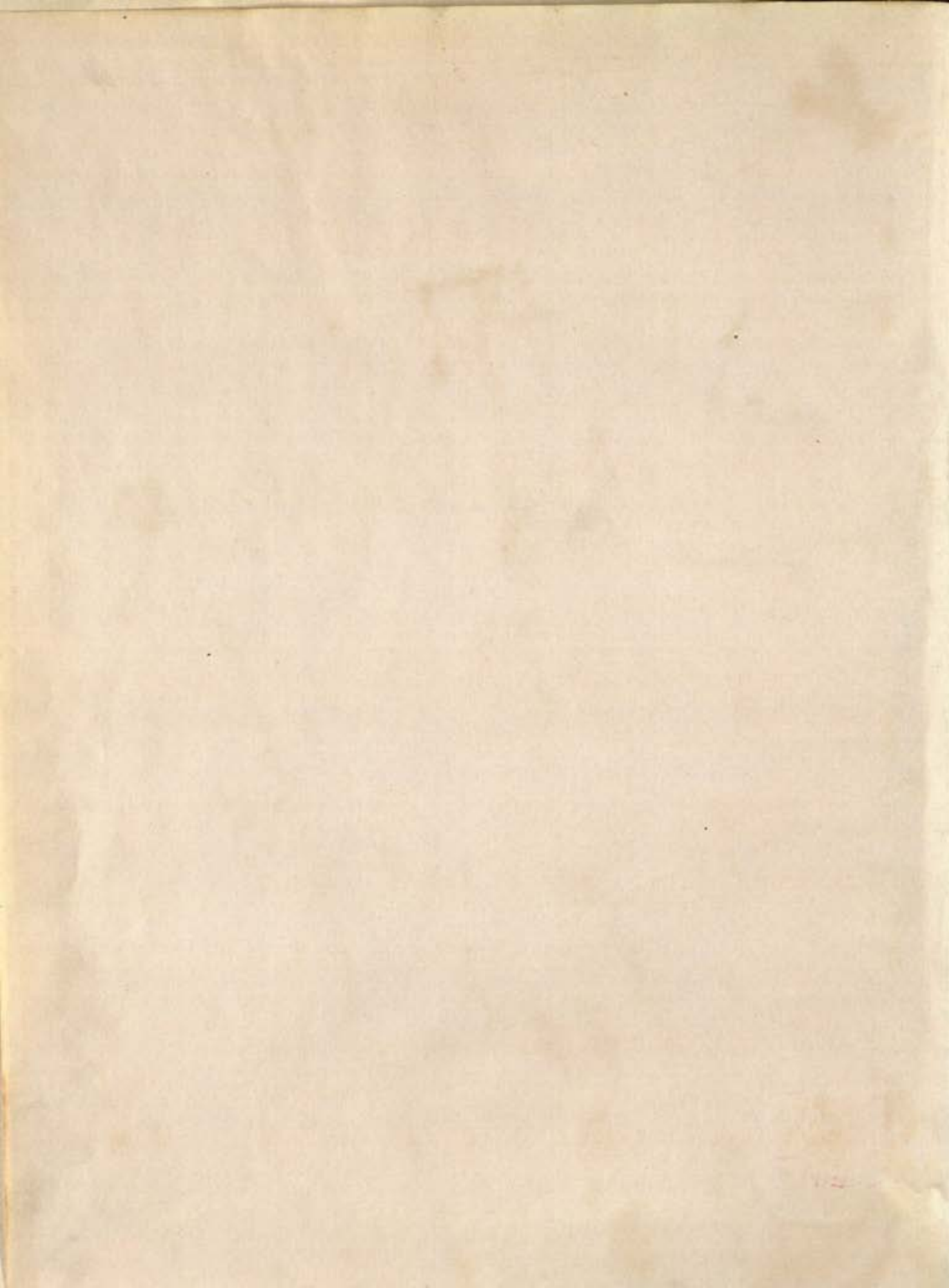


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
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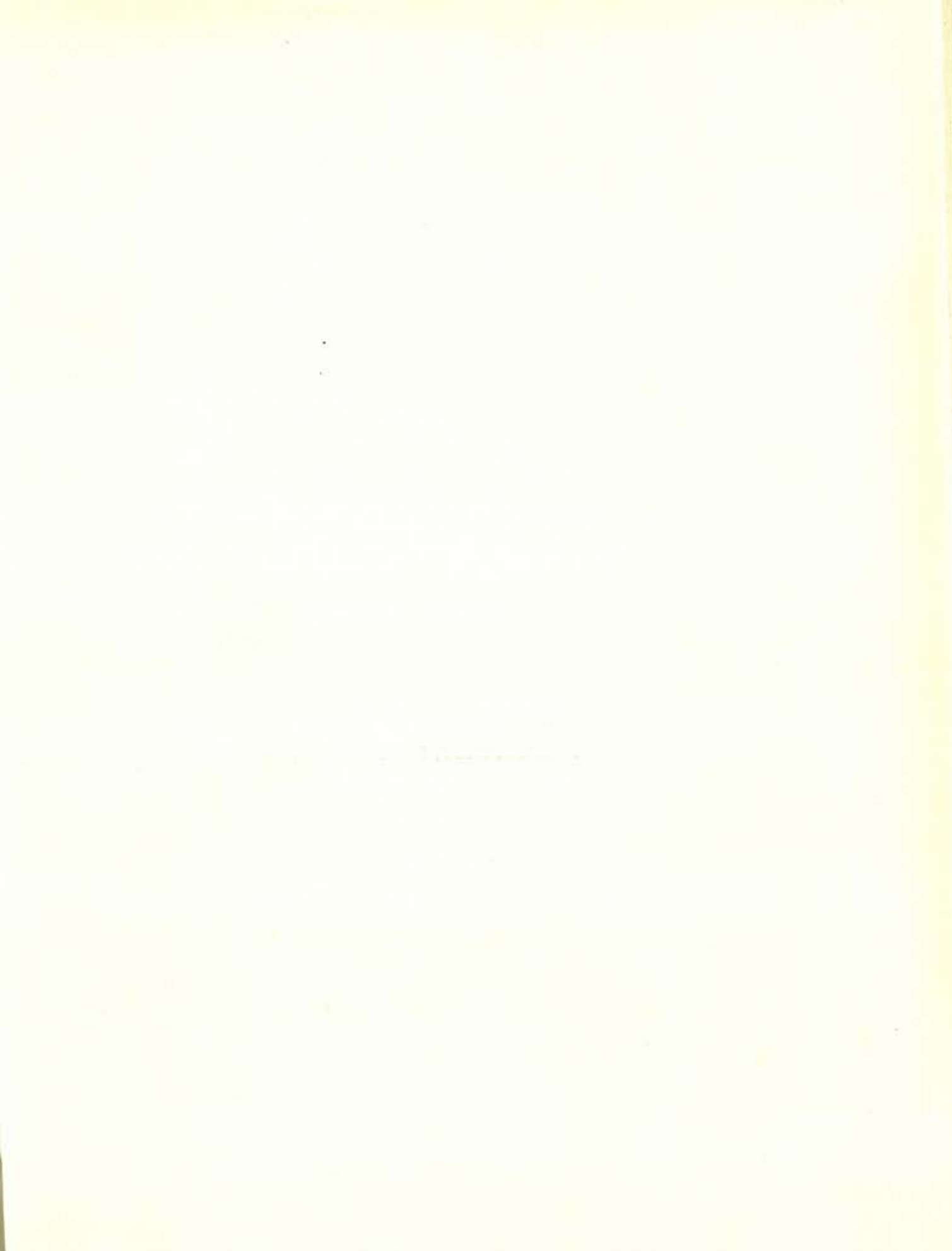
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STELA OF WENENNÜFE, BRIT. MUS. NO. 154



SCARAB WITH REPRESENTATION OF RESHEPH

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

FOR many years past the office of President of our Society has stood vacant. Sir Alan Gardiner has now consented to fill the chair which so long was empty, and we are to be congratulated on having so eminent a scholar at the head of the Society. We hope that he will long continue in that position.

The excavations at Buhen, opposite Wādī Ḥalfa, were continued during the season 1958-9 under the direction of Professor W. B. Emery, assisted by Mrs. Emery and Mr. D. M. Dixon, and the results obtained have served amply to demonstrate the interest and importance of the site. The first half of the season was devoted to continuing the clearance of the west wall, ramparts, and ditch, with the result that we now know the details of a remarkable example of military architecture which in general design, though of course not in detail, recalls the Edwardian castle of Beaumaris, with inner curtain walls, fortified gateway, low outer list walls with their bastions, and an outer moat, which at Buhen of course was dry and deep. Professor Emery writes:

This elaborate defence system, bearing a striking similarity to that of the Middle Ages, consisted of a massive brick wall 4·8 m. thick and at least 9·0 m. high, relieved on its outer face at regular intervals with square bastions. The top of the wall is nowhere preserved, but on the basis of ancient Egyptian representations of both Middle and New Kingdom date we have assumed that the parapet was formed of rounded mud-brick crenellations and that the bastions and the projecting corners at each end of the wall were raised to a higher level, thus forming towers.

At the foot of the wall was a brick-paved rampart, protected by a loopholed parapet overhanging the scarp of the rock-cut ditch, which was 8·40 m. wide and 6·50 m. deep. The counterscarp on the other side of the ditch was surmounted by a narrow covered way of brickwork, beyond which was a glacis rising from the natural ground level. Projecting into the ditch from the scarp were round bastions with double rows of loopholes of the curious type described in our previous report.

The most strongly fortified part of the structure was the great gate built into the wall on the axis of the rectangular town area. Although the upper part had largely been destroyed by the alterations of the New Kingdom, the foundations were well preserved and full information was obtained regarding the system of defence. We have evidence of great double doors in the gateway through the main wall and of a wooden drawbridge which was pulled back on rollers. The gate and bridge were flanked by two spur walls which extended over the dry ditch, forming a narrow corridor of considerable length, through which an attacking force would have to battle its way, exposed to a rain of missiles from the battlements on three sides. Nevertheless, we know that at the end of the Middle Kingdom it was successfully stormed, for it is in the area of the gate that the evidence of destruction by fire is most marked.

