680, ro, 2
Ḏd-ḥr		*pꜣ qd*	Sidney R 102, ro, 7
Ḏd-ḥr	S	*Pꜣ(j=j)-šr-Mḥjt*	Elephantine: P 15504
Ḏd-ḥr	S	*Pa-rtj*	Prag 3873
Ḏd-ḥr	S	*Mtlj* (?)	GMi 209
Ḏd-ḥr	S	*Ns-Mỉn*	GMi 202
ꜣmnjgls			Cairo JE 51215, vo, 2, 5
Pjrn			GMi 201
Ptrmjs			Cairo JE 51213, I. 9, Prag 3856
Ptlwmjs	S	*Pꜣ-šr-Bꜣstt*	GMi 241
Hjmrꜣn (?)			UL 187
Twtrs			GMi 202, 203; Prag 3858, 3868, 3871, 3874, 3878, 3883, 3889

[43] Lesung Vittmann.



1. The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Remnants of the opening vignette of Ms. Egypt.a.4 (P). Section D

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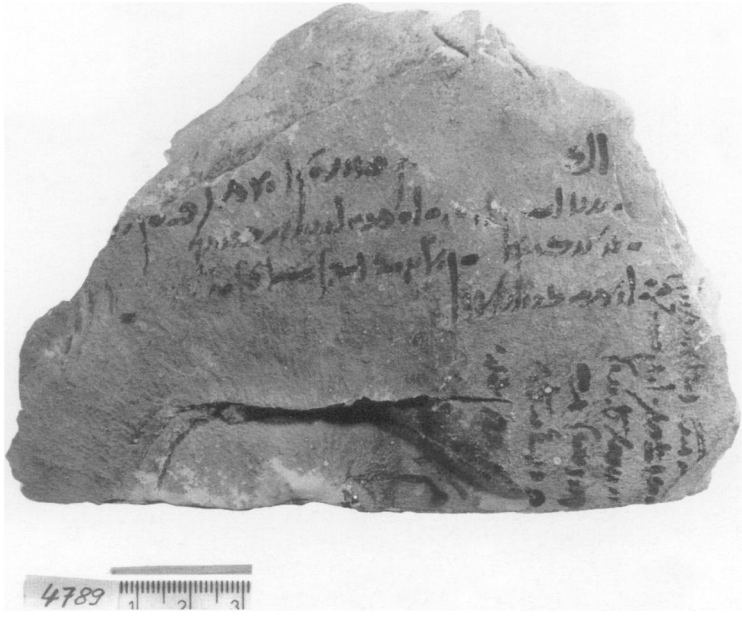

Ostrakon Leipzig ÄM 4789

EIN WEIZEN-ÜBERWEISUNGSAUFTRAG (pp. 99–109)

EVIDENCE FROM THE BABOON CATACOMB IN NORTH SAQQARA FOR A WEST MEDITERRANEAN MONKEY TRADE ROUTE TO PTOLEMAIC ALEXANDRIA *

By JAAP GOUDSMIT *and* DOUGLAS BRANDON-JONES

The Baboon Catacomb at North Saqqara occupies two levels, the Upper Galleries (±400–200 BC) with 200 niches and the Lower Gallery (±200–30 BC) with 237 niches. More macaques and fewer baboons are buried in the Lower Gallery compared with the Upper Galleries. This suggests a partial shift in primate species mummified and appears to reflect a change in trading pattern from predominantly Nile and Red Sea traffic to the olive baboons' (*Papio hamadryas anubis*) habitat in Sudan towards Mediterranean traffic to the barbary macaques' (*Macaca sylvanus*) habitat in Northwest Africa. Six demotic obituaries discovered in the Lower Gallery report that in the period around ±175 BC monkeys were imported through Alexandria. Phoenicians appear to have presented the Egyptians with increased numbers of macaques transported from the West Mediterranean to Alexandria following the defeat of Hannibal in 202 BC by the Romans. This monkey trade apparently stopped with the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC.

MONKEY images, particularly of baboons and guenons, are very frequent in ancient Egyptian art.[1] Mummification of monkeys was common practice, reaching its peak during the Ptolemaic Period. Large monkey burial sites from that time have been discovered in Thebes, Tuna el Gebel and North Saqqara.[2]

In 1996 an expedition to the Baboon Catacomb of the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara was held.[3] Following the original excavation of the catacomb in 1968, a total of 16 selected monkey skulls were donated to the Petrie Museum in University College, London, and cranial material of another 153 individual primates was found during the 1996 expedition. Of this total of 169 individuals available for study, 146 were identified as *Papio hamadryas anubis* (olive baboons). In addition, 21 individuals were identified as *Macaca sylvanus* (barbary macaques) and 2 individuals as *Cercopithecus aethiops* (African green monkeys). The majority of the monkeys were males that died at adult and subadult age.

The habitat of *Papio hamadryas anubis* ranges from Sierra Leone eastward to the Sudan and southward to Zaire and Tanzania.[4] In contrast to the large habitat of this baboon, *Macaca sylvanus* currently only inhabits the mountainous areas of Northwest Africa. As early as the

* We are grateful to Colin Groves for providing unpublished material, H. S. Smith of the Egypt Exploration Society for joining us in the 1996 expedition and W. van Est for providing illustrations. In addition, the authors thank Chris Brandon-Jones for her contribution to the ordering of the data sets. A special thanks goes to R. Perizonius for his archaeological contributions (especially the suggestion of different trading routes for different monkeys) to the early phases of these studies and to John Ray for providing us with the translation of the demotic obituaries cited prior to publication. The authors thank the SCA in Egypt, the EES and the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo, without whose cooperation this study would not have been possible. The work was funded in part by the EES and the University of Amsterdam.

[1] W. C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1938), 3–33; D. J. Osborn and J. Osbornová, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1998), 32–42. See generally E. Brunner-Traut, 'Affe', *LÄ* I, 83–5.

[2] A. von der Driesch, 'Affenhaltung und Affenverehrung in der Spätzeit des Alten Ägypten', *Tierärztl Prax* 21 (1993), 95–101.

[3] J. Goudsmit and D. Brandon-Jones, 'Mummies of Olive Baboons and Barbary Macaques in the Baboon Catacomb of the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara', *JEA* 85 (1999),45–53.

[4] J. Kingdon, *The Kingdon Field Guide to African Mammals* (London, 1997), 32–6.

reign of Queen Hatshepsut (1478-1458 BC) baboons were imported from a country called Punt.[5] The temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari has reliefs on the southern wall of the middle colonnade, depicting baboons climbing palm trees in the country Punt as well as baboons roaming free on the ships of Hatshepsut leaving Punt.[6] The location of Punt is heavily disputed, but the finding of a mummy of a *Papio hamadryas hamadryas* (sacred baboon) in the tomb of Thutmosis III by Maspero[7] and the remains of more *P.h. hamadryas* mummies in Gabanet el-Giboud near Thebes[8] suggest that Punt included the habitat of this baboon subspecies. This is in agreement with the hypothesis of Wegener Sleeswijk that Punt was located in the inlands and coastal regions of Erythrea, including the islands of Dahlak Kebir.[9]

There is no evidence that the ancient Egyptians imported tailless monkeys before the Ptolemaic Period. Not a single Egyptian record is found of a monkey without a tail.[10] Accounts by Herodotus (IV. 194) and Diodorus Siculus (20.58, 3–5)[11] indicate that from around 500 BC the habitat of the *Macaca sylvanus* ranged from Morocco and Algeria in the west to Tunisia and maybe Libya as the most eastern border.[12] In contrast to the ancient Egyptians, for instance, the only monkey the ancient Etruscans on the Italian mainland were aware of appears to have been the *Macaca sylvanus*. The Tomba della Scimia near Chiusi and the Tomba Golini at Orvieto, dated 450 and 400 BC respectively, clearly depict barbary macaques.[13] Banacelli argues that the Etruscan word for monkey (*arim*) specifically refers to the tailless *M. sylvanus*. If these macaques were imported into Etruria, the most likely traders would have been the Phoenicians, since amber figurines of barbary macaques of Phoenician design have been found in Etruria,[14] and it is well documented that Carthaginian explorers, like Hanno (±500 BC) sailed to the west through the Straits of Gibraltar.[15]

The recent findings from the Baboon Catacomb in North Saqqara shed light on the issues of when the import of both baboons and barbary macaques increased during the Late Period, by which route these monkeys entered Egypt, and when and why the import of these monkeys stopped.

Materials and methods

Between 24 March and 9 May 1996 a joint expedition of the Egypt Exploration Society and the University of Amsterdam was held to the Baboon Catacomb at North Saqqara, with

[5] E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari,* III (MEES 16; London,1898), pls. lxx, lxxiv and xxv. Monkeys were associated with Punt as early as the Middle Kingdom—in the *Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor* the serpent, who calls himself the lord of Punt, presents the sailor with two sorts of monkeys (*gwf* [African green monkeys] and *kyw*) among 'typical' produce of his land (see A. Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories* (BAE 2; Brussels, 1932), 47, 1.3).

[6] McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity*, 3–33; Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* III, pls. lxx, lxxiv and xxv.

[7] L. Lortet and C. Gaillard, 'La faune momifieé de l'ancienne Egypte', *Archives du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Lyon* 10 (1905), 1–9.

[8] Lortet and Gaillard, *Archives du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Lyon* 10, 7.

[9] For recent discussion and references, see A. Wegener Sleeswijk, 'On the Location of the Land of *Pwnt* on Two Renaissance Maps', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 12 (1983), 279–91; id., 'Oude scheepvaartkanalen in Egypte', *Phoenix* 41 (1995), 97–118.

[10] Y. Harpur and J. Goudsmit, unpublished observation.

[11] S. Lancel, *Carthage* (Paris, 1992), 89–102; Herodotus, *The Histories* (London, 1996), 270–8.

[12] S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, I (Paris, 1914), 109.

[13] B. Bonacelli, 'La scimmia in Etruria', *Studi Etruschi* 6 (1932), 341–82.

[14] Bonacelli, *Studi Etruschi* 6, 361–5.

[15] Lancel, *Carthage*, 102–9.

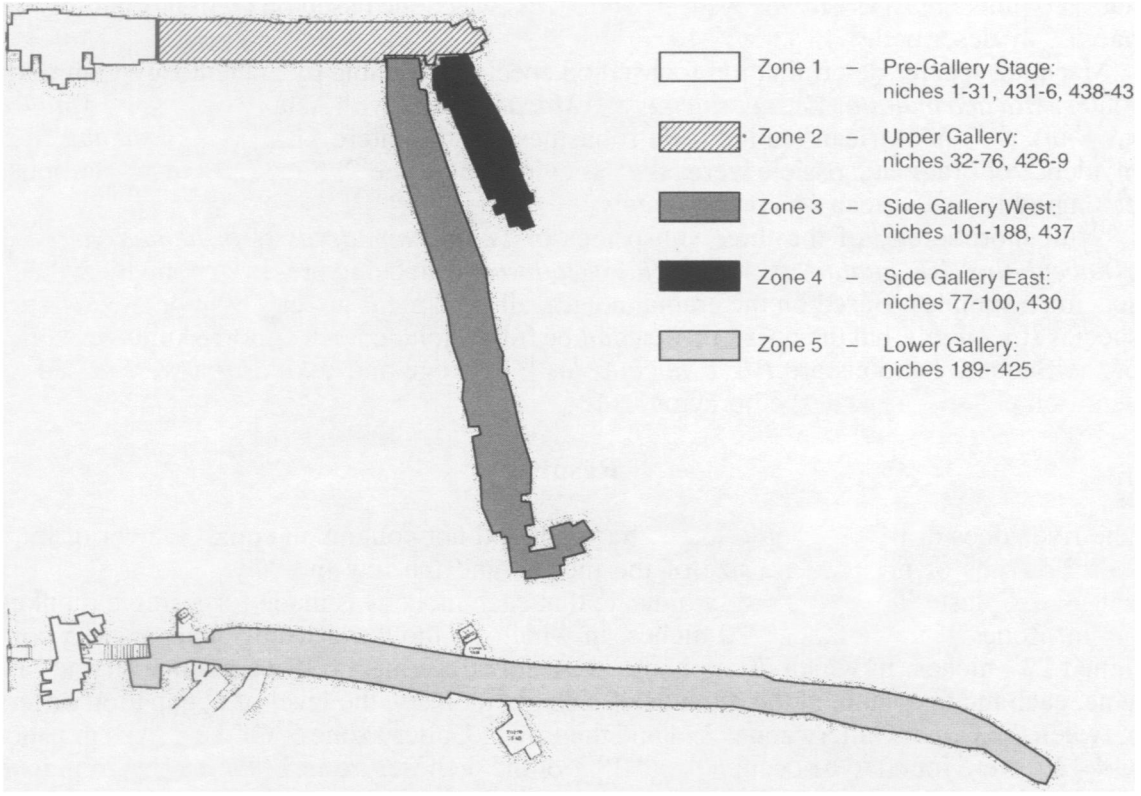

FIG. 1. Zones and niche divisions in Upper and Lower Galleries.

permission of the Supreme Council of Antiquities. As part of the expedition, an inventory of all monkey remains present in the Baboon Catacomb or originating from the catacomb has been made by the authors. For purpose of allocation, the Baboon Catacomb was divided into five zones by H. S. Smith and R. Perizonius (fig. 1) and the niches numbered from 1 to 437. Zone 1 (the pre-gallery stage) includes niches 1–31 and 431–6; zone 2 (the Upper Gallery) includes niches 32–76 and 426–9; zone 3 (Side Gallery West) includes niches 101–88 and niche 437; zone 4 (Side Gallery East) includes niches 77–100 and 430; zone 5 (the Lower Gallery) includes niches 189–425.

All primate cranial material was removed from the catacomb. Prior to removal, each item was annotated in indelible ink with its niche number. The osteological material was collected niche by niche and relocated to the temporary laboratory at the SCA resthouse used as excavation headquarters by the EES. This fragmented material was reconstructed in order to reduce the likelihood of associated fragments being interpreted as separate individuals.

The primate analysis presented here and in the previous paper [16] is solely based on cranial material, although post-cranial material was studied simultaneously. Primate skulls were distinguished from those of other mammals by the presence of an orbital bar. Cercopithecid primate teeth can be distinguished from most other mammal teeth, particularly in the first and second molars, by the characteristic bilophodont molar cusp pattern. Generic determi-

[16] Goudsmit and Brandon-Jones, *JEA* 85, 45–53.

nation (genus *Papio* vs *Macaca* vs *Cercopithecus*) was done based on teeth morphology as previously described.[17]

Macaque species determination focused on species reachable by ancient Egyptian trade routes: *Macaca mulatta*, *Macaca silenus* and *Macaca sinica* with Asian habitats and *Macaca sylvanus* with an African habitat. The robustness of the interorbital region and the high incidence of bregmatic ossicle were taken as evidence for the Baboon Catacomb macaques belonging to the African *Macaca sylvanus*.

Skull morphology of the three subspecies of *Papio hamadryas* (*P.h. hamadryas*; *P.h. cynocephalus*; *P.h. anubis*) excluded *P.h. hamadryas* from being present among the baboon specimen samples. Based on the cranial length, all specimens appear to belong to the subspecies *P.h. anubis*, but the possibility cannot be fully excluded that a short-skulled minority of the Saqqara baboons are *P.h. cynocephalus*.[18] The age and sex criteria were based on dentition patterns as described previously.[19]

Results

The five zones of the Baboon Catacomb (fig. 1) did not contain an equal number of individual burials or niches. The size of the niches, and the few monkey remains found in untouched plaster blocks, strongly indicate that each niche was made for a single monkey burial. Zones 1–4 contained 200 niches, in which 84 monkeys were found; zone 5 contained 237 niches, in which 70 monkeys were found (Table 1). If we assume that at one time, each niche contained the remains of a single monkey, the level of occupation differs between the Upper Gallery zones 1–4 and the Lower Gallery zone 5. Of the niches in zones 1–4 42% were found to be occupied and 30% of the niches in zone 5 ($p < 0.01$). Since zone 5 is dated later than zones 1–4, but is also more difficult to reach, the explanation might be either a difference in disturbance level or a halt to the burial practices after the niches in the Lower Gallery were cut. We favour the first explanation since the least disturbed zone, zone 4, contained the highest percentage of monkey burials recovered (72%; 18 of 25). 94% of

TABLE 1. *Numbers of Monkeys Found in Distinct Zones of the Gallery*

Zones	*Niches or monkeys expected*	*Monkeys found (%)*
zone 1	37	16 (43)
zone 2	49	20 (41)
zone 3	89	30 (34)
zone 4	25	18 (72)
zones 1–4	200	84 (42) *
zone 5	237	70 (30) *

* The percentage of occupied niches is significantly higher in zones 1–4 than in zone 5 ($p < 0.01$)

[17] Ibid. 48–51.
[18] Ibid. 50.
[19] Ibid. 48–52.

TABLE 2. *Species of Monkeys Found in Distinct Zones of the Gallery*

Zones	*Baboons (%)*	*Macaques (%)*
zones 1–4 †	79 (94%)	5 (6%)
zone 5	56 (80%)	14 (20%)

The percentage of macaques is significantly higher in zone 5 than in zones 1–4 ($p < 0.01$)

† zone 1: 14 baboons 2 macaques
zone 2: 41 baboons 1 macaques
zone 3: 28 baboons 2 macaques
zone 4: 18 baboons 0 macaques

TABLE 3. *Sex and Age of the Baboons Found in the Gallery*

Zones	*Baboons found*	*Sex distribution*		*Age distribution*	
		Males	*%*	*Adults*	*%*
zones 1–4	79	52	66	50	63
zone 5	56	31	55	24	43

The sex distribution does not differ significantly between zones 1–4 and zone 5
The age distribution differs significantly between zones 1–4 and zone 5 ($p < 0.05$)

all monkeys recovered from zones 1–4 were baboons and 6% macaques. In contrast, 80% of all monkeys found in zone 5 were identified as baboons and 20% were macaques (Table 2). This difference is highly significant ($p < 0.01$), but we must bear in mind that disturbances of the site took place at many times in the past. However, even if we are correct in our estimate of the number of niches, more macaques and fewer baboons are buried in the Lower Gallery zone 5 compared to the Upper Galleries zones 1–4. In addition, we noted that more male baboons of adult age were buried in the Upper Gallery than in the Lower Gallery (Table 3). Because of the small numbers, no such differences could be established among macaques.

Monkey obituaries written in the cursive Egyptian script known as demotic were only found in the Lower Gallery zone 5.[20] These were written in ink across the limestone blocking of the niches in which the animals in question were buried. The first obituary (H5-1459 [3257]) indicates that the monkey was imported to Egypt in the sixth year of reign of Ptolemy V (200/199 BC), it was installed as an oracle on 27 November 178 and buried some 30 years after its import, on 6 September 168. Since the life span for barbary macaques is about 20 years [21] and for olive baboons 30 to 45 years, the text is more likely to concern a baboon. This is cumbersome since our physical evidence indicates that the majority of the baboons

[20] J. D. Ray, *Demotic, Hieroglyphic and Greek Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at Saqqara* (Egypt Exploration Society; London, forthcoming).

[21] C. Ross, 'Life History Patterns and Ecology of Macaque Species', *Primates* 33 (1992), 207–15.

died at a much younger age.[22] The obituary says that the monkey was brought from the south.

The second obituary (H5-1460 [3258]) is ambiguously dated, either to 26 November 178 or 23 November 167 BC. This obituary indicates that the monkey was mummified in the temple of Ptah-under-his-Moringa-Tree. This was a subsidiary temple in Memphis, where monkeys might have been kept.

The third obituary (H5-1461 [3259]), says that '4 monkeys were brought and that they were buried in 4 niches'. H5-1463 [3261] seems to be an edited version of the previous obituary, stating that 'they brought from Alexandria 4 baboons (monkeys, sic) (and) buried them'. The fourth obituary (H5-1464 [3262]) just reads 'Alexandria' and 'totalling 5'.

The fifth obituary, H5-1462 [3260], is important in other aspects. This text implies that it took two days from (the end of) mummification to burial. An alternative reading stretches the time from mummification to burial to about four months. This animal was 'born in the temple of Ptah-under-his-Moringa-Tree', indicating that some animals were born in the confinement of the same temple where mummifications took place (see H5-1460 [3258]). The most likely date for this obituary is 6 July 174 BC.

The last obituary (H5-1419 [3340]) is again difficult to date, most likely coming from either 17 January 176 or 15 January 165 BC. The monkey 'was brought (from/to) Alexandria when he was young' and its mummification (salvation) 'occurred (in) the temple of Ptah-under-his-Moringa-Tree, when he was old'. The gap between mummification and burial was eleven days.

Discussion

Archaeological evidence suggests that the construction of the Baboon Catacomb was initiated between 404 and 343 BC.[23] It is fair to assume that a revival of the cult worshipping Thoth and his monkey representation coincided with the construction. However, it is unknown whether at that early date baboons were already gathered at the Memphis temple designated as the temple of Ptah-under-his-Moringa-Tree. The first evidence (since the voyages to Punt sponsored by Egyptian rulers during the second millennium BC) for the reinitiation of Red Sea travel to the Erythrean coast is from the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 BC), who started the colony Adulis situated in the Zula bay opposite Dahlak Kebir [24] in the midst of the *P.h. hamadryas* habitat. This therefore cannot be the site of capture of the olive baboons found in the Baboon Catacomb since *P.h. anubis* does not and did not coincide with *P.h. hamadryas* in this region (fig. 2). The site of capture of olive baboons had to be within the range of these animals, inland from the landing place of the Ptolemaic ships. This site we localise at the northern border of the habitat of *P.h. hamadryas*, ranging from Suakin in Sudan southwards to the Somali border. From Port Sudan and inland *P.h. anubis* can be regularly encountered, while the core habitat of the *P.h. hamadryas* is more to the south. From the fact that virtually all monkeys found in the Upper Gallery at North Saqqara were baboons, we assume that the Nile southwards to inland Sudan and possibly the sea voyage to the coastal regions of current Sudan were the main monkey

[22] Goudsmit and Brandon-Jones, *JEA* 85, 51.

[23] C. I. Green, *The Temple Furniture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra 1964-1976,* (MEES 53; London, 1987), 1–4; H. S. Smith, *A Visit to Ancient Egypt: Life at Memphis & Saqqara (c.500-30 BC)* (Warminster, 1974), 21–64.

[24] Sleeswijk, *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 12, 279–91.

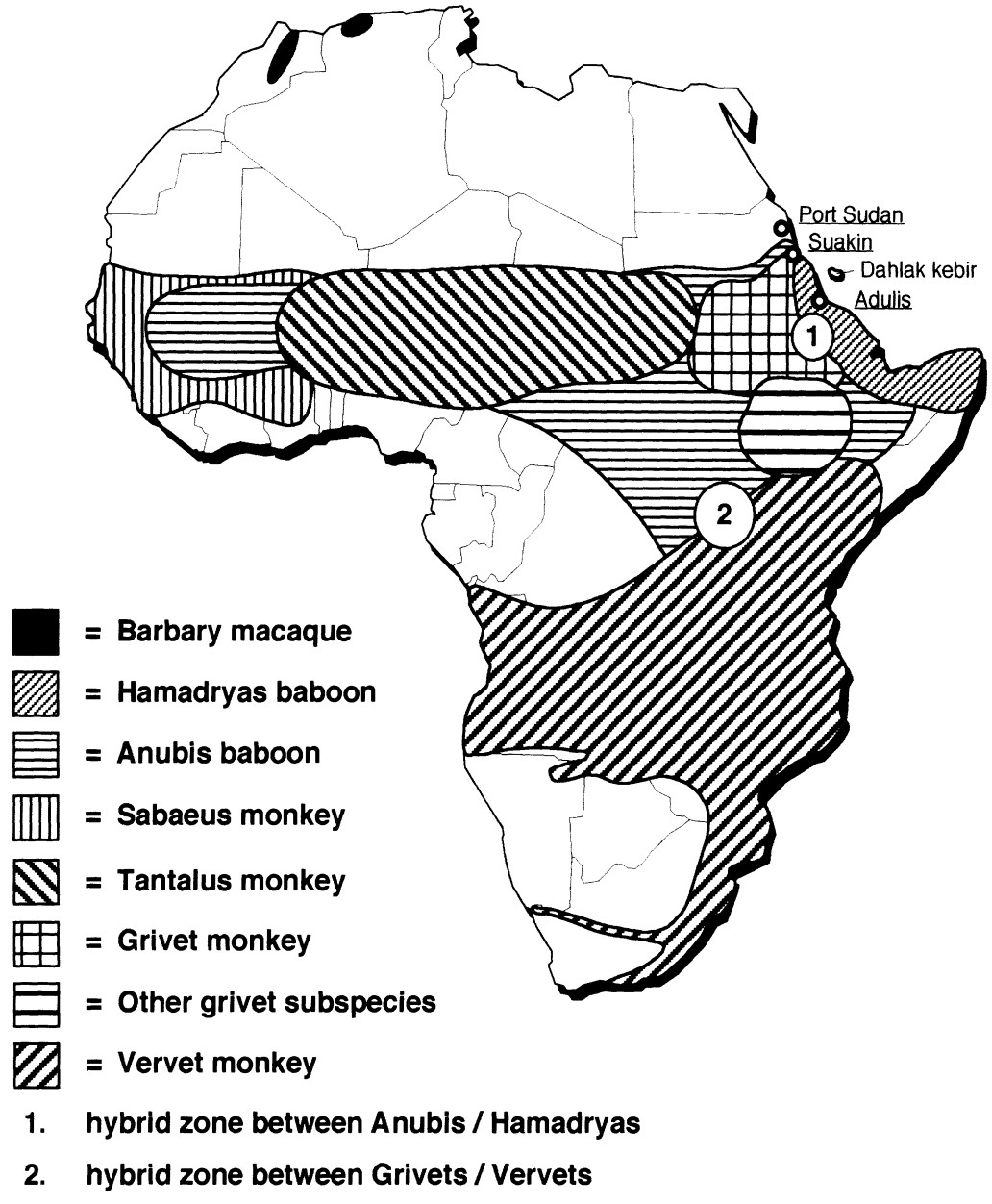

FIG. 2. Current distribution of monkeys in Africa.

trading routes till ±200–180 BC. The *Cercopithecus* subspecies found in the Baboon Galleries appears to be either the *Cercopithecus aethiops tantalus* or *Cercopithecus aethiops sabaeus*.[25] In the Sudan area *P.h. anubis* shares its habitat with *C.a. tantalus* and *C.a. aethiops* (fig. 2). It is more likely that the Egyptians imported these animals rather than *C.a. sabaeus*, which has its habitat in West Africa. This has major implications for assigning a species to the many *Cercopethicini* represented in ancient Egyptian art. If the few macaque remains found in the Upper Gallery are not due to later disturbance of the burial place, modest

[25] C. Groves, unpublished observation.

trading with the Western Mediterranean was already in place before 200 BC. However, it appears that the intensity of trading with the Western Mediterranean increased during 180–160 BC and possibly declined thereafter, while the trade with the south remained constant.

The end of the second century BC marked a shift in the Mediterranean trade of Egypt, both in partners and ports.[26] Under Psamtik I (664–610 BC), the Ionian city of Miletus had founded the Greek colony and trading post of Naucratis inland at the Canopic mouth of the Nile delta,[27] and this had served as a major trading facility within Egypt. This trading post was active until the Ptolemaic Period as long as Memphis was still the capital. Naucratis served mainly as an Egyptian export harbour to Greece and featured less as an import harbour receiving goods from the Mediterranean for use in Egypt. Import only increased when Alexandria, founded in 331 BC, replaced Memphis around 320 BC as capital of the Ptolemaic kingdom and Naucratis as the major contact point with the Mediterranean.

From the demotic obituaries found in the Lower Gallery it may be concluded that, at least for the period ±180–160 BC, monkeys were shipped to Alexandria, while at the same time monkeys continued to be imported from the south. Although one obituary (H5-1462 [3260]) mentions that the monkey was actually born in the temple of Ptah in Memphis, we consider this one of the occasional births given by a female monkey captured and transported while pregnant. The sex and age distribution of the monkeys in the Baboon Galleries of North Saqqara strongly plead against the temple of Ptah containing a monkey breeding facility. Based on the high frequency of macaques interred during the period when the Lower Gallery was in use (after 180 BC), we conclude that the obituaries, mentioning Alexandria as the place of origin of the monkeys, may well concern macaque burials in particular. Firstly, Alexandria is the most logical harbour to which to ship macaques from Northwest Africa. Secondly, it is illogical to ship baboons all the way up to Alexandria, passing Memphis either via the Nile or via the Red Sea, only to return them to the Ptah temple there.[28] All in all, we consider the peak in macaque burials during the period ±200–150 BC as evidence for a temporary increase in West Mediterranean monkey trade to Alexandria. If we accept that the obituaries reflect a special burial custom for a special monkey worth a written record, this custom stopped abruptly around ±150 BC or somewhat earlier. There are two ways of looking at this issue: from the monkey importer's or the monkey exporter's perspective. There is no evidence that the accession of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (204 BC) or of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180 BC) opened up West Mediterranean trade specifically, nor is there any firm evidence that the accession of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Physcon in 145 BC changed the trading policies.[29] In other words, we have not found any written evidence of changes in import policies. Therefore, we consider an explanation from the exporter's perspective more likely. The trade along the West Mediterranean coast was dominated by the Phoenicians at this time and multiple accounts of macaques either inhabiting the surroundings of Carthage or being traded to Etruria by Phoenicians have been reported.[30]

What change around 200 BC might have made the Phoenicians freely or by force change trading partners and turned their interest from the Italian peninsula to Ptolemaic Egypt? In

[26] P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, 1972), 132–88.

[27] A. K. Bowman, *Egypt After the Pharaohs 332 BC – AD 642: from Alexander to the Arab Conquest* (Berkeley, 1986), 21–53.

[28] Sleeswijk, *Phoenix* 41, 97–118.

[29] Frazer, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 132–88.

[30] McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity*, 3–33; Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* I, 109; J. E. Fa (ed.), *The Barbary Macaque: a Case Study in Conservation* (New York, 1984), 71–8.

202 BC Hannibal was defeated at Zama by the Romans and the subsequent peace treaty following the end of the Second Punic War left Carthage nothing but its African possessions and a Roman enemy.[31] This very likely led to increased trade along the south coasts of the Mediterranean Sea and Phoenician imports into Ptolemaic Alexandria. This increase of trade intensity between Carthage and Alexandria must have come to an end with the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC (the end of the Third Punic War). This scenario is completely consistent with the location of *M. sylvanus* remains in the Lower Gallery of the Baboon Gallery dated on the basis of palaeographic evidence to the period 180–160 BC. The finding of barbary macaque remains in the Baboon Catacomb at North Saqqara thus provides intriguing evidence for a West Mediterranean monkey trade route to Ptolemaic Alexandria.

[31] Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* I, 109.

ROMAN PERIOD MUMMY MASKS FROM DEIR EL-BAHRI*

By CHRISTINA RIGGS

A study of a group of linen and plaster mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri, dating to the third century AD, with an Appendix listing 26 known examples. The first publication of a female mask in Dublin, National Museum of Ireland 1901:79, introduces a discussion of the group's iconographic and stylistic characteristics. This is followed by a presentation of archaeological evidence gleaned from excavations carried out at the site by the Egypt Exploration Fund in the 1890s and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the 1920s.

A cohesive group of linen and plaster mummy masks is known to have come from Roman Period burials at Deir el-Bahri and probably dates to the mid-third century of the common era, *c.* 220–270.[1] The decoration of the masks reflects both adaptation and continuity in Egyptian funerary art from Roman times, whilst archaeological evidence for the burials in which some masks were found elucidates the mortuary role of the Theban West Bank during the period. The first section of this article examines the characteristics and construction of the Deir el-Bahri masks by presenting a hitherto unpublished example in the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin. Details of the corpus' iconography are explored in the second section, and a third section reviews the history of the masks' discovery, including information noted in excavation records relating to their associated burials. An Appendix lists the 26 examples of Roman Period linen and plaster mummy masks known to me; boldface numbers throughout the article correspond to each mask's entry in the Appendix.

Following most previous writers on the corpus, I use the term 'mask' for these objects, rather than 'shroud', to reflect the fact that they are a composite of linen and plaster and were made to cover only the head and torso of the mummy. The Deir el-Bahri masks seem to represent a final stage in the development of torso-length mummy coverings in Roman Egypt, which, when tied to the wrapped body, replicated a physical likeness of the deceased and provided space for potent funerary scenes and symbols.[2]

* I would like to thank Helen Whitehouse, who read this article in draft form and had many helpful insights, as well as the editor of the *JEA*, whose comments significantly improved the article's structure.

[1] All dates are AD/CE unless otherwise stated. General discussion of this group of masks: K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 207–9, with five examples on pl. 52; G. Grimm, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 95–6 and 143–5, sections A, B and D. Grimm's plates E, 112 and 113 illustrate masks from Deir el-Bahri and two similar pieces from Medinet Habu. Examples with no exact archaeological provenance have generally been attributed to Deir el-Bahri, a convention which is maintained here due to the fact that the Medinet Habu masks seem to consist only of clay faces, rather than a composite of linen and plaster made to cover the upper half of the wrapped mummy.

[2] Cf. the first century mummy of Anoubias, from Meir: C. Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, Masks, and Portraits* (CG; Cairo, 1905), 32–3 (CG 33137), pl. xvii; and the masked, late second century burials of Pebos and his family, from Deir el-Medina: D. Montserrat and L. Meskell, 'Mortuary Archaeology and Religious Landscape at Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina', *JEA* 83 (1997), 188–93, with further references.

National Museum of Ireland 1901:79

In 1901, Trinity College Dublin transferred a painted linen and plaster mummy mask in its collection to the possession of the nearby National Museum of Ireland, where it was given the inventory number 1901:79 (**19**; fig. 1 and pls. XVI–XVII). Because of the mask's poor condition, with crumbling plaster and faded paint, it has remained in storage in the National Museum and is published here in full for the first time.[3]

Description

The mask's surface is divided into two main pictorial fields with paint applied over a white ground. The upper field includes a moulded plaster face and represents the head and torso of a woman, ending at the subject's waist. The lower half of the mask is further subdivided into two registers of unequal height, the upper depicting a horizontal band of foliage and the lower the sacred barque of Sokar, flanked by a jackal and a lotus on either side.

A dark red band borders the entire mask and separates its two main pictorial fields as well as the two registers within the lower field.[4] Within this red band, a thick black line surrounds the upper representational field, containing the head and torso of the likeness, and the lower field, where it crosses the red border painted between that field's subdivisions. Each of these subdivisions incorporates additional, doubled boundary lines as well. The difference in the treatment of the borders of the upper and lower portions of the mask emphasises the difference in the content of each: the upper region devoted to the human image, and the lower reserved for funerary iconography.

The representation of the deceased woman is 'naturalistic' in that its intent clearly is to provide an image that will stand for an actual individual.[5] Here, the woman's body is shown to waist level, which was a popular visual device in third-century portraiture and thus a manner of delimiting the human body which would have been familiar to contemporary viewers. She wears a long-sleeved white tunic with wide purple *clavi* on the chest and gathers a shawl around her which is decorated with two purple tapestry roundels, or *orbiculi*. Four necklaces, painted in imitation of gold and semiprecious gems, cover her neck and upper chest, and on each wrist are two thick bracelets that hide the hem of the tunic's sleeves. Her hands are painted the same rosy pink as her face, and she wears nearly identical round-bezel rings on the second and fourth fingers of the left. Each hand holds a symbolic funerary attribute. With her left hand, the woman grasps the stem of a leafy bouquet, coloured green. The details of its leaves are lost, but parallels from Roman Period Egyptian funerary art suggest that the plant is myrtle.[6] Her right hand cradles a two-handled glass

[3] L: 102.6 cm; W: 37.0 cm. I am grateful to Eamonn Kelly, Keeper of Irish Antiquities, National Museum of Ireland, for permission to publish inv. 1901:79, and to Mary Cahill, Assistant Keeper, Irish Antiquities, for first bringing the mask to my attention and for her generous help with my queries. Andrew Halpeirn and Caragh Smyth, also of Irish Antiquities, assisted me during my visit to the National Museum of Ireland in July 1998.

[4] The colour was significant in funerary art of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, due to its associations with solar cosmology and with protective red fabrics invoked in mortuary literature: L. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt* (SAOC 54; Chicago, 1995), 55–8.

[5] Cf. the definition of 'naturalistic portraiture' as 'a physiognomic likeness which is seen to refer to the identity of the living or once-living person depicted', in J. Woodall (ed.), *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester, 1997), 1.

[6] E.g. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts,* pl. 34, 2 (mummy portrait Berlin 13277); S. Walker and M. Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces* (London, 1997), 118–20 (no. 116, shrouded mummy British Museum EA 6715A). Myrtle (*Myrtus communis*) is a common Mediterranean tree, and branches of it have been identified with certainty in tombs from the Roman Period necropolis

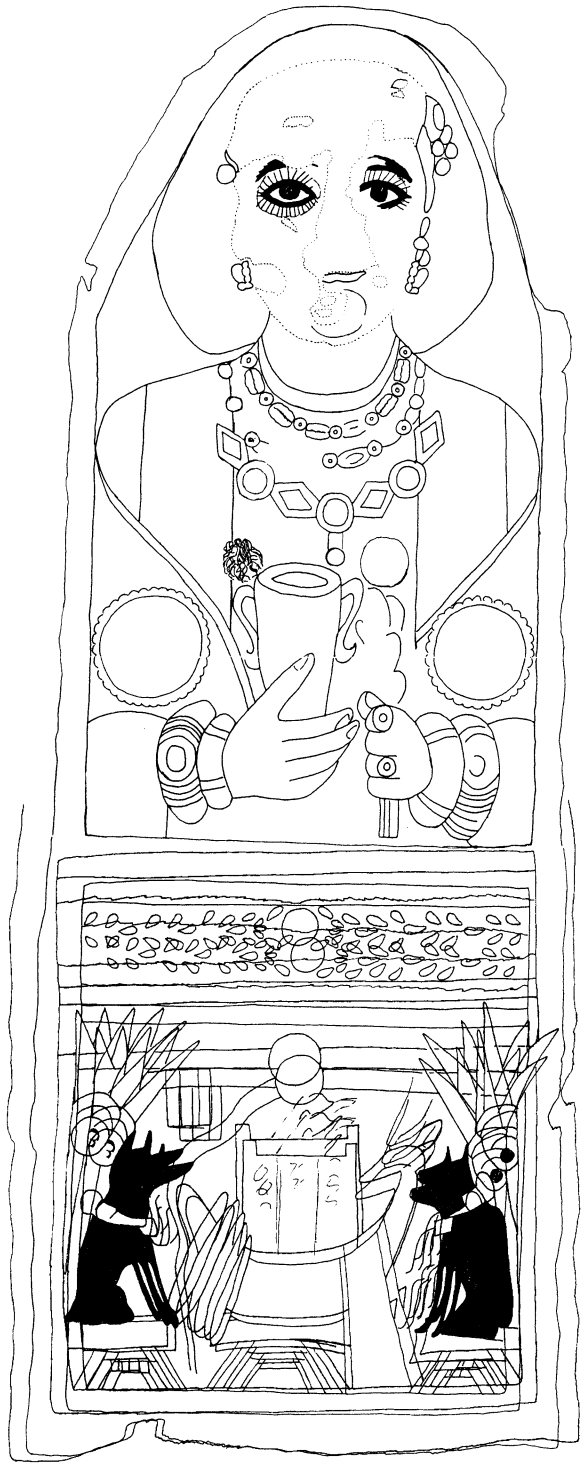

FIG. 1. **19**, National Museum of Ireland 1901:79 (author).

cup filled with a red liquid to be identified as wine. The artist has drawn the top of the cup as a flattened oval, to indicate its depth, and outlined it in blue to imitate the colour of the glass. Within the blue oval, the liquid is painted a darker red than the liquid viewed through the translucent sides of the cup. The vessel's handles are painted yellow, presumably to evoke precious gilding over the glass.

The woman's head, which has suffered the most damage due to the fragility of its plaster, rests against a painted yellow background patterned with dots and wavy lines, as if she were lying supine on a pillow covered with such a textile. Painted black hair, with the paint applied directly to the prepared linen background, swells out on either side of her neck but fits more closely around the top and sides of her head. The hairstyle exposes her ears, which were added in sculpted plaster along with beaded 'gold' earrings. Remnants of black-painted plaster above either ear indicate that the front of the hair was dressed in vertical ripples over her forehead. Encircling the head and hair is a diadem of red petals alternating with a circular green 'stone' set in 'gold', preserved only at her left temple.

Made even more prominent by the structure of the mask, the woman's face gazes directly forward with wide-open eyes. The face and neck are painted rosy pink, accented by a darker red colour for the cheeks, lips, and the circle defining the bulb of the chin. Due to plaster losses, the nose, the upper part of the mouth, and portions of the forehead, cheeks, and chin are missing. The most striking features of the woman's physiognomy are her large, staring eyes, with their black pupils and heavily outlined rims. Thick black eyebrows arch above each eye, following the curve of the upper lids, and narrow black strokes extend from both the upper and lower eyelids to represent long eyelashes. The same red colour used for the lips, cheeks, and chin also surrounds the black rim of the eyes and covers the upper lid, crossed by a curved line of purplish red to indicate the eyelid crease.

When this mask was in place on its mummy, the garland depicted in the top register of the mask's lower portion covered the midsection of the woman's body and may have offered amuletic protection to the abdominal organs. The garland consists of red, yellow, and blue-green petals flanking a central yellow disk against a background of greenery. In addition to its possible symbolic role, the placement of the garland provides a visual cue to the transition between the portrait above and the scene below.

The central image of the bottom register is the *henu*-barque of Sokar, resting on a four-legged stand. The barque takes its traditional form, with several long mooring-posts extending from the antelope-headed prow and three oars attached at the stern.[7] Both the barque and its stand are painted yellow, and lighter yellow lines and markings imitate basketwork on the side of the god's shrine. From the top of the shrine, the blue-green falcon head of Sokar emerges, although its painted details are lost. On either side of the barque, two black jackals sit on four-legged stands, and behind each jackal curves the stem of a lotus blossom, its white, pinkish red, and pale green petals spreading open into the red border between this scene and the garland band above. The jackals wear yellow bands around their necks, from the front of which three keys hang; the jackal on the viewer's right has an additional set of keys dangling below the first. The left-hand jackal holds in its mouth a long red rope connected to the red sun disk directly above the Sokar shrine. The sun disk balances in the

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at Dush in the Kharga Oasis; see F. Dunand et al., *Douch, I. La Nécropole* (DFIFAO 26; Cairo, 1992), 259, pl. 92, 1, and R. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (DAIK Sonderschrift 14; Mainz, 1985), 41–2.

[7] E. Brovarski, 'Sokar', *LÄ* V, 105574, especially 1066–7; C. Graindorge-Héteil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire* (GOF 4/28; Wiesbaden, 1994), 17–33.

middle of the register's double-lined boundary, and to the left, descending from the boundary, is a panel with three divisions for inscriptions that were never filled in.

Technical details

To create the mask, a single piece of tightly woven linen (warp and woof threads approximately 1.0 mm thick) was cut into a long rectangle, one end of which was reinforced from behind with two additional layers of similarly woven cloth. This end was then stretched and shaped to form an ovoid shape that bulges from the textile, several centimetres higher than the rest of the linen (pl. XVII, 1). Behind the projecting face, the mask is hollow, and the linen framing the head was cut at an angle, like the sides of a trapezoid, in order to fit the tapering head end of the mummy. The plaster face itself, with its sculpted lips and nose (now lost), was then formed either freehand or with the use of a mould. Strips of a finely woven textile on either side of the face provided support for the weight of additional plaster elements used to create the rippled hair, ears and earrings, and a diadem. Around the border of the mask, a series of holes through which cord was passed to sew it to the mummy are visible, but some of them have torn, leaving a jagged gap in the textile. The cut edges of the linen are frayed as well.

On the chest of the woman represented, breasts were created by bunching together several short lengths of thick, plied yarns and securing them to the linen surface with a few stitches. Each mound of yarn (about 3.8 cm diameter, projecting approximately 1.5 cm) was then covered by a piece of finely woven linen so that each breast could be given the same white ground as the rest of the mask. The proper right breast here has lost its original textile cover, revealing the twisted yarns below.

In contrast to the thick plaster lying at least 4.0 mm deep on the surface of the face, the rest of the mask's linen surface received only a thin layer of white ground in preparation for the paint. Much of this ground and the paint attached to it have worn or flaked away, leaving the texture of the linen visible behind the decoration and obscuring many of the painted details. Most of the plaster forming the woman's hair, diadem, and face has also fallen away from the linen, and what does remain is badly cracked. Nevertheless, the overall decorative scheme of the mask is clear, and a positive aspect of its damaged condition is that more of its structural details are revealed, giving some insight into the process of manufacture.

The decorative scheme of the Deir el-Bahri masks

Of the complete masks listed in the Appendix, **19** most closely resembles **3**, **4**, **5**, **13**, **14**, **15**, **24,** and **26** in the painting of the face, jewellery, clothing, attributes, and *henu*-barque scene. Although at first glance the masks present an almost monotonous appearance, subtle differences in execution and content attest to the hands of several artists who were probably active over the span of a generation or so in one workshop which produced these masks for local burials. Furthermore, the best-preserved examples show the artists' confident drawing and manipulation of the vivid colour palette, especially in the variations of pink for skin tones and yellow for drapery folds and metallic highlights. Masks **1** and **23** are extremely similar to each other, as are **16** and **25**. Two complete masks (**2** and **21**) display unique decorative features not exactly paralleled elsewhere in the corpus. The following discussion considers the iconographic content of the Deir el-Bahri masks, focusing of necessity on the intact examples.

Costume

Since the masks' costumes, characterised by interlace-patterned *clavi, orbiculi,* and swastikas, appear in conjunction with datable features such as hair and jewellery styles, these masks make a potentially valuable contribution to the dating of surviving textiles from Egypt and elsewhere.