When in the Eighteenth Dynasty the ruined fortress was reoccupied, extensive reconstructions were carried out, the building now becoming a citadel within a much wider perimeter. In order to lay bare the original construction it became necessary to remove all the later work, and in the course of this operation the excavators discovered the skeleton of a horse lying on the pavement of the Middle Kingdom rampart in

circumstances which indicate that it is a good deal older than the burning of the fortress in the seventeenth century B.C., and thus antedates considerably the supposed introduction of the horse into the Nile Valley by the Hyksos.

The second half of the season was devoted to the interior of the fortress and the town it enclosed, and the excavators came upon the administrative offices and what was probably the house of the Commandant, a two-storied edifice built against the inner wall of the fortress and linked with the battlements by a long stairway. This house has not yet been completely cleared, but it has yielded a number of Twelfth Dynasty inscribed clay sealings originally attached to the knots of string binding rolls of papyrus, and also fragments of papyri deliberately torn up and thrown away. These fragments are being cleaned and studied at the British Museum, and it is already clear that some of them are fragments of letters of unquestionably Middle Kingdom date. Among the objects found in the New Kingdom level were inscribed sealings of wine-jars, flint dagger blades, the wooden frames and handles of shields, and some Middle Kingdom funerary stelae plundered from their original position outside the walls.

Each year seems to take its toll of the already limited number of workers in the field of Egyptology. We have now to record with great regret the death of Miss Amice Calverley, whose name will always be remembered in association with the great temple of Sethos I at Abydos, to the publication of which she devoted so much of her skill, time, and energy. She began work on the temple in 1927, and in the intervening years the results of her labours have become manifest in three sumptuous volumes, while a fourth is almost ready to appear. An obituary notice appears in the present volume of the *Journal*.

The Society has sustained another loss in the death of Mr. R. W. Sloley, for many years a member of the Committee, who was an authority on ancient science. He twice lectured to the Society on the subject of the measuring of time by the Ancient Egyptians, and the first of these lectures formed the basis of an important article, 'Primitive Methods of Measuring Time', which was published in Vol. 17 of this *Journal*. He was also the author of a standard work on aircraft instruments which he wrote while working in the Instruments Department of the Air Ministry. Among foreign scholars we mourn Professor A. de Buck, of *Coffin Text* fame, and Mlle M. Werbrouck of the Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth of Brussels.

On 6 May last there was a reception at the Queen's College, Oxford, given by the Committee of the Griffith Institute in honour of Sir Alan Gardiner, who celebrated his eightieth birthday on 29 March, and he was presented by Professor G. R. Driver with a special volume of the Royal Canon of Turin. All members will join in the congratulations and good wishes to Sir Alan which marked this event. Another pleasant function on 17 November was a dinner and presentation by the Committee of the Society to Miss W. A. Keeves to mark the twentieth year of her invaluable services as Secretary and to show our appreciation of all she has done for our members.

Indexes of Vols. 41-45 of the *Journal* appear at the end of this volume; future Indexes will appear at five-year intervals.

AN HONOURED TEACHER OF THE RAMESSIDE PERIOD

By HELLMUT BRUNNER

It is well known that the Anastasi Papyrus no. III was written by the scribe Pbēs under the direction of the 'Fan-bearer on the right of the King, First Charioteer of [His Majesty, Lieutenant-commander of] chariotry, King's Envoy [to the princes] of the lands of Khor from Tjel to Ipa . . . Amenemopē'.¹ In the colophon the titles are somewhat different: 'The King's Envoy to all foreign lands, Governor of the plains and hills' is how Amenemopē is styled there. His student Pbēs bears only the title 'scribe'. It so happens that the names of both teacher and pupil recur in the Koller Papyrus,² but Gardiner doubts, probably rightly, whether these two scribes, who bear no other titles, can be identical with those named in the Anastasi Papyrus no. III, for the handwritings are very dissimilar. However this may be, we know in any case that this high officer Amenemopē, who himself drove the king's chariot, educated students. Hitherto we have known by name only one of his pupils, the above-named scribe Pbēs, without being able to ascertain what this young man ultimately became, for in the Ramesside period men of this name are only too common.

However, on a stela in the British Museum which has long been known we meet our valiant teacher again. This stone³ (pl. I) was dedicated by a 'First Charioteer of His Majesty, King's Envoy to every land, Wenennūfe, justified'. In the uppermost register this man makes an offering to Osiris, Isis, and Harendotes; in the middle register is a row of two men and four women. These are respectively 'his father, the standard-bearer⁴ Roy'; 'his father's brother, king's scribe and superintendent of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands Meneptah, justified'; 'the chantress of Amūn Kāneḥbet', whose connexion with the owner of the stela remains obscure; 'his mother, the chantress of Bastet Bekwerenro, justified'; 'his wife, the chantress of Bastet Henutyūnu, justified'; and 'his wife, the chantress of Amūn Yuy, justified'. These six persons are represented almost exactly alike, except that the women wear a longer wig and the breast is shown as slightly fuller. In the lowermost register is depicted the bringing of an offering by 'his son, the stable-master of the Residence Sibastet', who alone wears military dress. In front of him sit two men and three women, namely, 'his father, the first charioteer of His Majesty Amenemopē, justified'; 'his brother, the stable-master of the Residence Hori'; 'his daughter, the chantress of Bastet Takha, justified'; 'his daughter, the chantress of Bastet Nofretyti, justified'; and 'his sister, the chantress of Bastet Taruya, justified'.

¹ P. Anast. III, i, 9-11; Gardiner, *L. Eg. Misc.* 21; Caminos, *L. Eg. Misc.* 69.

² Gardiner, *op. cit.* 116 ff.; Caminos, *op. cit.* 431 ff.

³ No. 154; *Guide to the Sculpture Gallery*, 1909, pl. 24, see pl. I, top, in this volume, from a photograph for which I heartily thank Mr. I. E. S. Edwards.

⁴ Corresponding roughly to a modern company or battalion commander, cf. Faulkner in *JEA* 39, 45.

The genealogical relationships are thus clear; the standard-bearer Roy and his wife, the chantress of Bastet Bekewerenro, had in addition to a daughter, the chantress of Bastet Taruya, also two sons who were both soldiers; one of them, Hori, was stable-master of the Residence, while the other, our Wenennūfe, was the first charioteer of His Majesty. The latter had two wives, of whom the first was the chantress of Bastet Henutyūnu, while the other was a chantress of Amūn named Yuy. From which of these wives the three children were born is not stated. However, judging by the son's name Sibastet and the title 'chantress of Bastet' borne by the two daughters, it is reasonable to suppose that they were the children of the wife who herself was attached to Bastet. It would seem almost as if the chantress of Amūn were an intruder in a family otherwise entirely devoted to the service of Bastet. As stable-master of the Residence the son took over the office of his uncle Hori. In an important position directly after the father is depicted his brother Meneptah, a high official of the financial administration.

Thus far all is clear. But we have still come to no conclusion with regard to two other persons, namely the woman called Kaneḥbet, who, like the second wife, was a chantress of Amūn, and the first man in the second register, who too is described as 'father'. As regards the woman and her depiction on our stela we can say nothing at all; one is free to imagine here a love affair to which the fact that, like Wenennūfe's second wife, Kaneḥbet was a chantress of Amūn may perhaps be a pointer.¹

On the other hand, the puzzle of the second 'father' is easy to solve; here is depicted the intellectual father of the dedicator, his teacher. That the Egyptians did call their teachers 'father' I have been able to show elsewhere.² The first charioteer of His Majesty Amenemopē who here is called 'father' can hardly be any other than the well-known teacher who in the Anastasi Papyrus no. III bears the same rank and name. The papyrus is dated in year 3 of King Meneptah, and the style shows that our stela is of late Rameside date; the tall lean figures and the very studied treatment of, for example, the dress of the worshipper in the top right-hand portion speak clearly enough in this respect, and they are corroborated by the name Meneptah of the uncle. Amenemopē will thus have instructed our Wenennūfe in the art of driving until he was able himself to carry out his teacher's responsible duty as personal charioteer of Pharaoh. His honourable office of King's Envoy to the foreign lands was also bestowed upon him, doubtless after he had been thoroughly trained in this also. It is no wonder that when Wenennūfe wished to express in monumental fashion his gratitude to the man who had assisted him to such honour, he should find place for him on his stela and name him 'father'. It must be admitted that to us the samples of Amenemopē's methods of teaching, as preserved in the Anastasi Papyrus no. III, are not very impressive. The phrases of flowery adulation which the pupil must address to his master (4, 4-11) strike us as unpleasing, nor does it seem to us very sensible, when Amenemopē wished to train his

¹ If one could put one's trust in the epithet *mt-ḥrw*, here rendered 'justified', it would show that both the wives of Wenennūfe were dead, but this designation appears to have been applied somewhat irregularly; in the topmost register it has been attached to the name of the dedicator Wenennūfe, but in the register below it has been omitted after his name.

² Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung*, 10 f.

pupils to be good soldiers, that he should set before them pieces to be written out in which they are expressly and forcibly warned against the career of an army officer (5, 5-6, 2 and 6, 2-10), simply because he found them in his copy. But probably we are doing the teacher an injustice, for education in Ancient Egypt is certainly to be judged from a standpoint very different from our own. In any case the monument in the British Museum is a clear witness to the close personal relationship which, despite the harsh methods of Egyptian education, could grow up between teacher and pupil.¹

¹ Cf. *op. cit.* 21.