The women depicted on the masks all wear clothing identical to **19**, consisting of a long-sleeved undyed linen tunic emblazoned with wide purple *clavi*, topped by an *orbiculi*-ornamented shawl gathered around the shoulders and drawn across the upper arms, leaving the sleeves of the tunic free. Tunics with tapestry-woven *clavi*, extending to the waist, knees, or hem of the garment, were a standard Roman costume in the later empire, and the dry climate of Egypt has preserved many intact tunics.[8] In addition to the *clavi,* tunics could also be decorated with tapestry sleeve, hem, and neck borders, and with round (*orbiculi*), square (*tabulae*), or star-shaped tapestry elements, particularly on the knees or shoulders of the garment. These tapestries were created in one piece with the garment by fashioning an appropriate design, such as a foliate or geometric pattern, a mythological composition, or a scene with animals, in dyed wool threads incorporated in the weaving. On the best-preserved Deir el-Bahri masks (e.g. **23** and **24**), ornamental patterning in imitation of woven tapestry work is picked out in white paint on the *clavi* and *orbiculi,* and the *orbiculi* clearly have a scalloped edge in each case.[9] The deep purple or purplish-brown colour imitates the colour of surviving tapestries, which could be created inexpensively by over-dyeing indigo with madder red or vice versa.[10]

The shawl depicted on the masks may have been one of the large rectangles of cloth, fringed at the short ends, known from extant examples.[11] Tapestry decorations, such as *orbiculi* or *gammulae* (shaped like the Greek capital *gamma*), appear in each corner of these shawls, so that when the shawl was wrapped around the body the tapestry elements in two of the corners would be visible from the front, much as the artists of the Deir el-Bahri masks have shown. White dashes painted along the edge of the shawl probably indicate the edge of the textile, rather than a true fringe.

The representation of the women's hairstyle is identical on each mask but was executed with minimal detail because it had to be painted both on the linen backing and on the plaster framing the face. Its primary characteristics are the rippled curls visible between the forehead and the diadem, the fact that the ears are revealed, and the swelling of the hair on either side of the neck, tapering in around the head. These traits indicate that the hairstyle is most likely a version of the *Scheitelzopf* worn throughout the third century and into the early fourth, in which the hair was looped up from the nape of the neck and wound in braids either at the back or on top of the head.[12] Since the *Scheitelzopf* braids appeared promi-

[8] E.g. Victoria and Albert Museum T.361–1887 (Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces,* 178–9 (no. 227)). M. Rutschowskaya, *Coptic Fabrics* (Paris, 1990), 151, provides a diagram of different tunic decoration schemes.

[9] Examples of *orbiculi* with scalloped edges, generally formed by a pearl or wave border: J. Trilling, *The Roman Heritage. Textiles from Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean 300 to 600 AD* (Washington, D.C., 1982), 106, fig. 3; P. du Bourguet, *Catalogue des étoffes coptes* (Paris, 1964), 64 (no. B3) and 65 (no. B5).

[10] D. Carroll, *Looms and Textiles of the Copts. First Millennium Egyptian Textiles in the Carl Austin Rietz Collection of the California Academy of Sciences* (San Francisco, 1988), 33.

[11] E.g. M.-C. Bruwier et al., *Égyptiennes. Étoffes coptes du Nil* (Mariemont, 1997), 154–5 (no. 28); Trilling, *Roman Heritage,* 90 (no. 99).

[12] Especially the hairstyles worn by imperial women between *c.* 220 and 270, such as Julia Aquilia, Julia Mamaea, and

nently above the forehead on imperial portraits from *c.* 270 to 310—a feature the Deir el-Bahri masks lack—a dating prior to that time may be indicated.[13]

The male masks from Deir el-Bahri also have a consistent costume type, consisting of a long-sleeved tunic with narrow purple *clavi.* The trapezoidal neck opening of the men's tunics reveals a second, identical tunic below the first. Both the narrowness of the *clavi* and the layering of two tunics appear in other funerary representations of men in the first half of the third century.[14] With one exception, the men wear a mantle with a swastika tapestry element, draped over the subject's left shoulder. Like *gammulae* or notched stripes, the swastika appeared regularly on textiles and has been characterised as either a weavers' mark or a protective emblem.[15] Selfbands, formed by passing multiple weft threads at the same time through the warp, border the tunic *clavi* and are depicted in yellow paint, ending in a tassel of loose thread. Such bands served a practical as well as decorative purpose by reinforcing the textile.[16] Most of the male masks wear tunics without visible sleeve decoration, other than a few painted white dashes to mark the hem at the wrists; the tunic of **21**, however, has a tapestry band at the end of each sleeve.

The single exception to the costume worn by the male masks is **14**, on which the deceased man is shown without a mantle, revealing both *clavi* of his outer tunic. This mask is also one of only two (along with **6**) on which the man is clean-shaven. Since no information is available about the mummies found with the unbearded masks, it is not possible to determine whether the bodies were also beardless and whether this trait perhaps related to the youth of the deceased. On the bearded masks, the combination of close-cropped facial hair and a curly but short hairstyle bears some resemblance to imperial fashions in the first half of the third century. The bearded masks are also in keeping with the appearance of three male mummies found by the Metropolitan Museum of Art expedition and subsequently unwrapped, one masked (**26**) and two contemporary but without masks; all three men had closely trimmed hair and beards plus sparse, detached moustaches.[17]

Otacilia Severa. See K. Wessel, 'Römische Frauenfrisuren von der severischen bis zur konstantinische Zeit', *Archäologische Anzeiger* 61/62 (1946–7), 62–75; M. Bergmann, *Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Bonn, 1977); M. Wegner, *Gordianus III bis Carinus* (Das Römische Herrscherbild 3/3; Berlin, 1979). Cf. the date 270–280 suggested for **24** in S. Walker (ed.), *Ancient Faces* (New York, 2000), 147.

[13] Alternatively, the braids may not have been depicted on the masks due to the position of the diadem and the technical difficulty of adding more plaster at the end of the mask.

[14] British Musuem EA 6709: S. Walker and D. Montserrat, 'A Journey to the Next World: the Shroud of a Youth from Roman Egypt', *Apollo* 148 (July 1998), 5–9; Leiden F1968/2.1: D. Montserrat, 'A Roman Period Painted Shroud of a Young Man from Deir el-Medina in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden', in R. Demarée and A. Egberts (eds), *Deir el-Medina 2000* (Leiden, 2000), 277–86.

[15] E. Guimet, 'Symboles asiatiques trouvés à Antinoë', *Annales du Musée Guimet* 30/3 (1903), 145–52, emphasised the protective and mystical qualities of the swastika and its origins in Indian art, using **15** to illustrate his remarks. On notched stripes and *gamma* ornaments, but not swastikas, see Y. Yadin, *The Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* (Jerusalem, 1963), 227–32, who interpreted them as weavers' marks with little or no symbolic value. On *gammulae* (or *gammadia*) and notched stripes in Roman Period Egyptian funerary art: D. Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris* (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 6; Mainz, 1990), 51–2, with further references.

[16] For the technique of creating a selfband, see A. Baginski and A. Tidhar, *Textiles from Egypt, 4th–13th Centuries C.E.* (Tel-Aviv, 1980), 29. Preserved tunics with selfbands include Bruwier, *Égyptiennes,* 197–8 (no. 83); M. Martiniani-Reber, *Tissus coptes* (Geneva, 1991), pl. 16 (no. 42); J. LaFontaine-Dosogne, *Textiles coptes* (Brussels, 1988), pls. 25–6 (inv. 2482).

[17] See below, p. 137 on Roman Burials V and VI, which were opened in the field, and pp. 137–8 on **26**, which was unwrapped at the Brooklyn Museum in the 1950s.

Jewellery

Jewellery is a prominent feature of both the male and female masks. The earrings, necklaces, and bracelets painted to represent gold and gemstones probably did not resemble anything the deceased had owned and worn, but depicting jewellery on mummy masks conveyed the status to which the deceased laid claim in death, and perhaps wanted to claim in life.[18] The women on the masks wear heavy earrings consisting of several smaller round gold beads in a loop that hangs from a larger bead at the earlobe.[19] Female masks like **19** wear four necklaces. At the base of the throat is a gold choker, followed by a necklace of circular stones in a gold setting alternating with double rows of small beads. The third necklace pairs similar gold-set stones with tubular beads, and the outermost necklace has alternating rhomboidal and circular stones set in gold, with a circular gold pendant hanging from the central stone. On **19**, the circular stones are red and the rhomboidal ones green, and on **24**, the gold settings are augmented with lighter yellow paint, imitating decoration in the worked gold. Each woman wears two thick gold bracelets on either wrist, with striations indicated across their width; the larger bangle has a central stone setting. The women also wear gold rings with round or oval stone bezels on the second and fourth fingers of their left hands. Heavy gold settings with large stones were typical of the best quality Roman jewellery from the late second century into the Byzantine era, and examples are known both from artistic representations and from actual finds of jewellery.[20] Less precious jewellery in the same style was made from silver, bronze, iron, lead, bone, and glass, and it is not necessary to assume that the gold, stone, and pearl jewellery depicted in funerary portraits from Roman Egypt was what the individuals themselves possessed. Furthermore, a simplistic correlation between represented jewellery and jewellery the subject actually owned and wore results in the awkward supposition that each female represented by a Deir el-Bahri mask 'owned' an essentially identical *parure*.

The male masks depict rings and necklaces as well. The rings worn by the men are nearly identical to those worn by women in form and placement on the fingers, while the men's necklaces and pendants have a more clearly amuletic role than those of their female counterparts. On **14**, only a gold choker with three sets of striations is depicted, a unique feature of this particular mask. Masks **2**, **3**, **4**, **6**, **13**, **15**, and **26** all show a gold-coloured cord from which a gold, shrine-shaped pectoral is suspended; a coloured stone is sometimes set in the centre.[21] At the bottom of the pectoral on **2**, a small black scarab can be seen, probably an amulet meant to be resting on the man's chest rather than a part of the necklace itself. Mask **21** wears a large winged scarab instead of the shrine pectoral, which supports the observa-

[18] Roman Period burials rarely include jewellery, and then only pieces made of simpler materials (ivory, ceramics or iron), sometimes broken beforehand: W. Hauser, 'The Christian Necropolis in Khargeh Oasis', *BMMA, Section* II. *The Egyptian Expedition 1930–1931* (March 1932), 38–50. Roman and Byzantine burials at Seila only included very simple jewellery: C. W. Griggs, 'Excavating a Christian Cemetery near Seila, in the Fayum Region of Egypt', in id. (ed.), *Excavations at Seila, Egypt* (Provo, 1988), 79.

[19] Cf. Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces,* 166–7 (no. 195, British Museum GRA 1872.6-4.602).

[20] Such as a treasure found at Lyon, dating to *c.* 200, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts there: A. Böhme, 'Frauenschmuck der römischen Kaiserzeit', *Antike Welt* 9/3 (1978), 3–16, esp. figs. 7–10, 16–17, and 20. For other examples of third century jewellery, see K. Parlasca and H. Seemann, *Augenblicke. Mumienporträts und ägyptische Grabkunst aus römischer Zeit* (Frankfurt, 1999), 164 (no. 63) and 208 (no. 115).

[21] J. Cooney, *Pagan and Christian Egypt* (Brooklyn, 1941), no. 10, describes **3** as having a 'heart scarab' within the pendant. The centre of the pendant on **13** is green (thus Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces,* 156–7 (no. 175)), **2** is red, and **6** and **26** are blue.

tion that the jewellery represented on these masks is concerned more with protecting and exalting the deceased than with recording the jewellery worn in daily life.

Glass vessels

It was the two-handled cup full of a red liquid, featured prominently in the left hand of each mask, which led Naville to misinterpret these mummies as Christian, despite their Egyptian iconography.[22] Wine was an offering for the deceased in Egyptian religion and had inevitable associations with Dionysus in Hellenic thought.[23] A glass vessel containing wine features in other examples of Roman Period Egyptian funerary art, perhaps a reflection of artists' interests in capturing the translucent quality of glass.[24] Wine imagery, through viticulture scenes, grapes and grape vines, and wine amphorae, also appeared in funerary art, as in the tomb of Petosiris in the Dakhla Oasis or in grape vine patterns on coffins and funerary biers.[25] A shrine in Cairo with the tondo portrait of a young man combines images of grain and fruit with wine imagery in the form of an amphora, grape bunches, and *kantharoi,* two-handled drinking cups.[26]

On the Deir el-Bahri masks, the two-handled cup holding the wine also takes the shape of a *kantharos*, with curved handles that begin at the rim of the vessel and curve upwards, rejoining the body nearly half-way down and then flipping up in a little tail of glass; the vessel's foot is hidden by the deceased's hand.[27] Except for a few masks on which the handles are painted gold, the rim and handles of the *kantharos* are blue, indicating that blue glass was used for the cup. Well-preserved masks, such as **26**, also depict a pattern of dots and horizontal bands on the glass, decorative elements which would have been engraved on the glass or added to it with glass droplets of a contrasting colour. The *kantharos* was in use throughout the Roman world over a long period of time, and is particularly well attested between the third and fifth centuries.

Mask **2** holds another type of glass, a straight-sided, blue-green beaker with a flared rim. Horizontal bands across the beaker probably indicate a spiral of glass wound around it, and

[22] E. Naville, 'Excavations: Work at the Temple of Deir el Bahari', Egypt Exploration Fund *Archaeological Reports 1893–94,* 4; id., *The Temple of Deir el Bahari,* II (MEEF 14; London, 1896), 5.

[23] On wine in Egyptian funerary rituals, see M. Poo, *Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1995), *passim;* C. Meier, 'Wein', *LÄ* VI, 1169–82; M. Poo, 'Weinopfer', *LÄ* VI, 1186–90. Wine is among the offerings mentioned in demotic funerary papyri of the period; see, for instance, M. Smith, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum,* III. *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 30507* (London, 1987), col. VII, line 5, and id., *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing* (Oxford, 1993), col. II, line 5.

[24] E.g. Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces,* 118–19 (no. 114, British Museum EA 68509); 87–8 (no. 77, British Museum EA 63395); 103 (no. 95, Getty Museum 79.AP.142); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts,* 144, pl. 47, 4. For painted representations of glass vessels, see F. Naumann-Steckner, 'Depictions of Glass in Roman Wall Paintings', in M. Newby and K. Painter (eds), *Roman Glass: Two Centuries of Art and Invention* (London, 1991), 86–98.

[25] Tomb of Petosiris, west wall of Room 1 and west wall of Room 2: J. Ösing et al., *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Fakhry* (AV 28; Mainz, 1982), pls. 32 and 34; funerary bed from Dush (inv. 312): G. Castel and F. Dunand, 'Deux lits funéraires d'epoque romaine de la nécropole de Douch', *BIFAO* 81 (1981), 77–110; see also Dunand et al., *Douch*, pl. 60.

[26] CG 33269: Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins,* 108–10, pl. 43 (as 'portrait of a girl'); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts,* pl. 10, 4.

[27] Close parallels include C. Isings, *Roman Glass from Dated Finds* (Groningen, 1957), form 38c; A. von Saldern, *Kataloge des Kunstmuseums Düsseldorf. Glas. Glassammlung Hentrich, Antike und Islam* (Düsseldorf, 1974), cat. 143; D. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis found by the Univeristy of Michigan Archaeological Expedition in Egypt, 1924–29* (Ann Arbor, 1936), catalogue no. 425 (handle only).

the white flecks of paint again imitate added glass or engraved markings. On **21**, a second vessel, an amphora of either glass or pottery, appears on the man's chest above the *kantharos* in his left hand. The amphora was commonly in use as a wine jar and thus represents another offering for the deceased.

Floral tributes

In a demotic mortuary liturgy of the early first century, the deceased is told, 'A garland of every flower will be brought to you. Fresh plants will be offered to you. A bouquet will be presented to you', as part of an enumeration of the privileges associated with the god-like state of the rejuvenated dead.[28] Like other funerary art from Roman Egypt, the Deir el-Bahri masks employ a profusion of such floral tributes, of which three types can be distinguished: wreaths worn like a diadem around the head; garlands and bouquets either held in the hand or tied around the wrist; and long bands of flowers and foliage which could be depicted festooning tomb walls, coffins, stelae, or the mummy itself.

Each of the masks' subjects wears a diadem composed of a round stone set in gold alternating with red and green buds of leaves or flowers. The fact that foliate diadems appear on both male and female masks from Deir el-Bahri, and that wreaths are such a common feature of Roman Period funerary art, points to a broad association between these diadems and the idea of the deceased's elevated status after death, rather than to a meaning specific to the deceased's gender or profession. Two different types of hand-held wreaths appear on the masks, the first being a simple bouquet of green leafy stems, identified as myrtle, and the second a fabricated rope of flowers and leaves bound together with decorative ribbons and provided with ties at the ends. Such hand-held wreaths are ubiquitous, appearing on countless shrouds, sarcophagi, pieces of sculpture, coffins, and masks of the period, and again, the frequency of their use points to a general interpretation of their funerary significance. Masks **2** and **21** have a second wreath around their left wrists, the same position in which wreaths were sometimes placed on mummies.[29] Finally, the garland placed horizontally across the middle of the Deir el-Bahri masks imitates the use of real floral arrangements in a mortuary context and divides the two pictorial realms of the masks.

Funerary iconography: the jackals and the Sokar barque

The significant bottom register of each mask utilises both solar and Osirian mythology in its representation of two seated jackals flanking the *henu*-barque of the funerary deity Sokar, whose links to both Osiris and the sun god were so ancient as to be inseparable from Sokar himself.[30] The god and his barque were a focus of funerary worship in Ramesside Theban tombs and on Third Intermediate Period stelae, and celebration of the Sokar festival continued into Ptolemaic and Roman times as part of the Khoiak mysteries of Osiris.[31] In the

[28] P. Berlin 8351, column II, line 11, in Smith, *Liturgy,* 31, with commentary and further references on 47.

[29] From the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations at Deir el-Bahri, discussed below on pp. 135–9, the mummies of an adult woman and male infant in Roman Burial XLI both had floral wreaths, consisting of flowers sewn to strips of cloth, around their wrists and foreheads; the female mummy in Roman Burial XXIV (see also n. 73) had wreaths of flowers tied around her ankles, hips, and neck.

[30] Brovarski, *LÄ* V, 1060–1.

[31] G. Gaballa and K. Kitchen, 'The Festival of Sokar', *Orientalia* 38 (1969), 1–76; É. Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak* (Cairo, 1966), *passim.*

bottom register of the Deir el-Bahri masks, the *henu*-barque preserves its traditional form and is set on a four-legged stand. The curved prow terminates in a backward-facing antelope's head, and on several of the masks (**1**, **3**, **14**, **15**, **21**, **23**, **24,** and **26**) an additional projection from the prow represents the forward-facing head of a bull. In the middle of the ship stands the shrine of the god, its sides decorated in imitation of basketwork construction, as on **21**. Flanking the *henu*-barque are seated jackals with keys hung from their necks, a funerary motif attested from the late first century onward. Such jackals appear so consistently on Theban material—at the feet of the Nut and Osiris figures on shrouds and coffin bases from the Theban Soter family group, for instance, and on a mummy label excavated at Medinet Habu—that the motif may well be a firm indication of provenance.[32]

On many of the Deir el-Bahri masks, including **19**, the jackal on the viewer's left holds a cord in its mouth which is connected to the sun disk at the top of the composition, above the god's falcon head. This image concisely encapsulates a more elaborate composition in which striding black jackals pull the towrope of the solar or Osirian barque on its sledge.[33] Attested on papyri, coffins, and tomb paintings from the New Kingdom onwards, in which they were sometimes called the 'souls of Hierakonpolis' or the 'souls of the East and West', the barque-towing jackals appeared prominently on the long sides of the vaulted Soter family coffins.[34] By depicting one of the seated jackals grasping a cord attached to the solar disk, the artists of the Deir el-Bahri masks have cleverly created a *pars pro toto* for the barque-towing scene and conflated the solar and funerary aspects of the jackals. Their multivalent symbolism allows the jackals to be 'read' simultaneously as guardians of the deceased, holders of the keys to the afterlife who lead the deceased safely to Osiris, and servants of the sun-god who pull his barque on its journey through the night.

The archaeological context of the Deir el-Bahri masks

The history of the masks' discovery at Deir el-Bahri, beginning with nineteenth-century explorers, illuminates the mortuary use of the site during the Roman Period. Like much of the Theban necropolis, the site had been continuously employed as a cemetery, even into Byzantine times, with countless mummies inserted into earlier tombs or buried in new pits and shafts. The following discussion traces the acquisition of unexcavated masks and examines archaeological evidence for the masks found during the Egypt Exploration Fund and Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations at Deir el-Bahri (fig. 2).[35]

[32] For the motif of jackals with keys, see Parlasca, *Mumienporträts,* 163–4. Soter family members and references to the objects definitively linked to them: K. van Landuyt, 'The Soter Family: Genealogy and Onomastics', in S. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden, 1994), 69–82; all of the shrouds and coffin bases employ the jackal motif. Mummy label from Medinet Habu, with a seated jackal on its reverse: T. Wilfong, 'Mummy Labels from the Oriental Institute's Excavations at Medinet Habu', *BASP* 32/3–4 (1995), catalogue no. 4.

The disposition of Sokar barque and jackals on the Deir el-Bahri masks is identical to the upper register of a third-century portrait shroud which I would assign a Theban provenance: Bruwier, *Égyptiennes,* 135–6 (no. 4).

[33] M. Heerma van Voss, 'The Jackals of the Sun-boat', *JEA* 41 (1955), 127.

[34] Refer to n. 32 for objects connected to the Soter family. The sides of the coffin of Sensaos (Leiden M75) depict the barque-towing jackals, illustrated in M. Raven, *Mumies onder het Mes* (Amsterdam, 1994), 50, and id., *De Dodencultus van het Oude Egypte* (Amsterdam, 1992), 80–2 (no. 33).

[35] A useful summary of exploration and excavation at Deir el-Bahri, with an emphasis on the Byzantine remains, can be found in W. Godlewski, *Deir el-Bahari, V. Le monastére de St. Phoibammon* (Warsaw, 1986), 13–20.

A plaster-coated clay mask very similar in appearance to the Deir el-Bahri masks was found in a Roman Period cem-

European collectors in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

Examples of the linen and plaster masks first reached European collections by means of the flourishing nineteenth-century antiquities trade. In 1854, V. Galli Maunier, a French antiquities dealer based in Luxor, cleared two mummy pits near the Anubis chapel of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahri.[36] The fact that this same area of the Hatshepsut temple would later yield masked Roman Period mummies invites speculation as to whether it is only by coincidence that several examples of such masks were first purchased by European travellers between 1855 and 1857.[37] In one of his two trips to Egypt, in the winters of 1855–6 and 1856–7, Alexander Rhind purchased the masks now in the collection of the National Museums of Scotland in Edinburgh (**1** and **2**). The Reverend William Frankland Hood, who accompanied Rhind on one of the latter's trips to Egypt and visited Egypt several times on his own, also purchased two masks, which were sold at auction by Sotheby's in 1924 (**3** and **4**). Another British collector, Sir Charles Nicholson, acquired two masks while in Egypt in 1856–7 and donated them with the rest of his collection to the University of Sydney (**6** and **7**).[38] Among the collection that Antoine Clot Bey gave to Marseille in the 1860s, forming the basis for the city's Musée Égyptien, was **8**, the face of a woman from the same type of linen and plaster mask. Having sold much of his large antiquities collection to the Louvre in the early 1850s, Clot Bey may have purchased **8** during his final sojourn in Egypt between 1856 and 1860.[39]

Other unexcavated masks include **9**, **10,** and **11** in Cairo, all of which reached the museum no later than 1883, when Maspero included them in the *Guide* to the Musée Boulaq published that year.[40] A fourth Cairo mask (**21**) is a male example still attached to its mummy, for which Edgar provided no provenance or bibliography.[41] Early in the twentieth century, the British Museum received the plaster face from a male mask (**22**), lacking any provenance but similar enough in composition and appearance to be included among the Deir el-Bahri group.

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etery excavated by the University of Chicago at Medinet Habu: U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu,* V. *Post-Ramessid Remains* (Chicago, 1954), 42–4, pl. 27D. The chest of this female mummy was adorned with clay breasts and hands, and a general similarity between its decoration and that of the Deir el-Bahri mummies points to interconnections in the Theban mortuary industry and a common source of funerary goods used at different cemetery sites. According to the excavation field registers, this mask was recorded as MH 30.113g but the mummy was not kept. A similar mask, MH 30.114a, is in Hölscher, *Medinet Habu,* pl. 28A. The registers also mention a plaster mask with inlaid eyes (MH 30.116d, in Hölscher, *Medinet Habu,* 44) and four boxes of 'gypsum masks' (MH 30.15c). All of these objects were left on site and their present whereabouts is uncertain. I am indebted to Emily Teeter of the Oriental Institute Museum for checking the Medinet Habu records on my behalf.

[36] Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* II, 5.

[37] This area was the source of the masked Roman Period mummies discovered by the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1893–4. In 1928–9, the Metropolitan Museum of Art also located Roman Period burials (numbered XXXIX–XLV by the excavators) in the area, one of which (**26**) wore a linen and plaster mask.

[38] W. Dawson and E. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*[3], revised by M. L. Bierbrier (London, 1995), 311, gives 1854–5 for Nicholson's Egyptian trip, but the catalogue of Nicholson's collection, *Aegyptiaca* (London, 1858, reprinted 1891), states in its title that the objects were purchased in Egypt in 1856 and 1857.

[39] *Who was Who*[3], 102–3 (q.v. 'Clot').

[40] G. Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée de Boulaq* (Boulaq, 1883), 377. Therefore, Grimm's suggestion (*Mumienmasken,* 143 A) that these masks probably came from the EEF's 1893–4 excavations at Deir el-Bahri cannot be supported.

[41] The fact that Edgar did not do so suggests that he knew of none, an unlikely occurrence had the masked mummy been excavated by the EEF only ten years previously.

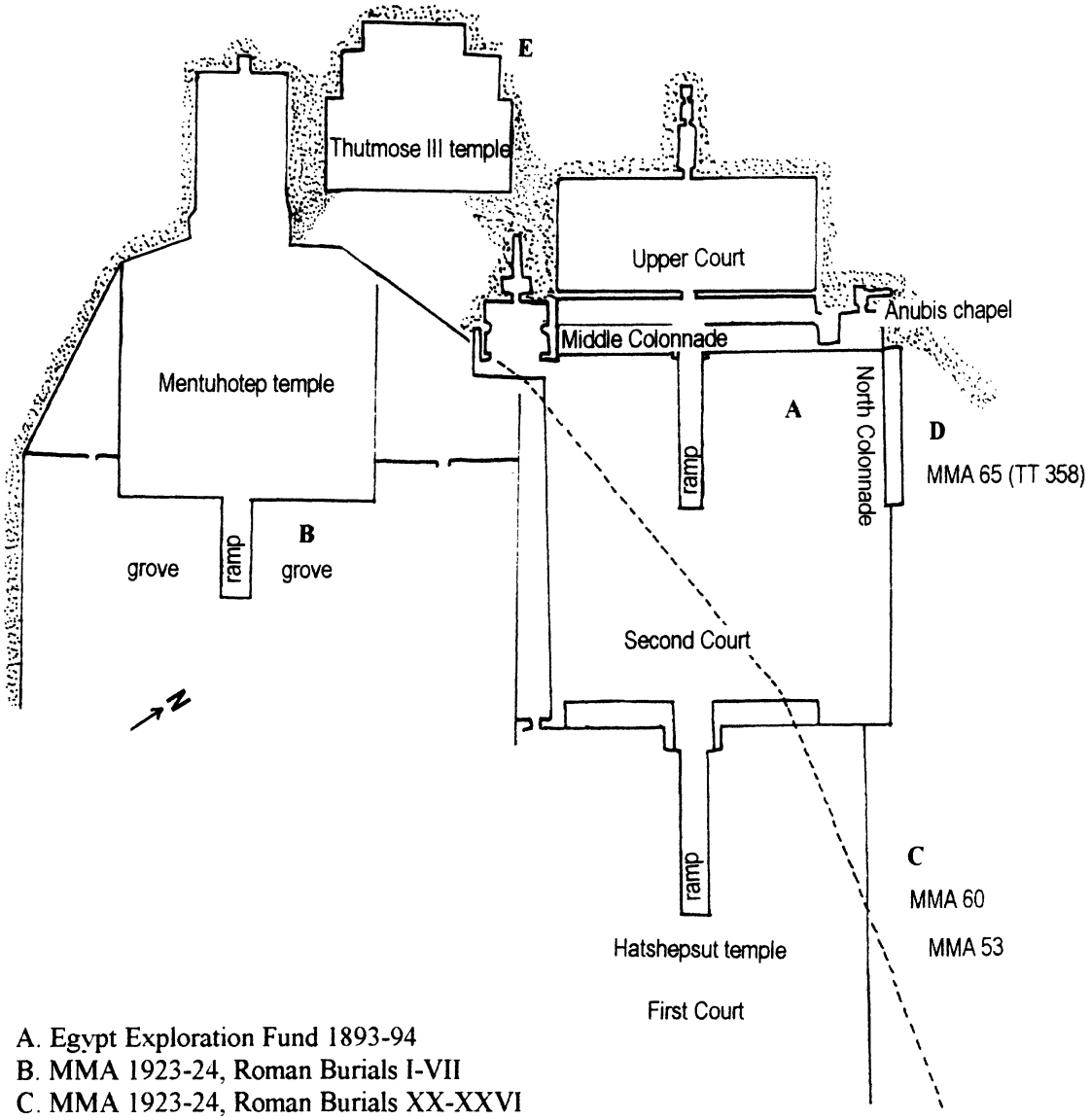


FIG. 2. Plan of Deir el-Bahri, showing locations of excavated Roman Period burials. The burials indicated by A, B, and D included linen and plaster masks.

The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1893–4 and 1894–5 seasons

The excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund at Deir el-Bahri, led by Edouard Naville, discovered an undisclosed number of Roman Period mummies wearing the linen and plaster masks. A photograph taken by Howard Carter, showing two of these mummies and an

unmasked child's mummy, was the first published image of the masks.[42] Naville established the EEF's archaeological presence in Egypt by supervising several sites simultaneously, and his reports provide the only official record of the Fund's work at Deir el-Bahri. The clearing of the Hatshepsut temple began on 7 February 1893. On 22 March, shortly before the season drew to a close, workmen began to clear the northern corner of the temple's middle platform, or Second Court (see fig. 2), which had been filled in with rubble from pharaonic buildings in order to bring it level with the Upper Court and support the Byzantine monastery there, from which the site takes its name. When the excavation resumed in December 1893, the clearance work continued in the area defined by the ramp over the Middle Colonnade to the south and the Anubis chapel, North Colonnade and cliff face to the north. Here there were rubbish mounds up to forty feet high, topped by refuse from Maunier's and Mariette's earlier digging. According to Naville's description, the mounds consisted of a layer of waste and ashes associated with the monastery, then the rubble fill supporting the monastery, and next 'cliff falls, which covered burials dating back to the Saite period'.[43] A layer of limestone chips, apparently left over from construction of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, formed the bottom layer of the mounds. The last mound in the vicinity of the North Colonnade was cleared during the winter of 1894–5, a procedure that lasted six weeks.[44]

The mounds below the level of the monastery contained burials dating from the Late Period through the Roman Period, and in both 1893–4 and 1894–5 the excavators found mummies wearing painted linen coverings with plaster faces, which Naville characterised as 'Coptic'. Naville did not describe the appearance and number of Roman Period burials found, or how many of them wore masks, and he was misled by his belief that they were the bodies of Christians:

> The bodies were wrapped in linen, with thick exterior bandages, but without amulets or ornaments. Several wooden labels inscribed in Coptic or Greek proved the late date of these burials. A few were of a richer class. On the outer wrapping in front was sewn a painted cloth, reaching to below the waist, with a mask for the head. On the mask was moulded a wreath of flowers. These mummies are doubtless Christian. To one of them a Coptic label was attached by a piece of string. The hands, also painted, hold an ear of corn and a glass containing red liquid, i.e. wine. These two symbols I take to be those of the Eucharist; but here, as in the paintings in the catacombs at Rome, there is a mixture of Pagan symbols with the Christian. Below the waist is painted the boat of Sokaris, with a figure of Anubis on either side.[45]

The mummy with the Coptic label to which Naville refers is apparently the *Greek* label which accompanied **13**; its inscription identifies the deceased as 'Pachons, son of Psesarmese and Seneponychos, from the village of Ternouthe'.[46]

[42] E. Naville, 'The Excavations at Deir el-Bahri during the Winter, 1894–5', in Egypt Exploration Fund *Archaeological Reports 1894–5,* pl. 2.

[43] Naville's account of the 1893, 1893–4, and 1894–5 seasons: *Deir el-Bahari* II, 4-5; Egypt Exploration Fund *Archaeological Reports 1893–4,* 1–7, and *Archaeological Reports 1894–5,* 33–7.

[44] Naville, *Archaeological Reports 1894–5,* 33.

[45] Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* II, 5.

[46] The mummy with mask **13** and a hanging label is on the left in Naville, *Archaeological Reports 1894–5,* pl. 2. P. Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt* (Cambridge, 1913), 127 n. 2, published the label inscription for the first time; the translation given here is taken from Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces,* 157.

The Egypt Exploration Society's archives contain a single notebook recording the distribution of finds from EEF excavations between 1883 and 1899, but the information it contains is usually brief and sometimes incomplete.[47] Page 4v. notes that masks of 'Christian' mummies were sent to the British Museum in December 1895 (**12** and **13**). Elsewhere, Naville mentioned bringing two masks to London, presumably the same two British Museum masks.[48] The distribution notebook (page 11r.) also records that in 1897, the American Committee of the EEF received '3 linen and stucco masks' from Deir el-Bahri. Two of these are **14** and **17**, but the location of the third is presently unknown. An unspecified number of 'masks of "Christian" mummies' from Deir el-Bahri went to the Musée Guimet, Paris, in 1895 (pages 55v. and 56r.), including **15** and **16**. Although none of the register's entries records a mask being sent to Ireland, both the National Museum of Ireland and Trinity College Dublin did regularly receive donations of objects and papyri from the EEF. This fact, together with the turn-of-the-century date at which **19** reached Ireland, suggests that the Dublin mask came from Naville's excavations at Deir el-Bahri; without corroborating evidence, however, this can neither be proved nor disproved. Similarly, mask **5**, purchased at auction by Sir Henry Wellcome in 1922, lacks more explicit provenance data and may have been either an EEF find or part of an earlier collection, resold by the unidentified owner.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, 1923–4 and 1928–9 seasons

The EEF's work at Deir el-Bahri concluded with the 1906–7 season, with both the Hatshepsut and the Nebhepetre Mentuhotep temples having been cleared, and permission to work at the site was granted to the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art beginning in 1911. After World War I, the MMA took up its concession in the Assasif again and started to work on the Eleventh Dynasty temple in earnest. In the 1923–4 and 1928–9 seasons, the expedition discovered a total of four mummies wearing the painted linen and plaster masks, along with several other burials of roughly contemporary date. Extensive records concerning the excavation of these burials are preserved in the form of tomb cards in the archives of the MMA's Egyptian Department, supplemented by annual reports published in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* and collected in revised form in H. E. Winlock's *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri 1911–1931* (New York, 1942). The MMA archives also house photographs taken by Harry Burton of the excavations in progress and of individual mummies and objects. Together, these documents illuminate the archaeological context and mummification of the masked burials at Deir el-Bahri and relate them to other, unmasked burials as well. Although a complete analysis of the excavated Roman Period burials at Deir el-Bahri is beyond the scope of this article, a review of the Winlock records reveals the mortuary setting in which the linen and plaster masks were employed.[49]

In the 1923–4 season, the expedition explored the northern part of the forecourt directly in front of the Mentuhotep temple platform and began to trace the original outline of the

[47] Patricia Spencer, Secretary of the Egypt Exploration Society, kindly allowed me to consult the distribution registers, correspondence, and Carter photographs relating to Deir el-Bahri during my visit to the Society in September 1998.

[48] Naville, *Archaeological Reports 1893–4*, 4.

[49] I was able to study the excavation records and photographic archives of the Department of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in August 1998. I thank the Department for permission to quote from these records here, and I am indebted to Marsha Hill for her help. My research was facilitated by the notebook of Winlock's Roman and Coptic tomb cards previously compiled by Marsha Hill, and by Susan Allen's assistance during my visit.

Eleventh Dynasty enclosure wall, following it from the north side of the Mentuhotep temple into the Second and First Courts of the Hatshepsut temple. The north wall of Hatshepsut's First Court lay under sand and gravel falls from the cliffs and one of Naville's dumps, and the Mentuhotep enclosure continued even further beyond this, crossing the Eighteenth Dynasty wall.[50] In the course of this protracted digging, two groups of Roman burials were found. The expedition designated them Roman Burials I–VII and XX–XXVI, a system retained here for clarity. Several of the graves contained multiple bodies, which were assigned an additional letter (A, B, C) after the Roman numeral. Burials I-VII clustered in the northern tamarisk grove of the Mentuhotep Court and contained the mummies of four adult women, two adult men, and two infants, including three female mummies wearing masks. The second group of graves, numbered XX–XXVI, was found in the large mound over the north side of Hatshepsut's First Court, around and over the so-called 'Tomb of Three Princesses', a Third Intermediate Period tomb designated Tomb 60 by the MMA.[51] Although the characteristics of Burials XX–XXVI, in terms of the treatment and wrapping of the bodies and their deposition in the grave, clearly place these burials in the Roman Period, roughly contemporary to the other Roman burials at the site, they contained no masked mummies and are not discussed in detail here.[52]

The graves in the tamarisk grove were shallow ovals just long enough to accommodate the mummified body and, according to Winlock, only 50 to 80 cm deep. Internal evidence indicates that the burials, with nearly identically prepared mummies, were deposited within a short span of time. Burial I (pl. XVIII, 1–2) contained the mummy of an adult woman with a linen and plaster mask (**23**); beneath the mummy's head lay a cord with foliage attached to it. Placed over the body was the lid of a reused tamarisk wood coffin dating to the early second century, with a demotic funerary inscription and depictions of the four sons of Horus drawn on its front.[53] Because this coffin was too long for the grave, or simply because the coffin was already damaged when reburied, its loose boards and foot box, which bears the motif of two seated jackals with keys around their necks, were placed on top of the lid.

Burial II was also the mummy of a woman, but with no mask. A two-handled basket was placed over the feet of the body, and an undecorated, vaulted coffin lid, inscribed in Greek for Senpamon, was reused to cover the mummy in the grave.[54] Passing over Burial III, an infant, the next grave accommodated two female mummies, both of which bore linen and plaster masks. Each mummy was covered with the lid of a Third Intermediate Period coffin that could be traced by the excavators to Tomb 53, discovered in the same season across the site near the First Court of the Hatshepsut temple.[55] At the head of the bodies lay an am-

[50] Winlock, *Excavations*, 86; pl. 86 is a photograph of the area being cleared.

[51] PM I², 629.

[52] See Winlock, *Excavations,* 116 and pl. 96 for Roman Burial XXIV.

[53] The current location of this coffin is unknown.

[54] The construction of this lid is the same as that of the vaulted, corner-post Soter family coffins (n. 32 above) and thus may point to a late first or early second century date for its original use. While clearing the area of the Thutmose III temple at Deir el-Bahri in 1964–5, the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology found an undecorated, Roman Period female mummy covered by another vaulted, corner-post lid judged to be reused: J. Lipińska, 'A List of Objects Found at Deir el-Bahari in the Area of the Temple of Tuthmosis III', *ASAE* 60 (1965), 153–204 (no. 26, inv. F7967), pl. xv, fig. 25; T. Dzierzykray-Rogalski, 'Mummy of a Woman Found on the Premises of Totmes' III Temple at Deir el-Bahari', *Études et Travaux* 4 (1970), 87–94.

[55] PM I², 628.

[56] Negative M5C14 in the MMA archives.

phora of Roman Period shape and fabric.[56] The body numbered Burial IVA was sent intact to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (**24**). Burial IVB was unwrapped in the field and the location of the mask is unknown (**25**).[57] When the mask was in place on this mummy, the top of an ear of wheat could be seen emerging below the bottom edge, and once the mask was removed, it proved to be one of several shafts of wheat arranged over the area corresponding to the mummy's pubic triangle.[58]

Burials V and VI, both of male mummies without masks, reused the lid and base of a tamarisk wood coffin like that found in Burial I.[59] The lid was intact in Burial V except for its missing face, which was replaced by a carefully positioned rock. In Burial VI, the coffin's shallow base, painted with a representation of Nut, lay image-side down over the mummy. The last grave, Burial VII, was that of another infant. The form and decoration of the coffin lids and base found in Roman Burials I, V and VI link them to Soter-type funerary material and thus point to a date of *c.* 90 to 130 for the coffins' original use.[60]

All of the mummies except Burials I (**23**) and IVA (**24**) were unwrapped and described in the tomb cards for each burial. The bodies had been mummified without removing any organs from the abdominal cavity, and the skin of the adults had been coated with a black substance and sprinkled with sawdust. Sticks of tamarisk wood about 4.0 cm wide, and whittled into a spoon shape at the head end, were placed full-length down the backs of both the adult and infant bodies. The elaborate layers of wrappings, on the adult bodies in particular, amounted to as many as six long sheets of linen alternating with strips of cloth tied to hold them in place, small torn rags and pads of folded linen. Burial II had such a linen pad placed over her face and legs in addition to a piece of cloth tied turban-like around her head. Burial IVB had a rolled cloth around her forehead like a diadem, a feature similar to the 'thick sausage of rag' the tomb card describes over the brow of the body in Burial V. Burial VI also had a turban-like piece of cloth wrapped around his head in the layer nearest the body. Such similarities support the hypothesis that all eight bodies were buried in the course of a few years. Burials I (**23**), IVA (**24**), and IVB (**25**) can be judged to be roughly contemporary because of their linen and plaster masks, while Burials I, V, and VI share the feature of the reused tamarisk wood coffins.

During the 1928–9 excavation season, Winlock's team found a third group of Roman Period burials near the northern edge of the Northern Colonnade of the Hatshepsut temple, just west of the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Queen Ahmose Merytamun (MMA Tomb 65/TT 358).[61] These burials, numbered XXXIX to XLV, were dug in close proximity to each

[57] This mask is *not* identical to **16**, contrary to Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 144 B 2.

[58] Two photographs of this mummy with the mask in place and then removed, revealing the position of the ears of wheat, are MMA negatives M6C149 and M6C150. No other masked mummy is known to have been adorned in this way. Its mask had unique features as well: the deceased woman holds a bunch of leafy plants in both hands, rather than a vessel of wine; instead of a floral garland in the top sub-register of the mask's lower half, there is a scene of two ibises flanking an unidentified object; and in the bottom sub-register, the two seated jackals flank a large lotus blossom rather than a Sokar barque. With the mask in place on the body, this lotus blossom lay over the wheat and the genital area.

[59] Present location unknown.

[60] Cf. Florence 2166 (G. Botti, 'Documenti demotici del R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze', in *Miscellaneaa Gregoriana* (Vatican, 1941), 36–8); Tübingen 1714 (E. Brunner-Traut and H. Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen* (Mainz, 1981), 234–6, pls. 156–7); Klagenfurt AEI/1-2 (U. Horak and H. Harrauer, *Mumie-Schau'n. Totenkult im hellenistisch-römerzeitlichen Ägypten* (Linz, 1999), 58–9 and *passim*); Edinburgh 1956.357a–b (W. Dawson, 'On Two Egyptian Mummies Preserved in the Museums of Edinburgh', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 61 (1926/7), 290–4; Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 118, pl. 139, 4; Horak and Harrauer, *Mumie-Schau'n,* 11).

[61] PM I^2, 629–30.

other 'in the water-hardened surface of the dynastic rubbish pile', sometimes cutting into each other and thus indicating their relative chronology.[62] One male mummy with a linen and plaster mask (**26**) was found in Burial XL, which was the deepest burial of this group.

A rectangular wooden coffin, given a wash of pale pink paint inside and out, sat in the bottom of the Burial XL pit and contained three bodies stacked on top of each other: XLC, an adult woman; XLB, an elderly adult woman; and XLA, the masked male mummy, which was brought back to the MMA intact but sold to the Brooklyn Museum in 1952 (**26**; pl. XIX, 1). On top of the shins of Burial XLA rested a ceramic lamp, blackened from use, and over this mummy lay the coffin's matching lid.[63] Above the coffin lid, the grave was lined with two long, broken boards and the fragmentary end-piece from another coffin or selection of coffins. The two long planks bear decoration similar to that of the Soter family coffins, showing jackals towing the barque of the sun god.[64] Finally, the pit was covered with the rectangular base from what would have been a vaulted wooden coffin, again identical to those associated with the Soter family group.[65] This coffin bottom was painted with a full-length female figure (Nut), flanked at the feet by seated jackals with keys and at the head by kneeling, mourning women, and it lay facing upwards at the top of the burial pit. One two-handled basket covered the face of the female figure, and another lay nearby at the head end of the coffin base.

Underneath the head of Burial XLA's mask (**26**), a sheet of linen had been sewn in place so that it could be brought up over the mask and extended along the front of the body, covering the mask entirely; the excavation records do not indicate whether or not the linen flap was found in this position.[66] Passing behind the mask's head and down its full length was a loop of twisted two-ply grass cords. The ends of the loop were left open at the bottom of the mask but connected to each other by another strand of cord and three additional cords at intervals above it; folded leaves were sewn onto these four strands.[67] A right-angled piece of wood, attached to the bottom ends of the grass cord and then sewn to the outer wrapping of the mummy, may have served no other purpose than to help keep the loop of cord in place, but its position pointing downwards in the middle of the mummy, approximately over the genitalia, is also noteworthy. This simple arrangement of grass cord and leaves can be associated with the *wesekh*-collar, whose primary purpose, particularly in a funerary context, seems to have been protecting the wearer; its length effectively guarded everything between the neck and the reproductive organs. At the same time, its ancient associations with the creator-god and its plant composition evoked the promise of fecundity achieved in death.[68]

All of the burials except XLA (**26**) were unwrapped in the field and reveal mortuary traits similar to those already observed for Burials I-VII, as well as the group of burials (XX-XXVI) not discussed here. Leaving aside questions of the relative chronology of burials XXXIX-XLV, since all can be assumed to span perhaps two to three generations between

[62] The quote is taken from the tomb cards in the MMA archives, which also provide a sketch of the burials' layout.

[63] Lamp and coffin are negatives M12C35 and M10C88, respectively, in the MMA archives.

[64] MMA negative M10C91; see n. 34 for a similar scene on the Soter group coffin of Sensaos (Leiden M75).

[65] MMA negative M10C90; see n. 32 for Soter comparanda.

[66] A photograph of the mummy not taken *in situ*, MMA negative M10C84, illustrates how the flap could be positioned over the mask.

[67] Comparable to the construction of the wreath fragments found with the mummy of Ramses II; see Raven, *Mumies*, 72.

[68] C. Riggs, 'Forms of the *Wesekh*-collar in Funerary Art of the Graeco-Roman Period', *CdE*, forthcoming.

the third and early fourth centuries, the basic disposition of the mummies can be briefly noted here. Burials XXXIX and XLI were double burials in undecorated, rectangular, wooden coffins; each held the mummies of a woman and a male child. The wrappings of the two adult women were nearly identical, and the layered linen on both the children and adults included pads of cloth placed fillet-like around the head and laid over the feet and face as well. Such padding not only helped the mummy take shape but also shielded those parts of the body most vital for life and movement. The female mummy in Burial XLI had flower petals strewn among the wrappings over her abdomen and flowers sewn onto ragged pieces of cloth decorated her head and wrists. The infant boy in this burial also wore flower-trimmed rags around his wrists, and his outermost wrapping was the bottom portion of a Soter-type shroud, preserving the feet and guardian jackals of the painted Nut figure.[69] The woman in Burial XXXIX and the woman numbered XLB had gilded resin amulets distributed over their bodies, especially the eyes, nipples, and navels; both of these also had a rag or pad placed over their pubic area. Burials XLC, the adult and child in XLI, and the child in XXXIX used small squares of gilt for the same purpose; for instance, the woman in Burial XLI had 1.5 cm squares on her eyes, nose, mouth, chin, shoulders, breasts, navel, pubic arch, wrists, knees, shins, ankles, and big toes. Three bodies without coffins, XLII, XLIII, and XLIV, were respectively an adult female, an adult male, and a male child who had died violently, the bottom of his right leg apparently torn off before death. Burials XLII and XLIII had baskets placed over the heads of the mummies, while Burial XLIV employed the bottom of a pot-bellied ceramic vessel in the same way.[70] Burial XLV was a female mummy in a shallow pit, her outermost wrappings swathed in a net.

While by no means an exhaustive study of the surviving evidence, this overview of the archaeological context in which both masked and unmasked Roman Period burials were made does reveal important aspects of mortuary practices at Deir el-Bahri at the time the linen and plaster masks were created and used. Great care had been taken in preparing the bodies for burial, with gilding, padding, and floral tributes incorporated to protect and glorify the deceased. Remnants of ephemeral materials, like the wreath under the head of Burial I (**23**) and the *wesekh*-collar on Burial XLA (**26**), provide tangible evidence for the physical gestures and possible ritual actions associated with depositing the corpse.

No clearer illustration could be given of the continuing role of the Theban sacred landscape than the fact that third century burials at Deir el-Bahri incorporated funerary goods that were up to several hundred years old at the time. To modern, Western eyes, the combination of shallow graves and recycled coffins and shrouds seems abhorrent and impoverished, but in the context of the Egyptian mortuary industry it must have been both a practical solution to dealing with the quantity of funerary remains in local cemeteries and a potent

[69] Although only one definitely belonged to a member of that family, Soter-type shrouds showing jackals at the feet of a female figure include Leiden AMM 8 (Sensaos), in Parlasca, *Mumienporträts,* pl. 60,1; Boston MFA 72.4723, in F. Friedman, *Beyond the Pharaohs* (Providence, 1998), 249 (no. 163); Tübingen 342, in Brunner-Traut and Brunner, *Ägyptische Sammlung*, 302–3, pl. 153 (left).

[70] At Seila in the Fayum, excavators found Roman Period burials with reed bundles or pottery placed over the head of the deceased and covered by the fill of the grave pit or shaft. These burials also tended to be compactly layered, similar to the Deir el-Bahri group numbered XXXIX to XLV; see Griggs, *Seila,* 80–1. Roman Period burials excavated at Thebes near Malkata likewise used large fragments of pottery or a pair of stones to cover the heads of bodies interred without coffins: *Malkata-South,* III. *The Burials and the Skeletal Remains in the Area around 'Kom el-Samak'* (Waseda, 1983), 216 (for English summary).

means of benefiting from the hallowedness of the site. Rather than degrading them, the recycling of the coffins preserved the integrity of their original purpose and perhaps imparted additional spiritual effectiveness to the new burials in which they were employed.[71] In graves where no coffin held the body or bodies, covering the mummies with part of a reused coffin or shielding their faces with baskets and pottery not only provided a physical barrier between the shallow burials and the ground surface, but also symbolically protected the deceased and created a 'tomb' in which they could be reborn.

Interpreting the Roman Period masks from Deir el-Bahri

When the Metropolitan Museum of Art uncovered its first masked Roman Period mummies at Deir el-Bahri, the trio of females from Burials I and IV, Winlock wrote that 'The mummies were atrocities of hideousness and are only mentioned here to draw forth an invidious comparison between the charming lady Hent-towy and her bedizened granddaughters of the last days of paganism at Deir el Bahri'.[72] Although he modified his observation somewhat in the next season's report, and made no published comment at all when the fourth (male) masked mummy appeared in the 1928-9 season, Winlock's aesthetic judgement captured the prevailing response to the Roman Period burials in general and to this group of masks in particular.[73] Regardless of the fact that they were on mummies and bore traditional Egyptian iconography, the masks simply *looked* too strange to their excavators to be considered in the same continuum as pharaonic Egyptian funerary art, which is why Naville could so readily mistake them for Christian burials.

The naturalistic representation of the deceased, dressed in elite clothing and jewellery of contemporary style, is the most visually arresting feature of these masks. Portraying the dead in everyday costume, rather than in the guise of a mummy or Osiris, had been an option in Egyptian coffin production from the Ramesside Period onwards and was the most common type of likeness employed in the funerary art of the Roman Period.[74] Most panel and shroud portraits made for Roman Period mummies went a step further by painting the deceased according to a set of classical, rather than Egyptian, representational rules, in keeping with the mainstream artistic language of the Mediterranean world at that time. The Deir el-Bahri masks are less illusionist than such panel and shroud portraits at least in part because of the way they were made. Forming a projecting face from the linen and plaster necessitated the use of a forward gaze in the painted representation at the same time that it limited the extent to which the plaster could be sculpted. Why this construction was used for the masks, rather than linen, plaster or cartonnage alone, is difficult to say.

As for the traditional Egyptian iconography in the bottom register of each complete mask,

[71] On the reuse of the Theban mortuary landscape, see also Montserrat and Meskell, *JEA* 83, 179–98.

[72] H. Winlock, 'The Museum's Excavations at Thebes', *BMMA, Section* II. *The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924* (December 1924), 32–3; id., *Excavations,* 99.

[73] H. Winlock, 'The Museum's Excavations at Thebes', *BMMA, Section* II. *The Egyptian Expedition 1924–1925* (March 1926), 31–2, noted that in the last report, 'the mummies of the late Roman women were passed over with a rather scathing reference to their bedizened looks. It was perhaps rather harsh, for one of them, found under a mass of willow and henna boughs in a plain, rectangular coffin, has supplied us with a charming pair of dyed palm-leaf sandals—almost unworn—and a very interesting woolen turban'. The female mummy Winlock describes came from Roman Burial XXIV and did not wear a mask.

[74] For the trend towards realistic costumes on Ramesside coffins, see J. Taylor, *Egyptian Coffins* (Shire Egyptology Series; Aylesbury, 1989), 35–9.

it has arguably been Egyptologists' expectation that the Egyptian method of representation this register exemplifies was the normative standard for art throughout the country's pre-Christian history, but by the Roman Period art and architecture in the classical tradition were as much, if not more, a part of people's visual experience. Nevertheless, the bottom registers' succinct depiction of solar and Osirian renewal indicates that the segment of the local population responsible for these burials adhered to Egyptian funerary religion and was familiar enough with its tenets and motifs to adapt them to this particular artistic arrangement. Despite his poor opinion of what the Metropolitan Museum's expedition had found, Winlock's detailed excavation records permit the reconstruction of the mortuary context in which the Deir el-Bahri masks were used and underscore the continuity of Egyptian priorities regarding a 'good and effective' burial. National Museum of Ireland 1901:79 (**19**) and the other masks of this type illustrate the survival of ancient funerary practices in the Theban area throughout the third century, an active engagement with the past to ensure the future of the dead.

Appendix: Masks from and ascribed to Deir el-Bahri[75]

1 National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh 1956.1187: Female
Rhind Collection, 1855–7
Parlasca, *Mumienporträts,* 207 n. 76, pl. 52, 3; Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 95 n. 32; Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces,* 158–9 (no. 178).

2 National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh 1956.1188: Male
Rhind Collection, 1855–7
Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 207 n. 76, pl. 52, 1; Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces,* 158 (no. 177).

3 Amherst College 1942.84: Male
Hood Collection, 185–7
anon., *Catalogue of the Important Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, etc., Formed by the Late Rev. W. Frankland Hood during the Years 1851–1861.* Sotheby's (London) auction catalogue, 11 November 1924, lot 162; J. Cooney, *Pagan and Christian Egypt* (Brooklyn, 1941), catalogue no. 10 and plate; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts,* 291; Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 95 n. 32, pl. 112, 1.

4 The Egypt Centre, Swansea W922: Male
Hood Collection, 1855–7
Hood Collection catalogue (as for **3**), Sotheby's, lot 163.

5 The Egypt Centre, Swansea W923: Female
Unknown
A Catalogue of Thibetan, African, and Oriental Curios.... J. C. Stevens (London) auction catalogue, 10 October 1922, lot 311, second item.

[75] The following provided invaluable assistance in assembling the corpus of masks: Edward Bleiberg, for showing me **26** and its associated mummy in storage; Roberta Cortopassi, for showing me **16** in storage and tracing it in the museum registers; Anthony Donahue and Carolyn Graves-Brown, for photographs, inventory numbers, and the auction records of **4** and **5**; Isobel Hunter of the Wellcome Trust, for a copy of the sale catalogue listing **5**; Geraldine Pinch, for bringing **18** to my attention; Karin Sowada, for images and descriptions of **6** and **7** in advance of their forthcoming publication by Klaus Parlasca; Emily Teeter, for providing an image and provenance information for **17**; Terry Wilfong, for bringing **17** to my attention; and Ichiro Yamanaka of the Kyoto University Museum, for the inventory number of **18**. Mask **17** is included here by permission of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

6 Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney R80: Male, face and chest only
Nicholson Collection, 1856–7
C. Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca, Comprising a Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, Collected in the Years 1856, 1857* (London, 1891), 27–8 (no. 80); Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 95 n. 32; K. Sowada, 'Egyptian Treasures in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney', *EA* 8 (1996), 21.

7 Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney R108: Female, face only
Nicholson Collection, 1856–7
Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca,* 40 (no. 108); Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 95 n. 32.

8 Musée Égyptien, Marseille 1074: Female, face only
Clot-Bey Collection, 1856–60
G. Maspero, *Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Marseille* (Paris, 1889), 196 (no. 1074); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts,* 207 n. 76, pl. 52, 5; Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 95 n. 32; *Égypte romaine. L'autre Égypte* (Marseille, 1997), 154–5 (no. 177); M.-F. Aubert and R. Cortopassi, *Portraits de l'Égypte romaine* (Paris, 1998), 72, 73 (no. 28).

9 Cairo CG 33277: Male, face and neck only
Acquired before 1883
Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, 121, with further references, including Maspero, *Guide*, 377; Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 143 A (6).

10 Cairo CG 33278: Female, face and neck only
Acquired before 1883
Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins,* 122, pl. xlvi, with further references, including Maspero, *Guide,* 377; Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 95 n. 31, 143 A (7), pl. 113, 1.

11 Cairo CG 33279: Female, face and neck only
Acquired before 1883
Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins,* 122–3, pl. xlvi, with further references, including Maspero, *Guide,* 377; V. Schmidt, *Levende og døde i det gamle Aegypten* (Copenhagen, 1919), 250, fig. 1461 ('Saqqara', *sic*); Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 143 A (8).

12 British Museum EA 26272: Female
Deir el-Bahri, EEF excavations, 1893–5
Naville, *Archaeological Reports 1894–5,* 33, pl. 2 (right); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts,* 208 n.78; Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 143 A 1; Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces,* 157–8 (no. 176); Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke,* 351–2 (no. 241) .

13 British Museum EA 26273: Male
Deir el-Bahri, EEF excavations, 1893–5
Naville, *Archaeological Reports 1894–5,* 33, pl. 2 (left); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts,* 208; Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 143 A 2; n.78; Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces,* 156–7 (no. 175); Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke,* 351 (no. 240).

14 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 97.1100: Male
Deir el-Bahri, EEF excavations, 1893–5
Cooney, *Pagan and Christian Egypt,* catalogue no. 9 and plate; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts,* 291; Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 143 A 4, pl. 112, 2; L. Corcoran, 'Funerary Shroud and Mask', in S. D'Auria et al. (eds), *Mummies and Magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1988), 214–15 (no. 165), with further references to museum publications.

15 Louvre E 20359: Male
Deir el-Bahri, EEF 1893–5; formerly Musée Guimet, Paris
E. Guimet, 'Symboles asiatiques', *Annales du Musée Guimet* 30/3 (1903), pl. 1; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts,* 208 n. 80, pl. 52, 4; Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 143 A 3; M.-F. Aubert et al., *Guide du visiteur. Les antiquités égyptiennes,* II (Paris, 1997), 43–4; Aubert and Cortopassi, *Portraits,* 70–1 (no. 26).

16 Louvre E 20360: Female, face only
Deir el-Bahri, EEF 1893–5; formerly Musée Guimet, Paris
Unpublished. Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 144 B 2, states that this mask is identical to that excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1923, but records in the Louvre indicate that, like E20359, it is the former property of the Musée Guimet, acquired in the EEF distribution of objects from Naville's excavations at Deir el-Bahri.

17 Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago 9385: Female, face and neck only
Deir el-Bahri, EEF 1893–5; formerly Art Institute of Chicago 1897.283.
E. Teeter, *Egyptian Art in the Collection of the Oriental Institute* (Chicago, forthcoming), catalogue no. 61. The Art Institute received the mask from the EEF in 1897 and donated it to the Oriental Institute Museum in 1917.

18 Kyoto University Museum 625: Female, face lost
Deir el-Bahri, EEF excavations, 1893–5
Unpublished.

19 National Museum of Ireland, Dublin 1901:79: Female
Formerly in Trinity College Dublin; possibly EEF 1893–5
M. A. Murray, *National Museum of Science and Art, Dublin, General Guide to the Art Collections. Egyptian Antiquities* (Dublin, 1910), 17 ('cartonnage head').

20 Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon: Male, face only
Formerly Louvre AF 804; possibly EEF 1893–5
Grimm *Mumienmasken,* 95 n. 32, pl. 113, 2; V. Laurent, *Des pharaons aux premiers chrétiens* (Dijon, 1986), 47–8 (no. 227); V. Laurent, *Antiquités égyptiennes. Inventaire des collections du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon* (Paris, n.d.), 138 (no. 175); Aubert and Cortopassi, *Portraits,* 72–3 (no. 17).

20 Cairo CG 33276: Male, intact on mummy
Unknown, acquired before 1905
Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins,* 119–21, pl. xlvi; Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 143 a (5), pl. 112, 3, with further references.

22 British Museum EA 7017: Male, face only
Unknown, acquired before 1924
A Guide to the First, Second and Third Egyptian Rooms (London, 1924), 143; Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 95 n. 32; Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces,* 159 (no. 179); Parlasca and Seemann, *Augenblicke,* 352 (no. 242).

23 Cairo JE 49099: Female, intact on mummy
Deir el-Bahri, MMA excavations, 1923–4, Roman Burial I
H. Winlock, *BMMA, Section* II. *The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924,* fig. 38 (left); id., *Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1931* (New York, 1942), pl. 95 (left); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts,* 208 n. 84; Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 144 B 3, pl. 112, 4.

24 Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.3.219: Female, intact on mummy
Deir el-Bahri, MMA excavations, 1923–4, Roman Burial IVA
Winlock, *BMMA, Section* II. *The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924,* fig. 38 (right); id., *Excavations,* pl. 95 (right); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts,* 208 n. 84; Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 143 B 1, pl. 112, 5; Walker (ed.), *Ancient Faces,* 145–7 (no. 98) .

25 *Unknown:* Female
Deir el-Bahri, MMA excavations, 1923–4, Roman Burial IVB
Winlock, *BMMA, Section* II. *The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924,* fig. 38 (centre); id., *Excavations,* pl. 95 (centre); Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 208 n. 84, pl. 52, 2 ('verschollen'); Grimm, *Mumienmasken* 144 B 2 [*sic*].

26 Brooklyn Museum of Art 52.128a: Male
Deir el-Bahri, MMA excavations, 1928–9, Roman Burial XLA
Associated mummy, linen, and wreath are 52.128b–d. J. Cooney, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art 1951–1956* (Brooklyn, 1956), 59–60 (no. 74), pl. 92; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts,* 291; Grimm, *Mumienmasken,* 143 B 4 with further references, pl. E.

PLATE XVI

19, National Museum of Ireland 1901:79 (*copyright National Museum of Ireland*)

ROMAN MUMMY MASKS FROM DEIR EL-BAHRI (pp. 121–44)

1. Face of **19**, National Museum of Ireland 1901:79 (*copyright National Museum of Ireland*)

2. Detail of hands of **19** (*copyright National Museum of Ireland*)

3. Sokar barque on **19** (*copyright National Museum of Ireland*)

ROMAN MUMMY MASKS FROM DEIR EL-BAHRI (pp. 121–44)

PLATE XVIII

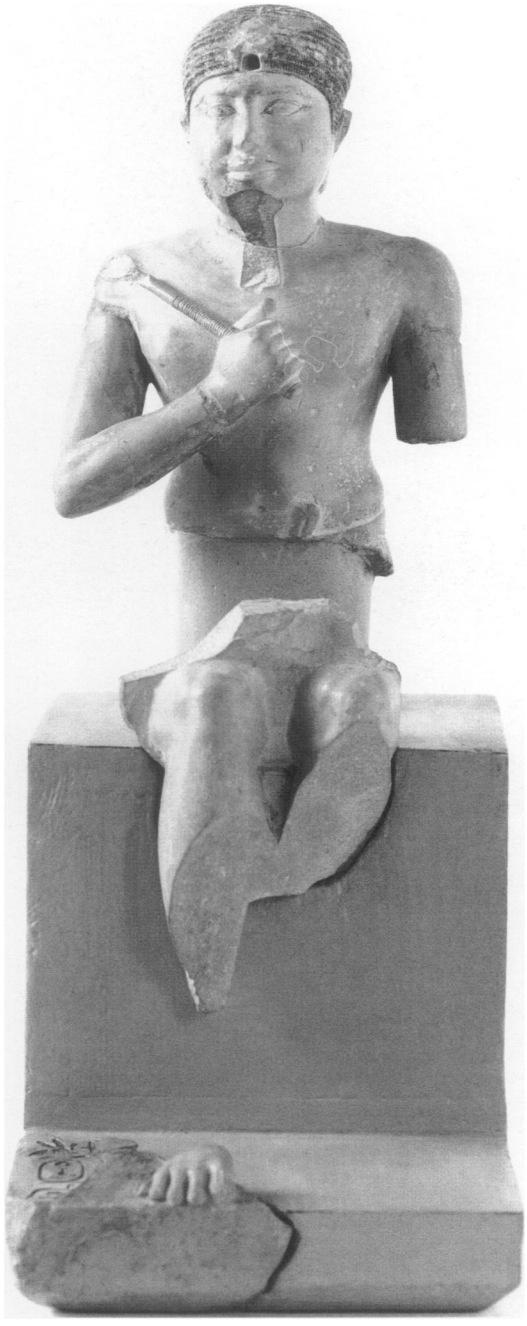
1. Roman Burial I from the MMA Egyptian Expedition to Deir el-Bahri, 1923-4 season (*courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*)

2. Roman Burial I with the reused coffin lid removed. The mask and mummy are **23**, Cairo JE 49099 (*courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*)

ROMAN MUMMY MASKS FROM DEIR EL-BAHRI (pp. 121–44)

1. Mummy, mask (**26**), and grass collar of Roman Burial XLA. All are now Brooklyn Museum of Art 52.128 (*courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*)

ROMAN MUMMY MASKS
(pp. 121–44)



2. Statue of Neferefre, Cairo JE 98171 (*courtesy of the Czech Institute of Egyptology*)

RECONSTRUCTION OF A KILT
(pp. 150–5)

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Two Old Kingdom officials connected with boats*

Two unpublished Old Kingdom false-door fragments are studied. Both owners hold titles which show that they performed duties connected with boats.

A. The Royal Academy of Cordoba (Spain) has recently acquired a well preserved and quite interesting ancient Egyptian piece.[1] It is the drum traditionally positioned below the lintel of a limestone false-door, with the names and titles of the owner carved in low relief on the central convex section (fig. 1).

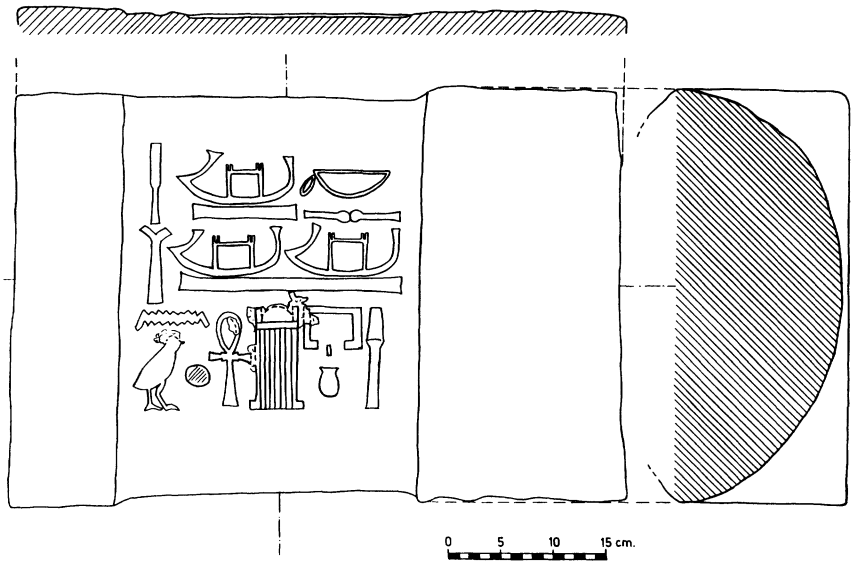


FIG. 1. Drum of a false-door from the mastaba of Ankhu.

Inscription

ḫrp ʿpr(w) kzw

ḫrp pr-nw ʿnḫw

'Crew commander of *kz*-ships, director of the *per-nu* sanctuary, Ankhu'.

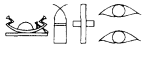
* I am grateful to the Real Academia de Córdoba for permission to publish Ankhu's false-door drum which is in their collection, and to M. D. Valdés for drawing the piece. I am also grateful to J. Malek for offering me the drawing of Pernedju's false-door panel for publication and for making the notes of W. E. Crum, held in the Griffith Institute Archive, available to me. He also provided me with valuable information on the piece and comments on my manuscript. H. G. Fischer and H. Goedicke also kindly offered me their comments. Responsibility for the final form of this article is, nevertheless, entirely mine.

[1] See the catalogue *La colección egipcia de la Real Academia de Córdoba* (Cordoba, 1999), 141, inventory number 1981/1/299.

Commentary

(1) The inscription is arranged in three horizontal lines, to be read from right to left. However, the first two word-signs of the first title, describing the owner's duties, have been written vertically at the left end, for visual reasons. The title *ḫrp ʿpr(w) kzw*, 'crew commander of *kz*-ships', which occupies the upper two lines, is otherwise only attested as part of the titulary of the dwarf Seneb.[2] It is noteworthy that the inscription carved on Seneb's false-door jamb at Giza also displays the first two word-signs following three *kz*-ships. On the other hand, the same title, carved on the base of his famous *ka*-statue, displays the signs in the expected word order.[3] The inscription on this statue associates Seneb with the *per-nu* sanctuary at Buto, as is also the case with Ankhu in the Cordoba piece.

Concerning the *kz*-ships, Junker pointed out that, because of the honorific transposition of the title, the ships were probably not for private use, but intended for royal or temple administration. Nevertheless, honorific (?) transpositions of this kind are not uncommon in nautical titles. A few examples suffice to illustrate this:



imy irty ʿpr(w) wi͗ʒ 'captain of the boat's crew'[4]

sḫḏ wi͗ʒ/dpt 'inspector of the boat'[5]

zš n zʒw wi͗ʒ/dpt 'scribe of the boat's phyle'[6]

ʿpr(w) wi͗ʒ/ʿḥʿw 'master of the boat'[7]

Rather than regarding these as honorific transpositions, the word order seems to follow the basic sequence that goes from the general to the more specific referents, common in enumeration of members of a boat's crew or an expedition. The close relationship between officials holding nautical titles and those connected with mining expeditions is well known.[8]

Kz-ships were wooden rowing boats used on the Nile. The shape of their hulls was very similar to that of funerary or sacred barks (*wi͗ʒ*, *nšmt*, etc.) but their deckhouses (an awning on simple forked crutches) display the simplest design.[9] Little is known about the origin of the word *kz*.[10]

(2) Buto (modern Tell el-Farain) is located in the northwestern Delta, to the east of the Rosetta branch of the Nile. During the third millennium BC, it was a seaport with Palestinian trading contacts.[11] Buto's

[2] H. Junker, *Gîza*, V (Vienna and Leipzig, 1941), 38, fig. 5a. D. Jones, in *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (London, 1988), 93 (no. 189), recorded Seneb's nautical title, but he could not have known about Ankhu's.

[3] Cairo JE 51280: Jones, *Glossary*, 109, fig. 29a; H. G. Fischer, 'Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom', *MMJ* 8 (1973), 9, fig. 2.

[4] *Urk.* I, 56, 4; 92, 3, 8; 95, 3; 141, 16; 148, 8; M. Valloggia, 'Les amiraux de l'oasis de Dakhleh', in F. Geus and F. Thill (eds), *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter* (Paris, 1985), 361 f.; Jones, *Glossary*, 69 f. (no. 86).

[5] *Urk.* I, 92, 9; 230, 6; R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub* (Leipzig, 1928), Gr. 3, 4; Jones, *Glossary*, 99 f. (no. 220).

[6] Urk. I, 149, 12; Jones, *Glossary*, 102 (no. 232).

[7] Anthes, *Felseninschriften*, Gr. 2, 3; Jones, *Glossary*, 69 (no. 85).

[8] E. Eichler, *Untersuchungen zum Expeditionswesen des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Göttinger Orientforschungen 26; Wiesbaden, 1993), 163 ff.; Valloggia, in *Mélanges Vercoutter*, 355 ff.; P.-M. Chevereau, 'Contribution à la prosopographie des cadres militaires de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire', *RdE* 40 (1989), 3–36.

[9] For wooden boats in the Old Kingdom see, J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archaéologie égyptienne*, V (Paris, 1969), 659–886. A general description can be found in D. Jones, *Boats* (London, 1995).

[10] *Wb.* V, 139.

[11] D. B. Redford, 'Notes on the History of Ancient Buto', *BES* 5 (1983), 67–101; J. Yoyotte and Th. von der Way, 'De Bouto historique à Bouto archaïque', *Dossiers d'Archaeologie* 213 (1996), 76 f.; D. Faltings, 'Ergebnisse der neuen

per-nu sanctuary,[12] of which so little is known, originally belonged to the goddess Wadjit in the town of Pe. It is uncertain whether Ankhu and Seneb performed their duties at Buto or at a subsidiary shrine, perhaps located in the Memphite area.

(3) The owner of the Cordoba piece, Ankhu, holds a title otherwise only recorded for Seneb, i.e. 'crew commander of *kz*-ships'. They both had priestly connections with Buto, since the former was 'director of the *per-nu* sanctuary' and the latter a 'priest of Wadjit, mistress of the *per-nu* sanctuary' (*ḥm-nṯr Wꜣḏyt nb(t) pr-nw*).[13]

In the tomb of a like-named Ankhu,[14] buried just south of Seneb's mastaba (west of Khufu's pyramid), the owner holds two titles in common with Seneb: 'one (who is carried) on a litter'[15] and 'overseer of the water canal (?) of the Great House' (*wr-ʿ imy-r ś pr-ʿꜣ*).[16] This coincidence would suggest that the owner of the Cordoba piece and that of this tomb, from whence not much inscribed material has been recovered, were one and the same person.

(4) The presence of a tomb owned by another dwarf (*Nmi*),[17] called Per-ni-ankhu, north of the tomb of Seneb might indicate, as suggested by Hawass, that the far southern end of the western field of Khufu's pyramid was reserved for individuals of their physiognomy.[18] This, along with pictorial evidence of dwarfs involved in boating activities,[19] suggests that Ankhu might himself have been a dwarf.

Notably, two Old Kingdom inscriptions from the Wadi Hammamat also mention a certain Ankhu. In the first, he is referred to as *imy-r ś*,[20] and in the other as *imy-r (m)śʿ*, 'overseer of troops'.[21] A third Ankhu is mentioned in Magharah (Sinai), acting as *ḫrp nfrw*, 'director of recruits'.[22] It is uncertain if any of these officials can be identified with the owner of the Cordoba false-door fragment although a connection between officials with nautical titles and mining expeditions was noted above.

(5) As for the dating of the piece, it is certainly Old Kingdom. For more precision one has to rely to a great extent on the dating of the part of the cemetery where Ankhu's mastaba is located, and above all, on the dating of Seneb's funerary monument. The latter has traditionally been dated to the end of the Fifth Dynasty, to the Sixth Dynasty and recently to the Fourth Dynasty.[23] It is to this last date that we will assign to Ankhu's monument now in Cordoba, whose most probable place of origin was a mastaba at the southern end of the western field at Giza.

Ausgrabungen in Buto. Chronologie und Fernbeziehungen der Buto-Maadi-Kultur neu überdacht', in H. Guksch and D. Polz (eds), *Stationen. Beiträger zur kulturgeschichte Ägyptens* (Mainz am Rhein, 1998), 35–45; id., 'Canaanites at Buto in the Early Fourth Millennium BC', *Egyptian Archaeology* 13 (1998), 29–32.

[12] D. Arnold, 'Per-nu', *LÄ* IV, 932–3. See also H. Altenmüller, 'Buto', *LÄ* I, 887–9.

[13] Junker, *Gîza* V, 16, 41, fig. 6. For the title see, W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Ägyptologische Forschungen 18; Glückstadt, 1954), 42, n. 115.

[14] Junker, *Gîza* V, 128–33, pl. x, and plan; PM III^2, 100–3, plan XIII.

[15] Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 39 f.

[16] Junker, *Gîza* V, 130 f., fig. 34, for Ankhu; 12 f., 27, fig. 4a, for Seneb. These titles are also discussed in id., *Gîza*, III (Vienna and Leipzig, 1938), 211 f. Seneb is actually shown being carried on a litter in Junker, *Gîza* V, 84, fig. 20. For the title *imy-r ś*, rendered as 'officier de transport', see Chevreau, *RdE* 40, 22. Eichler, *Expeditionswesen*, 173, relates the title with the 'captain' of mining expeditions. See also O. Goelet, 'The Nature of the Term *pr-ʿꜣ* during the Old Kingdom', *BES* 10 (1989/90), 77–90.

[17] On the topic see, e.g., O. El-Aguizy, 'Dwarfs and Pygmies in Ancient Egypt', *ASAE* 71 (1987), 53–60; E. Thompson, 'Dwarfs in the Old Kingdom in Egypt', *BACE* 2 (1991), 91–8; V. Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (Oxford, 1993).

[18] Z. Hawass, 'The Statue of the Dwarf *Pr-n (j)-ʿnḫ (w)* Recently Discovered at Giza', *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 160.

[19] Junker, *Gîza* V, 9 (no. 13), 11, fig. 1.

[20] G. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat* (Paris, 1957), 48 (no. 9); Eichler, *Expeditionswesen*, 52 (no. 70).

[21] Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions,* 57 f. (no. 23), pl. ix; Eichler, *Expeditionswesen*, 7 (no. 84).

[22] A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet and J. Cerny, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, I (EES Excavation Memoir 45, London, 1952), pl.viii; ibid., II (London, 1955), 62 f. (no. 16); Eichler, *Expeditionswesen*, 34 (no. 16).

[23] N. Cherpion, 'De quand date la tombe du nain Seneb?', *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 35–54, esp. 44 f.; Hawass, *MDAIK* 47, 161 f.

B. The second piece bearing a title connected with boats is an upper part of a limestone false-door owned by Per-nedju (*Pr-nḏw*) of the Sixth Dynasty. He was buried at Saqqara, west of the Step Pyramid, although the exact location of his tomb is unknown.[24] Formerly in the collection of the British diplomat John Barker, the false-door was sold at Sotheby's in London on 15–16 March, 1833, as lot number 235. A drawing made on the occasion is reproduced here as figure 2. Subsequently, the monument became part of the John Lee collection and was described by J. Bonomi.[25] The piece was sold again at Sotheby's in London on 13-14 June, 1921, as lot number 187.

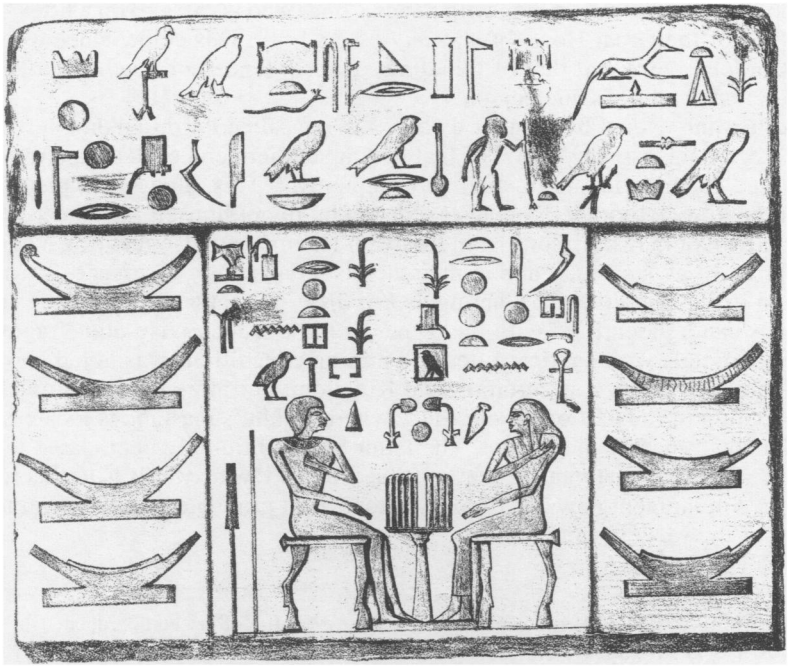


FIG. 2. Upper part of a false-door belonging to Per-nedju.

The false-door measures *c.* 84 cm high by 104 cm wide. The 'header' consists of two inscribed horizontal lines with a standard funerary formula, but without the titles and names of the beneficiaries. The latter are included in the central panel, above the figures of the deceased and his wife, who are depicted sitting facing each other and sharing the loaves placed on the funerary table that stands between them.[26] The sculptor has endeavoured to arrange the pictorial and inscriptional material symmetrically. Only Per-nedju's *mdw*-staff and *sḫm*-sceptre, displayed vertically behind him in an unusual way,[27] break the symmetry of the scene. At each side of the central panel there is a column with four boats, one above the other. These eight boats, differing in their profiles from each other, are related

[24] PM III[2], 611–12. The area was excavated by Mariette, but he does not mention him in *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1885), edited by G. Maspero.

[25] J. Bonomi, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Museum of Hartwell House* (1858), 80 (no. 561). It was also recorded by A. Wiedemann, 'Texts of the Collection of Mr. Lee', *PSBA* 11 (1889), 420 (no. 6). W. E. Crum saw the object when it was in Lord Amherst's collection, and made a copy of its texts. He gave the notebook containing his copy to A. H. Gardiner and it is now catalogued in the Griffith Institute Archive as Gardiner Notebook 66, with Crum's copy on the upper part of page 17.

[26] Note that the chairs' legs are taurine rather than leonine, as on the false-door of his wife, Cairo CG 1506; L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches,* I (CG; Cairo, 1937), 211, pl. 44.

[27] See A. Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe im pharaonischen Ägypten* (MÄS 33; Munich, 1976); H. G. Fischer, 'Notes on Sticks and Staves in Ancient Egypt', *MMJ* 13 (1978), 5–32.

to Per-nedju's main title, describing his occupation as scribe of enrolment for the (boats') crews. The width of the two columns of boats, as well as the height of the 'header', is approximately half the length of the sides of the square central panel. Thus, the scale of the boats is considerable, making the composition of the piece quite original.

Transcription

(1) (*ḥtp*) *dỉ nsw ḥtp* (*dỉ*) *Ỉnpw ḫnty zḥ-nṯr qrst.f m ḫrt-nṯr*[28] *m st ỉmnt*[*t*] *ỉ*ˁ*w nfr wrt m nb ỉm*ˁ*ḫ ḫr nṯr* ˁ*ˁ*
(2) *rḫ nsw zš ṯzt* ˁ*prw n ḫrt-nsw Pr-nḏw*
(3) *rḫt nsw ỉm*ˁ*ḫt ḫr hỉ.s Ni-*ˁ*nḫ-ḥwthr*[29]
(4) *ḫ*ˁ *t ḫ*ˁ *ḥnqt*[30]

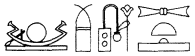
Translation

(1)A boon which the king grants, and (also) Anubis, foremost of the divine booth,[31] (namely) his burial in the cemetery, in the western desert, and a very good old age as possessor of provisions before the great god, (2) (for) the acquaintance of the king, scribe of enrolment for the crew of the royal property, Per-nedju, (3) (and for) the acquaintance of the king, provisioned before her husband,[32] Ni-ankh-Hathor. (4)A thousand loaves and a thousand beer jars (for both of them).

Another title held by Per-nedju is  . The second title is written differently in an inscription on a false-door jamb now in Cairo[33]  .

The compound term *ḫrt-nsw* has been honorifically transposed to precede ˁ*prw*, and the preposition *n* has been relocated, apparently for graphic reasons.[34] The latter can be taken as genitival or dativ al, without changing the title's nuance. The term *ḫrt-nsw* is problematic, and I have not been able to find another example. The closest parallel for it may be *ḫrt-nṯr*, denoting the 'cemetery', literally 'what is under god'.[35] Similarly, *ḫrt-nsw* has been rendered as 'royal property'.

On two other inscribed false-door fragments Per-nedju is called  *zš* ˁ*prw*, 'scribe of the crew'.[36]

And finally, he holds the title  *zš ṯzt* ˁ*prw ḥ*ˁ*w*, 'scribe of enrolment of the boat's crew'.[37]

[28] For this writing see H. G. Fischer, 'The Evolution of the Composite Hieroglyphs in Ancient Egypt', in id., *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal* (New York, 1980), 8 f. For the town-determinative following the *ḫ*ˁ*st*-sign see, id., *Varia Nova. Egyptian Studies*, III (New York, 1996), 28, n. 110.

[29] For the reading of the proper name see, Fischer, *Varia Nova* III, 55–60.

[30] The lotus stems of the signs for *ḫ*ˁ are bent forward. Note also that the vase sign for *ḥnqt* is tipped toward the wife's face.

[31] For a discussion on *ḫnty sḥ nṯr*, see, Fischer, *Varia Nova* III, 45–9.

[32] On the wife's epithet, see D. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich* (Hamburg, 1983), 141, n. 3.

[33] Cairo CG 1689: L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, II (CG; Cairo, 1964), 136.

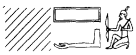
[34] H. G. Fischer, 'Graphic Transposition of the Indirect Genitive', *JARCE* 3 (1964), 123 f.

[35] See H. Goedicke, 'Titles for Titles', in S. Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden in Altägypten* (Tübingen, 1994), 229, for a discussion on *ḫrt-nsw* as part of the common administrative title  . H. G. Fischer (personal communication 25 February 1999), suggests that *ḫr* in this inscription can be translated as 'conveying', thus 'scribe of enrolment of the crews who convey the king'.

[36] Cairo CG 1684 and 1690: Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 134, 137. In the first inscription, it can be read [...]*r zš* ˁ*prw m* [...], what might be restored as '[overseer] of scribes of the crews', as stated in PM III^2, 611.

[37] Cairo CG 1690: Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 137. For the title, see Valloggia, in *Mélanges Vercoutter*, 357; Jones, *Glossary*, 103 (no. 233).

The latter makes it clear that Per-nedju's title recorded in the piece under consideration refers to the boats' crews, which explains the depiction of eight boats flanking the central panel. These must have been the boats of the recruits (belonging to the royal property) that Per-nedju was supposed to register, acting as scribe of enrolment.[38]

Per-nedju also held the title *zš šnwt*, 'scribe of the granary'  , and probably that of *ỉmy-r mšʿ*, 'overseer of troops'  .[39]

Summary

The two inscribed monuments studied above add information on nautical titles and contribute to the knowledge of two Old Kingdom high officials of the royal administration. The first piece belongs to Ankhu who has the unusual title, 'crew commander of *kz*-ships' also held by the dwarf, Seneb. Ankhu's tomb is located to the west of Khufu's pyramid, with very little inscribed material preserved in it. The second piece, belonging to Per-nedju, also mentions a rare title connected with boats. From a stylistic point of view, the division of the panel's space and the artist's interest in symmetry are noteworthy as these features break an exact equilibrium and avoid repetition in the composition. The careful design of the boats increases the significance of these two pieces for the study of ancient Egyptian boats.

José M. Galán

Reconstruction of the kilt represented on a statue of Neferefre*

The reconstruction of the statue of Neferefre (Cairo JE 98171) shows that one kind of royal kilt was represented in sculpture much earlier than is commonly stated.

During their excavations in Abusir, Czech archaeologists found a very interesting group of statues of the Fifth Dynasty king Neferefre.[1] What is perhaps the most original is now in the Cairo Museum, registered as JE 98171 (pl. XIX, 2). The statue presents many features which are quite rare, or even unique, in the royal statuary corpus of the Old Kingdom as presently known. These features are the close-cut head- dress,[2] the falcon embracing the king's head,[3] the *ḥḏ*-mace which Neferefre holds in his right hand[4] and the kilt. The kilt is almost completely destroyed. The only preserved details are the

[38] On the title *zš ṯzt*, see Jones *Glossary*, 103 (no. 233); Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 101, n. 74.

[39] On his wife's false-door, he is referred to only as *zš* ('scribe'); Cairo CG 1506: Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 211, pl. 44. A different Per-nedju, mentioned in the mastaba of Ka-ni-nisut, holds the title *ỉmy-r sšr*, 'overseer of linen': H. Junker, *Gîza*, II (Vienna and Leipzig, 1934), 151, 165, fig. 18, 22, pl. xi.b.

* I wish to thank Paul Barford for correcting my English.

[1] M. Verner, 'Les sculptures de Reneferef découverte à Abousir', *BIFAO* 85 (1985), 267–80.

[2] Apart from the two heads of Neferefre found together with JE 98171 (Verner, *BIFAO* 85, pls. xliv, lviii), a similar headdress (a very short wig or a cap) is known to me only from the so-called 'head of Shepseskaf' in Boston (MFA 09.203: PM III², 30) and from two royal heads in Brussels (E. 7117: J. Capart, *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien*, I (Paris, 1927), 7–8, pl. v) and in the Petrie Museum in London (UC 14282: *L'art égyptien au temps des pyramides* [exhibition catalogue] (Paris, 1999), 263–4 (no. 101)).

[3] In addition to another head of Neferefre (Verner, *BIFAO* 85, pl. xliv), I know of only two similar examples: a head fragment (of Cheops ?) in Boston (MFA 27.1466: PM III², 12) and the famous statue of Chephren in the Cairo Museum (CG 14: PM III², 22). See also A. Bolshakov, 'Royal Portraiture and «Horus-Name»', in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1999), 311–32.

[4] As well as another statue of Neferefre (Verner, *BIFAO* 85, pl. xlix), I know of only two examples of representations of this mace in royal statuary: a Mycerinus triad (Boston MFA 09.200: PM III², 27) and a statue of Neuserre (Rochester NY 42.54 and Cairo CG 42003: PM II, 136; B. V. Bothmer, 'The Karnak Statue of Ny-user-ra (Membra Dispersa IV)', *MDAIK* 30 (1974), 165–70, pls. 44–9).

pleating on the back part of the kilt; the pleating on the small fragment of the front part of the kilt, which is not parallel to the kilt's bottom edge, but diagonal to it; the cloth-loop at the upper edge of the kilt; the bottom edge of the front part of the kilt, lying relatively high above knee level; and the 'negative space' extending outwards from the king's right knee.

Comparison of the preserved parts of the kilt with other kinds of royal garment so far represented in Old Kingdom sculpture is illuminating. Only four types of clothing have so far been attested in royal statuary. The *šnḏwt*-kilt,[5] the most common royal kilt during the Old Kingdom, was surely not worn by our statue. The edge of the front part of Neferefre's kilt lies high above knee level, while in the case of the *šnḏwt*, it always lies at knee level. The middle tab of the *šnḏwt* is always relatively narrow in its lower part, not broader than the distance between the knees. The 'negative space' outward from the right knee also testifies against the *šnḏwt* because this kind of kilt would have fitted the thighs snugly. Finally, the cloth-loop was never represented on the *šnḏwt*-kilt. The simple short kilt[6] must also be excluded, as it is not pleated, has no cloth-loop and fits closely to the thighs. The upper part of the statue is well preserved, so we can exclude without doubt any garment covering the chest. Therefore, the single strap tunic with bead pendants,[7] and the *ḥb-sd*-robe,[8] also found on Old Kingdom royal statuary, were not represented.

Clearly, none of the royal garments which are attested in Old Kingdom sculpture corresponds to the remains of Neferefre's kilt. To find a clue to the type of kilt shown on this statue, we must examine another category of visual source: royal representations in relief. The two key features are the pleating and the cloth-loop. Only one kind of garment matches both of these criteria—a pleated kilt with triangular panel. This type of garb had been used by kings at least since the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty and was reserved for the monarch.[9] We find the earliest attestations of it on reliefs from the pyramid

[5] This kind of dress was very popular in royal statuary; see, for example, the famous statue of Chephren (Cairo CG 14: PM III², 22) or the Mycerinus triads (Cairo JE 40678, JE 40679, JE 46499, Boston MFA 09.200 and MFA 11.3147: PM III², 27).

[6] As far as I know, this kind of dress is attested in only one royal statue, Cairo CG 13 (PM III², 22).