A SCARAB WITH AN EARLY REPRESENTATION OF RESHEPH

By MANFRED CASSIRER

THE object under discussion is of unusual interest as one of the earliest-known documentations, in the iconographic sphere, of the Syrian god Resheph, and is as such of considerable rarity (pl. I, bottom). The material is the customary steatite, but the size is somewhat above the average for this kind of antiquity, namely, just over an inch in length. The scarab is of fine quality and has the dark-green glaze as well as the style of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.¹ The sides are chipped, but fortunately not so much as to interfere with the design on the base, which is the chief focus of interest. The latter depicts a winged striding deity, bearded and wearing a tasselled kilt, and a peaked cap surmounted by a solar disk with a gazelle's head in front and a streamer hanging down behind. The god is grasping an enormous serpent at which he is striking with a spear to the top of which a kind of double streamer is attached.²

A very similar divinity, likewise on the base of a scarab, found at Beth-Pelet (the modern El-Farah), is discussed by Petrie.³ The god of Beth-Pelet differs in three respects from the Resheph of the present writer: (1) no streamer or leash belongs to the offensive weapon; (2) the crown lacks the solar disk;⁴ (3) two horns take the place of the gazelle's head. The Palestinian scarab was found in a tomb (no. 902) which contained finds ranging from the Eighteenth to the Nineteenth Dynasty. Petrie described it as 'Philistine', without giving any real reason for this attribution of what is most probably a purely Egyptian object imported into the Holy Land, apart from his fanciful interpretation of its subject-matter, whereby he turns an apparent snake-charm into an historical document relating to the 'Amarna period.

Only one other representation of the winged god slaying the serpent appears to be

¹ The type resembles Newberry's fig. 74 (*Scarabs*, p. 74) with the legs well moulded. It persists into Dyn. XIX.

² This seems to be the earliest recorded occurrence of the ἀγκύλη. Yadin ('Goliath's Javelin and the מנור ארזים', *PEQ*, Apr. 1955, 64 ff.), who discusses this kind of weapon with special reference to Philistine armament, knows of no example prior to the Nineteenth Dynasty (p. 67). The only depiction from the Holy Land hails (by a strange coincidence) from Beth-Pelet (El-Farah; *ibid.* 68, fig. 15), which has furnished the closest parallel to our scarab (see below, n. 3). The artist responsible for the latter may have been somewhat inaccurate in attaching the leash to the very top of the weapon. I have to thank Mr. Hamilton for kindly drawing my attention to Professor Yadin's study.

³ *Ancient Egypt*, 1929, p. 12. Petrie's *Beth-Pelet*, 1, 7 at least illustrates the base with a line-drawing (pl. 12, no. 171).

⁴ This feature is, in any case, most unusual. A bronze statuette of Anath (who is closely connected with Resheph) belonging to G. Michaelidis and published by Grdseloff (*Les Débuts du culte de Rechef en Égypte*, Cairo, 1942, pl. 4) has one on top of the *atef*-crown. The Nineteenth Dynasty bronze figure of the god in the Berlin Museum, which Cook (*Rel. of Anc. Palest.* 116) pronounced 'noteworthy for the sun on the top of the reed crown', has in fact *two* disks: one on the front of the cap, the other an ornament or amulet around the neck; *ibid.* pl. 26. 1 and Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik d. Ägypten*, 95.

known.¹ It agrees with the god of Beth-Pelet in the absence of the sun-disk as well as in showing the ordinary kind of javelin. It is found on a steatite plaque of the Nineteenth Dynasty formerly in the Macgregor Collection and first published by Griffith.² This object also is of purely Egyptian manufacture and has hieroglyphic inscriptions which include the cartouche of Ramesses II. Nor is there any reason to question the Nilotic origin of the scarab here illustrated, though nothing is known of its previous history except that it was acquired by the writer on the London market in 1958. Its fine workmanship and style leave little doubt as to its date, which must coincide with the reign of Amenophis III or with that of his immediate predecessor.

¹ Discounting as unproved the strong probability that bronzes of the god in the same attitude but lacking spear and serpent are really sculptural representations of the same theme (cp. Griffith in *PSBA*, 1894, 89).

² Griffith (loc. cit. 88 f.) emphasized his Egyptianized aspect by calling him 'Set with the attributes of Horus' while, on the other hand, recognizing his close affinity with an undoubtedly Phoenician bronze of Resheph (89 f.). Vincent (*Rev. Bib.* 1928, 517) agreed with this description but mentioned Maspero's identification of this god with Resheph (cf. Maspero, *Hist. anc.* 11, 576, n. 5). Cook (loc. cit.) called it a 'unique Egyptian scene', under the influence of Petrie, who regarded the El-Farah scarab as non-Egyptian.

A FRAGMENT OF A BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION OF THE OLD KINGDOM

By HANS GOEDICKE

DURING the excavations carried out by the University of Alexandria under the direction of Professor A. Abubakr a slab of limestone was found in the *radim* at the western end of the Gīzah plateau which cannot be attributed to any particular tomb. The slab, of rather poor, soft limestone, is approximately rectangular in shape, measuring 54 cm. on the right, better preserved edge, 42 cm. at the bottom, and 9 cm. at the top. The entire surface is covered with an inscription arranged in one horizontal line at the top and eight

vertical lines underneath. In addition to its fragmentary state the surface is in many places badly corroded and the decipherable signs reduced to a few unconnected groups (pl. II).

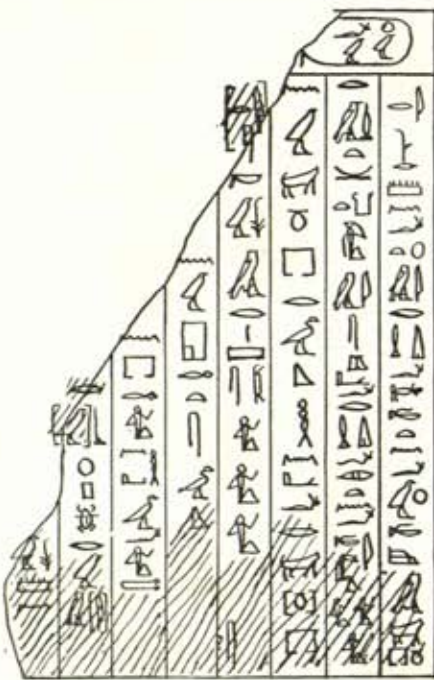
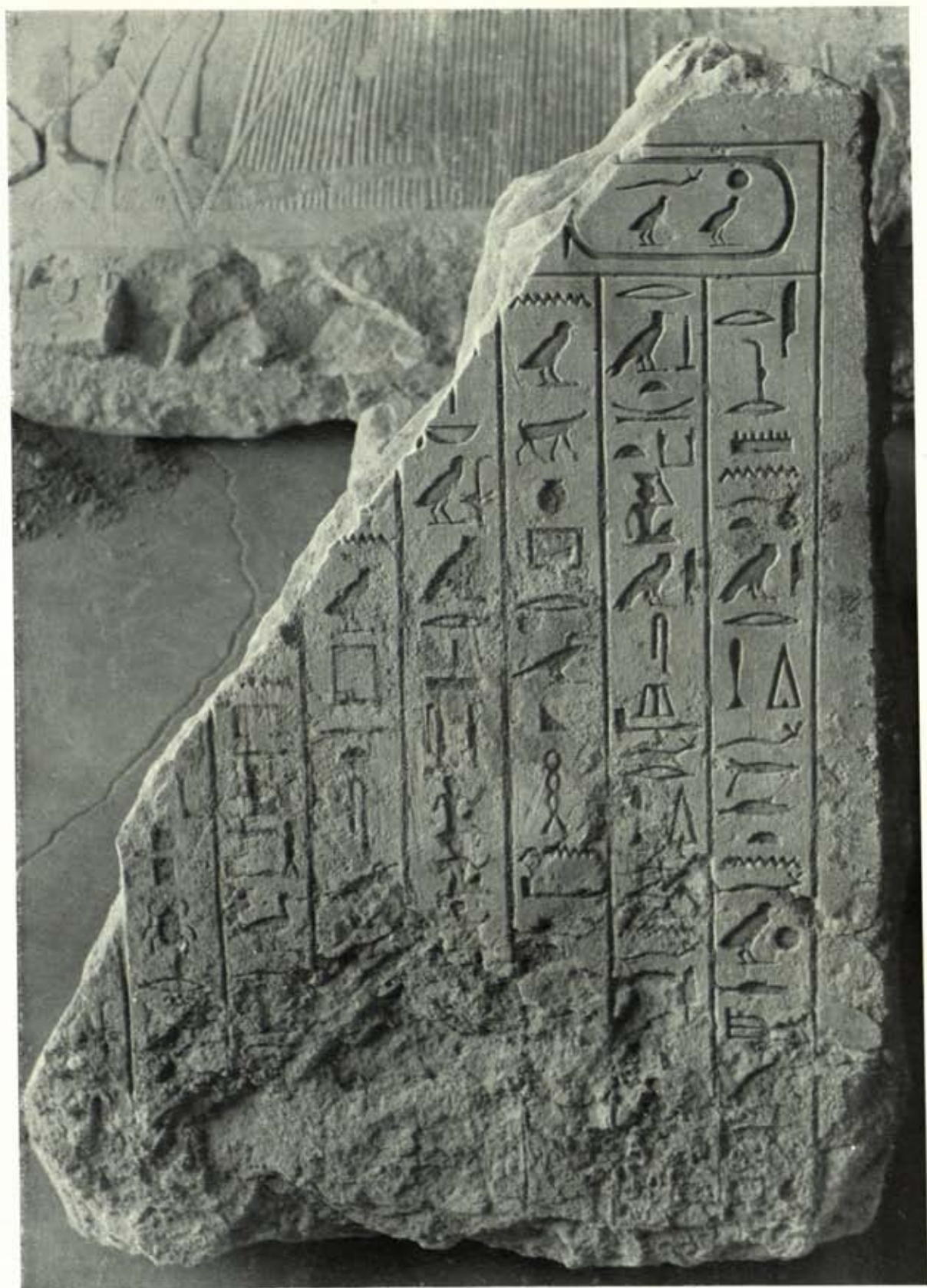


FIG. 1

The inscription represents the beginning of a biographical text describing a memorable event in the unknown man's life. The text does not tell us the entire career of the official concerned, but commences with a particular event which happened presumably late in the man's life. In this respect the text tells a story similar to the well-known biographical episodes related by *Dhny* and *Wš-Pth* in their tombs. It is particularly in connexion with the latter that our text should be considered, as beside the similarities of content there exist other points of resemblance. In both cases we are told about the illness of an esteemed official of the king and the favours shown to him upon that occasion by the latter. Since we so rarely get a glimpse of the personal relationship existing between the monarch and his officials, it is the more regret-

table that our text should be preserved in such a fragmentary condition.

The date of the fragment is obscure, particularly since we are unable to link it with a particular official. The text itself does not furnish any indication either palaeographically or contextually which could permit an attribution to a specific date. The impersonal form in which the episode is told, using the suffix of the third person in reference to the individual concerned, suggests rather a date not later than the end of the Fifth Dynasty, since later inscriptions of this kind prefer the use of the first person. On the other hand, an attribution to the Fourth Dynasty also offers some difficulties in view of the emphasis given to the personal nature of the events described, so that the Fifth Dynasty seems



A BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION OF THE OLD KINGDOM

the most likely date for the fragment under discussion. The close relationship with the inscription of *Wš-Pth* supports such a suggestion.

Translation

(1) *Hwfw* (2) As for the time when he was sick, His Majesty caused that there should be procured for him a carrying-chair from the Residence (3) in order to carry out the work under his supervision from it. His Majesty caused that there should be organized for him a guard (4) of the Residence in order to enter the Residence (?) with him . . . (5) When he was in the performance of the duty the people (6) of the *Hwt-rt* cause to enter (7) of the *pr-rt*-man and his son (8) to the place where it happened (9) he

Commentary

L. 1. In the original arrangement a horizontal line of hieroglyphs was placed above the inscription, which was set out below in vertical columns. It apparently represents a kind of heading and seems not directly connected with what follows. Only the very beginning of it remains, consisting of the name of Cheops in a cartouche. It is impossible to put forward any conclusive suggestion concerning the original contents of this line on the basis of such a short and ambiguous fragment. It is, however, tempting to conjecture that this part of the text mentioned the person to whom the following inscription refers. In that case the name of Cheops is likely to be part of a title; *hm-ntr Hwfw* appears the most probable.¹ Whether other titles followed cannot be determined since there is no indication of the original number of vertical columns. As can be deduced from the text, the man to whom it refers must have been a favourite official of an unknown king engaged in work presumably connected with official building for the Crown.

L. 2. *mn ht* 'to be sick', cf. *Wb.* II, 66, 20. Here clearly with this meaning and not 'to fall sick' as envisaged by Junker, *Giza*, XI, 176. *ir tr . . . im* is a clear reference to the period of sickness which covered a certain length of time. No indication is given as to whether the man finally recovered or not. The latter possibility seems more likely in view of the stylistic build-up of the narrative, which may have concluded with a description of the tomb and burial outfit supplied by the king as an expression of his high favour. An arrangement of this kind is found in the biographical inscription of *Dbhny*. *Sdi* clearly has the meaning 'to bring', 'to procure'. The passage here is probably a literal parallel to *Urk.* I, 43, 16, which should be restored accordingly. *Hwd(t)* is a not infrequent term for a kind of carrying chair; no feminine ending is indicated here, but the gender of the term is determined by the subsequent *im-s*. For the form of the object, cf. Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi*, I, 14; II, 6. 10 and Reisner & Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, II, 33, pl. 27a. The litter was not only a favourite form of conveyance, but even more a sign of high social rank and importance. The motif of the man in the carrying chair is often found among the reliefs in the mastabas of the great nobles of the Old Kingdom.²

¹ One could also think of restoring *ht-Hwfw* in this place, but it would be difficult to explain its appearance here, except by regarding it as part of a title.

² Cf. Klebs, *Reliefs des alten Reiches*, 27 ff.; Junker, *Giza*, XI, 249 ff. See furthermore *Urk.* I, 231, 14, where, however, a different term, *ibnr*, is used.

L. 3. *r dšt kst im-š hr-ṛ-f* states the purpose of the royal provision. *Dšt kst*, apparently not attested elsewhere, seems to have the meaning 'to carry out the work' as required by the context. For this interpretation, cf. the use of *dšt ts* in *Sin.* B304, rendered by Gardiner¹ 'to busy oneself' 'to be occupied with'. *Im-š* refers back to *hwd(t)*, while *hr-ṛ-f* concerns the preceding mention of *kst*. For the technical expression *hr-ṛ-f*, cf. *Wb.* III, 386, 24. *Kst* as a general term for 'work' is rather ambiguous in its significance, but nevertheless likely to have the specific connotation of building activity. For the assumed meaning of *iri*, cf. *Wb.* I, 109, 6, but this use is not attested for the Old Kingdom. Cf. however, *Urk.* I, 101, 10, concerning the recruiting of the army under Weni's command. The use of *idw* in this connexion is surprising, since one would rather expect some other term. It is seemingly used to denote troops of some kind, for which cf. *Wb.* I, 151, 19. The specification *nyw hnw* shows that the men concerned were closely connected with the 'Residence'. The latter, as an expression for the royal administration, is frequently found in the Old Kingdom. The legal status of the people remains uncertain. From the way in which the order is given, it seems most tempting to assume a status of dependence for them, but it is questionable if they can be called 'servants', still less 'slaves'. From the usual employment of the *idw* as military personnel² one is inclined to picture them as a kind of guard. Our text is probably to be compared with a fragmentary passage in the inscription of *Wšš-Pth* (*Urk.* I, 44, 3-4) where there is mention of the different kinds of troops attached to the Residence. As in our case, the statement follows the donation of a carrying chair which, in *Wšš-Pth*, is complemented by the issue of detailed instructions, which are missing here.

L. 4. The purpose of the *idw* is stated to be *r ḥk hnc-f r (hnw?)* 'in order to enter with him into (the Residence?)'. *Hnw* is a possible but uncertain restoration. The traces of the first sign seem to be part of *ḥn*, which would also permit the restoration *ḥn* (cf. *Wb.* III, 372, 10) and which seems rather likely in view of the long lacuna. For the formal introduction to the palace, to which the passage seems to refer, cf. also *Sin.* B248-9.

L. 5. For *ri-šmš*, see Junker, *ZÄS* 77, 2 ff.

L. 6. The lack of context makes it impossible to recognize the significance of *hwt ṛst* in this connexion. The preceding *nyw* prompts one to conjecture the mention of some kind of people, closely related with the *hwt ṛst*, for which cf. *Urk.* I, 102, 4.

L. 7. *ḥn* denotes a certain kind of people of the working class. It apparently is a *nisba* formation of *pr ṛ*, meaning the man belonging to the *pr ṛ*. In *Urk.* I, 149, 6 they are mentioned among the workmen engaged in quarrying. The term is possibly to be compared with *nšwtwyw* 'royal slaves',³ but the two are probably not identical. This word

¹ *Notes on the Story of Simuhe*, 115; cf. also Dévaud, *Sphinx*, 13, 118-20.

² Cf. Faulkner, *JEA* 39, 36; Junker, *Giza*, v, 159.

³ For the meaning of the term, cf. Maspero, *Études égyptiennes*, II, 230 and Moret, *Rec. trav.* 29, 67, while Junker, *Giza*, III, 173 and Kees, *Kulturgeschichte*, 44 and *Beiträge zur altäg. Provinzialverwaltung*, II, 587 (*Nachr. d. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen*, 1933) consider them not as slaves, but as a kind of specially privileged farmers. The latter view is hardly tenable on account of the mention in the inscription of *Mtn* (*Urk.* I, 2, 8; 4, 8), where the people are acquired (*ini r isw*) together with the land they are dwelling on.

could be restored in the lacuna in *Urk.* I, 21, 11, where the context would require such a term. The following word might be restored as $\overline{\text{mn}}$ or $\overline{\text{mn}}\text{ht}$, a term used for the recruiting of people, particularly in connexion with funerary installations; cf. *Urk.* I, 302, 13 ff.

L. 9. $\overline{\text{mn}}$ either 'to endure' or to be restored as *mn ht* as in l. 2).

A DIDACTIC PASSAGE RE-EXAMINED

By SIR ALAN GARDINER

THE papyrus known as *P.Boulaq IV*, to the contents of which Chabas gave the name *Les Maximes du scribe Anii*, has long enjoyed the unenviable reputation of being the obscurest of all Egyptian Wisdom texts. As in the far older *Prisse papyrus*, some of the