[7] I know only one royal statue showing this kind of garb—a very fragmentarily preserved monument of Djoser, Cairo JE 49889 a–h + JE 60487 + JE 69458 (see H. Sourouzian, 'L'iconographie du roi dans la statuaire des trois premières dynasties', in *Kunst des Alten Reiches* (SDAIK 28; Mainz, 1995), 150–1). The first attestation of this kind of garment in relief is on the palette of Narmer.

[8] In statuary, this kind of dress is not especially common. The only examples known to me are: Djoser, the famous serdab statue Cairo JE 49158 and three very similar figures (presently in storerooms in Saqqara; see Sourouzian, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, 148, pls. 52–3); Chephren, Leipzig 1948 (R. Krauspe, *Statuen und Statuetten. Katalog ägyptischer Sammlungen in Leipzig*, I (Mainz, 1997), 15–16 (no. 4), pls. 4,1–4,4); Menkauhor, Cairo CG 40 (PM III², 842–3); Pepi I, Brooklyn 39.120 (J. F. Romano, 'Sixth Dynasty Royal Sculpture', in N. Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire* (BdE 120; Cairo, 1998), 240–2 (no. 3), figs. 8–19) and another statue stored probably in a magazine of Egyptian Antiquities Organisation at Dendera (ibid. 236-8 (no. 1), figs. 1–2). There are also three more examples from the Archaic Period: an ivory statuette British Museum EA 37996 (Sourouzian, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches* 133–40, pl. 50.a–d) and two statues of Khasekhem: Cairo JE 32161 and Oxford AM 620.11 (for both see Sourouzian, *Kunst des Alten Reiches,* 141–3, pl. 51.a–d). Cf. also H. Sourouzian, 'Inventaire iconographique des statues en manteau jubilaire de l'époque thinite jusqu'à leur disparition sous Amenhotep III', in C. Berger, G. Clerc and N. Grimal (eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant,* I: *Études pharaoniques* (BdE 106/1; Cairo, 1994), 499–530.

[9] E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* (MÄS 8; Berlin, 1966), 10–11. Representations of private persons wearing this dress are extremely rare: in sculpture, a statue of Kadua (Cairo JE 72218; temp. Neuserre or later; see below n. 16) and in relief, the false-door of Idi (Cairo CG 1449; Sixth Dynasty or later; L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches ausser den Statuen,* I (CG; Berlin, 1937), 133–5, pl. 32). Pleated kilts with triangular panel are attested in private reliefs in the Fourth Dynasty (e.g. Stockholm MM 11406; cf. N. Cherpion, 'Sandales et porte-sandales à l'Ancien Empire', in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, 278, fig. 13) and during the Sixth Dynasty they became a relatively common dress, represented in sculpture (e.g. Brooklyn 51.1 (PM III², 647) and Cairo JE 49371 (PM III², 566)) as well as in reliefs (e.g. Berlin 5/1970 (*L'art égyptien au temps des pyramides*, 317 (no. 145)) and British Museum EA 1319B (N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire. Le problème de la datation* (Brussels, 1989), pl. 48)). These kilts are, however, quite different from the royal type. They are often much longer and the pleats are spaced

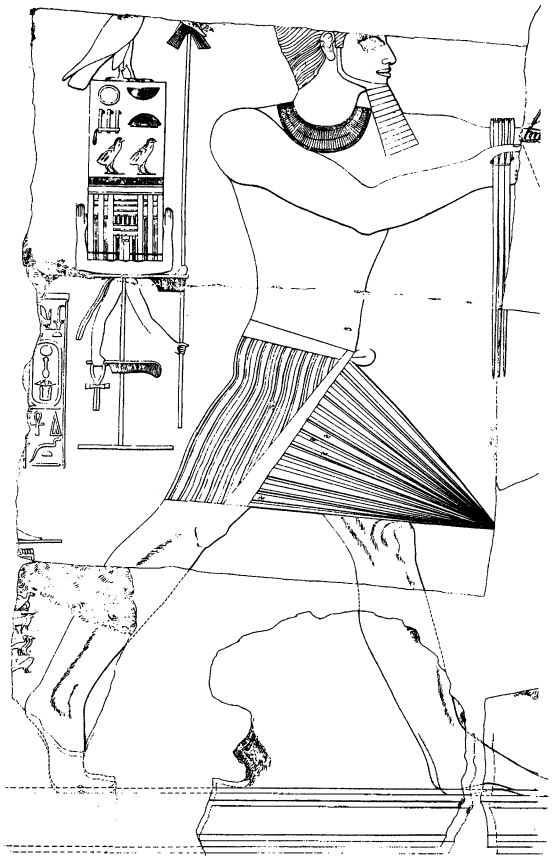


FIG. 1. Relief from pyramid temple of Sahure (after Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*ᶜII, Bl. 17).

temple of Sahure (fig. 1),[10] and representations of this type of kilt have been preserved in the temple of Neuserre.[11]

This strictly royal garment is closely related to a popular variety of private clothing, attested since the Fourth Dynasty.[12] The latter is very similar—it has the triangular panel and the cloth-loop – but it lacks pleating. This kind of private kilt is known from numerous reliefs, but it is also found quite frequently on statuary. Most of the statues sporting this garment are standing figures, although there are a few examples showing seated men.[13] The kilts on these statues have three features identical with those on the Neferefre representation: the cloth-loop, the front edge of the kilt placed high above knee level and the 'negative space' extending outwards from both knees. Therefore, we can assume that Neferefre's kilt was based on the same form as on the private statues, the only difference being its pleating.

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differently—they are not ordered radially, starting from one of the bottom corners of the triangular panel, but are parallel to each other.

[10] L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa3hu-Re*ᶜ, II (Leipzig, 1913), pls. 17, 39 and 40.

[11] L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Re*ᶜ (Leipzig, 1907), 84, pls. 33–6 and 39.

[12] One of the earliest examples in sculpture is an early Fourth Dynasty statue from Dahshur, 'rediscovered' by H. Sourouzian in storerooms in Saqqara (H. Sourouzian, 'La statue du musicien Ipi jouant de la flûte et autres monumets du règne de Snofrou à Dahchour', in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, 159–60, figs. 14–15.

[13] Cairo CG 93 (mid-Fifth Dynasty; PM III², 465); Brooklyn 37.20E (late Fifth Dynasty; PM III², 691).

It appears that this kind of royal dress was used in sculpture in the round much earlier than has been previously postulated. Evers believed, 'In der Plastik ist der dreieckige Königsschurz zuerst unter Sesostris III. belegt. Von da ab häufig; vorher nur aus Relief bekannt. Da die Übernahme in die Plastik nur möglich ist, wenn der König in Gebetshaltung dargestellt wird, ist es unwahrscheinlich, daß es vor Mitte der 12. Dynastie den Schurz in der Plastik gegeben habe.'[14] Although Evers' statement is true of Middle Kingdom statuary, the relationship between 'dreieckigen Königsschurz' and 'Gebetshaltung' was not obligatory at all periods, as we can see on some later examples (e.g. *kꜣ*-statues from the tomb of Tutankhamun).[15] There are some reasons to suppose that during the Old Kingdom (when the type of 'Gebetshaltung'-statues was still not known), this kind of kilt was already present in royal statuary. One private statue can testify in favour of this theory: a Fifth Dynasty statue of a certain Kadua[16] was shown wearing the pleated kilt with triangular panel (fig. 2). Probably Kadua's piece imitated royal sculpture, just as private persons represented in sculpture could be depicted wearing the strictly royal (at least in the Old Kingdom) *šnḏwt*-kilt.[17]

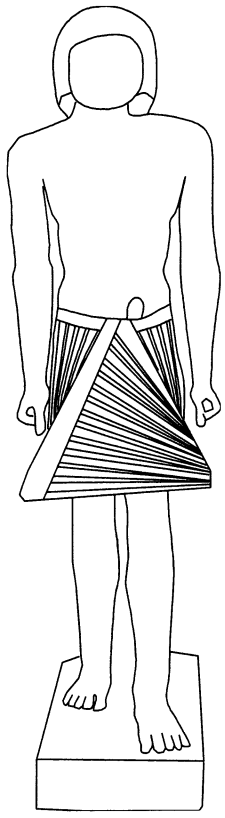


FIG. 2. Statue of Kadua, Cairo JE 72218 (drawing by author).

[14] H. G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, (Munich, 1929), II, 40.

[15] Cairo JE 60707 and JE 60708 (PM I², 570).

[16] Prophet of Chephren, buried in Giza, Central Field, temp. Neuserre or later (S. Hassan, *Excavations at Gîza,* VI/3 (Cairo, 1950), 93–110, pls. xxxviii-lii, esp. 106, pls. li and lii; PM III², 244–5). The statue of Kadua was found in the serdab of his mastaba; it is *c.* 1 m high and made of limestone (the height 1.8 m, given in Hassan, *Gîza* VI/3, 107, must be a misprint, probably for 1.08 m).

[17] E.g. statues Cairo CG 37, 196 and 201 (Fifth Dynasty; PM III², 723; B. Fay, 'Royal Women as Represented in Sculpture', in Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation* 166–7, figs. 14–15). Actually the dress represented on these statues is a combination of the royal *šnḏwt*-kilt and the private half-goffered kilt.

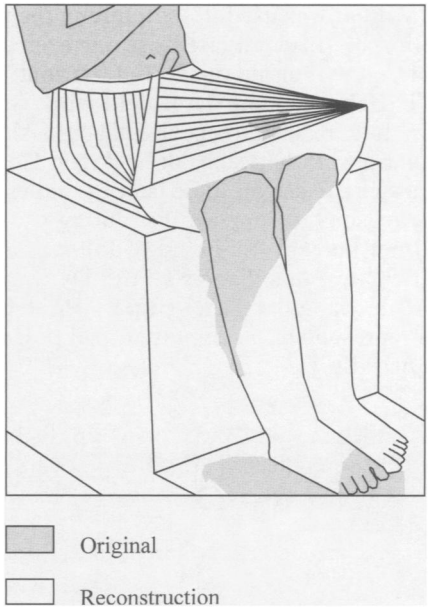


FIG. 3. Reconstruction of the statue of Neferefre, Cairo JE 98171 (using photograph published in Verner, *BIFAO* 85, pl. 48.A).

Therefore, there are two main arguments in favour of the reconstruction of the statue Cairo JE 98171 as showing Neferefre wearing the pleated kilt with triangular panel (fig. 3). The preserved fragments of the kilt, with the cloth-loop, the position of the edge of the front part of the kilt and the 'negative space' extending outwards of the right knee are exactly the same as in the corresponding elements of private statues showing seated men wearing the kilt with triangular panel. The statue of Kadua, which (in my opinion) is a private imitation of royal statuary, proves that the pleated kilt with a triangular panel was represented in royal statues during the Old Kingdom and not first in the Middle Kingdom.

The question arises of whether Neferefre was the first king whose statues wore this type of garment, or whether this kind of royal sculpture was already present (much) earlier. This kind of dress is attested in relief for the first time during the reign of Sahure. We find it neither on Archaic tablets, graffiti from Sinai nor on any kind of objects dated to the early Old Kingdom. None of the numerous statues of Chephren[18] and Mycerinus wears this kilt. So it seems quite probable that this kind of dress appears relatively late, and Fifth Dynasty rulers were the first to use it. As Egyptian sculpture in the round was more conservative than reliefs,[19] it may have taken some time before the new kind of dress found its way to the canon of royal statuary. I therefore believe that the statue of Neferefre is one of the earliest showing the king in this new kind of garment. During the reign of Neuserre, the successor of Neferefre, many changes in private art can be observed.[20] This innovative trend surely began in the royal court,

[18] A small fragment of the calcite statue of Chephren should be mentioned, however, described by R. Krauspe as 'Teil vom Bauch mit Schurzoberkante. Über dem Schurzbund ein kleines Stück des Schurzzipfels' (*Statuen und Statuetten*, 24 (no. 38), pl. 14 [4]). This 'Schurzzipfel' is similar to the loop on the kilt of the Neferefre statue, although its orientation is reversed. The piece is, however, confusing: if it is a fragment of the abdomen, a navel should be marked on it. Lack of the navel was probably the main reason why on the reconstruction drawing (placed just above the description quoted) the fragment was interpreted as part of the back and not of the abdomen. The meaning of the 'Schurzzipfel' remains unclear.

[19] E.g. in private statuary the half–goffered kilt was the favourite male dress throughout the whole Old Kingdom, while in reliefs from the late Fifth Dynasty the kilt with triangular front panel became the most popular garment. Sandals were represented in sculpture for the first time in the Middle Kingdom, while in reliefs they are quite common during the Old Kingdom (cf. M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (ÄA 39; Wiesbaden, 1984), 30 §34, 32 §38; Cherpion, in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, 227–80).

[20] See Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 80–2.

apparently already in the time of Neferefre, and the introduction of new types of royal statuary can be seen as part of this process.[21]

SLAWOMIR RZEPKA

Edward Stanley Poole's drawings of two royal coffins of the Seventeenth Dynasty*

Published here are the drawings of the coffins of two kings Intef, Louvre E 3019 and E 3020, and hand-copies of their inscriptions, made by Edward Stanley Poole and annotated by A. C. Harris in 1848. The copies also include a facsimile of a hieratic text written on a mummy-cloth associated with one of the coffins.

THE *rishi*-coffins made for Sekhemre-wepmaat Intef and Sekhemre-heruhermaat Intef, now Louvre E 3019 and E 3020 (pl. XX, 1–2), first came to the attention of Egyptologists in April 1848, when they were in the possession of the Greek dealer in antiquities, George Triantaphyllos, at Thebes.[1] Michel Dewachter has traced the subsequent history of the coffins up to their purchase by Mariette for the Louvre in 1853 and 1854.[2] The first reference to the coffins occurs in a letter from Anthony Charles Harris to Samuel Birch of the British Museum, dated from Alexandria, 11 April 1848.[3] Harris emphasised the special interest of the coffins and urged Birch to consider buying them for the British Museum. For a few months the transaction was seriously considered, but no final agreement was reached.[4]

To enable Birch to form a clear opinion of the coffins, Harris arranged for drawings of them to be made by 'Mr Poole', and forwarded to London. In his letter of 11 April, he explains how these drawings came to be executed:

> It struck me that these two bodies would be interesting objects to lie, under glass cases, in state in your Museum and I promised I would write to you about them, if Triandafilo [sic] could engage a Nephew of Mr Lane, who had with him a Camera to take sketches of them as he passed Thebes. This has been done and I take the opportunity of sending them to you by a Cousin of mine Capt Frank Vardon of the Madras Army who goes home by this Steamer. I took a note of the Hieroglyphics myself, and as my copy differs in some material points from that of young Mr Poole, I put against his writing such alterations as my own suggests.[5]

Birch used these copies as his source in an 1869 publication of the texts on the two Intef coffins, then assumed to date from the Eleventh Dynasty.[6] The drawings themselves, however, which are kept among the archives of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, have never been published. As they are the earliest precise record of the appearance of the coffins and their inscriptions, they are of some interest

[21] Another example of such innovative tendencies is the hypostyle hall in the pyramid complex of Neferefre—it is the oldest such hall in Egyptian architecture.

* Thanks are due to W. V. Davies for permission to publish these drawings. The photographs published as plate XXI, 1-2 are the copyright of the British Museum. I am grateful to Anthony Leahy, Stephen Quirke and Nicholas Reeves for comments on the hieratic text, and to Kim Sloan of the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum for information about the camera lucida.

[1] For Triantaphyllos, see W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*[3], revised by M. L. Bierbrier (London, 1995), 418.

[2] 'Nouvelles informations relatives à l'exploitation de la nécropole royale de Drah Aboul Neggah', *RdE* 36 (1985), 52–9.

[3] Correspondence files of the former Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum (hereafter Correspondence), 1826–60, vol. 7, no. 2448; Dewachter, *RdE* 36, 53–4.

[4] Correspondence, 1826–60, vol. 7, nos. 2449, 2450, 2456, 2458, 2459; vol. 11, no. 4345; vol. 14, nos. 5804–5. Part of this correspondence is published by Dewachter, *RdE* 36, 53–6.

[5] Cf. Dewachter, *RdE* 36, 53–4; cf. also a letter from John Gardner Wilkinson to Birch, mentioning the copies 'sent (I believe) by Mr Lane or Mr Poole', cited in Dewachter, *RdE* 36, 55–6

[6] S. Birch, 'On the Formulas of Three Royal Coffins', *ZÄS* 7 (1869), 51–3.

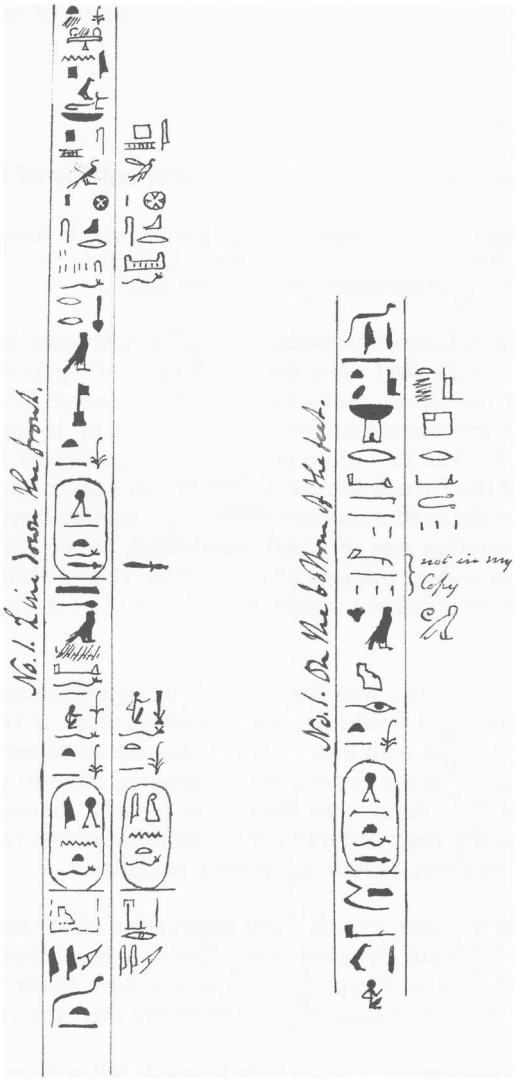


FIG. 1. Inscriptions on coffin of Sekhemre-wepmaat Intef; copies by Edward Stanley Poole with annotations by A. C. Harris, 1848.

and are reproduced here as plate XX, 1–2 , together with photographs of the coffins.

The drawings of the two coffins are in pencil on separate sheets of paper, measuring 12.5 × 22 cm. The hand-copies of the inscriptions are in ink on smaller sheets, 9.5 × 16 cm, with annotations by Harris, as noted in his letter to Birch. Both Harris and Birch mention the use of a 'camera' to produce them. This was probably a camera lucida, an optical apparatus by means of which an image could be projected onto a sheet of paper and then traced. The camera lucida was used at this period by several artists and travellers in Egypt,[7] including Poole's uncle Edward William Lane, the author of *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*.[8] The four sheets are bound into a small volume labelled on the

[7] For the use of the camera lucida by early ninteenth-century travellers to Egypt, notably Robert Hay, to copy not only individual monuments but panoramic views, see T. G. H. James, *Egypt Revealed. Artist-Travellers in an Antique Land* (London, 1997), 138–40.

[8] Stanley Lane Poole, *Life of Edward William Lane* (London and Edinburgh, 1877) 23, 36.

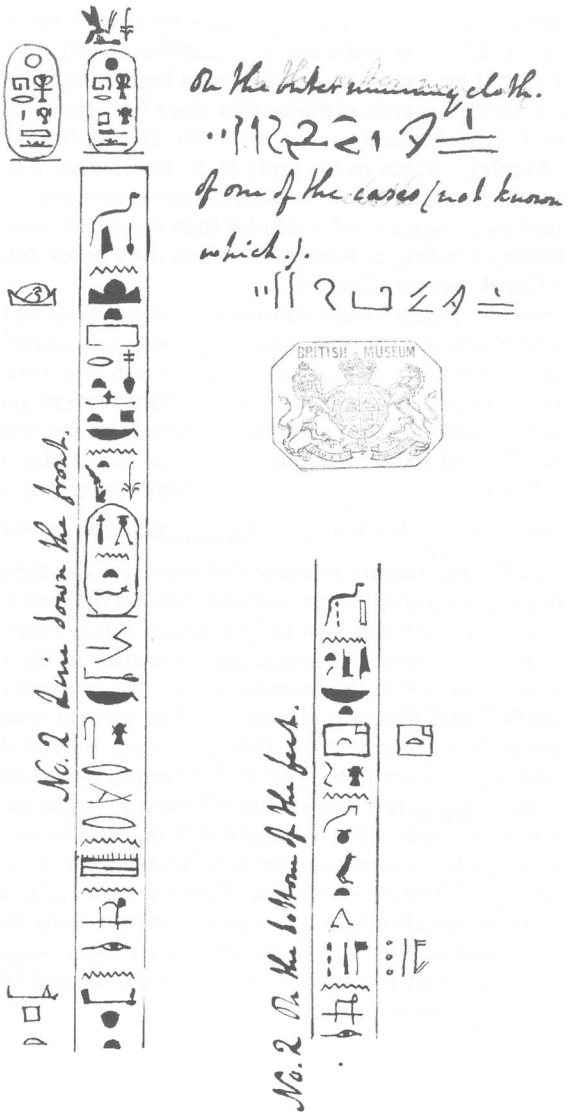


FIG. 2. Inscriptions on coffin of Sekhemre-heruhermaat Intef and on a mummy-shroud; copies by Edward Stanley Poole with annotations by A. C. Harris, 1848.

spine 'Poole. Copies of Sarcophagi of XI Dynasty'. On the fly leaf, in pencil, is written 'Poole R. S. Copies of Sarcophagi of XI Dynasty'.

A word is required to explain the identity of the 'Mr Poole' who made the copies as, in spite of the attribution just cited, there has been some confusion on this point. Harris refers to him as 'a Nephew of Mr Lane', and Birch attributes the copies to 'Mr S. R. Poole' (sic).[9] Dewachter has therefore identified him, not unreasonably, as Reginald Stuart Poole (1832–1895).[10] This man was indeed a nephew of Edward William Lane, his mother Sophia Poole having been Lane's sister,[11] and he enjoyed a good

[9] Birch, *ZÄS* 7, 51.

[10] Dewachter, *RdE* 36, 53, n. 73; cf. *Who was Who*^{3}, 340.

[11] *Who was Who*^{3}, 340.

relationship with Harris.[12] However, R. S. Poole had an elder brother, Edward Stanley Poole (editor of the fifth edition of Lane's *Manners and Customs*, London, 1860), and it appears from a letter written by Harris to R. S. Poole that it was actually Stanley who had made the drawings of the Intef coffins. This letter is dated 16 June 1848;[13] Harris explains that since his arrival in London ten days ago he has made efforts 'to engage the British Museum to treat for Mr Triandafolo's Mummies, I mean the two Royal mummies copied by Stanley'. Since in his reply R. S. Poole does not contradict this attribution, it may be assumed to be correct. Both the Poole brothers spent many years in Egypt with their parents and/or uncle Lane,[14] and Stanley was no less of a scholar than Reginald: another letter in the British Museum's archives describes Stanley's acting as interpreter when the Pooles delivered the British Museum's offer for the coffins to the Greek consul, Cossiva.[15]

The drawings themselves require little additional comment, though it should be noted that the illustration of the coffin of Sekhemre-heruhermaat Intef was left unfinished (notably the borders of the inscription and the area on the top of the foot). Birch's published transcript of the texts was compiled from Poole's copy and Harris' annotations (to which Birch refers anonymously) (fig. 1). Where these disagree, Birch usually follows Harris' version. Nonetheless, the source of a particular reading is not always clearly attributed, and hence the publication of the copies will remove any uncertainties. It should be noted that Birch himself erred in transcribing the text from coffin 'I' (Louvre E 3019), by omitting the sign in the name of Anubis  , which is included in Poole's copy.[16]

Perhaps the most interesting feature of these documents is the copy of a short hieratic text at the top right of the fourth sheet, with Harris' more stylised version beneath (fig. 2). This is captioned: 'On the outer mummy cloth of one of the cases (not known which.)' It is clear from the correspondence referred to above that the two Intef coffins still contained mummies at the time of the negotiations in 1848; Birch was anxious to be assured that the mummies were the original ones, not substitutes, but he could not be completly satisfied that this was the case.[17] The present whereabouts of the mummies are unknown, and it is impossible to ascertain whether they were indeed the bodies of the two kings of the coffins, or intrusive burials of later date. The text recorded by Poole and Harris might have provided some clue, but unfortunately, the few signs, which appear to begin *nn mr....*, do not yield any connected sense. If the mummy to which this cloth belonged was that of one of the Intefs, the text might be either a portion of the funerary inscriptions (cf. the fragments of the inscribed shroud of Nubkheperre [?] Intef, British Museum EA 10706) or—more intriguingly—part of a reburial docket. That certain of the Seventeenth Dynasty royal burials might have been removed from their tombs at Dra Abu el-Naga and reinterred nearby at the end of the New Kingdom is strongly suggested by the archaeological evidence.[18] Unfortunately, the short inscription copied by Poole and Harris does not permit us either to confirm or reject this hypothesis at present.

JOHN H. TAYLOR

[12] In his *Horae Aegyptiacae: or, The Chronology of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1851), vii, R. S. Poole thanks 'my kind friend, Mr. A. C. Harris, of Alexandria, a gentleman who deserves the thanks of all students of Egyptian archaeology for his contributions to our knowledge of that science ...'

[13] Correspondence, 1826–60, vol. 7, no. 2450. The addressee—'My dear Stewart' (sic)—is not named in full, but fortunately a copy of the reply is also on file (Correspondence, 1826—60, vol. 11, no. 4345); this is dated 17 July 1848 and is signed 'Reginald Stuart Poole'.

[14] R. S. Poole, *Horae Aegyptiacae*, i; E. S. Poole, in E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*[5], (London, 1860), xii.

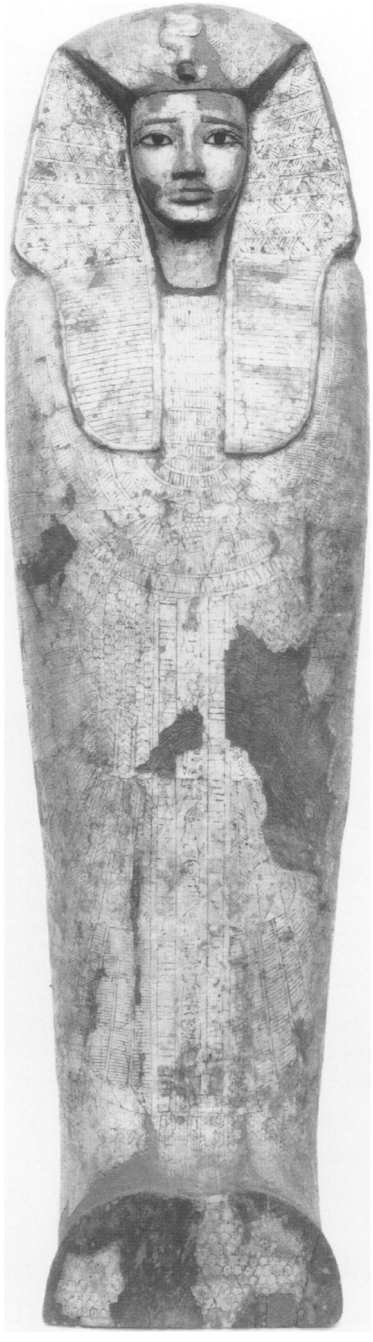
[15] Correspondence, 1826–60, vol. 11, no. 4345.

[16] Birch, *ZÄS* 7, 52.

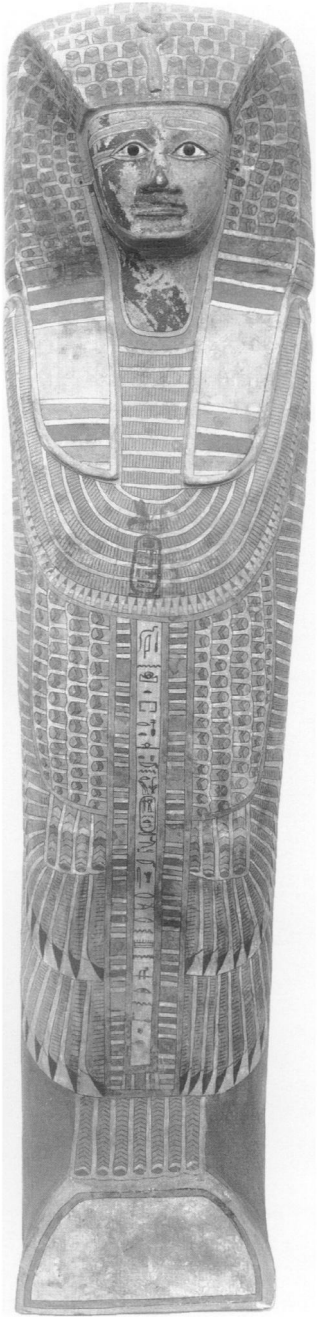
[17] Dewachter, *RdE* 36, 54–6.

[18] Dewachter, *RdE* 36, 46–7, 63–4; cf. M. J. Raven, 'The Antef Diadem Reconsidered', *OMRO* 68, (1989), 84; J. H. Taylor, 'Aspects of the History of the Valley of the Kings in the Third Intermediate Period', in C. N. Reeves (ed.), *After Tutankhamun. Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes* (London and New York, 1992), 203–4, n. 19.

PLATE XX

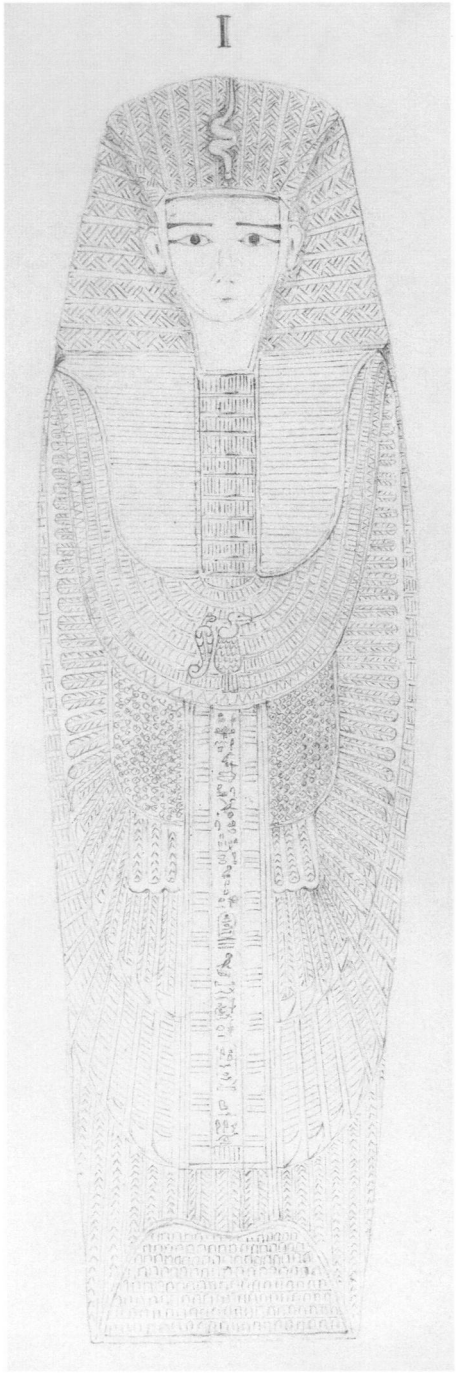


1. Louvre E.3019 (*courtesy of the Musée du Louvre. Département des Antiquités Egyptiennes*)

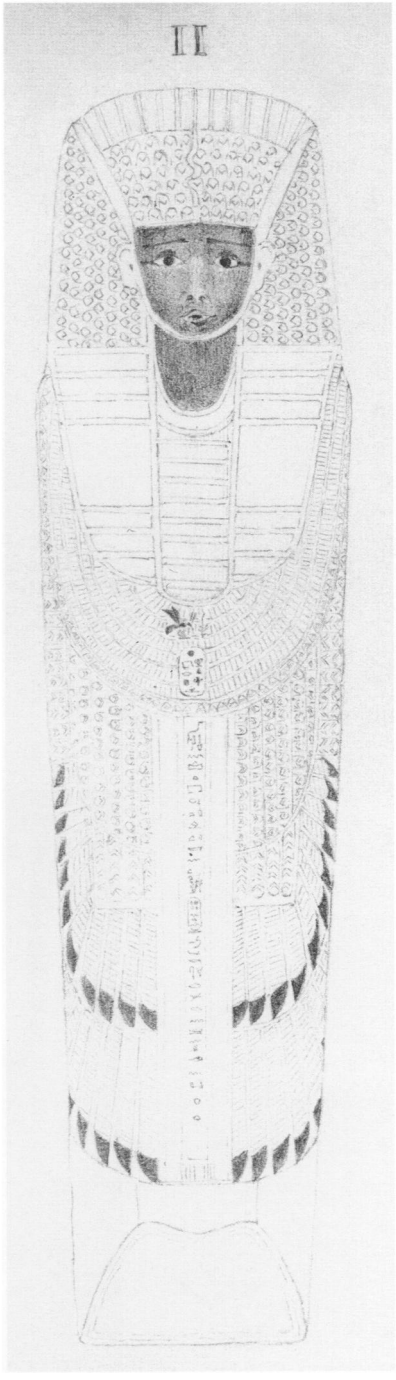


2. Louvre E.3020 (*courtesy of the Musée du Louvre. Département des Antiquités Egyptiennes*)

POOLE'S DRAWINGS OF TWO ROYAL COFFINS (pp.155–8)



1. Coffin of King Sekhemre-wepmaat Intef; drawing by Edward Stanley Poole, 1848 (*copyright of the British Museum*)



2. Coffin of King Sekhemre-heruhermaat Intef, drawing by Edward Stanley Poole, 1848 (*copyright of the British Museum*)

POOLE'S DRAWINGS OF TWO ROYAL COFFINS (pp.155–8)

Depictions of glass vessels in two Theban tombs and their role in the dating of early glass

The paintings in the tombs of Rekhmire (TT 100) and Menna (TT 69) both include depictions of glass vessels, objects that have rarely been identified in Egyptian art. Two vessels are shown in the tribute scenes of the transverse hall of TT 100 being offered by chiefs from Syria. Given its date, this scene may represent the arrival of the first man-made glass in Egypt. TT 69 has a depiction of a third vessel, shown decorated with the trailed and marvered designs that were to become the norm in the glass of the Amarna Period and later. This tomb probably dates to the reign of Tuthmosis IV, making the vessel illustrated an example of this trailing and marvering technique before it was common in glassware.

THE first securely dated man-made glass vessels to be found in Egypt are from the reign of Tuthmosis III. Two fragments of glass vessels were found in the disturbed debris of KV 38, the tomb of Tuthmosis I,[1] but these could have been added as part of a reburial of this king during the reign of Hatshepsut or Tuthmosis III[2] and the glass therefore postdate Tuthmosis I. The introduction into Egypt of the glass vessels and/or the technology for making them is conventionally linked to the campaigns of Tuthmosis III in Syria and the Levant.[3] It is possible that such vessels and perhaps the workers themselves were given to the king after his victories as part of the tribute paid by rulers of this area. Three of these glass vessels were found in Tuthmosis III's tomb KV 34[4] and two further vessels, along with a large quantity of glass beads and inlay, were uncovered in the tomb of his foreign wives in the Wadi Qirud[5] (hereafter referred to as 'the Wadi Qirud tomb'). Other unprovenanced vessels are inscribed with Tuthmosis III's prenomen *Mn-ḫpr-rᶜ* and hence dated to his reign; still others are dated on stylistic grounds, making a total of twelve vessels that have been more or less securely dated to his reign.[6] Succeeding reigns show a marked increase in the number of glass vessels occurring in the archaeological record, rising perhaps to a peak during the reign of Akhenaten, when glass appears to have become a much more common material.

Nolte and Nicholson have thought that glass vessels were not depicted in contemporary tomb paintings and that this could be linked both to secrecy in the production of glass and to the fact that glass was a royal monopoly.[7] However, a recent survey by the author of twelve tombs[8] from the Tombs of the Nobles on the Theban West Bank has shown that vessels of glass and related materials are depicted in two of the tombs: TT 100, the tomb of Rekhmire, and TT 69, the tomb of Menna.

Rekhmire was the Vizier of Tuthmosis III and his tomb is one of the most famous and best published

[1] G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898–1899)* (CG; Cairo, 1902), 301; D. Barag 'Mesopotamian Core-Formed Vessels (1500–500 B.C.)', in A. L. Oppenheim, R. H. Brill, D. Barag and A. von Saldern, *Glass and Glass-making in Ancient Mesopotamia* (New York, 1970), 181. There is some controversy over the builder of KV 38, with its cartouche-shaped burial chamber and 'well'. It is unclear whether it was first built for Tuthmosis I and 'modernised' by Tuthmosis III, or entirely built by Tuthmosis III for the reburial of his ancestor. Either way, there is a strong link between Tuthmosis III and this tomb.

[2] P. T. Nicholson, *Ancient Egyptian Faience and Glass* (Shire Egyptology; London, 1993), 47; C. Lilyquist and R. H. Brill, *Studies in Early Egyptian Glass* (New York, 1993), 24.

[3] A. L. Oppenheim, 'Towards a History of Glass in the Ancient Near East', *JAOS* 93 (1973), 259–66, esp. 263; P. R. S. Moorey, *Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries* (Oxford, 1994), 194; H. Tait, *Five Thousand Years of Glass* (London, 1991), 26; Nicholson, *Ancient Egyptian Faience*, 47, among others.

[4] Daressy, *Fouilles,* 292 f, nos. 24959 and 24961; B. Nolte, *Die Glassgefässe im alten Ägypten* (MÄS 14; Berlin, 1968), 46–7; Barag, in Oppenheim et al., *Glass and Glass-making,* 181; Lilyquist and Brill, *Studies*, 25.

[5] H. E. Winlock, *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses* (The MMA Department of Egyptian Art 10; New York, 1948), 61 and pl. xxxv:B; Lilyquist and Brill, *Studies*, 26.

[6] Nolte, *Glassgefässe*, 46–50; Lilyquist and Brill, *Studies*, 25–8.

[7] Nolte, *Glassgefässe* 18; Nicholson, *Ancient Egyptian Faience,* 49.

[8] The depictions of glass vessels in TT 100 and TT 69 were noticed whilst the author was engaged in another project in these tombs. A brief field survey of ten other tombs (TT 50, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 78, 82, 93 and 96) was made by the author in an unsuccessful attempt to locate more such depictions. Time did not permit a comprehensive search and the tombs chosen had to be those that were open and most easily accessible. It is very probable that more images remain to be identified in other tombs.

in the necropolis.[9] It is an unusual variant on the usual T-shaped tomb with fine decoration executed in crisp detail and it is, to a large extent, well preserved. The left, rear wall of the transverse hall of the tomb is decorated with a vividly painted scene in five registers showing Rekhmire receiving the 'tribute' of various foreign dignitaries, each register depicting people from a different country or area including Punt, the Aegean, Nubia and Syria. Amongst these delegations is one described as the 'chiefs of Retnu and all the lands of further Asia',[10] recognised as the present day Syria. Sixteen men are depicted leading animals and carrying various ceramic and metallic vessels as part of their tribute, while other items are piled up in front of them. This pile is made up of more ceramic and metallic vessels, a number of baskets (one filled with gold ingots and one with silver/electrum ingots), two stacks of precious woods and two smaller, less ornate vessels.[11] The portion of the painting showing these last two vessels is shown in plate XXII, 1. Although the surface of the painting is damaged and missing over part of the depiction, enough is preserved to show considerable detail of these two vessels. The left vessel depicted is a slim jug ('krateriskos') painted in a swirling brown and white pattern with two asymmetric handles, one large and one small. The right is a lidded jar without handles, decorated in gold around the neck and edge of the lid, while its body has once again an asymmetric pattern, this time with blue added to the brown and white of the swirls. The patternings of the bodies of both vessels are very precisely painted and unusual. The frequent 'U'-shaped swirls on one and the presence of a blue colour on the other indicate that the material depicted is not stone, but marbleised glass, a fact recognised by Davies.[12] However, only later excavations have revealed the significance of the representations of these two vessels. Marbleised vessels are fairly common in the contemporary Level II at Nuzi,[13] but are rarely found in the archaeological record in Egypt. However, one vessel of marbleised glass was found in the Wadi Qirud tomb[14] and it has been suggested both on stylistic[15] and scientific grounds[16] that this vessel may have been a Near Eastern import. It is a handleless jar, edged with gold at the rim and foot, although the gold may have been added subsequently.[17] The marbleised patterning of the glass is predominantly red-brown and white with rarer blue streaks, and the overall effect looks very similar to the swirls depicted in the paintings. A second vitreous vessel[18] from the Wadi Qirud tomb bears a similarity to the right-hand vessel in the painting. It is almost identical in shape, and is decorated in a similar manner with gold neck and lid. However, it is inscribed with the name of Tuthmosis III around the body and across the top of the lid, whereas the vessel depicted in the tomb scene has no inscription. The material of the body of the Wadi Qirud vessel is very weathered, so much so that even on detailed scientific examination it has 'been difficult to be sure of its fabric',[19] with microstructure indicating glass, but composition suggesting otherwise. In both cases the vessels depicted are not close enough in style to be the actual ones found in the Wadi Qirud tomb, but the painting is probably of similar examples.

The presence of the depiction of these two glass vessels reinforces scientific and stylistic arguments

[9] P. E. Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmire* (Westminster, 1900); N. de G. Davies, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Reʿ* (New York, 1935); id., *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Reʿ at Thebes* (The MMA Egyptian Expedition 11; New York, 1943).

[10] Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Reʿ*, 27.

[11] Drawn in colour in Davies *Paintings,* pl.ix.

[12] Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Reʿ*, 28: the vessels are 'apparently of glass [and] seem real works of art'; Davies, *Painting*, pl. ix caption: 'two coloured glass jars imitating veined stone'; Nolte, *Glassgefässe,* 18, seems to suggest that these vessels are stone.

[13] Lilyquist and Brill, *Studies,* 9; Barag, in Oppenheim et al., *Glass and Glass-making*, 135–40.

[14] Winlock, *The Treasure*, 61; Nolte, *Glassgefässe,* 49; Lilyquist and Brill, *Studies*, no. 13. Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MMA 26.7.1175) and particularly well illustrated in F. D. Friedman (ed.), *Gifts of the Nile–Ancient Egyptian Faience* (London, 1998), 118.

[15] Barag, in Oppenheim et al., *Glass and Glass-making*, 182.

[16] Lead isotope analysis of the vessel by Lilyquist and Brill (*Studies,* 61) has suggested that the isotopic characteristics of its lead fall within the range characterised there as 'Mesopotamian'.

[17] Barag, in Oppenheim et al., *Glass and Glass-making*, 182.

[18] Now also in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 26.8.34b: Lilyquist and Brill, *Studies,* 9, 13, fig. 10, and shown in colour on the front cover.

[19] Lilyquist and Brill, *Studies,* 9, 16.

that the marbleised glass from the reign of Tuthmosis III was imported from the Near East. The scene from the tomb of Rekhmire therefore may show the arrival of some of the first glass vessels in Egypt as part of the tribute from the chiefs of Syria.

The second tomb with a possible representation of a glass vessel is TT 69, the tomb of Menna. Menna was the scribe of pharaoh's fields and his tomb, another T-shaped structure with fine painted scenes, probably dates from the reign of Tuthmosis IV.[20] The area of particular interest is in the elongated rear passage, on the right-hand wall close to the rear wall. Here a daughter of the tomb owner is shown holding two vessels, one in each hand, in the act of making an offering. The vessel in her left hand is a blue, rather bulbous handleless jar, shown in plate XXII, 2. The blue colour indicates immediately that the artist probably had either a faience or glass vessel in mind, since only these two materials could produce such a deep blue colour. The blue body and neck of the vessel (in the picture) is further decorated in a white paint that has faded with time into the underlying blue. The decoration consists of a number of broad white chevrons, on the neck apparently single, V-shaped chevrons, one above the other, whereas on the body at least one area shows a series of chevrons going across, making a W-shape. This white chevron decoration indicates that this depiction is almost certainly of a glass vessel, since this form of decoration is unique to glass. In her catalogue of more than 350 Egyptian glass vessels, Nolte[21] lists 11 examples of 'krateriskoi' with no handles. Although the artist would almost certainly not have been intending to render an absolutely precise representation of a particular glass vessel, in TT 69 it is interesting to note that in terms of shape and the chevron decoration the depiction is closest to a vessel from KV43,[22] the tomb of Tuthmosis IV, so contemporaneous with Menna's tomb. It shows trailed and marvered decoration, where glass rods are laid onto the surface of the vessel (trailing) and smoothed off (marvering), which results in the chevron pattern. Vessels from the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II were decorated in a range of other styles, for example, inscribed monochrome or dots and crosses , but trailing and marvering was to become the dominant style for glass vessels by the reigns of Amenophis III and Akhenaten. This would make the image on the tomb wall in TT 69 the very latest in fashions in glass during the reign of Tuthmosis IV. It seems likely that the image was drawn by someone with at least some knowledge of the shape and decoration of glass vessels and the aim of specifically depicting that type of vessel.

It can therefore be seen that there are at least three depictions of glass vessels known from Eighteenth Dynasty tombs at Thebes and, in all probability, others will be found. It seems likely that these images are deliberate attempts to depict generalised renditions of this class of object, rather than specific representations of real individual vessels. In addition to their intrinsic interest, these images support the current timeframe for the introduction of glass vessels to Egypt as tribute during the reign of Tuthmosis III. This also tentatively suggests that the scene depicted in TT 100 may show the arrival of some of the first glass vessels in Egypt. Tomb representations offer an independent method of checking the possibility of the existence of earlier pre-Tuthmosis III glass vessels. If earlier depictions do exist, then these may suggest a revision of the current theories and a reinterpretation of the troublesome fragments from the vicinity of the tomb of Tuthmosis I.

ANDREW SHORTLAND

Report on a large house at Amarna, discovered near the village of el-Hagg Qandil

Account of a large residential structure at Amarna examined by the el-Minia Inspectorate of Antiquities in 1973. It appears to be one of the largest so far discovered at the site.