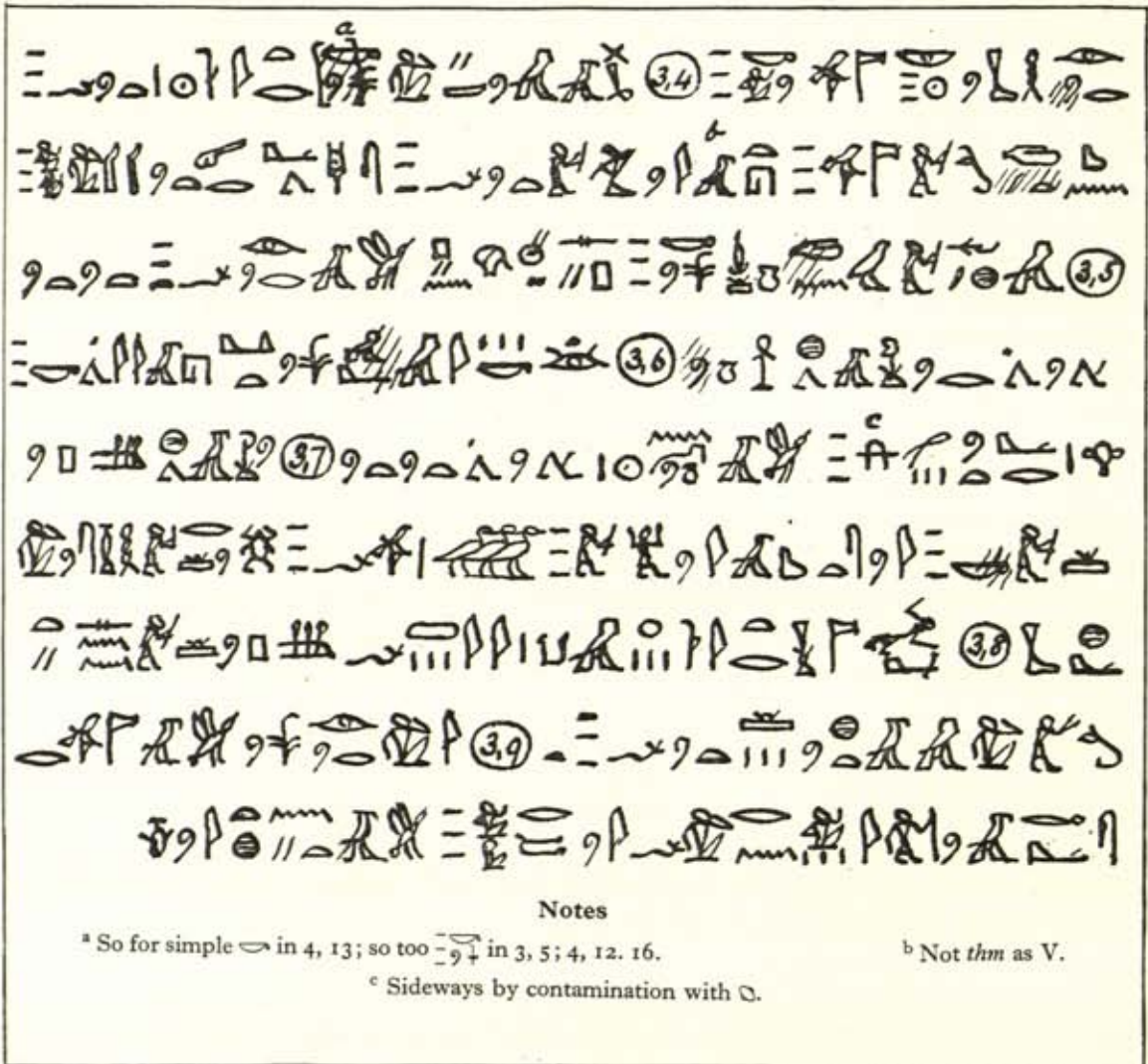


FIG. 1. P. Boulaq IV, 3, 3-9

passages are easily translatable, but the majority have completely baffled interpretation. Many years have passed since I transcribed the papyrus from the original and attempted to wrestle with the sense; I soon abandoned my effort, but remember coming to the conclusion that careful scholarly endeavour would undoubtedly elicit more than had

been done in the two editions then the best available, as they still are. It has now seemed to me worth while to pick out a single passage to test that conclusion. Such an undertaking would, I realized, involve some frank and perhaps caustic criticism, but I felt that the advantages to be gained thereby would far outweigh the disadvantages, and might well bring to light some details of grammar and vocabulary which stood in need of discussion.

The passage chosen for examination is transcribed on the accompanying Fig. 1. It follows closely upon the couple of lines describing the benefit to be derived from early marriage and the founding of a family. No rubric marks the beginning, but one follows at the end. It will be seen that orthographically the text is abominable, but in most cases the correct spellings can be easily divined. I start by offering my own translation, the inelegance of which I deplore, but the purpose which I have had in view demanded that the translation be literal rather than literary.

Make festival for thy god and repeat its season;¹ God is angry when it is neglected. Raise up witnesses when thou offerest at the first time of the doing of it. One comes to seek thy listing (?); let him cause thee to go down on papyrus. The time comes and one seeks acceptance (?) of thee to extol his power. There result song, dance, and incense as his food, and the reception of obeisance as his wealth. The god does it to magnify his name, but man it is who is inebriated.

COMMENTARY

S = É. Suys, S.J., *La Sagesse d'Ani*, Rome, 1935.

V = A. Volten, *Studien zum Weisheitsbuch des Ani*, Copenhagen, 1937-8.

The incomplete translation in A. Erman, *Die Literatur der Ägypter*, Leipzig, 1923 will be mentioned only casually (E).

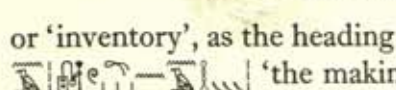
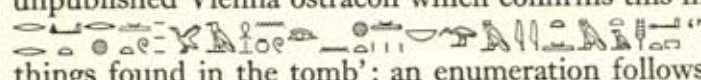


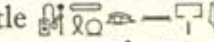



All translators interpret the opening words as 'celebrate the festival of thy god', but *irt ḥb* is regularly followed by the datival *n* (*Wb.* III, 58, 9) and the absence of the definite article is significant; for a particularly clear case of the omission of this *n* see 4, 4.


For the inexplicable writing $\overline{\text{f}}_{\text{e}}$ in place of the simple suffix \curvearrowright see the note on my Figure; the shifts to which V is reduced to explain this writing will be seen from his pp. 73, 74. *Tri-twḥ* (again a strange spelling) is surely the object of *whm.k*.

S translates the next sentence 'Le dieu est mécontent d'être négligé', but the verb *thi* with a person as object has a quite different sense (*Wb.* v, 319, 20). V's 'wenn sie (*scil.* 'die Zeit') verpasst wird' is clearly correct, see *Wb.* v, 320, 21.

Whether the words *sp tpy n pṯ ir.f* should be taken with what follows or, as in my translation, with what precedes is debatable, but it is strange that to give *sp tpy* its natural sense 'the first time' has not appealed to my predecessors; E rendered 'es ist das Beste (?) für den, der es getan hat (?)', S 'c'est un précepte important, de faire cela', V 'das ist gut für denjenigen, der es tut'. All three renderings take the *sw* which stands below the *k* of *wdn.k* as the subject of a separate clause, and regard the *ir* of *pṯ ir.f* as a participle. Both suppositions are wrong: (1) the position of this *sw* below *k* is the more decisive on this point since we have seen that the ostensible *ksw* is merely

¹ i.e. its annual recurrence.

or 'inventory', as the heading of one of the Tomb-robberies papyri shows:  'the making of a list (or 'survey') of the writings of the . . . ?'¹—the last word is uncertain; a list of papyri follows. Černý has shown me the heading of an unpublished Vienna ostrakon which confirms this interpretation even more strikingly:  'To cause to be known the list of all things found in the tomb'; an enumeration follows. Suys has realized that this substantive *šnw* lies at the root of the common title  or , the Greek *λεσωνης* or *λεσωνης*;² the bearer of this title must have been a prominent temple-official who exercised the function (sometimes only temporarily) of surveying and listing the temple assets, and it agrees with this view that the title  'inventory-scribe of the house of Amūn' is also found (*Wb.* iv, 496, 13–15 and 497, 1).³ Suys discusses these titles very ably, producing much evidence, but I believe him to have been mistaken in identifying this *imy-r šn* with the much older title  or  (*Wb.* iv, 498, 1.2) which never shows the determinative . Leaving this interesting subject I now return to the Anii passage. In view of what Suys had determined I do not understand why he rendered *twtw iw r whš šnw-k* by 'on va chercher ton témoin'; my own suggestion 'one comes to seek thy listing' might well imply that only such persons as were recorded in writing on the temple rolls were accorded the privilege of direct participation in the festivities of the god; some such interpretation finds support in the rest of the passage, but in truth we know far too little about the personal duties of the individual worshipper to be sure. If I am right in my rendering 'The time comes and one seeks acceptance of thee to extol his (the god's) power' there may be a veiled allusion to the choice of *wērb*-priests, only such men being eligible as could produce written evidence of having been regular in their performance of the rite of offering.

A few linguistic details remain to be dealt with. For the construction *iml sw dit hry-k hr crwt V* rightly quotes *Neuäg. Gramm.*² § 342; no parallel for this use of *hry* is to be found in *Wb.*, but the sense clearly is 'let him put thee down in writing.' The use of *iw* in place of *r* before the wrongly written *skš* can hardly be doubted, but the passages which V quotes (3, 10; 7, 3; 10, 6) are too obscure to be convincing. As regards , not quoted in *Wb.*, S (pp. 16–17) was certainly right in regarding this as a miswriting or 'élargissement' of *hbt* 'dance', and he showed that in *P.Ch. Beatty I*, 16, 10, where *hcb* again follows the word *hs* for 'song', I was entirely wrong in regarding the corrupt determinative as a perversion of the sign for 'throat'; in both passages a female dancer with her arms thrown back behind her head was clearly intended. Lastly, in the final words of the passage, the use of *rmt* as 'man', 'mortal' as contrasted with 'deity' (*ntr* in 3, 3) provides a welcome parallel to the remarkable argument in the story of Wenamūn where the envoy of Amūn maintains that, unlike his own divine master, the king Khaemwēse who had sent to the Lebanon for wood had been a mere man (*rmt*, 2, 53 foll.). At the end of our text it is amusing to find the deity obtaining spiritual exaltation from song, dance, and censing, while his human devotee has to content himself with the grosser pleasure of getting drunk.

¹ Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies*, pl. 38, 1, 1.

² Bibliographical references, see Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, p. 117.

³ For *sš šn* see too Griffith, *Rylands Papyri*, III, p. 202, n. 12.

YA'QOB'EL

By S. YEIVIN

THIS place-name occurs in Tuthmosis III's list of towns captured in Hither Asia on his first campaign in the form of *ilqbyr(r)*, usually transliterated as יעקבאל (no. 102),¹ and it was suggested long ago that this occurs also as a masculine personal name on Hyksos scarabs, as the name of one of the Pharaohs of the Fifteenth Dynasty.²

Now this alleged *Ya'qob'el* occurs on royal Hyksos type scarabs in various forms:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (a) <i>ilqgbhr</i> ; ³ | (e) <i>ilqgbcr</i> ; ⁷ |
| (b) <i>ilqgphr</i> ; ⁴ | (f) <i>ikkbcr</i> ; ⁸ |
| (c) <i>ilqpqhr</i> ; ⁵ | (g) <i>ikkbc</i> . ⁹ |
| (d) <i>ilqgbhr</i> ; ⁶ | |

In view of the exact form of the place-name in the annals of Tuthmosis III, the numerous variants appearing (very frequently in jumbled and uncouth form) on the Hyksos scarabs were at first taken to be mere variants of the fully attested יעקבאל.¹⁰ If the present author is not mistaken, Petrie was the first to read variant (f) as *Yekebaal*.¹¹

Much later, after the acquisition and publication of the later lot of Execration Texts, it became obvious that the vocable *hr* (= הר) forms, in its own right, the theophoric component of the theophoric names.¹² It followed that the name *Yrqbhr* could only be

¹ Yeivin, *'Ereš-Yisra'el*, III, 36-37, where some possible identifications are suggested (Hebrew with English summary); cf. also Kaplan, *BIES* 21, 207. This place is mentioned in lists of Ramesses II and III (Simons, *Handbook*, 157 (no. 9); 165 (no. 104)).

² Cf. Rowley, *From Joseph to Joshua*, 35 ff., quite apart from its occurrence as a masculine personal name in Akkadian documents (*ibid.* 36).

³ Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. 22, 27; the inscription on this scarab is: *ilqbrh(w?)*, obviously transposed for *ilqgbhr(w?)*, and coupled with *mry wsr rr*.

⁴ Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs etc. in the British Museum*, 31 (no. 285).

⁵ *Ibid.* 31 (no. 284); Newberry, *op. cit.* pl. 23, 1; Fraser, *A Catalogue of the Scarabs belonging to . . .*, 24 (no. 181).

⁶ Petrie, *Historical Studies*, pl. 6, where seven scarabs bearing this inscription are tabulated as accompanied by different forms of ornamentation. In the same table Petrie lists eight scarabs inscribed with the name *ikkbrm(w)* accompanied again by various types of ornamentation; cf. above the type cited here as (f). Since, however, none of these figures in his later catalogue of the collection at University College (see below, n. 8), and no scarabs with such inscriptions are shown in other catalogues, this material remains of uncertain value for the purposes of this study, in spite of Petrie's well-known attention to details.

⁷ Newberry, *op. cit.* pl. 23, 3.

⁸ *Ibid.* pl. 22, 8; Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, pl. 22, H. 1.

⁹ Petrie, *op. cit.* pl. 22, H. 2.

¹⁰ Cf., for example, Rowley, *op. cit.* (above, n. 2), 36.

¹¹ Petrie, *op. cit.* pl. 22, H. 1; though in 1911 (*Historical Studies*) he transliterated a similar name on scarabs as *Yekeb-al* (obviously a *lapsus calami* for *Yekeb'al*, or possibly he did not attach any importance to the difference), which is partly more correct than the later transcription.

¹² Cf. such personal names as *sm'hr* (= שמרהר), the name of the ruler of *Bqetm* [(הלבנת) בקעת] in Posener, *PPAN* E 20 (p. 75); cf. also *ibid.* E 35.

transliterated as יעקבהר, and though containing components similar to יעקבאל (the verbal form יעקב + a name of a deity, in this case הר) was neither identical with, nor a mere variant of, the latter.¹ Obviously, the form (b) is a variant spelling, in which *p* replaces *b*,² while form (c) is merely a transposition of *p* and *q*.³ It should probably be assumed that form (d) is merely an erroneous transcription of the well-attested יעקבהר, in which the *ʿ* has been omitted by mistake, possibly by a non-Semitic scribe or engraver, who, mispronouncing it, swallowed it up in the preceding vowel. Again it should be noted that all these variants are at one in transcribing the guttural *q* with the Egyptian guttural equivalent.

It is obvious, however, that forms (e)–(g) designate a different name, in which the theophoric component is no longer *hr* (= הר), but most probably *br* (= בעל); and, indeed, as already noted above, Petrie transliterated it as such.⁴ Two new problems arise now; both concern the first component of this new name. First of all, is this first component to be identified with the first component in the parallel יעקבהר? In this case one must assume that all (scribes and) engravers have either omitted the second *b* in the name (*iqb-br* = יעקב-בעל), or that, owing to the quiescence⁵ of the first *b* at the end of the second (or third) syllable of יעקב, it coalesced with the following similar sound into a doubled *b* (and the name was pronounced something like *yāraqābbāʾlū*), or (less likely) was dropped altogether (*yāraqābāʾlū*?). Secondly, whether, in view of the certainly garbled spellings of the name יעקבהר, it is to be assumed that all variants of this latter name represent one and the same name, in which *k* and *q* interchange in the transcription,⁶ or it is to be concluded that form (e) only represents a name parallel to יעקבהר, i.e. יעקב-בעל, while forms (f) and (g) contain not only a different theophoric component (בעל), but also an entirely different verbal stem *ik*. In considering this problem, attention should be paid not only to the fact that the *k* is palatal (not guttural *q*), but also to the second fact that neither has *ʿ* after the initial *il*.⁷

Personally, the writer is inclined to the second solution, which would see in the first component a separate verbal construction *ik* from the root יכ' (in *qal*), an imperfect jussive of the 3rd per. sing. m., 'Ba'al should strike' (i.e. at the enemies of the new-born).⁸ Assuming the correctness of this hypothesis, it may perhaps be further

¹ Thus it was properly transcribed by Albright, *BASOR* 47, 10; Id., *From Stone Age to Christianity*, 184.

² There are several such examples in ancient Middle Eastern onomastica; one need only quote the classical *Khab/piru*; or *Khammurab/pi*.

³ See above, p. 16, n. 5.

⁴ Though not commenting on it; see above, p. 16, n. 11.

⁵ This is probably to be taken as a jussive form of the verb.

⁶ Such cases are known in other instances. Cf., for example, the place-name Karkemish, which is usually transcribed in Egyptian with a *k* (Simons, *Handbook . . . of Egyptian Topographical Lists*, pp. 114, 165), but sometimes also with a *q* (Albright, *Vocalization*, p. 51, no. 15).

⁷ Of course they are badly garbled versions, since (g) omits even the final *r*; this, however, is comprehensible in the case of an Egyptian scribe, who was already familiar with the gradual disappearance of the final *r* in his own language.

⁸ Cf. Posener, *PPAN* E 9 [*iinkiyw* = ינכאל], in which the combination *yw* designates Sem. ל; E 23 (do). It is to be assumed that the verb here is in the IIInd construction (*pi'el*); or else the Execration Texts represent an earlier stage of linguistic development before the assimilation of a quiescent *n* to the following

suggested that even form (e) contains as its first component not a garbled transcription of **עקב**, but a verbal form of an entirely different derivation, such as a jussive imperfect of **ע'ק'**, namely **עקבעל**, 'May Ba'al weigh heavily (= crash)' (i.e. on the enemies of the new-born).¹

In any case it is quite obvious that a personal name **יעקבאל** does not exist in Egyptian texts, but only **יעקבהר**, and possibly **יעקב-בעל**. The name **יעקבאל** appears only as a place-name some 200 years after the Fifteenth Dynasty, in the list of towns subdued by Tuthmosis III.

consonantal sound. In this case the parallel adduced here is very significant in showing the date of this phonetic phenomenon, sometime during the eighteenth century B.C., between the later group of the Execration Texts and the early Hyksos scarabs. Further research in this problem may prove which of the alternatives is to be given preference.

¹ Would this also mean that even in form (d) it is to be assumed that the first component of the name is to be derived from a different verbal stem? or would it only be a garbled form in which the ' was accidentally omitted, as suggested above? In the former case one could think of the root **ב'ק'** or better **ב'ק'י** (cf. *Num.* XXIII, 8); the name probably meaning 'May Ba'al curse (or proscribe)' (i.e. the enemies, or opponents, or evil-wishers, of the new-born).



Obverse

THE STELA OF KIA



Reverse

THE BEGINNING OF THE EL-'AMĀRNA PERIOD

By CYRIL ALDRED

1. The Stela of Kia

THE small collection of Egyptian antiquities formerly in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland contained three portions of inscribed relief perfunctorily