IN 1973 the el-Minia Inspectorate of Antiquities responded to a request from the local community of el-Hagg Qandil to test a piece of ground on the north side of the village which was wanted for agricultural expansion (pl. XXIII). The land in question is an area of the desert hemmed in by fields on three sides

[20] PM I², 134–9; A. P. Kosloff, 'Theban Tomb Paintings from the Reign of Amenhotep III: Problems of Iconographic Chronology', in L. M. Berman (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis* (Cleveland, 1990), 55–65.

[21] *Glassgefässe,* 165.

[22] Now MMA 30.8.44, from the collection of T. M. Davis: Nolte, *Glassgefässe,* 63.

but was also part of the ancient city of Tell el-Amarna (fig. 1). It measures approximately 240 m from north to south and 100 m from east to west, and already bears a covering of thinly dispersed trees. A series of test pits dug across this area led to the discovery of thick brick walls. Trenches were then dug to define the nature of the building, following which the excavation was stopped. The local request to develop the land was subsequently refused. Kemp visited the site in 1977 and took the photographs used here and made the plan (fig. 2). For the Amarna Survey volume the main building was given the reference number K49.1.[1]

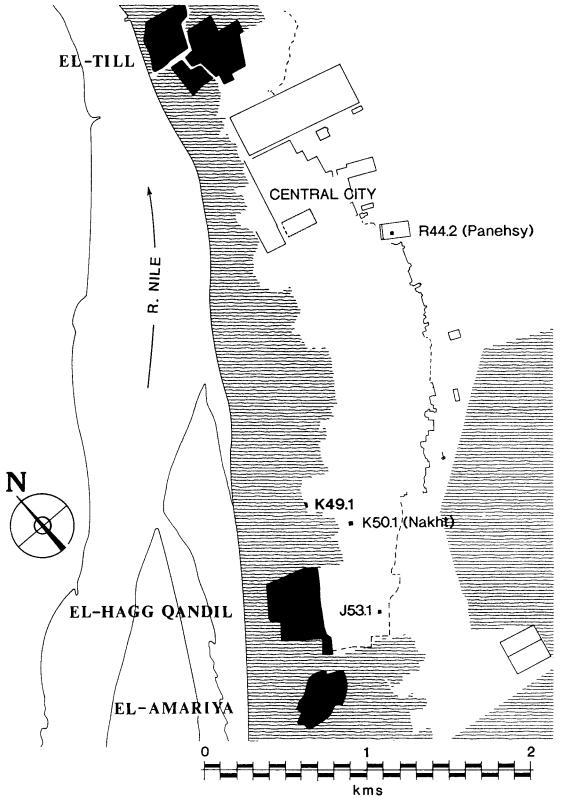


FIG. 1. Map of the city of Amarna, showing the position of house K49.1 as well as the positions of other comparably large houses.

The principal part of the structure exposed covers an area approximately 34 × 21 m. Along the east runs a wall which appears to mark the edge of the edifice. It was exposed for a length of 28.3 m, and represents a building at least 33 m long (the difference being represented by the dividing wall between rooms E2 and E3, which was followed for a longer distance southwards than was the outer wall). No corners were found, but the absence of doorways in the long stretch of the northern wall is perhaps a sign that this was the northern boundary of the building, to which some external rooms or enclosures were attached. Most of the walls have a thickness of *c.* 70 cm, representing two full-brick lengths; the outside walls are thicker still, at *c.* 90 cm. Some of the original thresholds in doorways survived, and were either of sandstone or limestone. Nine column bases were found, but not in their original positions, having been gathered together in groups (pl. XXIV, 1). This cannot have happened recently since the fill of the rooms was not removed during the exploratory excavation. Eight were of limestone and had a diameter of 62 cm; one was of sandstone, with a diameter of 65 cm.

A series of interconnecting rooms lay to the west, forming several groups. For clarity of reference

[1] B. J. Kemp and S. Garfi, *A Survey of the Ancient City of el-ʿAmarna* (London, 1993), 74, Sheet 8.

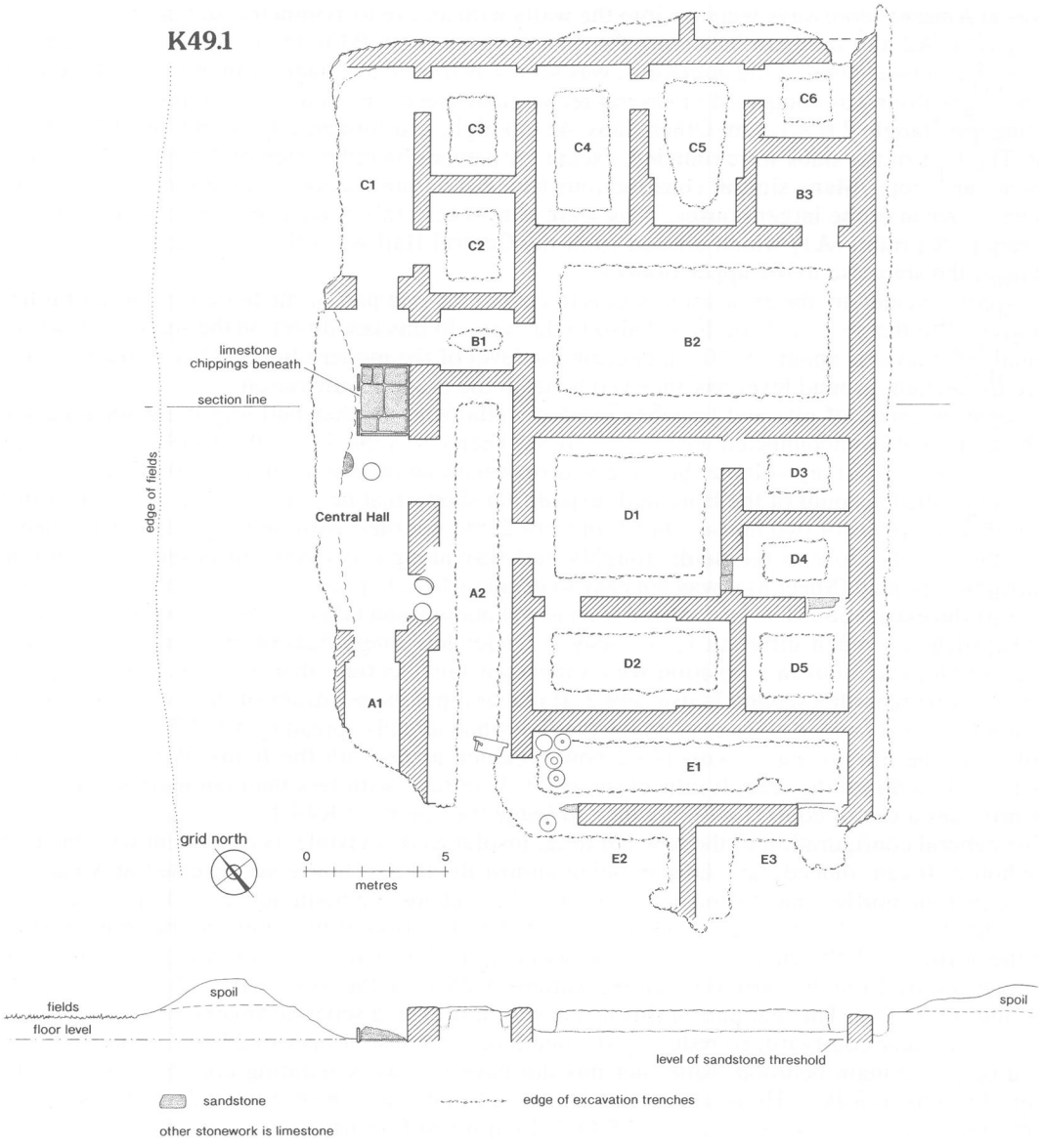


FIG. 2. Plan and section of house K49.1 (as of 1977).

they have been given a series of designations on the plan in figure 2. Two of them (C1–C6 and D1–D5) appear to be personal suites in that each possesses a room with an alcove (C5 and D2), the distinctive feature which identifies it as a bedroom. One (C5: 5.8 × 3.4 m) faces north (the common direction for bedrooms); the other (D2: 7.1 × 3.4 m) faces west. Since the interiors of the rooms were not cleared it cannot be said whether evidence to identify any of the adjacent rooms as bathrooms was present or not. Between the two groups lay a third suite (B1– B3) which did not serve as a bedroom. The principal part (B2) was large enough to need columns to support its roof but none of the floor was excavated to ascertain their presence. A fourth suite (E1– E3) was only partially exposed, and probably occupied the south-east corner of the building. Access to these four suites was gained through doorways in the north and east sides of a Central Hall, some of the rooms clearly acting as antechambers. In the case of suites D and E, a transverse corridor (A2) served both to unite them and to separate them from the hall.

The Central Hall measured 11.6 m from north to south. As was commonly the case in the larger

houses at Amarna, doorways were set into the walls with an eye to symmetry, so that two doors opened into corridor A2, the southern balancing the doorway into room B1 to the north. Against the east wall, in the space between two of the doorways, was set a washing-place made from thin sandstone slabs (pl. XXIV, 2). Its floor was composed of several rectangular pieces set on a bed of limestone chippings and creating a rectangle 2.6 × 1.8 m. Other slabs, 45 cm high, had formed a surround, leaving a gap at the front. The tops of the slabs were rounded, except for patches on either side of the entrance, which were given squared tops. Many similar constructions have been found at Amarna, commonly on one side of the central room of the larger houses. They were almost certainly used as places for personal washing. The remaining room (A1) which opened from the Central Hall was relatively narrow and could have contained the staircase to the upper floors.

The area revealed by the excavation seems to cover only one part of the building. More of it lies still unexcavated to the north and south, and also to the west. In this last direction the section shows that the original floor level is about 75–80 cm beneath the level of the modern fields. This could be a rare case where the ancient ground level has survived beneath the modern cultivation.

A separate series of pits and trenches located walls from another building lying separately to the south and probably unconnected with K49.1. It has been given the designation J49.3 and is marked on Sheet 8 of the city survey volume. So little was exposed that no commentary is possible.

The published account of the Borchardt expedition shows that he, too, had dug in this area in 1911, uncovering the plans of two houses, J49.1 and J49.2, but not their surroundings.[2] The published plan [3] places them fairly close to the fields, roughly half-way along this tongue of desert. In compiling the Amarna Survey map (Sheet 8) it was not easy to decide where to place them. No traces exist now of the houses or the excavation. The best source is an aerial photograph taken in 1922/3, which shows an edge of cultivation not much different from today's. Under low magnification the walls of an excavated house can be picked out in a position which makes it fairly certain that it is J49.1. There is no sign, however, of Borchardt's second house, J49.2. If one accepts the positions of the two houses relative to one another, J49.2 lay in a place over which the fields had already spread by 1922/3. This is the solution adopted for the Survey sheet, with J49.2 now regarded as beneath the fields. When the new house, K49.1, is plotted into the area, it falls close to J49.1, in fact, with less than ten metres between them. This provides a useful context within which to judge the nature of K49.1.

The general configuration of the new building, insofar as it is visible, is consistent with the plan of a large house. It can, indeed, lay claim to being almost the largest house yet revealed at Amarna. If we assume that the northernmost short length of wall lay outside the main house, and thus that the north-east corner has been located, and if we allow for the completion of the rooms at the south-east corner, then the north–south dimension for the house was about 33 m. This gives it virtually the same width as the largest house from the various older excavations, U25.11 in the North City.[4] This occupied a square with sides of 33.7 m. The rear part of this house was, however, a separate annexe which communicated only with the rear courtyard, so reducing the depth of the house proper to 27 m. Unlike K49.1 it possessed only one main bedroom suite, but this did have its own separating corridor, like the D1– D5 group of rooms in K49.1. Houses with two major bedroom suites were rare at Amarna: K50.1 (vizier Nakht, with house size at 28.7 × 26 m),[5] R44.2 (high priest Panehsy, with house size at 26.5 × 21 m), and J53.1 (no name, with house size of 27.2 × 27.6 m).[6]

With the exception of R44.2 these very large houses tend to cluster towards the northern and southern limits of the city. To the excavated examples one should add a house mound in square I53, opposite the village of el-Hagg Qandil and now crowned by a sheikh's tomb, which might have been the most sizable house of all. If the owners of these largest houses were also the owners of the largest tombs at Amarna, then in K49.1 we might well have the house of a relatively well known individual at Akhenaten's court.

The excavation of the el-Minia Inspectorate in1973 was essentially exploratory, made to determine

[2] L. Borchardt and H. Ricke, *Die Wohnhäuser in Tell el-Amarna* (Berlin, 1980), 228–30, Lageplan A, Hausplan 68, 69.

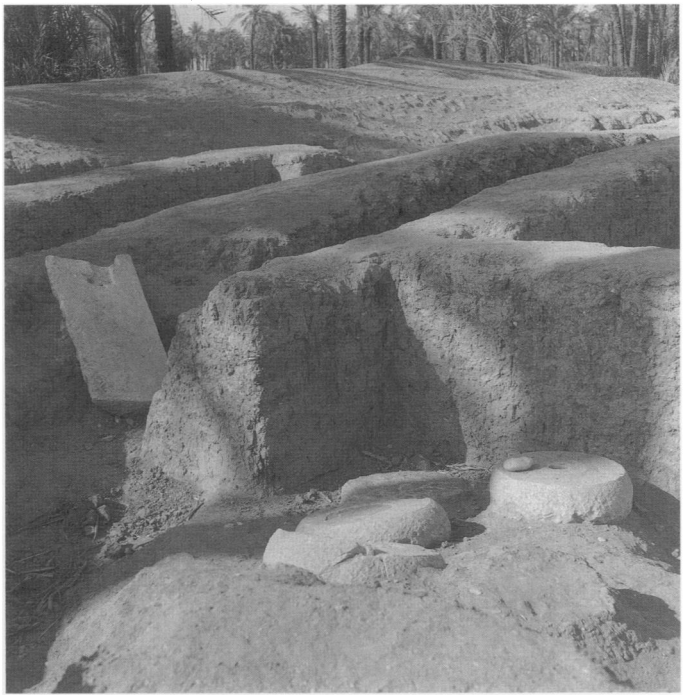
[3] Ibid., Lageplan A.

[4] J. D. S. Pendlebury, 'Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Tell el-ʿAmarnah, 1931–2', *JEA* 18 (1932), 145, pl. xv.

[5] *COA* I, pl. iii.

[6] Borchardt and Ricke, *Die Wohnhäuser*, 335–8, Plan 112.

PLATE XXIV



1. Column bases and threshold near the entrance to room E1, looking north

2. Remains of the sandstone washing-place in the Central Hall, looking south-east

A LARGE HOUSE AT AMARNA (pp.161–5)

the legal status of that part of Amarna, and was of necessity left incomplete. In the future it would be worthwhile to take the examination further.

MAHMOUD HAMZA *and* BARRY KEMP

Amelia Edwards' Sethos I shabti

Wood from a shabti from the tomb of Sethos I has been examined and identified as a species of juniper.

IN the course of opening the tomb of Sethos I (KV 17) in 1817, Giovanni Belzoni cleared a chamber which he called the Bull's or Apis' Room, 'as we found the carcase of a bull in it, embalmed with asphaltum'.[1] Within that room, he also noted that there was found 'scattered in various places, an immense quantity of small wooden figures of mummies six or eight inches long, and covered with asphaltum to preserve them'.[2] Budge[3] stated that nearly 700 of these shabtis were found, although according to Peter Clayton[4] 'no one will ever know how many there were—subsequently there are accounts of several wooden shabtis being taken in groups of three or four to hold in the hand and lit to act as a flambeau'.

One of these wooden shabtis (pl. XXV, 1) was included in a collection of ancient Egyptian antiquities given to my father, E. Raymond Hepper of Leeds, by Sarah Dodgson, the wife of Aquila Dodgson, shortly before her death in 1951. She recalled how, as a small boy in about 1900, my father was fascinated by her husband's collection. This figure is 18 cm high on a modern mahogany plinth on which is painted the wording 'Ushabti with the name of Seti I B.C. 1405'. Beneath the plinth is written in ink 'From Miss Amelia B. Edwards Westbury-on-Trym December 29th. 1887'.

This shabti is of special interest, owing to its association with Amelia Edwards, founder of the Department of Egyptology at University College London.[5] It is unclear how Edwards acquired the shabti, although Joan Rees commented that 'before she came to take Egyptology seriously, Edwards 'rummag[ed] among dusty sepulchres' with little compunction but [it] seems hardly likely that she found [this] ushabti like that'.[6] Alternatively, Rees suggested that there were many opportunities for bargaining, up and down the river, and Edwards herself admitted that she did her 'fair share of antiquity hunting both at Luxor and elsewhere'.[7]

Aquila Dodgson (1829–1919), to whom the shabti was donated, was a Congregational minister and later the librarian of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, and numismatist at the City Museum until his death. He also took an interest in Egyptology and arranged lectures by Amelia Edwards and Petrie.[8] Presumably, it was through this connection that he obtained the shabti, and most likely it was he who inscribed the plinth on which the shabti now stands.

Like many of the shabtis attributed to the Sethos I burial, notably a number of similar examples in the collection of the British Museum, the carving of the cartouche is coarse and obscure. As there were so many shabtis retrieved from this tomb, it is understandable that the carving varied in quality. Clayton has suggested that this was an 'apprentice piece'.[9]

Although the shabti was identified as wood, the botanical identity had not been established by the

[1] G. Belzoni, *Narrative of Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia* (London, 1820), 235.

[2] Belzoni, *Narrative*, 235.

[3] E. A. W. Budge, *The Mummy* (Cambridge, 1893), 215.

[4] Personal communication. See also H. Schneider, *Shabtis. An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden, 1977), II, 31–2.

[5] J. Rees, *Amelia Edwards, Traveller, Novelist and Egyptologist* (London, 1998).

[6] Personal communication.

[7] A. B. Edwards, *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*, II (London, 1877), 657–8.

[8] W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*[3], revised by M. L. Bierbrier (London , 1995), 126–7.

[9] Personal communication.

previous owners. Therefore, the figure was submitted to F. Richardson, a very experienced wood anatomist and then technician at the Jodrell Laboratory, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. He reported that the shabti was juniper wood (*Juniperus* species). It was not possible to be sure of the species of juniper.

The following species occur in the eastern Mediterranean region:[10] Phoenician or brown-berried juniper (*Juniperus phoenicea*), found in dry situations such as at Petra, where I have seen trees on the rocky hills above the tombs; the prickly juniper, (*J. oxycedrus*), which is only a shrub and has a wide distribution in the Mediterranean area; and the eastern savin, (*J. excelsa*), which I have seen growing with *J. drupacea* on Mount Lebanon. Both of the latter are sizeable trees. Plate XXV, 2 shows photomicrographs of thin sections of the widespread temperate common juniper (*Juniperus communis*). These are typical of the cellular structure of junipers, and, indeed of conifers in general, since they have for the most part a close similarity.

Richardson also reported that the timber showed collapsed cells and vessels consistent with very ancient timber, perhaps dating to the time of Sethos I. Therefore, this shabti can be added to the limited but growing number of examples of identified juniper wood from ancient Egypt.[11]

F. Nigel Hepper

Note on an enigmatic shabti form

Discussion of a type of shabti with three arms, combining the traits of worker and overseer.

Among shabtis of Twenty-first Dynasty date one sometimes finds a rare aberrant type having two arms crossed over the chest with the hands grasping hoes, and a third arm by the side. Most, perhaps all, of the examples are from Deir el-Bahari. Because of their rough, mass-produced forms they seem often to have been regarded as botched, their oddities being left unremarked. J.-F. Aubert[1] has, however, suggested an attempted interconversion of two types: (a) the mummiform worker-shabti with a hoe in each hand and (b) the overseer holding a whip in one hand, the free arm hanging down. While the substitution of an overseer for a worker or vice versa is credible in terms of the composition of a shabti set (see below), conversion of the cast seems strange, for moulds presumably existed for both types.

Comparison of three figures from a single set, one mummiform and two overseers, both of the latter being *identically modified* worker-shabtis, is illuminating. One of the overseers (fig. 1) is in the Macclesfield Museum (no. 1810.77),[2] and the other in the Petrie Museum, University College London (UC 40022), where it is accompanied by its mummiform counterpart (UC 40021).[3] All three are in red pottery with details in black, and heights of 12.6, 13.2 and 12.8 cm respectively. Their owner was Ankhefenmut, god's father of Amun and Mut, whose coffin was preserved in the Second Cache at Deir el-Bahari (Cairo CG 6073).[4] While the mummiform figure is conventional, with hoes held in both crossed

[10] F. N. Hepper, *Pharaoh's Flowers* (London, 1990), 60.

[11] W. V. Davies, 'Ancient Egyptian Timber Imports: An Analysis of Wooden Coffins in the British Museum', in W. V. Davies and L. Schofield (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC* (London, 1995), 150; R. Gale, P. Gasson, N. Hepper and G. Killen, 'Wood', in P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), 334–52.

[1] J.-F. Aubert, 'Nouvelles observations sur les chaouabtis de Deir el-Bahari et autres de la 21e dynastie', *CdE* 56 (1981), 15–30; see also L. Aubert, *Les statuettes funéraires de la Deuxième Cachette à Deir el-Bahari* (Paris, 1998), nos. 2, 28 and 30.

[2] R. David, *The Macclesfield Collection of Egyptian Antiquities* (Warminster, 1980), 45 (2), pl. D (2). Dr David's cooperation is gratefully acknowledged.

[3] W. M. F. Petrie, *Shabtis* (BSAE 57; London, 1935, reprinted Warminster, 1974), nos. 434 (mummiform), 435 (overseer), pls. 11, 16, 40. For the mummiform figure, see also H. D. Schneider, *Shabtis* (Leiden, 1977), II, 142–3 (4.5.1.1), fig. 117; III, pl. 54; L. Aubert, *Statuettes funéraires*, no. 6, pl. 3.

[4] G. Daressy, "Les cercueils des prêtres d'Ammon (Deuxième trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari)', *ASAE* 8 (1907), 3–38, no. 140. A. Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes* (Mainz, 1988), no. 140.

FIG. 1. After R. David, *The Macclesfield Collection of Egyptian Antiquities,* pl. D (2).

hands, the overseers combine these features with the typically disengaged arm held close to the right side, and very obviously added later. An attempt seems also to have been made on the right shoulder to change into a whip the hoe once held by the left hand. In keeping with their new role, the overseers were provided with a projecting kilt, bearing a column of inscription similar in content to that on the mummiform figure.[5] The former's text is, however, quite exceptionally in raised relief, and also in mirror image, features which together suggest an impression taken from the incised copy on the worker, using a wedge of clay, afterwards stuck on the figure to make the kilt. Since most shabtis of the period have painted inscriptions, the curious procedure just inferred cannot be taken as typical. Inconsistently, the lappet wig and adjacent feet position of the mummiform original have been retained, the overseer being usually shown striding.

The main problems with the type concern style and motive. Disparity between the punctilious alterations and their apparently negligent execution is striking. However, many shabtis of the period, including even royal examples, were notably perfunctory in workmanship, perhaps reflecting the current change in their status from personal representations to mass-produced servant models, bearing their owner's name simply as a property mark. More puzzling is the presence of the third arm. If these statuettes were really bungled conversions, their 'errors' were oddly persistent, and are exactly duplicated in our two samples. Indeed, one wonders whether such figures were actually intended as hybrid forms, incongruous elements representing various attributes being common in Egyptian iconography. But if this were the case, why begin on one basis, change to another, involving alteration of the cast, and then repeat the laborious process in subsequent models? It may be that the composite figures were meant to incorporate as dual-purpose reserves a surplus of named casts of either category (overseer/worker), which for ideological reasons could not be discarded or destroyed. By this means the numerical proportions of the shabti set[6] (365 workers, one for each day of the year, led by 36 overseers) would have been preserved against injury and wastage. The practice does not seem to have been widespread, and was perhaps a local conceit, leavened with a touch of drollery.

H. M. STEWART

[5] The first word *shd* is omitted on both overseer figures, presumably through lack of space.

[6] Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 319–23.

An early record of the sarcophagi of Tjaiharpata and Esshu-tefnut and the identification of some Lieder squeezes at the Griffith Institute, Oxford*

This article discusses the provenance of the sarcophagus of Tjaiharpata (now in Cairo) and the sarcophagus of Esshu-tefnut (now in Vienna): two shafts (or possibly just a single shaft), demonstrably near the Teti pyramid. It is based on a step-by-step identification of four Lieder squeezes (17.1-3, 18) kept in the Griffith Institute, Oxford. Heinrich Brugsch used these particular squeezes as the basic source for 'Planche VI' of his *Recueil de monuments égyptiens* and for a manuscript translation of the texts, but this was never mentioned in any of his later publications.

In 1862, Heinrich Brugsch published the first part of his *Recueil de monuments égyptiens*,[1] a work which in general claimed to contain Brugsch's own copies of texts and scenes made from the monuments themselves.[2] In one plate, Brugsch presented a selection of material from two Late Period coffins, which he stated (in one case wrongly) were housed at Vienna.[3] His presentation of this material (see fig. 1) has puzzled scholars for a long time.[4]

'Planche VI' consists of three different sections of hieroglyphic text, numbered by Brugsch as 1–3:
(1) the first represents only part of a horizontal line (90 cm out of 115 cm) on the outside of the sarcophagus of Tjaiharpata  .[5] This line is the first below the lid, the one which is called by Maspero 'Bande supérieure d'inscription' on the short 'côté Sud';[6]
(2) the second is one long horizontal line incised all around the inside of the sarcophagus of Esshu-tefnut  [7] (see pl. XXVII, 1); and
(3) the third is the equivalent on the outside of the same sarcophagus, running above 71 vertical columns of text and several mythological scenes (see pl. XXVII, 2).
In the problematic 'Planche VI', the direction of writing does not correspond to that of the texts on the sarcophagi and the sequence of lines in the cases of (2) and (3) appears arbitrary.

The sarcophagus of Tjaiharpata never came to Vienna as Brugsch assumed.[8] Most probably he was given this erroneous information by Christian von Huber, the Austrian consul-general in Egypt from 1850 to 1858.[9] According to Brugsch's comments, Huber claimed to have discovered both sarcophagi.[10] This is definitely not correct. The tomb from which the sarcophagus of Esshu-tefnut came was known to Anton Ritter von Laurin (Huber's predecessor as Austrian consul-general from 1834 to 1849) from at least 1847.[11] The sarcophagus of Esshu-tefnut arrived at Vienna in the first half of January 1853.[12]

* This article is intended to supplement Jaromir Malek, 'The Monuments Recorded by Alice Lieder in the "Temple of Vulcan" at Memphis in May 1853', *JEA* 72 (1986), 101–12. I am very grateful to him for access to all the Lieder squeezes kept in the Griffith Institute, Oxford.

[1] H. Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens* (Leipzig 1862–3).

[2] In his 'Avertisement' at the beginning of the *Recueil*, Brugsch wrote of 'la reproduction exacte d'un nombre choisi d'inscriptions et de tableaux qui par nous ont été trouvés en Égypte et dessinés sur les lieux'.

[3] Brugsch, *Recueil*, 9–11, pl. vi. On p. 9, Brugsch stated, 'Ils sont conservés aujourd'hui au musée égyptien de Vienne'.

[4] PM III², 125, and PM III², 504.

[5] PM III², 504; Cairo Museum CG 29306.

[6] G. Maspero, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, I (CG; Cairo, 1914), 256; cf. 219.

[7] PM III², 507; Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, ÄS Inv.-Nr. 1. See plate XXVI.

[8] *Recueil*, 9.

[9] R. Agstner, 'Von k. k. Konsularagentie zum österreichischen Generalkonsulat, Österreich (-Ungarn) und Alexandrien 1763–1993', *Schriften des Österreichischen Kulturinstitutes Kairo* 7 (1993), 38–44, 236.

[10] *Recueil*, 9.

[11] A. Ritter von Laurin, 'Entdeckung von 3 merkwürdigen ägyptischen Sarkophagen', *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, II (Vienna, 1849), 248–54. Von Laurin (p. 248) writes of excavations 'die ich bereits vor zwei Jahren habe unternehmen lassen'.

[12] J. C. Ritter von Arneth, 'Über den in der ersten Hälfte Jänners d. J. [i.e. 1853] zu Wien angekommenen ägyptischen Sarkophag', *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, X (Vienna, 1853), 99–109, Taf. i–ix.

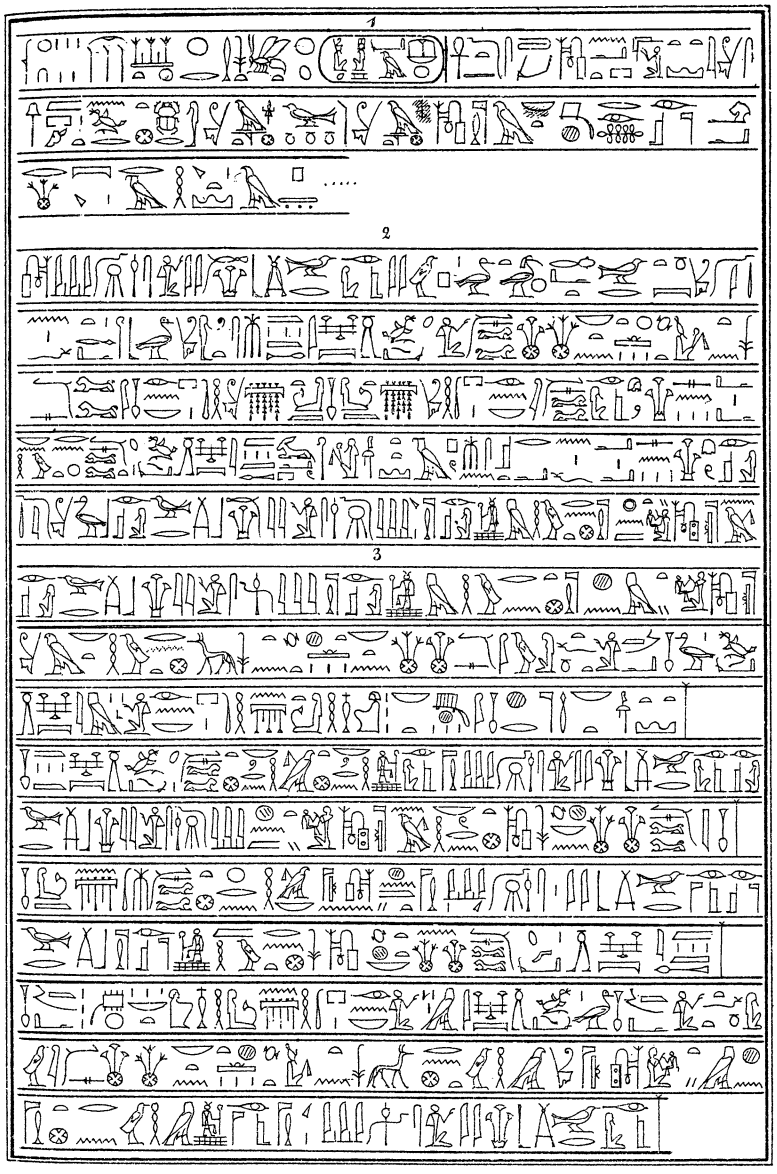


FIG. 1. Brugsch's 'Planche VI'.

However, Brugsch came to Egypt for the first time in his life on 17 January 1853. He explicitly states that he had travelled from Berlin to Trieste for his embarkation to Alexandria without stopping, so he could not have had an opportunity to copy these texts himself—either in Vienna or in Egypt.[13]

What, then, were the sources for 'Planche VI'? Brugsch himself supplies the explanation in a letter to Huber which is now kept in Vienna.[14] He writes:

[13] H. Brugsch, *Reiseberichte aus Aegypten* (Leipzig, 1855), 1–6; Brugsch left Berlin on the fourth of January, arriving at Trieste on the seventh, and departed for Alexandria on the tenth.

[14] Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Archiv der Antikensammlung, Akt 387 (1852).

Hochgeehrtester Herr General-Konsul.

Ich berichtige die Schuld meines Versprechens, indem ich die Ehre habe Ihnen die Uebersetzung der wichtigsten Inschrift des schönen Wiener Sarkophages auf dem folgenden Blatte zu übersenden. Ich konnte mich leider! nur auf den historischen Theil der Inscriptionen des Sarges beschränken, da in den Abdrücken des Rever. Lieder einige Stücke fehlen, welche den Sinn der mythologischen Darstellungen erklären. Indem ich Sie bitte mit diesem wenigen vorlieb zu nehmen, habe ich die Genugthuung eine Gelegenheit zu besitzen Ihnen die Ausdrücke meiner vorzüglichsten Hochachtung und Ergebenheit zu wiederholen. Ich bin

Herr General Konsul
dero

ganz gehorsamster
Alexandrien d. 6. August 1853. HBrugsch

The translation that Brugsch attached gives a good idea of the length and quality of the Lieder squeezes. In this respect Brugsch's appended comments seem to be more of interest today than the translation itself, which is subdivided as follows:

Inschrift an der Außenseite des Sarkophages[15]
a, linker Hand:
[*translation*]
NB. Dieselbe Inschrift wiederholt sich viermal, nämlich zweimal an der Seite wo der Kopf, eimal wo der Fuß, und einmal an der rechten Seite des Sarkophages, ohne alle Veränderung.[16]

Inschrift an der Innenseite des Sarkophages[17]
a, nach links zu:
[*translation, with the inserted comment*]:[hier fehlt ein kleines Stück im Abdruck des Herrn Lieder, ich ergänze, da dies der gewöhnliche Titel des Seb (sic)]
b, nach rechts zu:
[*translation*]

Alexandrien im Monat August 1853.
Dr. HBrugsch

The conclusion that Brugsch relied upon the Lieder squeezes obviously applies also to the first section of 'Planche VI', even if no squeeze has survived. The reversed direction of the text and the omission or misinterpretation of a few signs are strong evidence for the use of squeezes as the basic source in this case also. Furthermore, it is worthwhile to mention the statement, revealing some disappointment, that Quibell made concerning the tomb where the sarcophagus of Tjaiharpata was discovered: 'The tomb was at the time supposed to be a new discovery, but it was found afterwards that Mariette had already opened it and that Brugsch had made extracts from the texts'.[18] But Mariette was definitely not the first person who had discovered and entered this tomb. Some ushebtis in Vienna prove this.[19] These ushebtis were from the funerary equipment of Tjaiharpata and Esshu-tefnut, and were part of von Laurin's

[15] This corresponds to the first three lines of the third section of 'Planche VI'.

[16] This slightly varying group of signs represents the name and the titles. In this horizontal line, which runs around the entire outside of the sarcophagus, it occurs six times, and not four times as stated by Brugsch.

[17] This corresponds precisely to the second section of 'Planche VI'.

[18] J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1912–1914): Archaic Mastabas* (Cairo, 1923), 13; 'extracts from the texts' evidently relates to 'Planche VI' and Quibell seems to imply that both of these sarcophagi came from the same tomb.

[19] For the ushebtis of Tjaiharpata in the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, see E. Ritter von Komorzynski, *Das Erbe des alten Ägypten* (Vienna, 1965), 204; one ushebti of Esshu-tefnut is listed under Inv.-Nr. 5207.

considerable collection in Alexandria, coming from his excavations at Saqqara. Soon after von Laurin's transfer to Bucharest in 1850, his collection was purchased by the Austrian archduke Ferdinand Maximilian for his Egyptian Museum at Miramar castle near Trieste.[20] Von Huber obviously continued where von Laurin had had to cease his archaeological activities. Therefore, it is not surprising that he also had ushebtis of Esshu-tefnut and Tjaiharpata in his collection,[21] which was bought by Said Pasha in 1858.[22]

The exact position of the tombs from which these two sarcophagi came is not known today.[23] Some vague statements by von Laurin and Maspero are of little help.[24] The numbering of shafts as used by Quibell, however, may give a better hint.[25] Quibell asssigned the number 412 to the tomb of Unnefer. The excavated shaft with the tomb chapel and the Step Pyramid in the background can be seen clearly on contemporary photographs.[26] Quibell added 'It lies just to the south of the tourist track, midway between the Teta pyramid and Mariette's house'.[27] Another shaft leading to a probably quite spacious hypogeum was numbered as 410. Quibell noted 'A shaft near the Teta Pyramid on its west side opened into a chamber containing no less than nine sarcophagi; plain rectangular coffins, a large sarcophagus of limestone and these two of granite...'[28] One of them was the sarcophagus of Tjaiharpata.[29] Quibell's map and notes unfortunately seem to have been lost. However, the position of shaft number 410 east of Unnefer (number 412) and in close proximity to the Teti pyramid is certain. Von Laurin's enthusiastic description of his 'Sarg Nr. 3' (i.e. the sarcophagus of Esshu-tefnut), followed by a short reference to some other coffins there, bears some similarity to Quibell's comments on the chamber of his shaft number 410.[30] All these details suggest that there was only a short distance between the pits from which these two sarcophagi came—or even that they were identical.

Other evidence allows a good estimate to be made of the date when the Lieder squeezes used by Brugsch were prepared from the sarcophagus of Esshu-tefnut. In January 1849 von Laurin had already tried to make squeezes from this sarcophagus *in situ*, but the air in the gallery was very bad, the sarcophagus was covered in dust, and the lid was much too heavy to be moved to allow better access to the inscriptions inside.[31] The possibility that another attempt was made by the Lieders under the same circumstances can, therefore, be excluded. After von Laurin's transfer to Bucharest not much happened until August 1851, when the sarcophagus was raised from the shaft under Huber's supervision.[32] Then it was left unattended nearby for several months, which was doubtless the best opportunity for the Lieders to work on it.[33]

Brugsch does not say how many pieces he had borrowed from the Lieders. However, the total length of horizontal lines covered by this set of squeezes is 14.1 m (outside: 7.97 m; inside: 6.13 m). Only three torn fragments of different sizes have survived, which are kept in the archives of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (squeeze 17.1: *c.* 51 cm × 17 cm; 17.2: *c.* 31 cm × 32 cm; 17.3: *c.* 29 cm × 17 cm).

[20] S. Reinisch, *Die aegyptischen Denkmaeler in Miramar* (Vienna, 1865), Vorrede, viii–ix.

[21] P. E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi*, I (CG; Cairo, 1914), 157–8 (CG 47522–3, Esshu-tefnut: each entry includes the note 'Coll. Hüber' (*sic*)); II (Cairo, 1937), 365 (CG 48474, Tjaiharpata).

[22] A. Mariette, *Notice des principaux monuments...à Boulaq*[2] (Alexandria, 1868), preface.

[23] PM III[2], 504 and 507.

[24] Von Laurin, *Entdeckung*, 248: '...in der Nähe einer kleinen Pyramide...'; Maspero, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque* I, 218, 220: '...dans un puits situé sur le bord sud du sentier qui conduit du mastaba de Marourouka à la maison Mariette...'

[25] *Excavations (1912–1914)*, 13–14.

[26] Quibell, *Excavations (1912–1914)*, pl. xxxvi, 1, 2.

[27] *Excavations (1912–1914)*, 14.

[28] *Excavations (1912–1914)*, 13.

[29] Quibell, *Excavations (1912–1914)*, pl. xxxiv.

[30] *Excavations (1912–1914)*, 13.

[31] Von Laurin, *Entdeckungen*, 252.

[32] Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Archiv der Antikensammlung, Akt 387 (1852).

[33] In October 1852 the sarcophagus was dragged down to Abusir for further transport on the Nile to Alexandria, where it was taken on board the Austrian brig *Dromedar* (whose logbook survives), bound for Trieste.

Lieder squeeze 18 appears to survive at its original size of 1.47 m × 0.35 m. It consists of three smaller sheets of paper stuck together. The lack of any longer hieroglyphic text makes it difficult to identify the squeeze because identical scenes on other sarcophagi from the Late Period—from about 350 BC—are known. The final proof was recently obtained by adopting a method similar to that employed nearly 150 years ago to produce the Lieder squeezes. For this purpose, a special twofold self-copying paper[34] was affixed to the sarcophagus of Esshu-tefnut in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.[35] Quite a good squeeze could be produced, and this was found to correspond perfectly to the original squeeze kept in the Griffith Institute (see fig. 2).[36]

Fig. 2. Lieder squeeze 18

Concerning the hypothetical squeeze from the sarcophagus of Tjaiharpata, not much can be said. According to Brugsch's 'Planche VI', its size must have been approximately 90 cm × 5 cm, and it was made on the sarcophagus *in situ* long before it was rediscovered by Quibell.

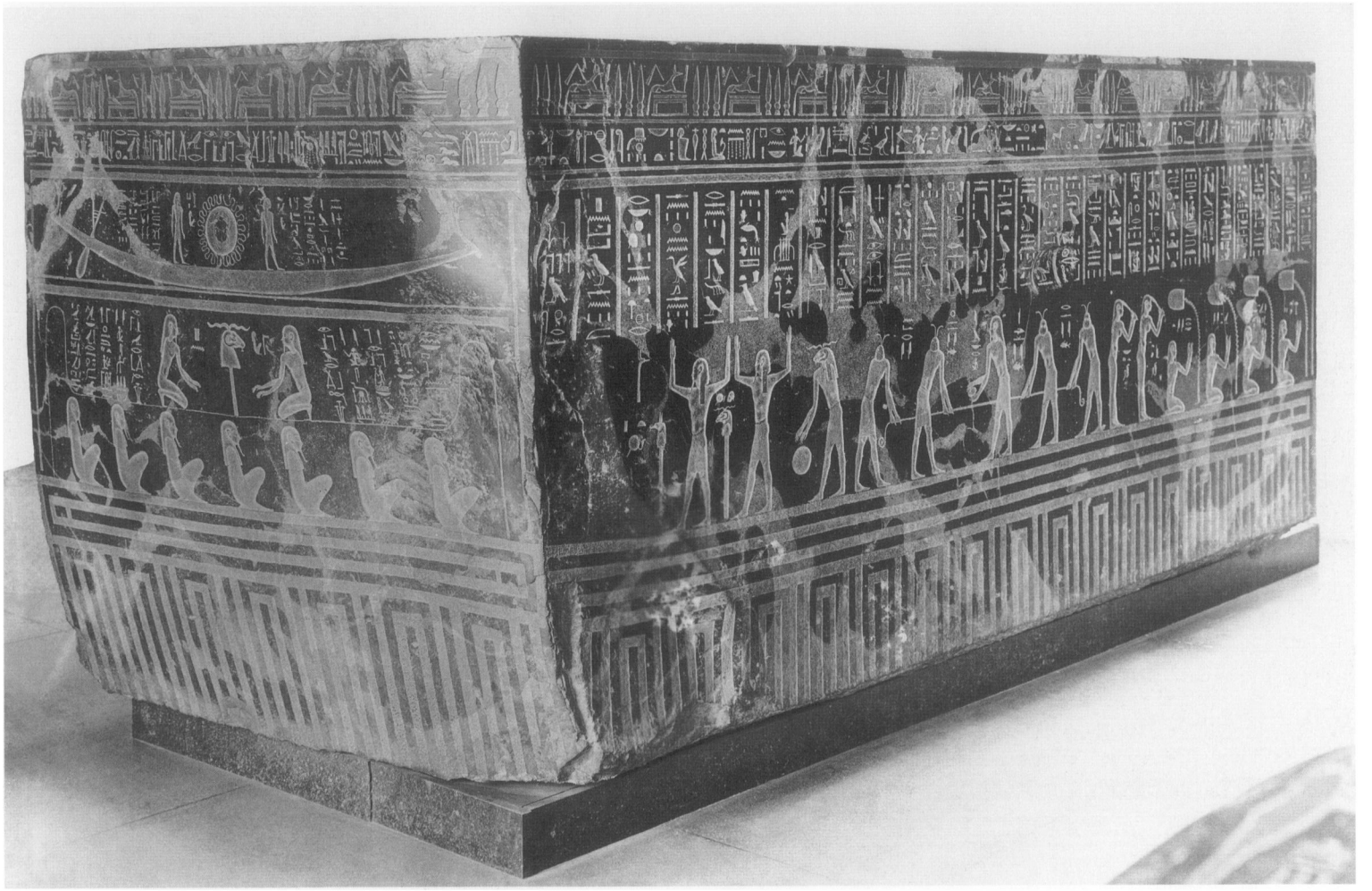
Considering all the efforts made by the Lieders to obtain their interesting collection of squeezes, it is deeply saddening to realize that some are irretrievably lost.

GOTTFRIED HAMERNIK

[34] This paper is manufactured for use in telex machines, and is supplied in rolls 21 cm wide.

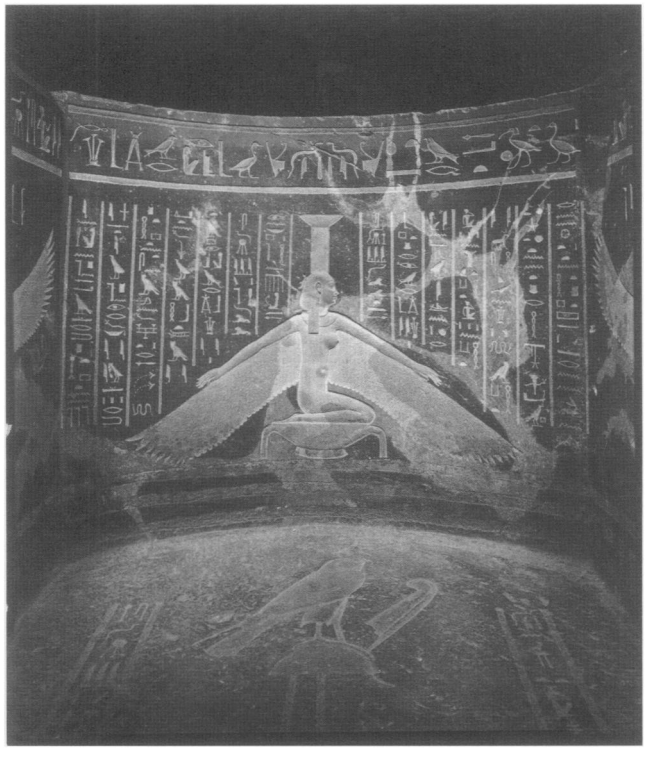
[35] I am grateful to Prof. Dr Helmut Satzinger, Director of the Egyptian collection of the museum, for kindly giving permission for this experiment, and for providing me with the photographs reproduced here in the plates.

[36] After E. von Bergmann, 'Der Sarkophag des Nesschutafnut in der Sammlung Ägyptischer Alterthümer des Österr. Kaiserhauses', *Rec. Trav.* VI (1885), 153.

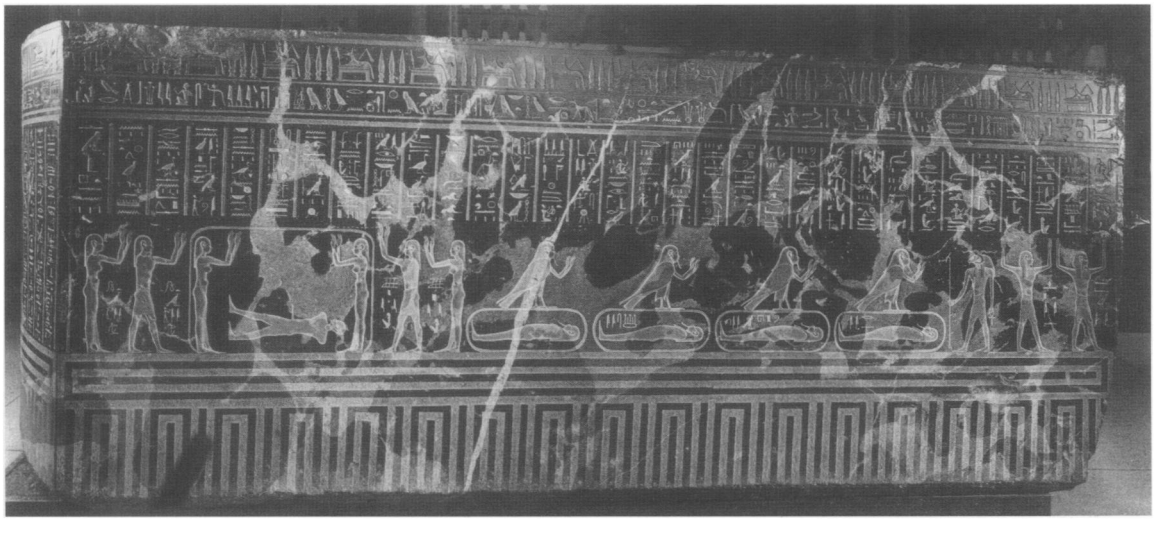


The sarcophagus of Esshu-tefnut in Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS Inv.-Nr.1

LEIDER SQUEEZES AT THE GRIFFITH INSTITUTE (pp.168–72)



1. Interior of the sarcophagus of Esshu-tefnut in Vienna



2. Exterior of the sarcophagus of Esshu-tefnut in Vienna

LEIDER SQUEEZES AT THE GRIFFITH INSTITUTE (pp.168–72)

REVIEWS

Egyptian Invective

A review discussion of *Der verkommene Harfenspieler: eine altägyptische Invektive (P. Wien KM 3877).* By HEINZ JOSEF THISSEN. Demotische Studien 11. 320 × 214 mm. Pp. vii + 123, pls. 6. Sommerhausen, Gisela Zauzich Verlag, 1992. ISBN 3 924151 04 0. Price not stated.

The volume under review is a new edition of a unique demotic literary work: a verse composition vilifying the character, personal habits, and musical abilities of a harpist and singer named Harudja. In its present state, this comprises five columns containing nearly one hundred lines of writing, about half of them substantially intact. The composition occupies the back of a papyrus roll measuring 72.5 cm by 20.5 cm. The front of the roll is inscribed with a Greek text relating to matters of taxation.[1] It also preserves the scant remains of three further columns of demotic which were written after those on the back, perhaps by the same scribe. Thissen (hereafter T.) has described these elsewhere.[2] Their subject matter, so far as can be ascertained, resembles that of the columns on the back. Somewhat surprisingly, no further account is given of them here. This is regrettable, since it would have been interesting to know T.'s opinion concerning the relationship of the demotic texts on either side of the roll to each other. Perhaps one or more of the columns on the front could have been illustrated by a photograph as well.

The Greek text mentions a date in regnal year 40 of an unnamed king, who must be Augustus. This provides a *terminus post quem* for the literary work on the reverse. T. assigns the latter to the second century AD, chiefly on the basis of the double-lined borders which demarcate the individual columns of writing, since these are characteristic of that epoch.[3] In an earlier discussion, however, he advocated a date in the first century AD, presumably in the latter half.[4] I would be reluctant to exclude the possibility of the text's having been written then.

The roll which preserves the scurrilous description of the harpist was presented to the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum in 1852, where it now bears the inventory number 3877. Its original provenance is unknown. T., however, argues for an attribution to Akhmim, on the following grounds:
1) The composition shows the influence of Greek literary models.
2) It is written in an Upper Egyptian dialect, and the toponyms mentioned in it are mainly Upper Egyptian ones.
3) In the second century AD, the Upper Egyptian city where cultural interchange between Egyptians and Greeks was most widespread, and therefore the *milieu* in which the composer of a text like ours is most likely to have absorbed Greek literary influence, was Akhmim.
Leaving aside the question of dialect, for which the manuscript offers little in the way of unambiguous evidence,[5] it is obvious that one's acceptance or rejection of T.'s argument will be conditioned chiefly

[1] See F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten,* I (Strassburg, 1915), 527–9 (no. 5230); F. Bilabel, *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten,* II.2 (Heidelberg, 1933), 118.

[2] See H. J. Thissen, 'Bemerkungen zum demotischen Harfner-Gedicht', in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem, 1990), II, 991–3.

[3] Cf. W. J. Tait, 'Guidelines and Borders in Demotic Papyri', in M. L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Papyrus: Structure and Usage* (British Museum Occasional Papers 60; London, 1986), 63 and 74.

[4] 'Der verkommene Harfenspieler', *ZPE* 77 (1989), 228–9.

[5] See the remarks of J. Quack, 'Korrekturvorschläge zu einigen demotischen literarischen Texten', *Enchoria* 21 (1994), 64 n. 8.

by the extent to which one subscribes to the first and third of the propositions listed above. I will consider these in more detail later.

The plan of the book itself is straightforward. In the introduction (pp. 1–17), T. first describes the physical appearance of the manuscript, then its orthography, grammar, and dialect. He includes a very useful table of the verbal constructions which occur in the text, as well as a list of the more unusual words employed in it. The next topic of discussion is the genre of the composition. While noting its superficial similarity to such earlier works as the *Teaching of Khety Son of Duaf* and the 'satirisches Streitschrift' of P. Anastasi 1, T. maintains that the demotic poem attacking the harpist is nevertheless distinct from these. Its purpose is not to satirize, but simply to defame. It is directed not against a class of people, practitioners of a particular trade or craft, but rather against an individual. Not a fictitious individual, moreover, but a real one, known to both the composer of the text and its intended audience/readership. According to T.'s view, the poem has no antecedent or parallel in Egyptian literature, and must therefore be a borrowing or adaptation of a non-Egyptian literary form. The form in question, he argues, is the 'invective' (ψόγος, *vituperatio*), a genre attested in Greek and Latin literature, with which the composer of our text must have been familiar.

T. goes on to summarise the various ways in which the unfortunate harpist is vilified. His personal appearance is said to be repulsive. Aspersions, not always translatable, are cast upon his sexual behaviour. He is utterly lacking in musical ability, his voice shrill and unpleasant, while his fingers become entangled like roots when he places them upon the strings of his instrument. The harpist is ignorant of the repertoire which one in his profession is supposed to know, the text avers, and of the occasions on which particular songs should be performed, including religious festivals. So egregious are his faults in this respect that the divinities themselves have become enraged with him. Special opprobrium seems to attach to the harpist because of his fraudulent character. Although aware of his own shortcomings, he continues to pose as a great artist before the more impressionable members of the public.

Harudja is denounced with particular vehemence as a glutton and a drunkard. According to the text, the only song he has ever learned goes: 'I am hungry, let me drink. Is there anything to eat?'. His behaviour at a feast where he has been engaged to play is described at some length. On arrival, he tells his employers that he cannot sing when he is hungry, or play the harp before he has been given liquid refreshment. So he drinks enough wine for two people and eats a quantity of meat sufficient for three. The harp becomes a heavy burden in his hands, and when he makes a drunken attempt to play, in response to exasperated shouts of 'Sing!' from his audience, he holds the instrument upside down. Such songs as he does know appear to consist entirely of abuse directed against women. The general result, according to the poem, is 'anti-song' (literally: 'turning his back to song'). Finally, when the harpist's appetites have been satisfied, he simply abandons his instrument and leaves the feast.

The year before the poem was written, we are told, Harudja was employed in a temple abattoir near Akhmim. Even there, his gluttony was apparent. The poem recounts how, after dispatching a sacrificial animal with his knife, he would be the first to partake of the meat, without even waiting for it to be cooked properly. Subsequently, the harpist is said to have moved to Thebes, but what he did there is uncertain, since at this point the text becomes increasingly lacunose and finally comes to an end altogether.

In the final part of his introduction, T. surveys the previous work done on P. Vienna KM 3877. A pioneering study of the poem was made by Revillout as long ago as 1883. He was followed by Krall, Brugsch, Boudier, and Sottas. The contribution of the last-named to our understanding of the text is particularly noteworthy. In more recent times, Bresciani and Lüddeckens have worked on the poem. T. himself has published two important articles dealing with it, in addition to the volume under review.[6]

The introduction is followed by the commentary (pp. 18–66). Here, T. goes through the entire poem line by line, providing a transliteration for each, then a discussion of its meaning and any problems connected with its interpretation, and finally a translation. This is a very notable achievement, for he has made many significant advances over the work of his predecessors. The result is the first accurate, sound, and up-to-date rendering of the entire poem. Krall, writing about the composition in 1884, remarked: 'dieser Text nicht blos (sic) zu den interessantesten, sondern auch zu den schwierigsten gehört,

[6] See his contribution in Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* II, 980–93; *ZPE* 77, 227–40.

die überhaupt vorhanden sind'.[7] Although other, perhaps more difficult demotic texts have come to light in the intervening years, this one can hardly be called easy. The composer of the poem exhibits a marked fondness for archaisms and recondite words or phrases, but is not averse to mixing these with current slang. To T.'s credit, not only has he succeeded in understanding both; he has managed to convey their effect in his translation as well.

The commentaries on the meaning of the poem's individual lines display the breadth of T.'s erudition. In order to elucidate their sense, he draws freely upon parallels from a variety of demotic, Coptic, hieroglyphic, hieratic, Greek, and Latin sources, to say nothing of a wide range of secondary literature in modern languages. There are, nevertheless, several passages where my understanding of the poem differs from his. These are duly discussed below. However, the number of such cases should in no way be allowed to diminish one's admiration for T.'s achievement. They simply illustrate that with any difficult Egyptian text, demotic or otherwise, it is all but impossible in the present state of our knowledge to produce a rendering that will command universal assent throughout.[8]

I, 1: The traces at the beginning of this line are *bs.w,* in my opinion. The determinative is the animal hide; compare the writing of *twe*, 'sandals', in III, 20 which ends with the same sign. See further similarly determined writings of the personal name *Bs* cited in E. Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch,* I (Wiesbaden, 1980–), 146, most of which simply reproduce the orthography of the divine name *Bs*. I think that one probably has here a reference to *Bs.w*, 'Bes-gods', i.e. divinities in the form of the well-known apotropaic genie. Such divinities are often depicted as musicians in Egyptian temples of the Graeco-Roman Period, dancing and playing harps or tambourines, typically in the context of rites celebrating the return of the distant goddess from Nubia.[9] *Bs.w* is attested as a generic term for them.[10] One may have had in the present line and in the preceding one (now lost), a comparison of the musical abilities of the aforesaid deities with those of the harpist, emphasising the inferiority of the latter, or perhaps a description of the unfavourable impression which the harpist's playing makes upon the Bes-gods. Compare the reactions of other divinities described in II, 18–19 and III, 2. Note also that allusion is actually made to the feast of the return of the distant goddess in line 13 below.

I, 3: The idiom *sq ḥr* (*Glossar*, 466) normally means 'distinguished' or the like. Here, it is said of the harpist, *nʾ-sq ḥr*. T. quite rightly points out that a compliment can hardly have been intended in this context, and so wishes to see in these words something other than the usual idiom. But they could be an unmarked rhetorical question, expecting a negative answer: 'Is (he) distinguished?'. Such an explanation obviates any need to seek a new meaning for *sq ḥr*. For the use of rhetorical questions elsewhere in the poem, see, e.g., II, 5 and III, 4.

I, 4: In this line, the harpist is said to be blind. Since elsewhere in the text his vision is described as being perfectly sound, T. understands this as a form of insult. In view of the harpist's fondness for wine, perhaps what is meant here is the temporary impairment of sight which can result from overindulgence in that drink.

I, 10: T.'s suggestion to restore something like [*iw=f šʿš n*]*šʿ*, '[he scatters/stirs up] sand', is a plausible one. As he notes, this must be a metaphor. Perhaps the harpist is accused here of causing rows or creating disturbances. The idiom 'to raise sand' is employed with this sense among black Americans. For instance, the Mississippi blues singer and guitarist Son House, interviewed in the 1960s, attempted

[7] J. Krall, 'Der Wiener demotische Papyrus Nr. 31', *RT* 5 (1884), 76.

[8] N.B: Four other reviews of T.'s book appeared in print while I was working on mine: one by I. Müller in *Archive für Papyrusforschung* 41 (1995), 90–2; another by L. Morenz in *OLZ* 91 (1996), 541–7; a third by D. Devauchelle in *RdE* 47 (1996), 210–13; and the fourth by M. Chauveau in *CdE* 71 (1996), 62–7. After my review had been submitted for publication, a further one by S. Vleeming appeared in *BiOr* 56 (1999) 607–9. Devauchelle and Chauveau make valuable suggestions bearing upon the reading and interpretation of individual lines of the poem, as does Quack in *Enchoria* 21, 63–72. In some cases, one or another of them and I have arrived at the same reading independently. Such instances are duly noted in the remarks that follow.

[9] See F. Daumas, 'Les propylées du temple d'Hathor à Philae et le culte de la déesse', *ZÄS* 95 (1968), 1–17 with pls. 3 (top) and 5; H. Wild, 'Les danses sacrées de l'Égypte ancienne', in *Les Danses sacrées*, (Sources Orientales 6; Paris, 1963) 59–61 and 82.

[10] See, e.g., H. Junker, *Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien* (Berlin, 1911), 86.

to denigrate his more famous colleague and rival of the 20s and 30s, Charlie Patton, by saying: 'He'd raise sand in a minute' (scil. over women or money) and 'He did a lot of cursing and raising sand'.[11] Elsewhere in the same interview, House castigated Patton's prodigious appetite ('he'd eat a cow and a half and a bull and a half'), his excessive fondness for alcohol ('he'd drink anything if it wasn't poison'), his impiety and lack of morals (like Harudja, Patton was a lapsed member of the clergy), and tried to belittle his musical abilities (which were, in fact, superior to House's own). In terms of content, the similarities between this interview and our poem about the harpist are remarkable.

I, 11: T. reads [...] *ḥ*ʿ*y.w pꜣ mwt ỉw=f ḥlg n tꜣ wrm(w)t.t* and translates: '[es sendet (?)] Schaufeln der Tod, wenn er ausgerüstet ist mit Würmern'. The reading is not in doubt. But since *ḥ*ʿ*y.w* and *pꜣ mwt* are separated by a verse point, I wonder whether this division of the clauses can be correct, and would suggest rather taking *pꜣ mwt* with what follows.[12] Perhaps understand *ḥlg* as the ancestor of Coptic ϩⲗⲟϭ and translate: 'Death is sweet on account of the *wrm(w)t.t*-affliction'. The sense could be that the harpist's performance induces such pain (stomach-ache?) in the members of his audience that death seems preferable to further listening.

I, 12: Like Chauveau in *CdE* 71, 64, I doubt T,'s restoration [ʿ*n-s*]*my* at the beginning of this line. In writings of that word, the *m* is invariably followed by the *mỉ*-biliteral, which is not the case here. I think that what comes after *hrw n* is a variant orthography of *ḥbs-tp* (or *ṯy*), the name of the sixteenth day of the lunar month.[13] This is the day after full moon day, when the moon (= Osiris) begins to wane, and therefore an inappropriate occasion on which to sing a song of merriment, as the harpist is said to do.

I, 13: The traces before *nꜣy* could be the copula *nꜣ.w*. Cf. the writing of *nꜣ.w*, 'those of', in V, 9. The following *hyw.t*, written with lotus and wood determinatives, has been interpreted by Spiegelberg and Osing as the demotic ancestor of Coptic ϩⲓⲏ, 'rudder' (*CD*, 645b). T. concurs, but I wonder whether this is not rather a variant of the *hyʿꜣ.t* written with wood determinative which occurs in P. Leiden I 384, XIX, 30 and XX, 10.[14] For our scribe's use of *w* in words where the scribe of that text prefers ʿ*ꜣ*, cf. the writing of *mlʿꜣ.t*, 'ship', as *mlwꜣ.t* in IV, 17. The noun *hyʿꜣ.t* apparently denotes a type of lyre or other musical instrument.[15] The *hyw.t n pꜣ ḥn n Mw.t*, 'lyre(?) of the Voyage of Mut', could be a special sort of chordophone intended for use in that festival, hence the lotus determinative in the writing of its name. The voyage in question was one of the rites celebrating the return of the distant goddess to Egypt. As T. notes, it was conducted to the accompaniment of music played on the harp.

I, 15: T. translates *ỉw tꜣ byn.t sḫy r ḥrw=f* as 'wobei die Harfe schriller ist als seine Stimme'. In my view, this is preferable to the alternative rendering, 'la harpe accompagnant sa voix', proposed by Devauchelle in *RdE* 47, 212. Or could *r-ḥrw* here be for *ḥr*, 'before'? For this archaism in demotic, see G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg* (Leipzig, 1913), glossary, 46*, no. 303. Compare the use of the archaism *mw* (= *mỉ*), 'like', in line 5 above and IV, 5.

I, 17: Read *ḏbꜣ=w* not *ḏbꜣ*. For writings of the latter, cf. III, 9 and 10. Translate *pꜣy=f ḏbꜣ=w ỉhm n sḏm.ṯ=f* as 'His punishing them is sad to hear'. Presumably, the antecedent of the pronoun *w* stood in the break at the beginning of the line. *Contra* T., there is no need to interpret *sḏm.ṯ=f* as a *sḏm.ty=fy* form, which would be very unusual in a demotic text like this one. For parallels to the *ṯ* before the suffix pronoun of *sḏm*, see J. F. Borghouts, 'Object Pronouns of the *tw*-Type in Late Egyptian', *OLP* 11 (1980), 102–4.

I, 18: I doubt T.'s restoration of *ḏ* before *ms.wt*. The traces suggest rather an *m* followed by the man with hand to mouth determinative. Perhaps one had here a variant writing of the *ḥm* which stands before *ms.t* in II, 1.

[11] S. Calt and G. Wardlow, *King of the Delta Blues: the Life and Music of Charlie Patton* (Newton, NJ, 1988), 38 and 160–1.

[12] So too Devauchelle, *RdE* 47, 212.

[13] See M. Smith, *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing* (Oxford, 1993), 60 [note (b) on P. Berlin 8351, IV, 13].

[14] W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge (der Papyrus der Tierfabeln –'Kufi') nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384* (Strassburg, 1917), pls. 18–19. Cf. *Glossar*, 268.

[15] Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge,* 200, translated it as 'Laute' with a query. F. de Cenival, *Le Mythe de l'Oeil du Soleil* (Demotische Studien 9; Sommerhausen, 1988), 107, suggests that *hyʿꜣ.t* might denote a flute or tambourine.

I, 19: Can *ꜥ* (so, and not *ꜥty*) here and in II, 1 really be derived from the *ꜥwty*, 'Rolle, Liste', of *Wb.* 1, 173, 9-11? It is more likely, in my opinion, that this is a designation ('great, important ones') of a category of songs. [*n*] *n ḥs n ḥp* in the line under consideration could mean either '[the great] ones (of) the festal songs' or '[the great] ones and the festal songs'.

In the second half of the line, *k.t-ḫ.t* before *wꜥ* is plural, which would seem to rule out T.'s translation 'noch eine Lästerung'. Preferable, in my view, is the suggestion of Zauzich, reported by T., to translate *tw=f ir k.t-ḫ.t wꜥ* as 'er veranlasst dass andere lästern'.

I, 20: T. translates *n y=w mt.w gnm r-r=f* as 'ihre Worte sind blinder als er', taking the antecedent of *n y=w* to be the songs which the harpist sings so ineptly. This is a possible rendering. However, according to *Wb.* 5, 107, 4, *kmn*, the hieroglyphic counterpart of demotic *gnm*, can also mean 'dunkel sein'. Perhaps therefore one should translate 'their words are dark/obscure to him', the sense being that the harpist has failed to master or does not understand what he sings. But possibly an even stronger condemnation is intended: 'their words are dark against him', i.e. the harpist's performance of his lyrics is not merely devoid of positive merit, but so careless or incompetent as to constitute a culpable offence. Such an interpretation would be particularly plausible if singing in a ritual context is involved here. For a comparable idiom, see a passage in the Akhmimic version of the *Apocalypse of Elijah* where the prophet is made to fulminate against the doubting believer, describing the obloquy which he earns for himself by praying without full conviction: ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲥⲛⲟ ⲧⲫⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲓⲉ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϥ, 'As for him who is of two minds, his prayer is darkness against him'.[16]

II, 1: For the noun *ꜥ* which occurs twice in this line, see remarks on I, 19 above.

II, 4: At the end of the line, read *t nt mst=f s*, not *n nt mst=f st*. For this scribe's writing of the third person plural dependent pronoun, see, for example, V, 4. The harpist is said to stand sinfully in the temple forecourt and cause the god to hear what he detests. Perhaps he is accused here of playing improper music in a sacred precinct. Cf. the impious Petra who violated the ban on music in the Abaton of Osiris at Bigeh, as recounted in P. Dodgson.[17]

II, 6: In the transliteration of this line on p. 33, *ḫr=f* has been printed in error for *ḥr=f*.

II, 7: I should read *n-im=*[*s*], 'with [it]' (scil. the harp), after *ḥs*, not *n-im=w*. Cf. undamaged writings of *n-im=s* and *n-im=w* in III, 7 and III, 19 respectively.

II, 8: Perhaps *ḥrš n lḫ* in the first half of the line means 'a tiresome/burdensome fool' (T.: 'Riesenheuchler'). In the second half, *tm gm* can hardly be a participle as T. thinks. Quack, *Enchoria* 21, 64 n. 7, would see here the beginning of a cleft sentence, restoring *tm gm nt ḫpr* [*p nt-iw=w ir=f*] or similar. However, *tm gm nt ḫpr* could be a cleft sentence on its own: 'It is lack of discernment (literally: not-discerning) which occurs'. See remarks on III, 9 below. Another possibility would be to understand (*n*) *tm gm nt ḫpr,* '(through) lack of discernment which occurs'. Cf. *mtw=f ḏ n tm gm* in the line immediately following.

II, 9: T.'s rendering of *n tm gm* as 'ohne zu erkennen' is correct, in my opinion. The alternative translation 'für Unkundige', which he attributes to Sottas and Bresciani, would require *tm* to be a participle, and this is hardly to be expected in a demotic text.

II, 10: There is no need to emend *ḫr ir=f* into *ḫr ir=f ir* in the second half of the line, since *ḫr sḏm=f* is the normal form of the aorist/habitude construction in demotic with verbs having less than four consonants. Cf. J. H. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System* (SAOC 38; Chicago, 1976), 132. T.'s suggestion that *ir* may have been omitted on grounds of prosody is unlikely in my view, since its presence or absence would not actually affect the metre.

II, 12: The words *nm p i-ir hwy.t=f r byn.t iw=f gm ḥs i-ir nm* are translated by T. as 'Wer war der, der ihn zur Harfe provoziert hat,—dass er singen kann, war (d.h. fand heraus) wer?'. He understands both instances of *i-ir* in this sentence as markers of the past participle. According to him, one has here an Egyptian adaptation of the Greek rhetorical device known as 'Kyklos'. I prefer to translate: 'Who is the one who incited him to the harp, before whom did he learn to sing?'. This rendering assumes that

[16] G. Steindorff, *Die Apokalypse des Elias* (Leipzig, 1899), 74 (24, 8–9). For the reading ⲕⲉⲕⲉ rather than Steindorff's ⲕⲉⲓⲉ, cf. ⲕⲁⲕⲉ in the Saʿidic parallels cited in A. Petersma, S. Comstock, and H. Attridge, *The Apocalypse of Elijah* (Chico, CA, 1981), 26.

[17] C. Martin, 'The Child Born in Elephantine: Papyrus Dodgson Revisited', *EVO* 17 (1994), 203; H. Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* (Vienna, 1913), 21–2 and 82–5.

the second *i-ir* is the preposition 'zu, bei, gegen' cited in *Glossar*, 37, rather than the marker of the past participle. The preposition in question is often used in preference to others with the same general meaning when a writer wishes to convey an attitude of respect or affection towards its object. A person can be said to go *i-ir* his ancestors (i.e. die), for instance, or a brother, friend, or deity.[18] Thus, it would not be inappropriate to speak of someone learning an art or craft *i-ir*, 'before', a teacher. With such an interpretation, the syntax of the sentence becomes less tortuous. It can be understood, moreover, without recourse to theories of literary borrowing from the Greeks.

II, 13: T. translates *p3y=f hb šš t3y=f wp.t gr3 t3y=f wp.t ʿ3.t tỉ* ..[..] as 'Sein Werk ist verdreht, seine Arbeit verwickelt, seine grosse Arbeit gibt ..[..]'. According to him, *šš*, determined with the man with hand to mouth, is the demotic ancestor of Coptic ϣωϣ, 'twist' (*CD*, 607a), here used in the stative form. *gr3* written with house determinative, he thinks must be a synonym of *šš*, proposing to identify it as the ancestor of Coptic ϭωϧ, 'roll back, curl up' (*CD*, 807a). However, the determinative of *šš* suggests that this is rather the verb 'ausbreiten, streuen' cited in *Glossar*, 522. Nor is it obvious why *šš* and *gr3* must be synonyms. They could just as well mean the opposite of each other. I wonder whether *gr3* is not the ancestor of ϭωϧ, 'collect, gather' (*CD*, 806–7). The notion of gathering things in and storing them up could account for the verb's being determined with the house sign. Perhaps translate: 'Whether his (scil. the harpist's) work is scattered or collected together (i.e. looked at performance by performance or viewed as a whole), his total *oeuvre* (*wp.t ʿ3.t*) causes ..[..]'. It is not clear how the end of the line should be restored. Presumably, the damaged phrase introduced with *tỉ* meant 'causes/produces a negative reaction' or similar. In other words, however one chooses to examine the harpist's career, the overall impression is bound to be unfavourable.

II, 15: Read *ḥʿy* after *r p3*, not *ḥ3y*. For the interpretation of this sentence, see now Quack, *Enchoria* 21, 71. Note that the jar determinative has been omitted in the facsimile of the word *hn*, '*hin*-measure', taken from the end of the present line, which is reproduced on p. 107 of T.'s glossary.

II, 16: T. proposes to read the sign before *ḫryn* as *pa*, suggesting that this might correspond to the Bohairic article ⲡⲓ. I wonder whether the sign in question is not rather a man with hand to mouth determinative belonging to the damaged word which preceded *ḫryn*. For that determinative written without a dot after it in our text, see e.g. *sq* in I, 3, *rn* in III, 3, and *mt* in IV, 11.

II, 19: In the transliteration of this line on p. 38, *ḫr* has been printed in error for *ḫr*.

III, 3: T. suggests reading the epithet applied to the harpist here as *ḫnt-nq*. He translates this as 'Erzhurer'. I prefer the traditional reading *šp-nq*, first proposed by Revillout. Cf. remarks of Chauveau in *CdE* 71, 65.

III, 4: The *n* and *t* which stand between *ḥs ʿ3* and *ḥ.t Mw.t* are problematic. T. suggests interpreting them as genitival *n* + a defective writing of the feminine singular definite article: *t*<*3*>. But could *nt* be the genitival word (> Coptic ⲛⲧⲉ) cited in *Glossar*, 231? If so, then translate 'a great song of the temple of Mut'. As T. notes, this line offers further evidence of the poet's fondness for archaism, which could account for the omission of the article *t3* before *ḥ.t*. He renders both *ḥs ʿ3 nt ḥ.t Mw.t* and the following *twe-ntr n ḥnw.t Kmy* as ordinary statements, but I prefer to understand them as rhetorical questions: 'A great song of the temple of Mut, a hymn for the mistress of Egypt?', which are answered in the next line with the dismissal, 'It is really a [poor/wretched] song'.

III, 6: I am dubious of T.'s restoration [*qnb*].*t* before *rmt nb*. The vertical sign in front of *rmt* looks like the third person plural suffix pronoun *w* to me. For this suffix written so that it extends below the baseline as here, see *bn-pw=w* in IV, 13. Compare also the position of the plural marker *w* after *mt* in IV, 11. Perhaps restore something like *i-ir*-[*ḫr*] + the *sḏm=f* form of a verb ending with the man with hand to mouth determinative and meaning 'respect, admire' or similar (*mr* would be a possibility). Moreover, since the basic meaning of *qn* is 'Stärke, Sieg' (*Glossar*, 539), *ir qn* here should mean 'prowess, superiority', not 'Stolz' as T. renders it. A plausible translation for the line as a whole would be: 'It is on account of his superiority in his craft that each man is [admired]'.

III, 7: Between *i-ir* and [*p3*]*y r t3y=f wp.t* perhaps restore the suffix pronoun *w* followed by the

[18] See M. Smith, review of K.-T. Zauzich, *Papyri von der Insel Elephantine. Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Lieferung I (Berlin, 1978), in *Enchoria* 10 (1980), 197; P. BM 10508, I, 13 and XVI, 4 (S. R. K. Glanville, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, II. *The Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy* (London, 1955), pls. 1 and 16).

infinitive of a verb meaning 'love' or the like. (There is insufficient room for *i-ir-ḥr* + a *sḏm=f* form.) The following clause, *iw=f ḏq n-im=s m-šs*, can be interpreted in two different ways, depending upon to whom the demonstrative pronoun *pȝy* refers. If it refers to the hypothetical artist or craftsman introduced in the preceding line, then the sentence as a whole probably continues the idea expressed in the previous one, and *ḏq* should be translated as 'perfect': 'It is when he perfects it fully that [this] one [is loved] for his work'. If, on the other hand, *pȝy* refers to the harpist, then the present sentence must express a contrast with what has gone before, and *ḏq* should be translated as 'finish': '(But) it is (only) when he finishes it completely that [this] one [is loved] for his work', i.e. unlike the skilled artist whose talent wins him admiration, the only part of the harpist's performance which his audience likes is when it comes to an end.

III, 8: In the transliteration of this line on p. 44, *ḥmy* has been printed in error for *hmy*.

III, 9: Restore *wn-nȝ.w iw=n* [*ḏ*] *tm ir-rḫ nt-iw=f ir=f*, 'then we would [say]: It is ignorance which he displays'. The traces of *ḏ* are clear; for an explanation of why one has *ir=f* here rather than *ir n-im=f*, see R. S. Simpson, *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees* (Oxford, 1996), 151–6. The correct reading and interpretation of this line have been established independently by Quack in *Enchoria* 21, 71. He would emend the text by inserting *pȝ* before *nt-iw=f ir=f*. In my opinion, this is unnecessary, since there is a demotic cleft sentence pattern in which the initial element is a noun and no article intervenes between it and the following relative clause. See, for instance, P. Harkness, I, 2: *ȝst i-ir nḥm=*[*t*] *N.t i-ir ti n=t w nȝ ntr.w ʿy.w n pȝy=t tmy i-ir plg tȝy=t tby*, 'It is Isis who has rescued [you], it is Neith who has given you a bark, it is the great gods of your town who have freed your brick'.[19] The antecedents of this type of cleft sentence have been traced by P. Vernus in 'Études de philologie et de linguistique (VI)', *RdE* 38 (1987), 175–81. Compare also E. Doret, 'Cleft-Sentence, substitutions et contraintes sémantiques en égyptien de la première phase (V–XVIII Dynastie)', *LingAeg* 1 (1991), 74–6. For what may be a further instance of this pattern in our text, see remarks on II, 8 above.

III, 10: As Chauveau has noted independently in *CdE* 71, 65, what T. reads as *sp*-2 here and in V, 4 is actually *ge*. The text appears to say: *wn ge* [..].. *n sbȝ.t qfy mn gme r-ḏbȝ tȝ mt.t*, 'There is, moreover, [..].. in a revealed teaching, but there is no capability (merely) because of the word'. In the break, perhaps restore a noun meaning 'benefit, advantage' or similar.[20] The sense could be that, while instruction is helpful on one level, it is not sufficient in itself to ensure that a pupil will be able to apply what he has been taught. This will depend on his willingness to learn and his receptivity to the lessons of his teacher. According to the ensuing text, it is precisely these qualities which the harpist lacks.

III, 11: Perhaps *wȝḥ ḫpr* at the beginning of this line means 'moreover'. Cf. the similar expression *irm ḫpr ʿn* cited in *Glossar*, 356.

III, 13: T.'s transliteration omits the definite article *wʿ* before *ḏmȝ*. His statement that the example of *s(w)g*, 'fool', here is the only one known to him which omits the medial *w* is curious, since *Glossar*, 417, which he cites, lists additional instances.

III, 14: *b-ir rḫ=f ḫs m-sȝ-bnr r wʿ* means 'he doesn't know any song except one'.

III, 16: On phonetic grounds, Devauchelle, *RdE* 47, 213, would equate *lhm* here with Coptic ⲗϩⲙ, 'roar like a lion' (*CD*, 150a), rather than ⲗⲱϩⲙ, 'boil' (*CD*, 149b), the alternative preferred by T. I think he is right. The verb is determined with the animal skin, which might be seen as further support for his interpretation.

III, 17: In this line, the harpist, greedy for meat, is said to hasten towards blood more swiftly than 'a vulture when it sees carrion (*ḫʿȝ.t*)'. T. cites parallels from classical texts for the image of the vulture who loves to feast upon dead creatures, while stating that none are known to him from Egyptian sources. However, a good demotic example occurs in P. Leiden I 384, XI, 20, where Thoth says to Tefnut: *tw=t ʿḫʿ r nȝy=t yb.w m-qty tȝ nry.t ḫn ḫʿȝ.t*, 'You stand upon your talons like the vulture in carrion'.[21] The word employed there to describe the vulture's preferred food is the same one as is used in our text.

III, 18: Has the word after *nw r* been deliberately erased by the scribe? If so, then translate *iw=f nw*

[19] T. J. Logan, 'Papyrus Harkness', in J. Johnson and E. Wente (eds), *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (SAOC 39; Chicago, 1976), 151.

[20] Although what is visible immediately afterwards resembles the water determinative or a suffix pronoun *s*.

[21] Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge*, pl. 10.

r nkt as 'looking at something'. Perhaps the following clause *iw=f ḥbs* relates to *nkt* rather than the harpist himself.

III, 20: After *iw mn-mtw=f*, read *sq*, not *sỉ*. Note the man with hand to mouth determinative, which is characteristic of the former. After the break, read *nb iw=s twe*, not *išši. twe* with flesh and animal skin determinatives is the noun meaning 'sandals'. For a very similar writing, see *Glossar*, 611. *iw mn-mtw=f sq n šs*[.....] *nb iw=s twe rmt iw=f sḏf r pḏy=f iry* I should translate: 'while he has no collection/ gathering of *šs*[..] any [...] which is in (or: belonging to) sandals, a man who is more defiled than his fellow'. The import of this line is obscure, owing to the break in the middle and the uncertain identification of the damaged word which begins with *šs*. Presumably, however, it somehow developed the idea expressed in the preceding and following ones, viz. that the harpist will hasten to perform anywhere, so long as the prospect of a free meal is before him.

IV, 1: Like Chauveau (cf. *CdE* 71, 65), I think that this line is part of the same sentence as the two preceding ones. The conjunctive *mtw=f šm* is not independent as T. supposes, but continues the apodosis of the condition postulated in III, 19. *pḏ nt-iw=f gm irp iwf i-ir-ḥr=f* is not 'der Wein und Fleisch vor sich entdeckt'. In demotic, this would be expressed with **pḏ nt gm irp iwf i-ir-ḥr=f*. Translate either 'the one who will find wine and meat before himself' or 'the one before whom he (scil. the harpist) finds wine and meat'. As Chauveau notes, the latter alternative is more likely in the passage under consideration.

IV, 3: I agree with T. that the word at the end of this line is to be read *ḥn*, and not *gn* as Chauveau proposes. The 'hook' on the end of its initial sign rises up above the part of that sign which looks like a *t*. The same is true of *ḥn* in *ḥntws*, 'lizard', in I, 5, but not of our scribe's writing of the consonant *g*. In the latter, the 'hook' is always level with or lower than the part which resembles *t*. Perhaps translate *irp ḥn* as 'wine (on) demand'.

IV, 7: T. translates *iw=f šʿfy tḏ byn.t m-sḏ tḫy iw wnḥ nby nb r-r=f* as 'Er beginnt, die Harfe zu heben nach dem Rausche, wenn jeder Fehler an ihm erscheint'. However, the ensuing lines make it clear that the songs which the harpist performs in his drunken state have as their chief subject the imagined faults of others, particularly women. Perhaps, therefore, one should translate *iw wnḥ nby nb r-r=f* as 'after every sin has become apparent to him' (cf. Coptic ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ϵ-). In other words, the harpist only begins his performance after drink has filled his mind with all manner of abusive thoughts and emboldened him to sing his defamatory material.

IV, 9: I think that *iw=f pne=s* is a conditional clause, 'if he turns it'.

IV, 11: The position of *in* in the sentence *bn nḏy=f mt.w in mtry.w r tḏy=f wp.t* is anomalous, as T. points out, but I wonder whether he is right to suggest that it has been placed where it is for reasons of prosody. If one analyses the line according to Fecht's principles, for instance, the first half would have the same number of cola irrespective of whether *in* stood in its normal position or was displaced, as it is here.

IV, 12: The Egyptian expression 'turn (literally: give) the back', which T. renders as 'flee from', can also have the sense 'ignore, disregard'; cf. M. Smith, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum,* III. *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* (London, 1987), 63. I think that this meaning is preferable in the present line. There is no need to see here a translation or adaptation of a Greek idiom.

IV, 13: The writing of the prepronominal form of the infinitive of the verb *tỉ* with a *y* before the suffix is not a specifically Akhmimic trait, as T.'s commentary implies. The same writing is found in, for instance, the London–Leiden Magical Papyrus, which came from Thebes (cf. ibid. III, 32, V, 24, and VI, 8–9; F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden,* II (London, 1905), pls. 3, 5 and 6).

IV, 16: The traces visible at the end of this line are probably of *wr.t*, 'great'. Cf. the undamaged writing of that adjective in II, 18.

IV, 17: Like Chauveau (cf. *CdE* 71, 66), I doubt T.'s identification of *mlwḏ.t* here with Greek μηλωτή, 'sheepskin', both on phonetic grounds and because the former is determined with the wood sign. I think that *mlwḏ.t* is a variant writing of the *mr.t*, 'Art Schiff', cited in *Glossar*, 168. This noun is written *mlʿḏ.t* in P. Leiden I 384.[22] For our scribe's use of *w* in words where the scribe of that text prefers *ʿḏ*, see remarks on I, 13 above. I should translate *mtw=f ʿḥʿ r mlwḏ.t* as 'and he waits for a ship'.

[22] Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge*, 144 no. 331.

IV, 18: Traces of a toponym determinative are visible at the end of this line. Since these are preceded by a reference to the god Herishef, perhaps the name of his cult centre Herakleopolis stood here.

IV, 20: T. translates *[iw]=f ir n=f pꜣ tw n ḫn* as 'er macht sich (ihm?) den Berg zur Ruderfahrt', while noting that the last word is written differently in I, 13. I think *ḫn* here is rather the noun meaning 'friend', and would render: 'He takes the mountain (= the necropolis) as a friend for himself'. Perhaps the sense is that the harpist hastens his own death by his immoral and impious behaviour. This interpretation of *ḫn* has been proposed independently by Quack, *Enchoria* 21, 71–2, who also suggests restoring *[i-ir]=f* rather than *[iw]=f* at the beginning of the line.

V, 1: T. reads *wn-nꜣ.w iw=y ḏ.t=s r nꜣ gne.w r-ir=f iw=w ꜥšꜣ r nꜣy=(y) ir-ste* and translates: 'Spräche ich über das Unheil, das er angerichtet hat, es wäre grösser an Zahl als meine Darm-Entleerungen'. However, what actually stands at the end of the line is *nꜣy-ir St*, 'those (scil. the crimes) which Seth committed'. This has been recognised independently by Chauveau in *CdE* 71, 66–7. Similar writings of the divine name in question, with pustule and evil determinatives as here, occur in an unpublished demotic mythological narrative about the contendings of Horus and Seth discovered during the Egypt Exploration Society excavations at Saqqara.[23] Chauveau proposes that the inclusion of the pustule sign in such orthographies may have been intended to evoke the homophonous noun *st*, 'tail'. Alternatively, it may have been designed to suggest the word meaning 'excrement' (= Coptic ⲥⲟⲧ), as a way of expressing disrespect or contempt. Whatever the case, there is no overt scatological reference in this passage. Thus, there is no basis for the parallel which T. draws with Aristophanes' predilection for the verb χέζειν in his works.

So far as the understanding of the line as a whole is concerned, T.'s translation, quoted above, assumes that the first half is the protasis of a contrary-to-fact condition, and the second half the apodosis. This is problematic, since the apodosis of such a conditional sentence should be introduced with the imperfect future, not *iw=w*, as here. In my opinion, *wn-nꜣ.w iw=y ḏ.t=s* is the imperfect future and *iw=w ꜥšꜣ* is circumstantial present, not future as T. thinks. Translate: 'I would speak of the crimes which he (scil. the harpist) has carried out, (but) they are more numerous than those which Seth committed'. This statement is purely rhetorical, as are similar ones found in lines 3–4 below, since the poet has every intention of continuing his enumeration of the harpist's misdeeds. Compare the rendering of Chauveau: 'j'aurais parlé des infamies qu'il a faites, lesquelles sont plus nombreuses que celles que Seth (lui-même) a commises'.

V, 3: Perhaps *ir=f wꜥ bk* here means 'he performed a period of service'. *bn-iw=y rḫ ḏ* is 'I will not be able to say'.

V, 4: At the end of the line, read *ge* not *sp*-2. See remarks on III, 10 above. One has here the adverb meaning 'ferner, noch, mehr' cited in *Glossar*, 583.

V, 5: Probably read *r pꜣ ꜣ.[..]-ntr* at the end of the line. What T. takes as a *w* immediately after the *pꜣ* is more likely to be the *ntr* sign in honorific transposition. The last preserved trace is perhaps part of a *b*. From the context, one expects a term denoting a consecrated animal. The grammar of the second half of the line is obscure, owing to its imperfect state of preservation. One may have had here a cleft sentence introduced by *tm*; cf. II, 8 and III, 9.

V, 7: I agree with Chauveau (cf. *CdE* 71, 67) that *m-sꜣ* here is a conjunction. What follows is part of the same sentence as the preceding line.

T.'s commentary is followed by a continuous transliteration and translation of the poem (pp. 68–77), which more or less replicate those given in the previous section. As in that section, the last few fragmentary lines of Column V are omitted. On pp. 78–9 there is a brief discussion of the poem's rhythm and metrical form. Proceeding from the view expressed by Krall 'dass er nahezu einen koptischen Text in demotischem Gewande darstellt', T. 'translates' some of the better preserved lines from the third and fourth columns of the poem into a sort of Saʿidic Coptic and attempts to reconstruct their metrical pattern using the rules devised by Erman and Junker for their analyses of Coptic poetry.[24] Following

[23] See H. S. Smith, 'The Saqqara Papyri', in *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists, Oxford, 24–31 July 1974* (EES Graeco-Roman Memoirs 61; London, 1975), 258. I am grateful to John Tait for allowing me to cite from this text here.

[24] A. Erman, *Bruchstücke koptischer Volkslitteratur* (Berlin, 1897), 44–52; H. Junker, *Koptische Poesie des 10.*

their system, some of the lines in question emerge as units containing five cola subdivided into groups of three and two. He does not address the problem of how the individual lines are to be combined into larger groups like strophes.

In a *Nachwort* (pp. 80–3), T. readverts to the question of where the poem about the harpist was composed, stating once again his view that this must have been Akhmim, and providing a useful summary of the evidence for Greek and Egyptian literary activity there between the first century BC and the fifth century AD. I shall postpone further consideration of this and the preceding section until the end of my review.

Pp. 84–92 are occupied by a bibliography and an index of passages cited from Egyptian and Greek texts, both very helpful. Even more valuable is T.'s glossary (pp. 93–123). Like the one in his earlier publication, *Die Lehre des Anchscheschonqi (P. BM 10508)* (Bonn, 1984), this not only lists all the words which occur in the poem, but reproduces them in facsimile form as well. Thus, it constitutes a significant research tool in its own right, and it is to be hoped that future editors of demotic texts will follow T.'s example when preparing the glossaries of their publications.

The volume concludes with six photographic plates, one for each of the five columns of the poem, and a further one showing the back of the papyrus roll in its entirety. As noted above, it is regrettable that not even a single photograph of the front has been included. Generally speaking, the plates are sharp and clear. That depicting Column II incorporates a fragment discovered some years ago by Zauzich which allows one to complete lines 9–18 of the column in question. This is absent from all other published photographs of the manuscript, including the general view on plate 6 of the present volume.

It has to be admitted, nevertheless, that this part of the book is something of a disappointment. No totally satisfactory photographic record of the back of P. Vienna KM 3877 has ever appeared in print. The plates which accompany Krall's 1884 treatment of the text are blurred and indistinct, and in any case only show the fourth and fifth columns. Those in E. Revillout's *Un Poème satyrique* (1885) are very much better; in terms of sharpness, they are superior in some places to the ones in the present book. But the manuscript was photographed against a black background when these were made. Consequently, it is difficult to distinguish cracks and holes in the papyrus from actual traces of ink. For the plates in É. Boudier's *Métrique démotique* of 1897, on the other hand, the text was photographed against a white background, but lit in such a way that much of the writing is washed out or indistinct.