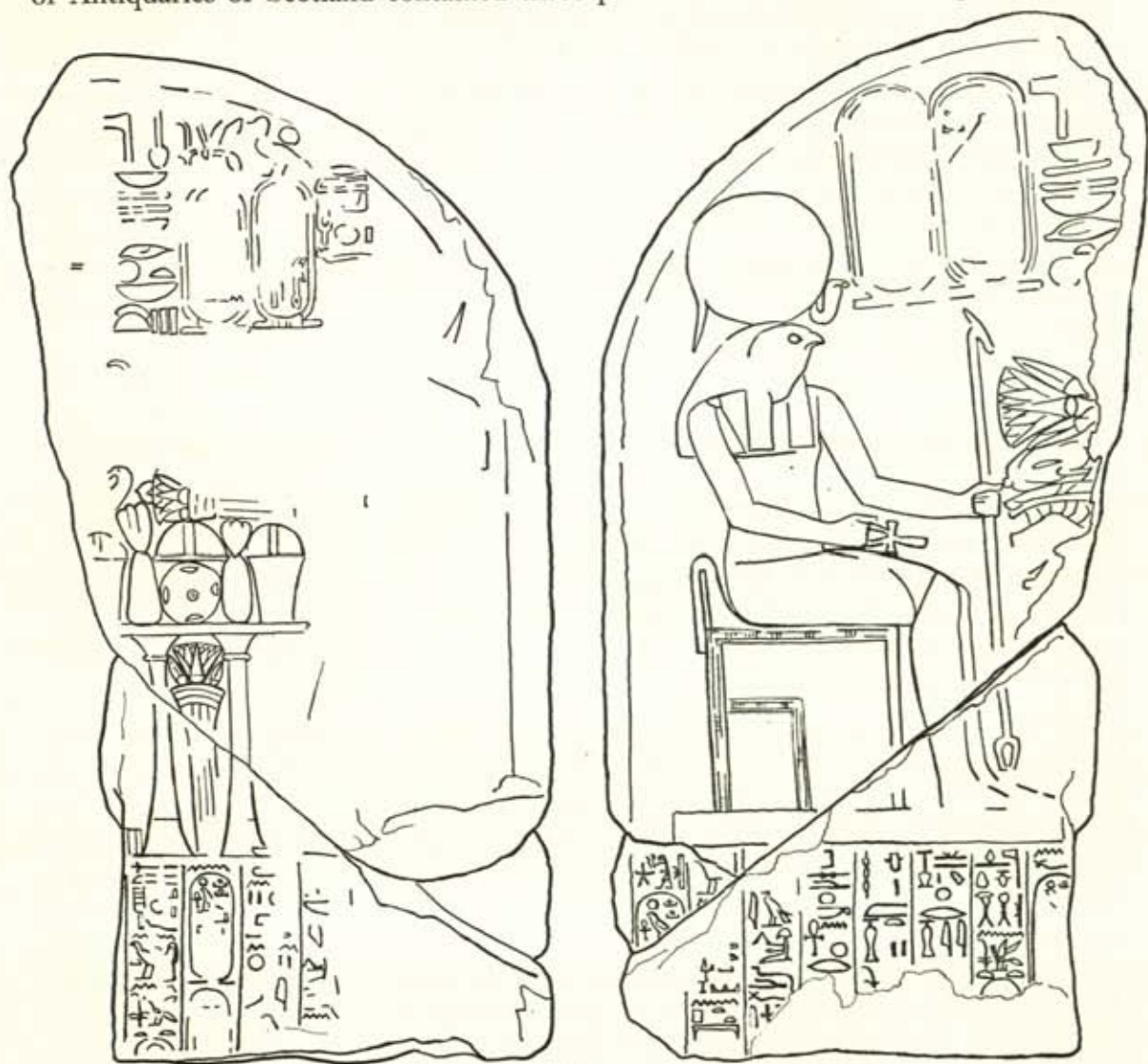


FIG. 1.

described under the registration numbers 975, 988, and 996 in Dr. M. A. Murray's catalogue of 1900.¹ When these specimens were recently incorporated into the permanent

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* 33, 516-17.

collection of the Royal Scottish Museum it was seen that the fragments fit together and make up one half of a stela as shown in fig. 1 and pl. III.¹

It will be only too obvious from the drawings in fig. 1 that since this monument left its sculptor's hands it has suffered considerable damage. Despoilers have hammered out names in some of the cartouches and it has been smashed into large and small pieces, at least half of which are now missing. In addition, one fragment appears to have been reddened by fire and the others to have lain in a position where drips of water have been able to wear channels in the surface of the soft yellow limestone. Despite this dilapidation, however, it is possible to get a very fair idea of the pristine appearance of the stela, thanks to the fortunate chance that opposite faces were carved with a similar scene showing King Amenophis IV making an offering.

The three fragments appear among the last seventy-seven items in Dr. Murray's catalogue, where their provenance is explicitly given as Hierakonpolis and their donor as Professor Flinders Petrie.² There is no reason to doubt therefore that they were brought to light in the excavations of Quibell on behalf of the Egyptian Research Account at Kōm el-Aḥmar in 1898. This fact is not without its importance since those museums and collections which received material from this dig may well possess other portions of this same stela, and a search among the store-rooms of such institutions might enable us to fill some of the more baffling lacunae in the text.

In its original state, the monument must have consisted of a round-topped stela about one and a half cubits high, one cubit wide, and a palm thick, competently carved with a scene in shallow relief showing on the obverse left a god with the head of a falcon seated on a block-throne and bearing on his vertex the sun's disk encompassed by a uraeus. He wears a short kilt and a corselet supported by shoulder straps. In his left hand he grasps a *was*-sceptre, in his right he holds an *ankh*. Above and before him in two large cartouches is his name, which, however, has been effaced. Faint traces of some of the glyphs, the double border to the cartouches,³ and evidence from elsewhere in the stela leave no doubt that the name excised was that of Rē-Ḥarakhti-Aten,⁴ and that this brief label without any distinguishing epithets is to be applied to the falcon-headed deity upon the throne. Before him is a double altar piled high with bread, fowl, bouquets, and the choicer portions of offal. Facing the god on the right was the figure of the king, which, however, is now missing. A similar figure on the reverse has been so completely obliterated that it is not possible to give a categorical description of his appearance. What seems to be the big toe of his advanced foot may be seen at the base of the nearer altar-support on the reverse, and the streamers from his *khepresh* may be detected on the extreme right. The intact spout of a *nemset*-vase above the farther pillar of the altar shows that on one side of the stela at least the king was making a libation.⁵ The inscription referring to him can be recovered completely on the reverse and partly on the obverse, and describes him as: 'The Good God, Lord of the Two

¹ Acc. No. 1956, 347: size, $23\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ in.

² Gunn, *JEA* 9, 168, n. 3; Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, p. 74.


³ This expression will be used throughout this article to refer to the god whose early didactic names have been discussed by Gunn, *JEA* 9, 168 ff.

⁴ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* 33, 515.

⁵ Cf. Davies, *Amarna*, vi, pl. 16.


Lands, Lord of Achievement, Lord of Crowns, King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Nefer-kheperu-rē Wa]n[rē], Son of Rē, [Amen-hotpe-]netjer-ḥeḫ-Wēse, Great in his Lifetime.'

The names in his cartouches have been expunged also, but the last three signs in the nomen are reasonably clear and show unequivocally what must have preceded them. In the prenomen the last sign was clearly a horizontal glyph and the traces suit —.


Below this scene was an inscription in sixteen columns¹ consisting of a hymn to Rē-Ḥarakhti-Aten at his rising, on behalf of a man whose name is almost destroyed except for the last group  but which may have been Kia.² As Gardiner has pointed out to the writer, the reverse of this stela when complete evidently showed Amenophis IV offering to a figure on the left which in view of the remains of the inscription must have been the statue of a king. Gardiner adopts the view that this image can hardly have been other than that of Amenophis III and he quotes parallels for such relief-subjects at Soleb (Porter-Moss VII, 169). The writer, however, while allowing due weight to Gardiner's opinion, would prefer not to attempt to name the king in question.

Although some puzzling expressions occur in the texts, which the writer must leave for those better equipped than himself to elucidate, the sense seems clear enough, and the hymns do not differ radically from certain other contemporary prayers to the Aten in which the owner supplicates the sun-god for favours bestowed by the king. The fragmentary columns may be translated as follows:³

Obverse

(1) Giving praise to Rē-Ḥarakhti-Aten . . . (2) at [his] ris[ing^a in the] eastern [horizon] of heaven^b . . . (3) (by) the worthy [K]ia.^c He says, 'Hail [to thee] . . . (4) When thou shinest, the re[khyt] live . . . (5) [Mayst thou grant] happiness in the praises of the k[ing] . . . (6) burial by favour of . . . (7) offerings to the god ordained by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt  . . . (8) his n[ame]^d Rē-Ḥarakhti[-Aten] . . .




Reverse

. . . (10) Great in his Lifetime, to^e the statue of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt  . . . (11) of Rē-Ḥarakhti-Aten . . . (12) of Nekhen, the Great House of the second bi . . . (13) . . . K[ia.]

Notes

(a) reading:  [   ].

(b) after *nt pt* the titles of the owner should appear, but there is nowhere on the stela any suggestion as to what they were. Presumably he was an official of Hierakonpolis, perhaps in the temple of Rē-Ḥarakhti there.


(c) the reading of the first group of this column may be either  or  supplied from the traces left in column 13 of the reverse. On the other hand, the lacuna seems a little too spacious for a mere *nb* or *k*: perhaps  is the last element in a longer name.




¹ Calculated from the estimated breadth of the inscribed surface of the stela divided by the average width of the columns.

² See note (c) below.

³ I am greatly indebted to Professor Černý and Sir Alan Gardiner for valuable suggestions.

Ki as a masculine proper name is attested only in the Old Kingdom (Ranke, *Pers.* 1, 343, 1). I am here calling the owner *Kia* purely for ease of reference.

(d) What preceded the name of the Aten is not evident to me, though the first two signs in the column  are clear enough. If *rn:f* is to be restored as I have suggested, one would expect *rn:f m* Aten or *rn:f n* Aten. The god referred to may be the local hawk-god of Nekhen, 'in his name of Aten', which is admittedly an awkward equation.

(e) The phrase —— () may be recovered without much difficulty but its exact grammatical relationship with what precedes it is not obvious to me. Gardiner suggests that the trend of the inscription may be '(offering made by Akhenaten), great in his life-time, to the statue of King Y (in the house (?) of the Aten in Hierakonpolis etc. . . . that he may give life, health, wealth to . . . *Kia*)'. The loss of the lower part of the stela at this point is particularly tantalizing.

(f) I am unable to make any suggestion for completing the phrase in this damaged context.

This fragment in its present decayed state raises a number of importunate questions to which at the moment there are no answers. We may keenly regret, for instance, that column 10 of the inscription on the reverse is incomplete and the column which preceded it entirely lacking. It would have been interesting to know with the statue of which king Amenophis IV was associated in the prayers of *Kia*. We should also have liked to know whether the figure of Amenophis was carved in the orthodox style of the first months of the reign or in the pathological fashion of the subsequent period. The high quality of the undamaged parts of the relief, classically correct and precise rather than inspired, leads us to doubt very much whether the figure of the king would have been shown in anything other than the traditional mode. It is not easy moreover to explain why the cartouches of the Aten have been deliberately obliterated before the figure of *Rē-Ḥarakhti* whereas those in the body of the text have been left intact, though they have suffered fortuitous damage.