In making the plates for the volume under review, the manuscript has been photographed against a light-coloured background, but without any attempt to eliminate shadows around the edges and where cracks occur. Again, this makes it difficult to tell what is ink and what is not. See, for instance, the traces after *pꜣy=f* in III, 1, the damaged word after *iḫ* in III, 16, or the signs at the beginning of V, 5. Here and elsewhere, one experiences frustration in trying to make out what is actually written. The photographs do not allow one to make an independent examination of the traces and decide whether the readings suggested by T. are correct or not.

Furthermore, it is evident, by comparison with earlier photographs, that some fragments of the text have become dislodged since the latter were made, and these have not always been repositioned properly. Note, for instance, the beginnings of lines 8–20 of Column III, where the initial sign in each is consistently out of alignment with those that follow, or the fragment preserving the middle of Column V, which has slipped too close to the one to the right, thereby obscuring some signs.[25] The most serious problem of this sort affects lines 6–8 of the latter column. A small fragment which preserves the ends of these lines has broken away. This has been replaced, but upside down and misaligned so that it now stands at the ends of lines 7–9. Presumably these fragments became dislodged when the new fragment mentioned previously was inserted in Column II, since the photograph of the text in plate 6, taken before the latter was added, shows them all in their proper places. Such oversights are unfortunate since, with a bit more care, it should have been possible to produce a photographic record of the manuscript that would completely supersede all earlier versions.

Having surveyed the individual sections of the volume under review, I should now like to devote some attention to matters raised in them which have a wider import beyond their immediate relevance to the

Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1908), I, 35–56. Cf. also T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book. Prosody and Mandaean Parallels* (Uppsala, 1949), 3–27.

[25] E.g. the *m* of *mtry* in line 5 and the flesh determinative of *iwf* in line 8.

text under consideration. One such is the question of the metrical structure of the poem. A broad indication of this is provided by the presence of verse points written in red ink throughout the text. There are two in each line, one roughly in the middle and one at the end. An equally valuable guide, according to T., is the 'stichische Schreibung' of the manuscript. One should, however, use caution here. The poem is stichic in the literal sense of that word, i.e. 'consisting of verses or lines'. But T. uses the same term to describe the formats of such demotic wisdom texts as P. BM 10508 (the *Instructions of Ankhsheshonqy*), P. Insinger, and P. Louvre 2414, which are actually written in monostichs, in other words, 'single sentences that are grammatically and logically complete and self-contained', [26] each one occupying a line of its own. From this, one infers that he considers the same to be true of the poem about the harpist. But, although some sections of the latter are certainly monostichic, others are not. Compare, for instance, III, 19 – IV, 6, which, grammatically and logically, constitute a single unit. Thus, for establishing the metre of the poem, the verse points are primary and the 'stichische Schreibung' (in T.'s sense of the term) secondary. The former are employed throughout the text; the latter features only in certain passages.

One should bear in mind, as well, that the monostichic format is purely an external feature of individual manuscripts, not an inherent part of the composition which they chance to preserve. This may be verified by comparing, for instance, P. BM 10507, IV–XII and P. Harkness, II, 11–III, 8, both of which are inscribed with copies of the same mortuary ritual. In the former the text is presented in monostich form; in the latter it is written continuously.[27]

As stated above, for purposes of metrical analysis, T. assumes that the language of the poem about the harpist is a form of Coptic, and he applies to it the rules for analysing Coptic poetry devised by Erman and Junker. He is well aware of the problems inherent in this approach, and emphasises the experimental nature of what he has done.[28] One such difficulty is that the language of the text, which features grammatical constructions like the *sḏm=f* form, the past participle *i-ir*, and the relative *r-sḏm=f*, as well as such lexical archaisms as the verb *mꜣꜣ*, 'see', and the preposition *mw*, 'like', can hardly be considered a form of Coptic. Another problem is that the methodology employed by Erman and Junker has itself been called into question. Although they realised that Coptic metre relied heavily upon stress or accent, they failed to differentiate between word-stress and sentence-stress, using the former as a basis for their metrical analyses whereas, it has been argued, only the latter is relevant.[29]

I myself have tried to analyse the metre of those sections of the poem about the harpist which T. chose for his experiment, and some others as well, using the rules outlined by Fecht.[30] The language of the composition is actually closer to Late Egyptian than it is to Coptic, and these rules can be applied to Late Egyptian, so the attempt seemed worth making. This is not the place to reproduce the resulting metrical transcription, but it is striking that by using Fecht's principles, one obtains a higher proportion of lines in which the number of cola between each verse point is balanced than is the case with T.'s method. Another result is to cast further doubt upon the contention first made by Sottas, and taken up in the present book, that the unusual word order in certain lines of the poem has been determined by requirements of prosody. I have already discussed some of the lines in question above.[31] Compare also IV, 7: *iw=f šʿfy tꜣ byn.t m-sꜣ tḫy iw wnḥ nby nb r-r=f*, 'He begins to raise the harp after (the onset of) drunkenness, when every sin has become apparent to him'. T. suggests that *iw wnḥ nby nb r-r=f* has been used here, instead of an alternative like *iw nby nb wnḥ r-r=f*, for reasons of prosody. But, according to Fecht's system, the number of cola in the second half of the line would be the same no matter which version was adopted.

I hasten to add that my approach to this problem is just as much an experiment as T.'s is. Nor have we exhausted the available approaches between us. To date, much attention has been devoted to the

[26] Thus M. Lichtheim, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context* (OBO 52; Freiburg and Göttingen, 1983), 1.

[27] See M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, 27 and pls. 4–11.

[28] See, for instance, his remarks at the bottom of p. 79, and in *ZPE* 77, 237–8.

[29] See G. Fecht, 'The Structural Principle of Ancient Egyptian Elevated Language', in J. C. de Moor and W. G. E. Watson (eds), *Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Prose* (AOAT 42; Kevelaer, 1993), 70–2, in particular 71.

[30] See G. Fecht, *Literarische Zeugnisse zur 'Persönlichen Frömmigkeit' in Ägypten. Analyse der Beispiele aus den ramessidischen Schulpapyri* (Heidelberg, 1965), 13–38.

[31] See comments on II, 10 and IV, 11.

metrical analysis of Old, Middle, and Late Egyptian texts on the one hand, and to that of Coptic texts on the other, but virtually none has been given to demotic metre. It is greatly to T.'s credit that he has opened up this neglected area for study.

Another important thesis advocated in the volume under review is that the poem about the harpist, although composed by an Egyptian, is based upon Greek literary models. Various types of evidence are adduced in support of this thesis. A major argument is that no similar texts are known from earlier Egyptian literature; therefore the inspiration for this one must have come from a non-Egyptian source. But are there really no indigenous parallels? I am struck, for instance, by the similarities between the poem and the so-called 'satirische Streitschrift' of P. Anastasi 1, written in the Nineteenth Dynasty.[32] Both texts mock, in verse, someone who pretends to greater expertise in a field than he actually possesses.

There are also clear parallels, it seems to me, between the poem and some of the verse model letters preserved in the Late Egyptian Miscellanies, also of New Kingdom date. Compare, for instance, the letter of rebuke addressed to a dissipated scribe in P. Anastasi 4, XI, 8–XII, 5.[33] This reprobate is said to have abandoned writing in order to spend his time 'whirling around' in pleasures, wandering from street to street whilst reeking of beer. His critic bemoans: 'If only you would realise that wine is an abomination and abjure the *šdḥ*-beverage, cease to set the drinking-vessel in your heart, and forget about *tnrk*-wine'.[34] Even worse, the former scribe has become a singer and now performs to the accompaniment of the pipe, flute, and lyre. The letter describes his appearance at a feast or party as he sits surrounded by harlots, keeping time to the music by using his own belly as a drum. It is difficult not to see in this scribe-turned-singer a forbear of the harpist in our poem, albeit one whose behaviour is even more outrageous.

It might be objected that those who are mocked or vilified in the texts which I have just cited are fictional characters, not real people. Thus, there is no real similarity with our poem. But as Morenz has aptly pointed out, there is a further parallel in the so-called *Admonitions of Menna* (O. Chicago OI 12074).[35] Here both the critic and the object of his criticism are historical figures. Menna was a draughtsman at Deir el-Medinah during the Twentieth Dynasty, and the wayward figure whose actions he reproves is his son and apprentice Pairy, also known as Merisakhmet.[36]

This raises a further question: is it absolutely certain that the Harudja vilified in our poem was a real person, as T. claims? His name (we are not told his patronym) is one commonly found on mummy labels from the village of Bompae in the Ninth Upper Egyptian (Panopolite) nome, where there was a cult devoted to a local deity called Harudja.[37] Since our harpist is said to have begun his career in that nome, one might take this as evidence in support of the view that he was a real person. Equally, however, the composer of the poem could have invented a fictional harpist, chosen the Panopolite nome as the setting for his early career, and then given him a name in common use there in order to lend an air of verisimilitude to his creation. I think that there can be few Egyptian texts so self-consciously literary as this one is. It is striking, for instance, how the poet delights in using rhetorical devices while drawing the attention of his audience to the fact that he is doing so. At one point (V, 4), he pretends to have wearied of enumerating Harudja's failings and says: 'It is not worthwhile to let these things come forth from upon my tongue',[38] but then promptly adds: 'so one says in order to cause them to be hearkened to further/all the more'. When a writer actually takes pride in telling his readers that he is manipulating their response to what he has written, it is a clear sign that any attempt to distinguish those elements of

[32] H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I* (Wiesbaden, 1983).

[33] A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (BAe 7; Brussels, 1937), 47–8; cf. R. A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954), 182–8.

[34] P. Anastasi 4, XI, 12–XII, 1.

[35] See *OLZ* 91, 544–5.

[36] For recent bibliography on this text, see J. L. Foster, 'Oriental Institute Ostracon No. 12074: "Menna's Lament" or "Letter to a Wayward Son"', *JSSEA* 14 (1984), 88–99; H. Goedicke, '"Menna's Lament"', *RdE* 38 (1987), 63–80; W. Guglielmi, 'Eine "Lehre" für einen reiselustigen Sohn (Ostrakon Oriental Institute 12074)',*WdO* 14 (1983), 147–66.

[37] See M. Chauveau, 'Autour des étiquettes de momies de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Vienne', *BIFAO* 92 (1992), 106–7.

[38] Reading *n ỉ:y* instead of *n=y* after *pyr*. For this correction, see Chauveau, *CdE* 71, 67.

it which are 'real' from those which are artifice is bound to be a hazardous enterprise.

Another objection which might be raised against my comparison of the poem about the harpist with these texts of earlier date is that they belong to different genres and were written for a quite different purpose. As noted previously, T. would identify the poem as an invective, a work composed with purely malicious, defamatory intent, and thus unlike either of those which I have cited. How certain can we be that this is correct? Textbook definitions of literary genres like invective and satire, normally based upon the literatures of countries other than Egypt, set up clear theoretical distinctions between them. But in practice, it is not always easy to distinguish things like satire, mockery, and invective from one another in an ancient Egyptian literary text, particularly a composition like our poem of which both the beginning and the end are lost. It is relatively simple to identify a critical description or rebuke of someone. But discerning the spirit in which it was written, the underlying attitude of the writer, is more problematic. The draughtsman Menna, for instance, has very harsh things to say about the behaviour of his son in his *Admonitions*. There can be no doubt, however, that these are motivated by sincere concern for his offspring's well-being if he does not mend his ways.

In the case of our poem, one can imagine other purposes for which it may have been composed, apart from that identified by T. I would not wish to exclude the possibility, for example, that it was designed as a didactic or moralising work, in which the behaviour of the dissolute harpist is presented as a pattern of conduct to be avoided. On the other hand, there are clearly humorous elements in the text, for example, in the description of the protagonist's disastrous performance at the feast, and in the generally exaggerated manner in which his personal failings are recounted (cf., for instance, V, 1, where it is claimed that the harpist's misdeeds outnumber those of the god Seth himself). Is such exaggeration intended to injure, or simply to amuse and entertain?

But T. bases his argument that our poem has been influenced by Greek literary models not only on its genre, but on specific motifs which occur in it as well. One such motif is that of gluttony. According to T. (p. 14), 'Die Figur des fress- und sauflustigen Mannes ist in der ägyptischen Literatur ohne Vorbild'. Therefore, the harpist of P. Vienna KM 3877 who drinks enough wine for two and eats sufficient meat for three, whose constant refrain is 'I am hungry, let me drink. Is there anything to eat?', must be based upon a non-Egyptian original.

However, already in the *Instruction for Kagemni,* attributed to the reign of Huni of the Third Dynasty and one of the oldest known Egyptian wisdom texts, considerable emphasis is placed upon the opprobrium which attaches to gluttons and their behaviour.[39] Likewise, the New Kingdom *Instruction of Ani* warns against greed in matters of food.[40] Elsewhere in demotic, P. Insinger devotes an entire chapter to this theme.[41] The contempt in which the glutton is held, and the dire consequences which he suffers as a result of his unrestrained appetites, are accorded proverbial status in that text, and must therefore have been familiar motifs to its readers. This selection of examples, drawn from different periods of Egyptian history, should be sufficient to show that the figure of the glutton, far from being unknown in earlier Egyptian literature, was a well-established part of the indigenous tradition.

Another motif which T. regards as a borrowing from the Greeks is that of comparison with other, lower creatures. Thus, the poet says in III, 17, so great is the harpist's love for meat that he is attracted to blood more swiftly than a fly is, or a vulture when it sees carrion. Such comparisons dehumanise the harpist by equating his behaviour with that of beasts. As T. notes, similar ones occur in Greek literary works, but there is no need to assume that those in our text are in any way derived from them. Good native precedents can be found, once again, in the model letters of the New Kingdom Late Egyptian Miscellanies, where idle scribes who have abandoned their studies are compared by their teachers with horses,[42] asses,[43] antelope,[44] and geese,[45] among other creatures.

[39] P. Prisse, I, 3–7 (A. H. Gardiner, 'The Instruction Addressed to Kagemni and his Brethren', *JEA* 32 (1946), 73 with pl. 14).

[40] P. Boulaq 4, VIII, 3–10 (A. Volten, *Studien zum Weisheitsbuch des Anii* (Copenhagen, 1937), 116–18).

[41] P. Insinger, V, 12–VII, 19 (F. Lexa, *Papyrus Insinger* (Paris, 1926), 14–22).

[42] P. Anastasi 4, II, 5 (Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 36 line 7).

[43] P. Anastasi 4, II, 6 and P. Sallier 1, VII, 11 (Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 36 line 8 and 85 lines 10–11).

[44] P. Anastasi 4, II, 6 and P. Lansing, III, 8–9 (Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 36 line 9 and 102 lines 11–12).

[45] P. Lansing, III, 5 (Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 102 lines 5–6).

In IV, 9 the harpist is described as singing about *n3 ḥsf.w n n3 s-ḥm.wt*, 'the faults/reproofs of women'. As T. has noted in an earlier article, this calls to mind the phrase *p3 ḥsf n s-ḥm.t bn.t*, 'the reproof of a bad woman', found in P. Insinger, VIII, 10, which some have interpreted as the title of a specific composition of misogynistic tenor.[46] The parallel to that passage in P. Carlsberg 2, IV, 10 substitutes *n3 sḫ.w ḥn n3 ḥsf n s-[ḥm.t]*, 'the writings in "the faults/reproofs of a w[oman"]', which supports the idea that reference is made to a written work of some sort. T. thinks that the work in question must be an Egyptian translation of a Greek original. He cites a collection of aphorisms and literary allusions whose theme is the misconduct of women, preserved in a Berlin papyrus of the third century BC, as a possible source. The title of the latter is ψόγος γυναικῶν, which he thinks must underlie the *n3 ḥsf.w n n3 s-ḥm.wt* and its variants known from the demotic papyri. However, as T. himself notes, there is no shortage of Egyptian texts which express misogynistic attitudes in aphoristic form, whether of pharaonic date or from the Graeco-Roman Period.[47] Consequently, I do not see why what the harpist sings in our passage need be of any other than purely Egyptian inspiration.

There are, in addition, a number of other lines in the poem where T. detects Greek influence in the form of a particular expression, simile or stylistic device. For these, see remarks on the commentary above, where I have tried to argue that an alternative view is possible.[48] On the whole, I feel that the harpist in our poem represents a familiar Egyptian literary type: the fool who is doomed to remain in a state of ignorance, not through lack of any opportunity to acquire knowledge, but rather by his own refusal to heed instruction when it is offered to him. One of the maxims of Ankhsheshonqy warns that such a person will hate the one who attempts to teach him.[49] According to another, the fool says 'Insulting me is what they do' when he is instructed.[50] In the much earlier P. Lansing, a scribe berates one of his fellows for having abandoned their profession, only to take up residence in the brewers' quarter like one whose sole desire is to drink beer.[51] He reproves his bibulous colleague thus: 'I spend the whole day teaching you and you do not listen. What I have taught you is not in your mind'.[52] Compare III, 11 of our poem, where it is said of the wine-loving harpist: *wn-mtw=f sb3.t mn-mtw=f*, 'He has instruction but does not possess (i.e. retain) it'. Likewise, in III, 13, the harpist is likened to a fool who holds in his hand a book containing all manner of knowledge but, the text implies, cannot be troubled to open it.

One final point which merits consideration is T.'s contention that Akhmim was an important centre of cultural interchange between Greeks and Egyptians. Perhaps so, but I think that the evidence to support such a view is rather limited. Certainly, Akhmim is the provenance of a number of major demotic literary manuscripts of the first century BC and first century AD. Some three centuries later, Greek literary activity was flourishing there. From the fourth and fifth centuries AD, the works of a number of classically educated Panopolite writers and poets are known, some of which display a clear interest in native Egyptian culture on the part of their authors.[53] But there is no real overlap between these two bodies of material. When exactly did Greek speakers at Akhmim begin to study the indigenous traditions of the locality? Were the Egyptian speakers there at any time receptive to Hellenistic culture and, if so, was it as early as the second century AD?[54] These are questions which require further study and additional evidence to answer.

[46] See H. J. Thissen, '"Tadel der Frauen"', *Enchoria* 14 (1986), 159–60.

[47] *Enchoria* 14, 160. Cf. also p. 14 of the volume under review.

[48] Similar opinions are expressed by Devauchelle in *RdE* 47, 212, and Chauveau in *CdE* 71, 64.

[49] P. BM 10508, VII, 4 (Glanville, *The Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy*, pl. 7).

[50] P. BM 10508, X, 6 (Glanville, *The Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy*, pl. 10).

[51] P. Lansing, VII, 6–VIII, 7 (Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 106–7). Cf. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 395–400.

[52] P. Lansing, VIII, 3–4.

[53] See references cited by T. on pp. 81–2.

[54] T. (p. 81) cites the Strasbourg papyrus inscribed with the story of the *Contest for the Benefice of Amun* (probably first century BC in date) as an example of a demotic text from Akhmim which displays the influence of the Homeric epics. For a more sceptical view on the extent, if any, of Greek influence upon the cycle of which this narrative forms a part, see now F. Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros* (Vienna, 1996), 49ff., who emphasises rather its traditional Egyptian character. T. has published a rejoinder to this, entitled 'Homerische Einfluss im Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus?', in *SÄK* 27 (1999), 369–87, but in my opinion his attempt to refute Hoffmann's arguments is unsuccessful.

To date, most discussions of whether or not Egyptian literature of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods was influenced by Greek models have been hindered by certain preconceptions. Egyptians of this epoch are generally stereotyped as mere preservationists, devoted to the maintenance of ancient traditions, but incapable of creating anything new. Therefore, when confronted with a demotic literary work exhibiting features which do not obviously derive from a native tradition stretching back continuously over a period of centuries, there has been a tendency for scholars to attribute these to the influence of the Greeks. But as more and more work is done on demotic literature, and new texts are published with ever greater frequency, it is becoming increasingly clear that the Graeco-Roman Period was a very creative one in terms of indigenous literary production. Thus, there is no need to invoke borrowing in order to account for features of this type. What is new in a given demotic text may simply be a native innovation. More than once in the preceding paragraphs, I have compared the poem about the wayward harpist with earlier works like the verse letters addressed to dissolute scribes preserved in the Late Egyptian Miscellanies. My purpose in doing so was not to suggest that there is any direct link between them or that the former is somehow based upon the latter, but rather to make the point that the Egyptians were fully capable of creating a verse portrait of a figure like the harpist without any external stimulus.

Although I have discussed T.'s book at considerable length, it is possible to present a final assessment of it briefly. Despite the fact that I have disagreed with him on a number of points, this assessment can only be a highly favourable one. To his credit, T. has advanced our understanding of the poem about the harpist enormously, giving us a reliable edition of the text where before there was none, and thereby placing the study of this difficult composition on an entirely new basis. That in itself would be a praiseworthy accomplishment, but he has actually done much more. He has used his edition as a framework within which to raise such wider issues as how and with what tools this particular text, and other works of demotic literature, should be analysed, and what they can tell us about cultural interchange in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Any book has value if it poses new questions for the consideration of its readership. A book has great value if the questions it poses are important ones, and it treats them with intelligence and critical acumen. By any standard, T. has written a book of great value, for which he deserves warm thanks and congratulations.

MARK SMITH

The Complete Temples of Egypt. By RICHARD H. WILKINSON. 261 × 201 mm. Pp. 256, figs., ills., plans. London, Thames and Hudson, 2000. ISBN 0 500 05100 3. Price £24.95.

This book has five main chapters. The first one concerns the origins of the temples, their development and further history. The second, third and fourth deal with constructional techniques, the symbolic function of the temple and the religious component, while chapter 5 gives a complete account of all the remaining ancient Egyptian temples, arranged more or less geographically from north to south. A map, chronology, bibliography and index complete the volume. It is lavishly illustrated with colour and black and white photographs, line drawings and tables.

In this, it almost mirrors the German-language book (unfortunately never translated into English) by D. Arnold, *Die Tempel Ägyptens. Götterwohnungen, Baudenkmäler, Kultstätten* (Zurich, 1992), which is dutifully mentioned in the bibliography (p. 246). Of the two books, that by Arnold appears to me to be the superior one. Layout and illustrations are better (although not more numerous) and the description of the individual temples is more extensive than in the book under review.

The treatment of temple origins contains some puzzling gaps. For example, although the Satet temple on Elephantine with its long succession of constructions extending back to the First Dynasty is mentioned on p. 212 as one of the earliest in Egypt, it is strangely enough omitted in the section on temple origins on pp. 16–19. Also absent is any mention of the even longer temple sequence at Tell Ibrahim Awad in the Delta, although this might be due to the publication deadline of the book. The series of six main temple phases at the site reaches back from the early Middle Kingdom all the way to

the Naqada III Period.[1] Another strange omission, in chapter 5, is the absence of any reference to the large temple at Tell el-Balamun,[2] although it is mentioned on p. 39, with a reference to foundation deposits. Although the removal of the stone architecture originally erected at Qantir/Piramesse to San el-Hagar/Tanis is mentioned in the paragraph on Qantir on pp. 108–9, it is not discussed on pp. 112–13 in the description of Tanis itself. Contrary to what is stated on p.113, the royal tombs there probably did have some superstructure, possibly in mudbrick, although it is not mentioned by the excavator, Pierre Montet.

Returning to p. 109, I think that by now the probability of Tell ed-Dabʿa being ancient Avaris can be amended to a near-certainty. The Austrian excavators of the site, incidentally, might be surprised to find themselves identified as 'Czech' in the caption of the upper right photograph on that page. Among other mistakes, one might note that on p. 47, the obviously Coptic inscription in the upper right photograph is described as 'Greek' in the caption, and on p. 142, the rock temple of el-Salamuni is not mentioned by name but is obviously referred to in the text on Akhmim.

Although the bibliography on pp. 246–50 does not claim to be complete, and any selection must always be arbitrary, two more references at the very least should be added on p. 248—under 'The Role of the Common People in Worship', the study by G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford, 1993), and under 'Middle Egypt: From Memphis to Asyut' on p. 249, the publications on the Ashmunein excavations by the British Museum Expedition.

In summary, this is a practical book for the English-speaking market, although readers of German are better served elsewhere.

WILLEM M. VAN HAARLEM

Early Dynastic Egypt. By TOBY A. H. WILKINSON. 239 × 162 mm. Pp. xviii + 413, figs., ills., tables, maps, plans. London and New York, Routledge, 1999. ISBN 0 415 18633 1. Price not stated.

This book has a transparent subdivision along the following lines: the first part treats the history of research on Early Dynastic Egypt and state formation, and provides a historical framework. The second part is concerned with analyses of administration, foreign connections, the nature of kingship, funerary architecture and religion. The final section attempts to establish the role of cities and regions within the pattern of a centralized early Egypt. A glossary, an extensive and up-to-date bibliography and an index conclude the book.

The history and present state of research are aptly summarized, and investigations in the Delta are not omitted or cursorily treated, as has been so often the case until relatively recently. In the section on the origins of the Egyptian state, the far-fetched theories of Bruce Williams, postulating an early pharaonic kingship in Nubia, which are in fact only based on a single object (the famous incense burner from Qustul; see p. 194), are, in my opinion, not dismissed definitely enough on p. 39. They are still given far too much credit. However, the historical outline which follows is plausible enough. The detailed analysis of the state organization, both central and regional, which forms the beginning of the second part of the book, provides a clear summary of the present state of our knowledge, but does not bring many new insights. Once again, the analysis of Early Dynastic kingship in chapter 6 is a very clear summary of the current state of our knowledge. The section devoted to human sacrifice (pp. 225–7) offers a careful treatment of this controversial issue.

In the section dealing with the architecture of royal tombs, the author produces arguments in favour of identifying Abydos as the definitive burial ground of the Early Dynastic pharaohs (pp. 259–60). He dismisses the opposite hypothesis in favour of Saqqara as 'a minority view', but this still leaves me unconvinced. A strong case can indeed be made out for Abydos as the ancestral burial ground, but a claim for Saqqara can be supported by its status as the burial place for the newly founded capital of the

[1] J. Leclant and A. Minault-Gout, 'Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1997–1998', *Orientalia* 68 (1999), 334; T. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt* (London and New York, 1999), 316

[2] A. J. Spencer, 'Work of the British Museum at Tell el-Balamun', *EA* 7 (1995), 9–11; id., *Excavations at Tell el-Balamun 1991–1994* (London, 1995); id., *Excavations at Tell el-Balamun 1995–1998* (London, 1999).

unified kingdom. So far, the superior architecture of the Saqqara tombs compared to the Abydos set (although admittedly the poorer state of preservation at Abydos should be taken into account) seems to me a strong argument in favour of Saqqara. The idea that courtiers—believed to be the owners of the Saqqara tombs according to the champions of Abydos as the royal burial site—had finer tombs than their kings seems improbable to me.

The author draws attention to the more or less general level of access to local shrines in this early period, a situation which contrasts markedly with the restrictions of later times (pp. 271–2). His view seems to be confirmed by recent investigations of the temple phase of this period at Tell Ibrahim Awad by this reviewer. The author rightly remarks that this might be explained in the context of state religion versus local worship, the former gradually getting the upper hand. Several other shrines are discussed in the light of this interpretation. The final part of the book offers an analysis of the role of cities and the different regions of Egypt against the backdrop of the increasing centralization of the country.

In short, this book presents an admirable and extensive survey of the current state of research on Early Dynastic Egypt, without providing major new insights into the subject.

WILLEM M. VAN HAARLEM

An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom. 2 vols. By DILWYN JONES. BAR International Series 866. 210 × 297 mm. Pp. xii + 1045. Oxford, Archaeopress, 2000. ISBN 1 84171 069 5. Price £110.

The Old Kingdom is perhaps better served than any other major period in ancient Egypt with material for the study of titles, at least from the context of their use in tombs. The cemeteries are extensive, the tombs full of titles, and the extent of publication of this material is probably better than that of later monuments—witness the systematic publications of large parts of Giza by Junker and Hassan and the gradual appearance of Reisner's material; Saqqara is somewhat less systematically covered, but nonetheless there are many good individual tomb publications, and Mariette's *Mastabas* is still very useful 120 years after the author's death. Most of the major provincial cemeteries of the Fourth to Eighth Dynasties have been recorded, largely by the EES and more recently by Macquarie University. This wealth of material is reflected in the number of title-based studies, in particular those by Helck, Baer, Kanawati, and Martin-Pardey, as well as my own. One must also not forget the extensive studies on detailed aspects of titles by Fischer, although it has long been my regret that he has never gathered together his unparalleled knowledge of the Old Kingdom into a large synthesising study.

A reference work pulling this wide range of material together from a relatively neutral standpoint has long been needed. The pioneering one was Murray's *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, published in 1908, which indexed the occurrences of names and titles in the principal publications of monuments available at the time, mainly dealing with Saqqara and the provinces. At that time, the study of the titles themselves was in its infancy, and much primary material has subsequently been published, notably from Giza. Thus, all Egyptologists should welcome the present volume, which, by its sheer extent of 1045 pages alone, illustrates the abundance of material at our disposal.

Reviewing works like this is not easy. It is impossible to check every reference, and pointless anyway as everyone makes errors, no matter how hard we try. Pointing out omissions is similarly counter-productive, as the material is constantly evolving. To see the minefield through which any compiler of such indexes must navigate, one only has to read Franke's review of Ward's index of Middle Kingdom titles in *GM* 83 (1984), 103–24. Thus, I simply checked a random selection of references, and they were invariably correct. As for completeness, there are no fears that Jones might have lacked access to books, as Ward did in Beirut; Jones has carried out his research in the incomparable library of the Griffith Institute, where he also had to hand the Institute's archives and the materials of the *Topographical Bibliography*.

The only comments which I can offer which might be of use to readers are on the underlying principles of the work and its layout and usefulness. The introduction on pp. v–vii does not explain exactly what material is presented under a title entry, and how the entries are arranged. I think a page or so on

this could profitably have been added, since it is not clear to me whether each entry mentions every holder of each title, or merely a cross-section (Murray's index aimed to give every attestation known to her). References to sources of titles also appear to be mixed in with discussions of them. At the risk of making the book longer, it would be beneficial to split each entry into 'Attestations' and 'Discussions'. I noted this first when randomly looking at entry 976, *imy-r gs-pr*. I observed some references to the prosopography of my *Administration,* but these are not all the examples I quoted; for example, my reference to Khabaukhnum is given, and also the Jéquier reference, but not my reference to Mehu, who only appears under Altenmüller's *Mehu.* This could have been clarified in the introduction, as at present, the order and structure of each entry is less than clear, giving the impression that this is simply the order in which they were collected. Furthermore, is unpublished material included? The introduction also mentions that the Gardiner system of transliteration is that used—why then do we find both *i* and *j* (as in the *Wörterbuch*)?

I did look deliberately at titles written with the hieroglyphs  and  (Gardiner sign list S19 and S20) as the reading is still disputed, although Fischer's note in *Varia Nova,* 50–2, has increased the likelihood that *ḥtm* is better than *sḏ3wt*. Jones very reasonably follows Fischer and puts those which do not show the phonetics of *sḏ3wt* under *ḥtm*, but a cross-reference for those who would search under the other reading would have been a great help.[1] Common titles such as the latter raise again the question of whether the material is exhaustive or not, which ought to have been clarified in the introduction.

Attempts could perhaps have been made to make the book smaller by the use of a denser page layout and a smaller typeface, perhaps even in double columns (it is a reference book, after all). £110 for this book is not cheap, given that it has no photographs or illustrations; a reduction in the amount of paper would have reduced the unit cost. I do not think it was really necessary to put every instance of a reference to Murray in large bold, as it spoils the layout. Running headers would also have helped the user to find a title more quickly.

I end this review with my major concern, which is the future. This book is going to be utterly indispensable for anyone working on titles in the Old Kingdom, but how often can a revised edition be printed? What will happen to the references in new publications? Was a printed book really the right way to publish such material at the end of the second millennium AD? Every reader will wish that Jones keeps adding to his data as more work on Old Kingdom titles appears, but how easy will he find it to communicate this additional material in usable form?

While books should remain the principal place of publication for most new primary material, publications such as indexes are these days best placed in a searchable electronic medium, which also can be easily updated. The two which spring to mind are the CD ROM and the use of the World Wide Web. The year 2000 saw perhaps one of the last appearances in print of one of our principal reference sources, the *Topographical Bibliography*, and there is already a basic part of the new volume VIII available on-line (http://www.ashmol.ox.ac.uk/gri/3.html), although whether this is a 'database' is debatable. The *Annual Egyptological Bibliography* is partly on-line (http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/aeb.html), and a CD ROM is in preparation; even the slip archive of the *Wörterbuch* is available electronically (http://www.bbaw.de/vh/aegypt/). These are, of course, long-standing and (relatively) well-funded projects, and not the 'labour of love' of one individual.That said, electronic publication of research such as that behind the present book is now vital if it is not to become outdated. Dilwyn Jones has done a remarkable job of work on Old Kingdom titles, and it is to be hoped that he can swiftly move it into electronic media so that it can remain as up-to-date as possible.

NIGEL STRUDWICK

[1] This applies to other titles: for example, I looked up the title  which I have always read as *ḏ-mr dw3 ḥr ḫnty-pt*, to find it read here as *ḏ-mr ḥr-sb3w ḫnty-pt* (no. 1331). I would not want to disagree with this, but would like to see a cross-reference in the other location.

Das Grab des Hui und des Kel. Theben Nr. 54. By DANIEL POLZ. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 74. 255 × 355 mm. Pp. 148, pls. 43 (18 in colour). Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 1997. ISBN 3 8053 1856 1. Price DM 180.

Das Grab des Hui und des Kel started life as a doctoral dissertation prepared for the University of Heidelberg during the years 1983–6, a doctorate duly granted in 1988. On its acceptance, copies of the dissertation were generously distributed to various museum and university libraries throughout the world. As a result, this work is already well-known to the Egyptological community. This, the published version, is a slightly shortened and partially updated reworking of that thesis, though the conclusions reached in the doctoral dissertation remain basically unaltered. The book fits well with the high standard and general layout of Theban tomb publications which we have now come to expect from the teams based in Heidelberg, with full descriptions of the scenes and texts, supplemented by superb photographs and a catalogue of objects found.

Polz provides a very full account of the tomb, its architecture and the decoration found in it. It is clear that the tomb saw several phases of use, which the author terms Phases I–V. Phase I comprises the original construction for the engraver of Amun, Hui, and his wife, Taneheruensi; Phase II contains ideological destruction during the Amarna Period; Phase III is the restoration and reuse by the superintendent of works in the temple of Khons, Kel *(Knr);* Phase IV encompasses further decoration under Kel's son, Khonsu; and Phase V covers everything from the New Kingdom (post Khonsu) to modern times. The principal 'owners'of the tomb are otherwise unknown, but Polz persuasively argues (p. 135) that Phase I should be dated to the last third of the reign of Amenophis III and that Phases III and IV should be attributed to the reign of Ramesses II. It is, however, unclear how much of this stylistic analysis is Polz's own work, and how much is due to G. Björkmann's unpublished M.A. thesis which deals specifically with the decoration programme of TT 54. Polz thanks Björkmann for a copy of this thesis in the foreword but makes no further reference to it, and this reviewer was, unfortunately, unable to consult a copy. It would appear that most of the tomb chapel was decorated under Hui, although some parts (for example, the so-called Wall 4) were not finished at Hui's death, and were continued, in a later style, under Kel. The erasure not only of the word 'Amun', but of entire figures of priests during the iconoclasm of the Amarna age has led to some interesting restorations, with the missing priests being painted back in outline only (as is shown to good effect in colour plate 3).

The general description of the tomb decoration, the suggested dating of the phases and the overall presentation of the book merit the highest praise, but Polz's interpretation of the architectural phases of the tomb (which to my mind is incorrect) and his treatment of the finds are not of such a high standard. Essentially, the tomb follows the normal Eighteenth Dynasty practice, comprising a forecourt, short entrance corridor and an east–west transverse hall with a statue niche in the back wall facing the entrance. In both the eastern and western ends of the transverse hall is a tomb shaft, Shafts I and 2, each surrounded by mud-brick walls. Each shaft descends for a short distance before opening into a single burial chamber, Chambers 1 (with Shaft 1) and 2 (with Shaft 2) respectively. In the forecourt is a much wider and deeper shaft, Shaft 3, which descends to a chamber, Chamber 3. Within Chamber 3 is a second shaft, Shaft 4, leading to a second burial chamber, Chamber 4. It is at once obvious that Shafts 1 and 2 are architecturally similar, whilst the Shaft 3/4 complex is different. As Polz admits, normal Eighteenth Dynasty practice indicates that the original tomb shaft would be expected in the forecourt, i.e. the Shaft 3/4 complex. In the case of this tomb, however, Polz reasons (p. 125) that this is not the case, since the mortar traces around Shaft 1 indicate that this is the shaft associated with Phase I (Hui). He then suggests that Shaft 2, the mud-brick walling around the tops of Shafts 1 and 2, and Shaft 3, are all Ramesside in date. This has already been disputed in print by Friederike Kampp (*Die thebanische Nekropole* (Theben 13; Mainz, 1996), 260), who suggests that this is not the case, but that the Shaft 3/4 complex is the earliest, with Shafts 1 and 2 being Ramesside additions. Her arguments are based on the finding of sandstone fragments within Chambers 1 and 2 which may have come from the original construction of the tomb, but there is no means of knowing when these fragments found their way into the chambers. The material from Chambers 1 and 2 was thoroughly mixed, as is clear from the number of joins among the potsherds from these two shafts and chambers, although there is no physical connection between them (cf. p. 92, Abb. 23). Polz suggests that this mixing may have occurred during the

first scientific excavation of the tomb by Mond. However, this does not matter since, if Polz were right, the mixed finds from Shafts I and 2 ought to show evidence of early (time of Amenophis III) or later (time of Ramesses II) use. This, however, is not the case. The illustrated pottery from Shafts 1 and 2 and Chambers 1 and 2 (pp. 95–6, Abb. 26–7), is entirely Ramesside, and would fit very well in the reign of Ramesses II, thus confirming Polz's dating of Phases III and IV on the basis of stylistic evidence. Of course, it might be argued that Kel and his family completely cleared out Shaft 1 so that nothing of the original interment(s) remained. If Shaft 3/4, however, was, as Polz suggests, a Ramesside construction, the pottery found within it, which has no joins with the Shaft 1 and 2 material, should be similar to that from Shafts 1 and 2. Once again, this is not the case. Not only is it different, but it is clearly earlier in date, and would fit very well in the reign of Amenophis III (pp. 99–101, 103, Abb. 29–32). In the original dissertation, Polz also illustrates all the sherds actually found in the shafts, which are omitted from the published version. Once again, this is instructive since that from Shaft 3, (dissertation version, pl. 42), dates from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, whilst that from Shafts 1 and 2 (dissertation version, pls. 37–8), dates no earlier than the Nineteenth Dynasty.

Polz's treatment of the pottery as a whole is somewhat individualistic—he is clearly no ceramicist—and, unfortunately, not very user-friendly. The illustrations are arranged (mostly) in a numerical sequence (which differs from the numbering used in the dissertation version), but the catalogue descriptions are arranged by ware and shape, which are not in numerical order. This problem arises because the dissertation version has all the ceramic pieces re-illustrated according to fabric, ware and shape on plates 44–53. The omission of such plates from this published version is thus particularly regrettable. The fabric and ware descriptions are taken over from the EES excavations at Saqqara (J. Bourriau and D. A. Aston, in G. T. Martin, *The Tomb-chapels of Paser and Raʿia at Saqqâra,* (EES Excavation Memoir 52; London, 1985), 32–55), without reference to the Vienna System. As the basis for his fabric and ware descriptions, Polz lists six books and articles which were evidently available to him at the time of writing his dissertation, logically choosing to utilise the EES Saqqara system since it covered the same timespan, i.e. the reign of Ramesses II, as much of his own material. The list, however, has clearly not been updated for this published version, and Polz omits all references to the Vienna System as given by Nordström and Bourriau, in D. Arnold and J. Bourriau (eds), *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery* (DAIK Sonderschrift 17; Mainz, 1993), 168–86. Surprisingly, too, in view of the plausible dating of Hui, there is no reference to any of the pottery from Malkata (Hope, *Pottery of the Egyptian New Kingdom: Three Studies* (Burwood, 1989), 1–44). More peculiar, however, is Polz's decision, contrasting with the original dissertation version, to omit all New Kingdom ceramic material which he believed had nothing to do with the original grave goods, and all pottery found which is later than the Nineteenth Dynasty. The reasons why certain New Kingdom sherds are not thought to belong with the original grave goods are never explained. One wonders, for example, why the blue painted sherds, illustrated in the dissertation version on plates 42 and 51, nos. 376, 176, 202 and 254, were not deemed part of the original grave goods, the more so since they are characteristic of the period between Amenophis III and Ramesses II, as indeed is the Marl (D) amphora rim, described in the dissertation on page 262 and illustrated on plate 54, no. 306 (there compared with K. Myśliwiec, *Keramik und Kleinfunde aus der Grabung im Tempel Sethos'I. in Gurna* (ÄV 57; Mainz, 1987), 67, no. 534, also a New Kingdom amphora rim erroneously illustrated in a plate of Late Period stone vessels. Polz could have compared it with *The Tomb-chapels of Paser and Raʿia at Saqqâra,* pl. 36 no. 88, though the latter, admittedly, does not show such deep wheel ridges as the Theban piece). Polz's reasons for omitting all ceramic material later than the reign of Ramesses II are that, in his opinion, 'Es macht wenig Sinn, eindeutig intrusive Objekte welcher Art auch immer und selbst solche mit lediglich zweifelhafter Zugehörigkeit zum Grab im Rahmen einer Grabpublikation zu behandeln'(p. 9) and 'dass sich in Grabanlagen wie den thebanischen Felsgräbern auch Objekte späterer Zeit finden, bedarf keiner besondern Erwähnung. Solcher verstreuten Objekte haben für sich genommen keinerlei Referenzwerte, falls sie sich—wie im Fall von TT 54—nicht mit einer konkreten Phase innerhalb des *use-life* des Grabes verbinden lassen' (p. 91). However, what is the use-life of a tomb? Subsequent burials, or their use as Coptic hermitages, or even use as modern cellars, are, I suggest, all part of the use-life. Incidentally, the remains of 26 individuals were found in this tomb (p. 118), and I would be intrigued to know how Polz can attribute them all to the time of Amenophis III to Ramesses II, since if any were buried

later than this, they obviously do not fit his idea of the use-life of the tomb and thus, in his opinion, should be omitted from this book. I would maintain that it is inadvisable to withhold such later material deliberately since it is important, perhaps not specifically for TT 54, but for understanding the Theban necropolis as a whole in periods later than the New Kingdom. If everyone followed Polz's example, very little would be known of the Theban necropolis during the Third Intermediate or Late Periods. Thankfully, neither his erstwhile colleagues at Heidelberg, nor Polz himself in his dissertation, subscribe to this published view.

However, Polz's personal views on treating the finds, his sometimes mistaken ceramic parallels—pot 12 (p. 95, Abb. 26; p. 109), is not a Tell el-Yahudiyeh jug, and the amphora 1 (p. 96, Abb. 27; p. 109) is, as drawn, a three-handled vessel, not two-handled, so either the drawing or the suggested parallels are incorrect—and his erroneous ordering of the shafts do not detract from what is an excellent publication of the tomb itself. The tomb is beautifully decorated—as usual, one can only wish it were better preserved—the more so since it provides one of the few cases where the contrast between Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty styles can be clearly appreciated. It is indeed a worthy addition to the Heidelberg series of Theban tomb publications.

D. A. ASTON

Karnak et sa topographie, I. *Les relevés modernes du temple d'Amon-Re 1967–1984*. By MICHEL AZIM, FRIDRIK BJARNASON, PATRICK DELEUZE, PATRICK DEXYL, ALAIN EMONET, JEAN-CLAUDE GOLVIN, CHRISTIAN GUTHMANN, MARCEL KURZ and FRANÇOISE LE SAOUT. Monographie du CRA 19. 280 × 220 mm. Pp.186, pls. 4, figs. 37, tables 12, plans 6. Paris, CNRS Editions, 1998. ISBN 2 271 05540 7. ISSN 1151 5358. Price not stated.

This publication is of a kind which is still too rarely encountered in the field of Egyptology: the detailed presentation of an accurate mapping survey of monumental architecture. Such material is the basis for all subsequent investigation, and the appearance of this volume will provide for the first time a source in which the dimensions of all elements in the complex of Amun at Karnak can be found. The work is presented as a volume of textual commentary accompanied by a set of folding plans. Unfortunately, a cost-saving measure led to the reduction of the scale of the plans to 1:250, instead of their being published at the original intended scale of 1:200. It was, however, too late to adapt the text, which consequently still refers to the plans being at 1:200. This explains, for example, the statement on page 15 that the plans were to be published without reduction. The plans give no indication of chronology since their intention is purely topographical, providing a clear and objective record of what exists on the ground. Rather than delay publication until the more problematic areas of the site have been cleared and studied sufficiently to be mapped, it was decided to make available what had already been achieved without further delay. The portions of the complex covered in this volume are the whole of the temple of Amun, with the Approach, the Sacred Lake and the East Temple, as indicated by the key-plan on page 17.

Following the above information, given in the Introduction, Chapter 1 presents the background to the assembly of the overall plan, the sources utilised and the details of the triangulation points and survey grid. Figure 4 on page 30 shows how the west–east axis (X) of the grid ran along the main axis of the temple of Amun at 3500 on the Y axis. Some important survey points were established at points on these axes, as described on page 29. Point G lies at the intersection of the main axis of the temple with that of the southern approach. A typographic error seems to have crept in on page 31, line 5, where 'l'axe des Y' should read 'l'axe du projection'. Co-ordinates of significant points on the buildings are printed in lists on the plans, providing access to the raw survey data. Levels, shown as Z, are related to a system of levels established along the Cairo–Aswan railway line.

The authors admit that the equipment available to surveyors has advanced dramatically since 1967, when the calculations of the survey data were done in Paris on a computer of that era. There is a suggestion of resurveying the main triangulation with more modern Electronic Distance Measurement equipment than was available to the original survey. The absence of any mention of GPS, however, is

an interesting measure of the further advances made in surveying techniques since the recent writing of the text!

Chapter 2 describes the methodology for the preparation of the new plan, accomplished between 1974 and 1984. An original scheme to map the whole complex at a scale of 1:50 had to be abandoned in 1979 in favour of a less ambitious map at 1:200. The contents of the six plates of plans are listed on page 40, and the remainder of this chapter is devoted to descriptions of the surveying and recording processes used for individual areas, with some examples of the survey sketches.

A most important part of the book consists of Chapters 3 and 4, the first of which presents a new nomenclature for all the different elements of the temple, whilst the second shows how these relate to traditional terminology. A new system was required to eliminate confusion and provide a mechanism by which any single element could possess a unique identification reference. Owing to the complexity of the Karnak temples, it is natural that the system has been developed using alphanumeric codes to designate individual features. The Amun temple is divided into a sequence of levels of increasing precision: Zones, Sectors, Components and Details. The large Zones are designated by a sequence of three capital letters, Sectors by two capital letters, Components by a capital letter with a lower-case letter or a number, and Details by two lower-case letters. Orientations are added by the use of lower-case letters for the cardinal points, not simply n, s, e and o, but also the compounds no, ne, so and se. The lower-case letter x indicates a feature on the axis. The different parts of the reference codes are separated by fullstops. The nomenclature is explained on pages 72–95 but its effectiveness is more clearly seen through the plans in figures 15–37. The list of examples of codes for various structures given on pages 85–7 is very helpful in understanding what at first appears to be a confusing system. The reader might initially recoil from a code such as TR3.Cr.po2.o but it does designate precisely the second Osirid column on the west in the court of the small temple of Ramesses III in the First Court of the Amun Temple. The codes can in some cases be sufficiently precise to specify individual blocks of masonry, and it is worth taking the time to understand the system, which is by no means difficult.

Chapter 4 consists chiefly of tabulated information which relates the new nomenclature to older, traditional terminology derived from a range of sources. The concordance for the complex area of the *Wadjyt* of Tuthmosis I is assisted by the inclusion of some helpful line-drawn figures on pages 134–5.

The volume of commentary is, in fact, only an explanation for the use of the large folding plates 1–6, the excellent plans of the temple. The survey points and grid intersects are shown on these, and except for plates 5A and B, the actual distance measurements are written in, eliminating the need to scale up dimensions from the drawings. A few of these hand-written dimensions have suffered from the reduction of scale from 1:200 to 1:250, in that the writing has blackened up. This problem occurs only in complex areas where space for the writing is limited, such as the small chambers to the south of the bark-shrine of the Amun temple on plate 3 (rooms which can now be precisely located as ZCT.DB1.s.1 to DB1.s.6). Since a considerable time has elapsed since the survey was carried out, some of the more recently-discovered monuments do not appear on the plans, but now that this excellent map has been completed there should be no difficulty in adding new information to it in the future. Good maps are the foundation of archaeological research and it is to be hoped that this example will inspire others to conduct accurate surveys of other sites in Egypt.

A. J. SPENCER

Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt. By RAFFAELLA CRIBIORE. American Studies in Papyrology 36. 285 × 225 mm. Pp. xiv + 316, pls. 80, figs. 7, tables 3. Atlanta GA, Scholars Press, 1996. ISBN 0 7855 0277 8. Price $49.95.

The information on education in antiquity which we derive from commentators such as Quintilian is, in the case of Egypt, matched by first-hand evidence of the practical school work produced by students and teachers.[1] Raffaella Cribiore's book is a ground-breaking study of the teaching and learning of

[1] These and other educational texts are mostly collected in the wide-ranging corpora published by H. Harrauer and P. J.

an interesting measure of the further advances made in surveying techniques since the recent writing of the text!

Chapter 2 describes the methodology for the preparation of the new plan, accomplished between 1974 and 1984. An original scheme to map the whole complex at a scale of 1:50 had to be abandoned in 1979 in favour of a less ambitious map at 1:200. The contents of the six plates of plans are listed on page 40, and the remainder of this chapter is devoted to descriptions of the surveying and recording processes used for individual areas, with some examples of the survey sketches.

A most important part of the book consists of Chapters 3 and 4, the first of which presents a new nomenclature for all the different elements of the temple, whilst the second shows how these relate to traditional terminology. A new system was required to eliminate confusion and provide a mechanism by which any single element could possess a unique identification reference. Owing to the complexity of the Karnak temples, it is natural that the system has been developed using alphanumeric codes to designate individual features. The Amun temple is divided into a sequence of levels of increasing precision: Zones, Sectors, Components and Details. The large Zones are designated by a sequence of three capital letters, Sectors by two capital letters, Components by a capital letter with a lower-case letter or a number, and Details by two lower-case letters. Orientations are added by the use of lower-case letters for the cardinal points, not simply n, s, e and o, but also the compounds no, ne, so and se. The lower-case letter x indicates a feature on the axis. The different parts of the reference codes are separated by fullstops. The nomenclature is explained on pages 72–95 but its effectiveness is more clearly seen through the plans in figures 15–37. The list of examples of codes for various structures given on pages 85–7 is very helpful in understanding what at first appears to be a confusing system. The reader might initially recoil from a code such as TR3.Cr.po2.o but it does designate precisely the second Osirid column on the west in the court of the small temple of Ramesses III in the First Court of the Amun Temple. The codes can in some cases be sufficiently precise to specify individual blocks of masonry, and it is worth taking the time to understand the system, which is by no means difficult.

Chapter 4 consists chiefly of tabulated information which relates the new nomenclature to older, traditional terminology derived from a range of sources. The concordance for the complex area of the *Wadjyt* of Tuthmosis I is assisted by the inclusion of some helpful line-drawn figures on pages 134–5.

The volume of commentary is, in fact, only an explanation for the use of the large folding plates 1–6, the excellent plans of the temple. The survey points and grid intersects are shown on these, and except for plates 5A and B, the actual distance measurements are written in, eliminating the need to scale up dimensions from the drawings. A few of these hand-written dimensions have suffered from the reduction of scale from 1:200 to 1:250, in that the writing has blackened up. This problem occurs only in complex areas where space for the writing is limited, such as the small chambers to the south of the bark-shrine of the Amun temple on plate 3 (rooms which can now be precisely located as ZCT.DB1.s.1 to DB1.s.6). Since a considerable time has elapsed since the survey was carried out, some of the more recently-discovered monuments do not appear on the plans, but now that this excellent map has been completed there should be no difficulty in adding new information to it in the future. Good maps are the foundation of archaeological research and it is to be hoped that this example will inspire others to conduct accurate surveys of other sites in Egypt.

A. J. SPENCER

Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt. By RAFFAELLA CRIBIORE. American Studies in Papyrology 36. 285 × 225 mm. Pp. xiv + 316, pls. 80, figs. 7, tables 3. Atlanta GA, Scholars Press, 1996. ISBN 0 7855 0277 8. Price $49.95.

The information on education in antiquity which we derive from commentators such as Quintilian is, in the case of Egypt, matched by first-hand evidence of the practical school work produced by students and teachers.[1] Raffaella Cribiore's book is a ground-breaking study of the teaching and learning of

[1] These and other educational texts are mostly collected in the wide-ranging corpora published by H. Harrauer and P. J.

writing skills using the Egyptian school texts which have survived to the present day.[2] Whereas previously they might have been considered secondary to the ancient commentators, Cribiore is the first scholar to examine the school texts in their own right. Her achievement is to have assembled and systematically organised this plentiful and varied source-material—whose richness cannot be adequately reflected here—and to have reinterpreted much of it in radical new ways. The resulting synthesis constitutes a major contribution not only to the study of ancient education, but also of literacy and palaeography and a host of other related issues.

Although the period covered by the work is essentially the Graeco-Roman, educational material from well over a thousand years is taken into account, from the Ptolemaic to the Islamic periods—the latest text in the catalogue, No. 324, has been palaeographically dated to the eighth or ninth century CE. This chronological span arises from the fact that the focus falls on students learning to write Greek, the primary language for administration and official business in Egypt from the Ptolemaic Period until almost a century after the Arab conquest. Cribiore suggests the eighth century CE as 'the likely date of the disappearance of Greek as a spoken language in Egypt' (p. 29 n. 15), and it is indeed true that there is little papyrological evidence for Greek being in common usage after the ninth century. Greek word-lists, however, show that the language still continued to be taught at least in the tenth–eleventh centuries.[3]

Whereas previous studies of the ancient sources on education have tended to focus mainly on the art of reading (p. 8), Cribiore looks at how writing skills were acquired. A comprehensive catalogue of school exercises (pp. 173–284), which takes up just under a third of the book, illustrates the great range of material available for such a study.

In the past, catalogues of texts produced by students and teachers have been compiled almost exclusively using the Greek material, with the inclusion of some Latin texts.[4] Cribiore has revised the selection criteria for her catalogue, and now incorporates some Coptic material because 'it is problematic to draw a sharp line between Coptic and Greek education' (p. 29).[5] Here a phrase such as 'education in the Coptic language' would have been preferable, since terms such as 'Coptic education' promulgate the view that Egyptian society was divided into Coptic and Greek speakers. The reality is that the two languages were inextricably entwined from the start: even before Coptic developed fully as a written language, writers from the Greek tradition may have been responsible for compiling texts written in Old Coptic—for example, the Old Coptic London Horoscope which was reused for the *Epitaphios of Hyperides* in Greek in the second century CE (No. 283). Centuries later, evidence from Coptic-speaking communities, such as the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, shows how students acquired Coptic and Greek language skills *pari passu* in the sixth–seventh centuries.[6] I will return to the question of the Coptic material in more detail below.

The catalogue items are analysed in ten preliminary chapters. In the first of these, Cribiore discusses writing in Graeco-Roman Egypt, the evidence available for schools and teachers, and the school exercises which have survived. In chapter 2, the papyri are used to build up a picture of education in Graeco-Roman Egypt, supplemented by evidence from geographically further afield and from other chronological periods. Evidence for elementary teachers and grammarians in the papyri is discussed, with a useful appendix listing papyrological attestations of teachers with the titles *didaskalos*, *chamaididaskalos*, *grammatodidaskalos*, *grammatikos*, *kathegetes*, *paidagogos*, *rhetor*, and *sophistes*. There is no firm evidence for 'schools' as such—we know little about the milieus in which educational

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Sijpesteijn, *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht* (MPER XV; Vienna, 1985); and M. R. M. Hasitzka, *Neue Texte und Dokumentation zum koptischen Unterricht* (MPER XVIII; Vienna, 1990).

[2] Note that No. 386 was acquired in Palmyra in 1881. Numbers in this review refer to the catalogue items in the book unless otherwise stated.

[3] MPER XVIII 227 and 228; see also the tenth–eleventh-century Coptic–Greek word-list, MPER XVIII 260.

[4] Noteworthy are the studies of Janine Debut, Giorgio Zalateo, and Paul Collart. A separate section is devoted to school exercises in R. A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*[2] (Ann Arbor, 1965).

[5] There are no such problems in identifying demotic school exercises, which are excluded from this study.

[6] Nos. 66, 67, 122, 123, 319. Scott Bucking is currently preparing an edition of a schoolbook which appears to have been aimed at Sahidic Coptic speakers but which contains numerous Greek language exercises. This manuscript was recently acquired for the Cotsen Children's Library of Princeton University Library.

activity was conducted—but Cribiore analyses relevant terms recorded in the papyri, including *didaskaleion*, *grammatodidaskaleion*, and *scholion*.

Chapter 3 provides a summary and critique of past scholarship on school exercises. Cribiore makes the distinction between school texts and school exercises: texts are books which have been professionally produced to be circulated in class and used by students (and are not included in Cribiore's catalogue), whereas elementary students relied mainly upon copies, dictations, and teachers' models (p. 28). Cribiore claims that limited ability in writing, which might simply involve practising the alphabet, usually preceded extensive training in reading (p. 9). This hypothesis is supported, she believes, by orthographically- and grammatically-challenged texts written in advanced hands, the result of mechanical copying of texts by students with limited, or even no, comprehension of what they are writing. In Chapter 10, ancient literary sources on the teaching of writing are analysed in such a way as to support this thesis. Konrad Vössing has already criticised Cribiore's interpretation and application of these sources,[7] and has ably defended the general consensus that writing and reading were learned together at roughly the same time.

Part 2 deals with the identification of school exercises. Products of 'higher education' are not generally included in the catalogue unless an exercise produced by a rhetorical school is written in what Cribiore classifies a 'school hand'. Material which relates to the training of scribes, such as exercises practising the writing of formulae or even whole documents, is also excluded, as are exercises written in a book hand or in the chancery style. Latin texts, mathematical texts and exercises, and bilingual glossaries are omitted because most are written by well-developed hands and so are not likely to be products of elementary schooling.

Chapters 4–7 discuss the criteria for identifying school exercises and the problems inherent in this process, adducing information related by ancient commentators on education to illustrate how different categories of exercise were used. From the surviving textual material, it can be seen that the content of the school exercises remained unchanged for centuries because of the conservative nature of education (p. 37). The writing materials used in schools are also examined, with tables demonstrating which materials were used during the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, and which for the different exercises executed by students, teachers, and scribes. Contrary to the perception that school texts were usually written on tablets and ostraca, papyrus is shown to be the material usually employed.

In Chapter 6, Cribiore breaks new ground by examining the distinguishing characteristics of school exercises, highlighting the importance of differentiating between the training of beginners and scribes when both employ similar, or even the same exercises, such as the writing out of alphabetic sequences or particular *chalinoi* (p. 39). In order to make such a distinction, a number of significant features may be isolated, such as the layout of the text, division of syllables or words, and the inclusion of a date, punctuation, or lectional signs. Mistakes which occur in the texts are usually orthographic, rather than morphological or syntactic, since the exercises were often dictated or copied.

Chapter 7 is concerned with palaeography, which is the key to the selection process for much of the material for the catalogue. Cribiore aims to establish a typology for the development of school hands, and her fundamental contribution here is the institution of conventions for describing the principal characteristics of teachers' and students' hands. Progress in education is assessed alongside palaeographical development, with four categories of hands distinguished (p. 112), starting with 'zero-grade', the hand of an absolute beginner who is ignorant of letter shapes and lacking in coordination. The next level up is labelled 'alphabetic', which denotes that the writer is still clumsy but has at least learned basic letter shapes. The hand defined by the next category, 'evolving', still has irregular features but is moderately fluent. The most advanced hand is classed as 'rapid', and is completely fluent but not necessarily always even or neat. Cribiore argues that this final category should not really be considered a school hand (p. 135). Her typology of school hands marks an important advance for the study of ancient handwriting where attention has always been focused previously on skilled hands. By starting off the process of defining the school hands, and by providing the extensive plates of catalogue items at the end of the book—by far the largest corpus of unskilled hands ever assembled and published—she significantly expands the boundaries of palaeography. She starts at the most basic level by analyzing the stroke-sequence of each letter of the alphabet as represented in the school texts, and

[7] 'Schreiben lernen, ohne lesen zu können? Zur Methode des antiken Elementarunterrichts', *ZPE* 123 (1998), 121–5.

investigates whether teachers always taught their students to write letters with the same stroke-sequence, comparing how the letters are written in the teachers' models and the students' exemplars wherever possible. Her conclusion is that students from all periods learned to form their letters in much the same way.

Part 3 examines in more depth the teachers' models and how writing ability corresponded with levels of education, assessing the exercises from the most basic practice in letter forms through to the grammatical exercises. As illustrated by graphs for each level of exercise (figs. 1–7), some unexpected results emerge from this analysis, such as the surprising number of advanced hands in the beginners' texts, and of poor hands in more advanced exercises. The controversial summary of the literary sources already mentioned above is then juxtaposed with the evidence for the teaching of writing provided by the surviving school texts. Concluding remarks deal more generally with literacy and the written word, comparing the educational practices of pharaonic Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the mediaeval Western world.

The catalogue consists of 412 items, each provided with a brief description, bibliographical information, and often a plate. The entries are listed in chronological order within eleven categories reflecting the progress of the student. These follow the traditional order of education in reading, and perhaps writing, set forth in the ancient literary sources for the Classical and Ptolemaic periods. The categories are: letters of the alphabet (Nos. 1–40); alphabets (Nos. 41–77); syllabaries (Nos. 78–97); lists of words (Nos. 98–128); writing exercises (Nos. 129–74); short passages: maxims, sayings and limited amounts of verses (Nos. 175–232); long passages: copies or dictations (Nos. 233–324). This last is the most problematic category of all, and includes all relevant texts containing a minimum of eight lines, written in the widest variety of hands, some advanced (p. 47); *scholia minora* (Nos. 325–43), mostly for the *Iliad*; compositions, paraphrases, and summaries (Nos. 344–57); grammar (Nos. 358–78); and notebooks (Nos. 379–412), some featuring exercises by more than one student, which leads to the conclusion that the notebooks were owned by the teacher (pp. 54–5).

Cribiore excludes from her catalogue items in the corpora established by Collart, Zalateo, and Debut which she does not consider to be school exercises (pp. 285–7). The inclusion of a number of texts in her catalogue can be questioned on the same grounds, especially exercises geared towards educational goals other than the acquisition of literacy skills. A good example is No. 377: I can now identify the writer of this text as the scribe responsible for the contract verbs conjugation manual belonging to Dioscorus of Aphrodito.[8] In his recent seminal study on this key sixth-century figure—whom he believes may have functioned as a *grammatikos* at some stage in his career—Jean-Luc Fournet questions previous opinion that the manual was the work of Dioscorus himself, and suggests that it was copied for him either by a teacher or an advanced student.[9] The date of the Coptic text which Dioscorus wrote earlier on this papyrus, 28 October 569 CE,[10] helps to establish that No. 377 must have been copied for him between this time and his death in 585 CE, rather than in the seventh century, as previously believed.

The presence in the catalogue of a number of school texts excavated in monasteries testifies to the major role these institutions played in Late Antique education.[11] At least two of the unprovenanced items in the catalogue were very probably products of monastic education (Nos. 317, 324), one of

[8] I have found that this papyrus in Berlin (*BKU* III 503/MPER XV 139) belongs with unpublished fragments of the same manuscript in Cambridge, and with published fragments in Alexandria and Cairo. I am to publish a new edition of the Coptic text, and Jean-Luc Fournet the Greek text, expanding his re-edition of the published fragments, in *P. Aphrod. Lit.* III 1 (J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VI^e siècle: la bibliothèque et l'oeuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité* (MIFAO 115; Cairo, 1999, 181–203).

[9] *Hellénisme*, 176–7, 233–5.

[10] This is the date assigned by Fournet, revising Leslie MacCoull's previous dating of '4.xi. A.D. 569' in her publication of the Alexandria and Cairo fragments of this text ('A Coptic Cession of Land by Dioscorus of Aphrodito: Alexandria meets Cairo', in T. Orlandi and F. Wisse, (eds), *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies, Roma, 22–26 September 1980* (Rome, 1985), 159–66).

[11] The catalogue includes school texts excavated at the Theban monasteries of Epiphanius (Nos. 66–7, 122–3, 168, 225–7, 319), Phoibammon (Nos. 19–22, 61, 163–4), and Deir el-Bahri (Nos. 173, 239); and at Deir el-Gizaz, south-west of Naqada (Nos. 8, 91).

which illustrates how knowledge of Greek could still be necessary long after the Arab conquest: No. 317 preserves a sixth-century Greek text of Psalms 50.14–20, and No. 324 (eighth or ninth century) has hymns in Greek on one side, with a Coptic version on the other side. Their place in Cribiore' s catalogue may be questioned because, although the writers may not have been able to express themselves in standard Greek, they were probably proficient in writing Coptic, to judge from the experienced hands in which these manuscripts are written. They have been construed as dictation practices, no doubt because both contain numerous orthographical and grammatical mistakes and were written on wood. In both cases, the mistakes in the Greek are suggestive of a writer with a stronger grasp of the Egyptian language.[12] In No. 324, the Coptic letter ϩ is allowed to intrude into the Greek text (ll. 2–3 τριαϩεμερον, l. 7 ηϩεμνος).[13] It seems highly questionable that these texts were written by someone acquiring literacy skills: No. 324 may well have been an exercise used as part of liturgical training,[14] and the passage of Psalms in No. 317 may have been set to be memorized, a practice certainly recorded for Pachomian monasteries, where monks were expected to be able to repeat from memory scriptural passages, and to learn at least some of the Psalter and the New Testament.[15]

Since the terms 'Hellenistic' and 'Coptic' are not mutually exclusive,[16] monastic material cannot be easily stereotyped. Take, for example a notebook of wooden tablets preserving an excerpt of Psalm 46 in Coptic and a rhetorical paraphrase of a passage of the *Iliad* in Greek (No. 388). Extracts from the *Iliad* in Greek were also recorded on ostraca excavated at the predominantly Coptic-speaking Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes (Nos. 168, 225–7), and on ostraca excavated by Petrie at Dendara on top of the animal catacombs.[17] The Dendara ostraca—whose provenance was not noted in the catalogue—were found with a group of mainly Coptic texts, including educational material such as fraction tables (MPER XVIII 330).[18]

The interface between Hellenistic and Egyptian culture can be seen in another text where literacy skills do not appear to be the object of the exercise: No. 323 is a seventh–eighth-century text preserving the well-known story of a man who killed his own father, which occurs in a number of educational texts, probably as a dictation exercise.[19] In the school exercise versions, however, the story appears to have been stripped of Egyptian elements such as descriptions of the Nile and crocodiles, and Cribiore wonders whether this was to make the story 'more Greek' (p. 47). She also remarks upon the general lack of Egyptian content in the school curriculum (p. 49): very few exercises demonstrate the influence of the Egyptian world and its literature (with the exception of the Hymn to the Nile, No. 394). Some exercises, however, do draw upon recognised genres of Egyptian literature, such as the *Commandments of Amenotes* in No. 239. No. 245 preserves an excerpt of the *Dream of Nectanebo*, written by Apollonius son of Glaukias, a student well-known from other school texts, including one where he copies excerpts from Aeschylus, Euripides, and Menander (No. 244).

On the subject of Coptic material in the catalogue,[20] Cribiore distinguishes four categories of elementary exercise traditionally considered 'Coptic': aside from exercises in which Coptic letters feature,

[12] See Leslie MacCoull's recent comments on non-standard Greek forms used by Coptic speakers ('Lesefrüchte', *ZPE* 123 (1998), 205 No. 5, 'Late Greek forms in Egyptian liturgical texts').

[13] Similarly, No. 412, a papyrus notebook, uses the Coptic letter ϯ in place of Greek τι (for example, ειϯου MPER XV 129 l. 1; 130 l. 1).

[14] For examples of practice religious texts, see MPER XV 88, 89, 111, 180, all written in competent hands, and dating to the eighth–ninth centuries.

[15] P. Rousseau, *Pachomius: the Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* [2] (Berkeley, 1999), 70, 81, 85.

[16] Witness catalogue items such as No. 228, a sixth–seventh century Greek Menandrian maxim translated into Coptic.

[17] Nos. 112–13, 315; see W. E. Crum (ed.), *Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum and Others* (London, 1902), 83, comment on O. Crum 523.

[18] See the comments on this text by Dominic Montserrat in his review of MPER XVIII in *JNES* 54 (1995), 307.

[19] It occurs in short and long passages (Nos. 230–2, 314, 323), and in notebooks (Nos. 409, 412); see MPER XV 117–32, pp. 108–11.

[20] The Coptic elements in catalogue entries are not always made explicit: for example, No. 127 contains Greek nouns, verbs, and proper names, some prefixed with the Coptic definite article. Note that the presence of an earlier Coptic text written on the manuscript may also suggest that the following Greek items were drawn up in a Coptic-speaking context: Nos. 32, 316, 377–8 (and possibly 199).

she also identifies exercises involving a 'series of letters of the alphabet that do not display the specific Coptic signs imported from Demotic' (p. 29). It is unclear to me why such texts should be classed as Coptic at all, rather than Greek, unless some implicit palaeographical judgment is being made about 'Coptic hands' as distinct from 'Greek hands'. Cribiore also makes a distinction between exercises simply involving the Coptic script, such as alphabets and syllabaries, pre-eighth-century examples of which are included in her catalogue,[21] and exercises practising the Coptic language, which are generally excluded (p. 29).[22] It seems unlikely to me, however, that schooling in the Coptic script can be divorced from schooling in the Coptic language in this way.

Little is known about the teaching of the Greek and Coptic alphabets, but a few examples survive in which the Greek letters are noticeably separated from the additional Egyptian signs characteristic of the Coptic alphabet, often by a dividing line. In No. 72, for instance, the Egyptian letters are arranged horizontally beneath the Greek letters, which are written above them in six vertical columns. Nos. 92 and 95 show even more extreme examples of the distinction made between the Greek and Coptic letters: both are alphabetic exercises in which the Greek letters are copied in reverse order, but the Coptic letters follow in their usual order, except that ϫ follows ϭ.[23] The deliberate separation of the Greek from the Egyptian elements suggests to me that these exercises were produced by students with prior training in the Greek alphabet who were practising Coptic language skills. This phenomenon would reverse the common assumption that bilingualism only moved in one direction, i.e. that Coptic speakers might learn Greek, whereas Greek speakers would not learn Coptic. An exception is provided by the fourth-century case detailed in the *Letter of Ammon* in which Ammon, as a Greek-speaking convert to Egyptian monasticism, learns to speak Coptic at his adoptive monastery in Pbow.[24]

Cribiore also distinguishes 'exercises containing Coptic proper names, where students practised their own names or wrote lists of names' (p. 29). Although there is evidence of beginners practising writing their own names (pp. 146–7), caution should be exercised when assessing badly-executed lists of names, since unskilled writers were clearly involved in such simple writing activities outside a school context. In fact, it has to be said that a larger number of Coptic documents seem to have been drawn up in inexperienced hands than is the case for Greek documents, a fact worth noting in itself. I am sceptical that there is a valid reason for considering No. 40 (a poorly-written list of names) a school text. The 'barely recognizable' letters in l. 3 (referred to on p. 40) are in fact the name 'Gabriel', so ⲅⲓⲁⲃ[]· in the *ed. pr.* (MPER XVIII 96) should now be read ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ.

Another text which has been construed as a student practising his name may now be reinterpreted as a magical text: No. 12, which is listed with a group of texts in the catalogue in which the student's name is followed by letters of the alphabet in a variety of combinations (p. 147 n. 41). Following the *ed. pr.*, No. 12 is said to record the name of a pupil (ⲁ]ⲁⲁⲙ ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁ[ⲥⲓⲟⲥ) followed by some practice letters, mostly *epsilon*. On consulting the plate published with the text in MPER XVIII 98, I was able to reread it as the common palindromic word of ritual power, Ablanathanalba, followed by at least two or three of the seven 'holy vowels' of the Greek alphabet, carefully arranged for especial ritual potency (rather than 'with some difficulty of alignment', as the catalogue entry reads). MPER XVIII 98 (P.Vindob. K 18271) should now read:

1 αβ]λανα̣θανα[λβα
2 αααααα]α εεεεεεε [ιιιιιιιι οοοοοοο υυυυυυυ ωωωωωωω
3 αααααα]α̣ εεεεεε ι̣[ιιιιιι οοοοοο υυυυυυ ωωωωωω
4 αααααα] εεεε[ε ιιιιιι οοοοο υυυυυ ωωωωω
5 αααα] εε̣[εε ιιιι οοοο υυυυ ωωωω

[21] Exercises involving the Coptic alphabet: Nos. 19, 36–9, 68, 70–3, 75–6, 92, 95, 169, 174 (some of which may be connected with Greek texts); syllabaries: Nos. 84, 91, 94, 96–7.

[22] Except where Coptic language exercises are juxtaposed with Greek exercises, as, for example, No. 128, with Coptic verbs on one side of an ostracon and Greek nouns and personal names on the other.

[23] A common enough phenomenon: see P. Van Minnen, 'A Late Antique Schooltablet at Duke University', *ZPE* 106 (1995), 175 n. 4.

[24] R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993), 245.

The papyrus breaks off mid-sequence but would presumably have continued as follows:

ααα ϵϵϵ ιιι ooo υυυ ωωω
αα ϵϵ ιι oo υυ ωω
α ϵ ι o υ ω

This text is a good example of how educational and magical texts can resemble one another, as is No. 169, which is now considered to be a school text although first edited as a magical text.[25] William Worrell once commented upon the appalling handwriting of some Coptic magical spells from the famous 'wizard's hoard': '[t]he whole performance suggests a negligent paralytic or a very young child'.[26]

No. 378 is the only ostracon in the catalogue containing grammatical material, specifically bilingual Coptic–Greek verbal conjugations. The partially-preserved legal formulae written in the same hand after the conjugations may give a clue as to the context in which this text was produced:]ⲱⲣⲕ ⲛⲁⲓ, '[...] swear(s) to me' and]ⲛⲁⲱⲣⲕ '[...] shall swear'. These may indicate that this exercise was part of scribal training, in which case they should be excluded from the catalogue. The entry for this item also requires some modification: the conjugation of the present indicative of διδάσκω, 'I teach', is in fact paired up with a Coptic First Future form, ϯⲛⲁⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ, 'I shall teach'. Then there follows a section containing just the singular forms of the aorist ἐδίδαξα and their correct Coptic equivalents (ⲁⲓⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ etc.). The Greek version of the next section is not preserved but the Coptic First Future is used as its equivalent once again. It should also be pointed out that the separate Coptic feminine forms are omitted in this exercise, as noted by Monika Hasitzka (MPER XVIII 280).

A minor quibble concerns abbreviations used in the book, an issue to which papyrologists are especially sensitive. Non-standard abbreviations, such as *CGT*, or even H. R. Hall, *CGT*,[27] can be hard for non-specialists to decipher (in this case, the abbreviation is used in the lists of Zalateo and Debut). I would like to take the opportunity to announce that Arthur Schiller's old standard abbreviation for this particular work (Hall) is soon to be replaced by *O. Brit. Mus. Copt.* in the new *Checklist of Editions*,[28] which now incorporates Coptic editions, many with revised abbreviations.

Although I disagree with the inclusion of some entries in the catalogue of school exercises, I can only admire the skill with which this study has been put together, not to mention the immense amount of time and effort expended. For the assemblage of the superb set of 80 black and white plates alone, Cribiore deserves the gratitude of all papyrologists. Reproductions of many texts in the catalogue are published here for the first time,[29] effectively filling in most of the gaps left by MPER XV and XVIII, themselves both lavishly illustrated. For example, Cribiore publishes a photograph of such unprepossessing pieces as No. 39 (MPER XVIII 42) with its 'zero-grade' hand. Without a reproduction of a text, it can be hard to determine the context of a manuscript. Even harder is the case of No. 191, where it is unfortunately now too late to publish a reproduction since the text is now almost illegible.

The origins of many items in the catalogue are unknown—many were undoubtedly acquired through the antiquities trade, without any secure information about their geographical provenance or date. A list of known provenances of catalogue items would have been useful, together with more extensive cross-

[25] For another Coptic school exercise which is considered to have been an amulet on account of its diminutive size (a page would have measured 5 x 5 cm), see M. Pezin, 'Exercice scolaire avec psaume en copte (P. Sorbonne inv. 2490 et 2524): amulette chrétienne', *CRIPEL* 12 (1990), 131–3.

[26] 'A Coptic Wizard's Hoard', *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 46 (1930), 240.

[27] H. R. Hall (ed.), *Coptic and Greek Texts of the Christian Period from Ostraka, Stelae, etc. in the British Museum* (London, 1905).

[28] J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall, S. J. Clackson, T. G. Wilfong and S. P. Vleeming (eds.), *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* 5 (*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* Supplement, 9, in press).

[29] No. 109 (*P.Ryl.* II 443) should now be corrected as follows: instead of 'two names of numbers', the Coptic word ϫο{ο}ϵιc, 'lord', should be read, possibly the end of the common greeting ογϫαι ϩм пϫοϵιc, 'Farewell in the Lord' (the first ο is written on top of an ϵ). I can also revise a syllabary of triliteral groups ending in -αθ and -ακ (No. 93 = MPER XVIII 77), so that it no longer has any Coptic elements: the letter which was read ϣ in MPER XVIII 77.4—no doubt influenced by the facsimile provided in *O. Brit. Mus. Copt.* Pl. 28.3—looks more like a *kappa* marking the beginning of the syllabic series ending in -κ.

referencing of related items. As it is, the catalogue provides an excellent starting point for reconstructing the various 'schools' based on the texts they produced, a process not dissimilar to the reconstruction of ancient libraries, leaves from whose codices are now dispersed in manuscript collections around the world. In compiling the catalogue, Cribiore has checked the current location of a large number of items whose importance may seem relatively minor, especially in collections of international renown. It is unfortunate that a number of them could not be found at the time of her enquiries, including material from excavations at the following places: Antinoopolis (No. 58), Apollinopolis Magna/Edfu (Nos. 101, 130, 176, 260), Deir el Bahri (No. 239), Dionysias (No. 77), Elephantine (No. 190), Memphis (No. 399), Philadelphia (No. 219), Thebes (Nos. 243, 268, 272), and the Theban monasteries of Epiphanius (Nos. 168, 226–7) and Phoibammon (Nos. 19–22, 61, 163–4).

By bringing the school texts to the attention of the scholarly world, Raffaella Cribiore will help to ensure that their intrinsic value is better appreciated in the future. With this book, which began life as a Columbia University dissertation, plus a series of articles and papers produced over the last decade, she has been responsible, more or less single-handedly, for revitalising contemporary study of education in Greek and Roman Egypt.[30] It has already been used profitably by many researchers in the field and will no doubt continue to do so for years to come, and not just by those concerned with the study of Egyptian education. Now the onus is on others to build on her achievements in this field.

SARAH CLACKSON

The Kellis Agricultural Account Book. Edited by ROGER S. BAGNALL. Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph No. 7. 210 × 300 mm. Pp. xi + 253, pls. 20. Oxford, Oxbow Monograph 92, 1997. ISBN 1 900188 40 6. £45.

Among the extremely important finds of written material from the Dakhleh Oasis, pride of place belongs to two codices written on acacia wood, one containing three orations of Isocrates and the other, which forms the subject of the book under review, a set of agricultural accounts (KAB). This extends over no fewer than 1784 lines on 8 tablets, front and back (all illustrated in the plates). The text mentions fifth, sixth and seventh indictions which probably correspond to the years AD 361/2-363/4, although 376/7–378/9 is also a possibility (see pp. 57–9).

In his preface Bagnall stresses the exceptional interest of the text and remarks, 'I have made a deliberate choice in favor of making it available fairly quickly and against trying to write an exhaustive commentary'. This is to do himself less than justice. Apart from producing with commendable speed an accurate text of this very long document, accompanied by translation and notes, he has added a substantial introduction of over 80 pages, which touches on all the various aspects raised by the contents.

This introduction begins with a general note on the Dakhleh Oasis project by A. J. Mills and on the find context by C. A. Hope, both of whom stress the exceptional importance of the account book. This is followed by an interesting discussion of the codicology by J. L. Sharpe (pp. 17–20). Bagnall is responsible for almost all the remainder. After brief comments on the palaeography and calendar (pp. 20–4), in which he concludes that the whole text is written in the same, reasonably legible, hand, with marked similarity to one of those in which the Isocrates codex was written, Bagnall devotes the rest of the introduction to the contents of the account. Its purpose would appear to have been simply as an *aide-mémoire* for the writer's own use. He discusses first the types of account (income, expenditure, etc.), and goes on to examine the method of accounting and the terminology employed; note in particular his discussion of ἐκκρούω, συμφωνία, δαπάνη and ὑπηρεσία. He then lists and discusses the different crops. Wheat and barley are, not surprisingly, those most commonly attested, but there are numerous

[30] Even before it was revised for publication, her unpublished PhD thesis exerted a major influence on other studies of ancient education; see, for example, the doctoral theses of Scott Bucking ('Education in Greco-Roman, Byzantine, and early Arab Egypt: Assessing the Primary Evidence', Faculty of Classics, Cambridge University, 1998); and Teresa Morgan (with the resultant publication, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, 1998)).

references to fruits, vegetables, wine and poultry, as well as a number of other items; it is strange that there is no mention of sheep or cattle.

This is followed by a discussion of the different measures found in the account. The most remarkable feature is that the μάτιον, the measure used for sub-divisions of the *artaba* and which is ubiquitous throughout the account, represents 1/10 of an *artaba* in income accounts but approximately 1/23 of an *artaba* in expenditure accounts. A detailed list of prices follows and notes on valuation, i.e. the widespread use of substitution in payments, for which the terms ἐκτίμησις and τιμή are used, as well as other means of expression. In the following pages Bagnall lists the various persons and places attested. The landlord was a certain Faustianus, son of Aquila, who employed several agents; some, if not all, of these were προνοηταί, including the writer. Most important is the section headed 'The Estate' (pp. 76–80), in which Bagnall seeks to draw together the evidence discussed in the previous sections. The introduction concludes with a brief note on religion: *inter alia* the account is headed ΧΜΓ, the earliest datable reference to its occurrence, and there are references to payments for ἀγάπη and to a Τόπος Μανι, presumably a Manichaean monastery.

The text and translation (on facing pages) is followed by some 40 pages of line notes. Bagnall devotes a good deal of these to valiant attempts to understand the arithmetic and the correspondence between different sections. Often, however, he has to confess himself defeated, and it seems clear that the compiler of the account was less careful than we might have expected. I would also draw attention to Bagnall's many interesting comments on different words and phrases: line 57 on κέλλα, 61 on ὄνη, 100 on ὀρνίθιος, 345–7 on ὑδροκαθαρτής, 348–52 on πτεριστής, 612-14 on κραβάτιον, 682–3 on ἐν ἀπείρῳ, 1269 on κλίβανος [on which see also Emanuela Battaglia, *Artos*, 146-51], 1712–26 on ἑορτὴ Φαρμοῦθι (Easter?). The sole reference to linen is in line 292; note also the occurrence of unripe dates (ἔνωμα) in 1505. Bagnall has added an appendix, in which he gives a list of commodity prices, updating the information supplied in his *Currency and Inflation* (1985).

Just occasionally there are odd errors which seem to arise from an earlier recension and which have not been eliminated in the final version. This is most noticeable with reference to the measure used in the cotton accounts. It is usually abbreviated λιθ( ), which Bagnall discusses on pp. 50-1, opting for the expansion λίθ(ος), an unknown but intelligible measure, rather than λίθ(ρα) for λίτρα. But in lines 721–3 (contrast 547–60, 724–5 and 1484–91) the text still reads λίθ(ραι). In line 1603 the text has (correctly) Μεσορή (the month) whereas the note refers to Mesobe (a place name occurring elsewhere in KAB). In the discussion of the various possible meanings of μισθός (83 n.), it is wrongly said to be used of onions (κρεμύσια) in 1279. Since in 98 ἐλαιο( ) could be an abbreviation not of ἔλαιον but of a compound (as Bagnall recognises), there would seem to be no clear instance of its being used of 'consumable foodstuffs' in KAB. This may affect his suggestion (83 n.) that μισθός can sometimes mean 'price'; note also that in 1524 μισθός is translated 'price' but the note treats it as meaning 'wages'. μισθὸς ἐδαφῶν is discussed in the note to line 11, where it does not occur, instead of the note to line 23.

This is an excellent edition of a fascinating document, characterised throughout by balanced judgement and sensible comments. Many of Bagnall's suggestions are, of course, no more than probabilities or even possibilities, as he makes very clear, especially on pp. 76–80. It is to be hoped that when this account is used, as it is sure to be extensively, by economic historians and others who are not papyrologists, a similar caution will be observed.

J. David Thomas

Late Antique Egyptian Funerary Sculpture. Images for This World and the Next. By Thelma K. Thomas. 165 × 240 mm. Pp. xxv + 163, figs. 126. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2000. ISBN 0 691 03468 0. Price not stated.

The publication of this book has been eagerly awaited by scholars of Late Roman and Early Byzantine ('Coptic') Egypt, who are familiar with the author's exhaustive doctoral study of sculpted niches from Heracleopolis Magna and Oxyrhynchus, *c.* AD 300–600. Entitled *Niche Decorations from the Tombs*

of Byzantine Egypt, that dissertation was submitted in 1990 to the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University and is available on UMI microfiche. The volume under review here grew out of the author's doctoral research (p. xv) and employs a variety of Late Antique funerary sculpture from all over Egypt to address the cultural context in which these works were produced.

The 'Introductory Remarks' to the book (pp. xvii–xxv) provide an insightful summary of developments in the study of art from Late Roman and Early Byzantine Egypt, from Gayet's *L'Art copte* (1902) via Wessel's *Koptische Kunst* (1963) to the present. The author justifiably avoids the term 'Coptic', with its connotations of an exclusively Christian society, in preference for 'Late Antique' to designate the period between the reign of Diocletian (AD 284–305) and the Arab incursions of the seventh century. In Chapter 1, the author describes the physical setting and characteristics of her material, listing sites where sculptures have been found or to which they can be attributed and classifying the sculptures into three types: friezes, stelae and decorated niche heads. Chapter 2 is a useful discussion of production techniques which introduces important research on the now-lost polychromy that nearly all the sculptures received. With Chapter 3, the author turns to the social setting of these works in an attempt to identify what kinds of individuals and communities commissioned the sculptures, emphasizing the influential context of the city (pp. 41–2). Chapter 4 deepens this consideration of socio-economic factors by exploring the religious and ritual impetus behind the use of such funerary art. Individual and corporate identities are the focus of Chapters 5 and 6, respectively. The former examines the funerary portrait as a commemoration of the individual, whilst the latter considers Christian, non-portrait sculptures, which employ a symbolic language to affiliate the deceased with the Christian community in Paradise.

The strength of *Late Antique Egyptian Funerary Sculpture* lies in the author's readiness to consider a broad range of sculpture, rather than parsing the subject into sub-groups based on potentially misleading categorizations (e.g. Christian/pagan, portrait/figural). The author is well-versed in literary evidence of the period, which helps illuminate the social and religious milieus to which the funerary sculptures belonged. An *epithalamium* in honour of a Christian wedding in the sixth century, for instance, praises the bridegroom with allusions to Greek and Roman mythology, reinforcing the observation that Christian identity could co-exist, in the arts, with aspects of pagan Hellenism (p. 69). Particularly welcome is the author's willingness and ability to use art historical evidence as a springboard for discussing the cultural transformation which took place during the centuries of Roman and then Byzantine rule, in the process offering a valuable commentary on how works of art helped negotiate and express aspects of personal identity.

That said, the broad aims of the volume contribute in part to several weaknesses, as does the production format and copyediting provided by the publishers. Although the first chapter (pp. 12–19) briefly sets out the types of sculptures the author is to consider, and a broad chronology of trends is broached at pp. 27–8, much of the text refers to the stelae and niche heads without providing a date and provenance (or attribution). As a result, the reader struggles to imagine each object in its time and place, and the absence of a museum and/or site index of the works considered further complicates the matter. More in-depth analysis of individual objects and monuments might have helped to ground the interesting issues with which Thomas engages.

Although the author tries to relate trends in the Late Antique funerary sculptures to artistic developments of the Roman Period, her information on the latter is at times out of date or incomplete. The masked mummy of a girl, found with an assortment of grave goods at Hawara, must date to the first century AD, not to the third as Thomas asserts (p. 10, fig. 32). The burial group is now in Edinburgh (National Museums of Scotland inv. 1911.210.3 and 1911.210.4 A–Q), and the double-sided wooden plaque from the assemblage is unlikely to represent the girl's parents.[1] In a similar vein, the seated male statue from Karanis (p. 40, fig. 115) is much earlier (beginning of the first century AD) than Thomas implies, as is a limestone male head from Hawara (p. 40, figs. 113–14), which is now in Copenhagen, contrary to the information given in the caption to figs. 113–14.[2] The accurate dating of

[1] See S. Walker and M. Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces. Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (London, 1997), 82–4 (nos. 60–73); a late first century AD dating seems likely by comparison with similar masks from Hawara.

[2] For the date of the Karanis statue, see R. S. Bianchi, 'The Cultural Transformation of Egypt as Suggested by a Group of Enthroned Male Figures from the Faiyum', in J. H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multicultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses*

these three examples decreases the likelihood that any continuity in burial practices or sculptural style should be seen between them and Late Antique niche heads, undermining the author's argument along these lines in Chapter 3.

As Thomas points out, many of the Late Antique funerary sculptures were commissioned for the tombs of well-to-do urbanites whose cultural identity was predominantly Hellenic, displayed in the sculptures as 'a self-conscious development of both iconographic and stylistic Hellenizing traits' (p. 36). The *ethnic* identity of the sculptures' patrons is less well understood, and it is easier to discuss Roman and Byzantine Egypt in terms of social groups, which is the author's intent in referring to Greeks, Romans and Hellenized Egyptians (e.g. p. 36). However, the composition and self-definition of these social groups changed over time, especially after an imperial decree of AD 212 extended Roman citizenship to all free-born residents of the empire. A consideration of whether or how such historical developments affected the population of Late Antique Egypt, in particular the urban class that saw itself reflected in the niche heads and portrait sculptures, would have been beneficial.

Some technical problems mar the presentation of this volume, for the most part attributable to the publishers. Poor copyediting has resulted in several repeated or omitted words, misspelled names (e.g. 'Derchaine' for Derchain), and occasional mis-numbered figure references in the text. The figures themselves, though numerous, are a disappointment, since most are quite small and all are black-and-white. A book dealing with art historical material deserves better illustrations, including some in colour to document polychromy (cf. fig. 57). The notes and bibliography contain a few errors and omissions, and the author could usefully have cited some additional works directly relevant to her subject matter. For instance, two important recent studies concern the Late Antique portrait stelae from Chapter 5 (e.g. figs. 61, 68–74, 79): Martin von Falck has related the stelae of women to Roman portraiture of the third century,[3] and Hans-Georg Severin has elucidated the extent of modern reworking in the corpus of portraits and other early 'Coptic' sculpture.[4]

Despite the criticisms raised above, this book makes a valuable contribution to its field and brings an under-studied body of material to wider attention. The positive ramifications of the author's challenging new approaches should be felt outside her immediate area of specialization as well. The funerary art of Late Antique Egypt arguably culminates a lengthy transformation process which redefined what it meant to be an Egyptian and a Greek. Thelma Thomas convincingly demonstrates that artistic choices played an important role in shaping and communicating this development in the pagan and Christian communities of the time.

CHRISTINA RIGGS

to Constantine and Beyond (SAOC 51; Chicago, 1992), 20. The Hawara head was most recently published in K. Parlasca and H. Seemann, *Augenblicke. Mumienporträts und ägyptische Grabkunst aus römischer Zeit* (Frankfurt, 1999), 109 (no. 8), with further bibliography.

[3] M. von Falck, 'Vorüberlegungen zur Datierung einer spätkaiserzeitlichen Denkmalgruppe aus Ägypten—Die Grabreliefs von Behnasa', *BSAC* 35 (1996), 29–35.

[4] H-G. Severin, 'Pseudoprotokoptika', in C. Fluck et al. (eds), *Divitiae Aegypti. Koptologische und verwandte Studien zu Ehren von Martin Krause* (Wiesbaden, 1995), 289–99.

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