Nevertheless, despite the lacunae, there is certain information given by this stela for which we should be grateful. We may for the first time infer that there was at least a shrine to the Aten in the great temple of Nekhen. This is a very reasonable assumption in view of the fact that both *Rē-Ḥarakhti* and the local deity were falcon-gods. Moreover an altar of Amenophis IV found by Quibell at Kōm el-Aḥmar¹ shows that monuments of the early years of the reign were erected on the site of the ancient southern capital so intimately associated with the kingship. But perhaps the greatest reward that our fragment has to offer is the discovery that the image of *Rē-Ḥarakhti* can appear as a falcon-headed god bearing the early didactic name of the Aten in double cartouches without any accompanying epithets. The significance of this deserves fuller discussion.

2. The early development of the Aten

The small number of monuments from the early part of the reign of Amenophis IV is yet enough to show the evolution of the iconography of the Aten cult. Davies has already drawn attention to the rapidity of this initial development,² and for reasons

¹ Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, II, p. 53. No details are given.

² Davies, *Ra'mosē*, p. 30; *JEA* 9, 133.

which will be advanced later, we can place it all within the first two regnal years of the young king, possibly in little more than twenty-one months.

The first manifestation of a new influence in the religious ideas of the period is the widespread emergence of the sun-god Rē-Ḥarakhti as a principal deity in the current pantheon during the first months of the new reign. Thus on the lintel of the doorway to the Theban tomb of Kheruef (No. 192), Amenophis IV and his mother offer prayers to Atum on the right and Rē-Ḥarakhti on the left. On a side-wall of the entrance appears a figure of the same king making a great oblation to Rē-Ḥarakhti.¹

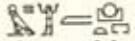
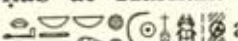
The back-pillar of a statue of an unknown official of Amenophis IV is inscribed with *htp-di-nsw* prayers to Osiris and Anubis on the left and Rē-Ḥarakhti on the right.² In the Theban tomb of Parennefer (No. 188) the lintel at the entrance bears a scene showing the owner worshipping Rē-Ḥarakhti as a falcon-headed deity. This, it is reasonable to suppose, was the first part of the tomb to be carved. Soon afterwards, when the reveals of the doorway came to be cut, a further stage in the evolution of the religious ideas of the age had been reached and Rē-Ḥarakhti had acquired his early didactic name, not yet, however, within cartouches. But by the time that the walls of the hall of this tomb were decorated yet another change had been made, and the rayed symbol of the Aten had replaced the falcon-headed figure of Rē-Ḥarakhti.³ A unique fragment found re-built into a temple of Amenophis II at Karnak and referring to Amenophis IV as beloved of  may possibly record a further intermediate stage between the appearance of the god in traditional form and the acquisition of his early didactic name.⁴ There is a greater number of examples showing Rē-Ḥarakhti in his falcon-headed form bearing the didactic name of the Aten but not within a cartouche, such as a stela from Zernik,⁵ and another at Gebel es-Silsilah⁶ where Amenophis IV makes offerings to Amūn, and although the figure of Rē-Ḥarakhti-Aten does not appear, the king is described as the high priest of that god. Certain fragments retrieved by Legrain from the Karnak *favissa* also bore the same form of the name,⁷ but perhaps the most notable example is the portion of a sandstone relief, now at Berlin, from a building erected at Thebes very early in the reign of Amenophis IV and later built into the tenth pylon of Ḥaremḥab at Karnak.⁸ Here the central column of the inscription  apparently refers to the advent of the young king. On the left of this is the disk-crowned figure of Rē-Ḥarakhti-Aten: on the right appears the figure of Amenophis making an invocation to a missing representation of the same god. Above the king is the image of the sun's disk encircled by two uraei in opposition,⁹ each with an *ankh* around its neck. A remarkable



FIG. 2

¹ Davies, *JEA* 9, 134-5.

² Last seen in possession of a dealer in London. The statue, which is wholly in the characteristic style of the reign of Amenophis III, bears the almost entirely obliterated cartouches of Amenophis IV on its right breast and shoulder.

³ Davies, *JEA* 9, 137-9.

⁴ Leps. *Denkm.* III, 110d.

⁵ *Ann. Serv.* 3, 260-1.

⁶ Op. cit. 3, 262-6.

⁷ Op. cit. 7, 228-30.

⁸ At Berlin, No. 2072. Schäfer, *Amarna in Religion und Kunst*, pl. 4.

⁹ For a full and pertinent discussion of the significance of such a symbol see Gardiner, *JEA* 30, 48-51.

feature of this symbol, which we shall shortly have to consider, is the three smaller *ankhs* pendent from the lower edge of the disk (see fig. 2).

A further reference to Rē-Ḥarakhti-Aten is to be found in the tomb of Raḥmosē at Thebes (No. 55), where the vizier presents to the king a bouquet of Rē-Ḥarakhti now bearing the early didactic name not enclosed within cartouches.¹ The king is seated under a baldachin of state not with his consort but with the goddess Maet, and the writer has already given his reasons for considering this representation to show the young king at his advent or coronation appointing Raḥmosē to office or confirming him in it.² Both this tomb-scene and the Berlin relief-fragment must not be regarded as necessarily coeval with the king's coronation. There would almost certainly be a variable time-lag between the event and its representation, during which changes in the name of the god could very well have been reflected in the inscriptions added to the stock themes. That the Raḥmosē scene is in fact to be dated to some months after the event it records seems to be evident from the fact that, before it could be completed, the revolutionary art of the reign had already swept in and rendered it old-fashioned.³

In the meantime, however, a further stage in the evolution of the new religious ideas had been reached with the incorporation of the didactic name of the Aten within double cartouches. Our stela is the only surviving monument to show this development and it is noteworthy that here the names of the god, unlike those of the king, appear without any accompanying titles or epithets. We can only assume therefore that the Aten had not yet acquired these further distinctions and we shall now consider when, in fact, they were conferred upon him.

3. The jubilees of the Aten

The next refinement which the Aten faith undergoes is the invention of the concept of the sun-god as manifest in a disk having an encircling uraeus with an *ankh* around its neck and emergent rays ending in hands. This is the symbol which is used whenever the god is thought of as existing absolutely or independently, as for instance when he shines upon a temple or altar.⁴ But in the presence of the king and queen, whether Akhenaten, Amenophis III,⁵ Smenkhkarē,⁶ Tutankhaten,⁷ Nefertiti, Tiye,⁸ Merytaten,⁶ or Ankhesenpaaten,⁷ some of the hands of the Aten may hold an *ankh* to the royal nostrils, though the princesses are never favoured in this way. The idea is already implicit in the Berlin relief No. 2072 referred to above, where the *ankh* on the lower edge of the disk must be considered as not hanging but radiating from it, as we hope to show. Apart from one unique instance where the rays hold out 'sovereignty' (a uraeus) to the uraeus on Akhenaten's brow,⁸ in the majority of cases it is the *ankh* that the hands of the Aten grasp. There is, however, a small number of examples in which *was*-sceptres

¹ Davies, *Raḥmosē*, pl. 30.

² *JEA* 43, 115.

³ Davies, *op. cit.* pp. 30-1.

⁴ There are many examples: e.g. Davies, *Amarna*, I, pls. 9, 40; II, pl. 19; III, pls. 11, 14; VI, pl. 20. A possible exception is to be seen in the greatly restored canopic chest of Akhenaten (Hamza, *Ann. Serv.* 40, pls. 53-54) where the tutelary goddesses have been replaced by the falcon of Rē-Ḥarakhti, showing that the design must date from the first months of his reign. It seems clear from Hamza's remarks (p. 540) that the loose fragments of alabaster inscribed with the later form of Akhenaten's name do not belong to this chest. There is ample evidence that royal funerary furniture was prepared from the earliest days of a new king's reign.

⁵ E.g. *JEA* 12, 1.

⁷ Carter, *Tutankhamen*, I, pl. 2.

⁶ Davies, *Amarna*, II, pl. 41.

⁸ Davies, *op. cit.* VI, pl. 6.

are also held, and these are of such importance for our argument that they are worth enumerating in detail:

- A. Tomb of Ra'mosē at Thebes No. 55, West Wall. (Davies, *Ra'mosē*, pl. 23). Here the rays hold *ankhs* to the nostrils of the king and queen and a *was* and two *ankhs* to the rest of the concourse.
- B. A stela at Cairo from El-'Amārna (Ranke, *Meisterwerke*, 51), where the rays bestow two *ankhs* and a *was* upon Akhenaten and two *ankhs* upon Nefertiti.
- C. A panel from the royal tomb at El-'Amārna now in Cairo (Ranke, *op. cit.* 50). Here *ankhs* are held to the nostrils of the king and queen and two *ankhs* and a *was* to the objects on the altar.
- D. A fragment of limestone relief, probably from Karnak, and now in the Gayer Anderson Collection at Cambridge (Griffith, *JEA* 5, 61; 8, 199) with two representations of the Aten. In the right-hand portion of the scene, the rayed hands of the Aten hold alternate *was* and *ankh*-signs.
- E. A sandstone slab in the Louvre, originally from a temple to the Aten at Karnak and later built into the tenth pylon of Haremhab at Karnak (Asselbergs, *ZÄS* 58, 36). The symbol of the Aten is at the centre of the scene and a figure of Akhenaten, censing, faces inward from each side before an altar now destroyed. The hands of the Aten hold alternate *was* and *ankh*-signs except for the outermost pair which carry a rebus reading 'many *sed*-festivals' to the nostrils of the king.

There can at least be little dispute about what these last two representations D and E are meant to convey. Griffith has already drawn attention to the fact that the short cloak worn by the king in D is of a kind traditionally reserved for use in the jubilee ceremonies; and he is therefore in no doubt that the scene records that such a festival was celebrated in the reign of Akhenaten, though he thinks it is the king who is so honoured. Gunn too accepted that this same relief depicts some of the ritual of the *sed*-festival, though he is of opinion that it is as much the jubilee of the Aten that is commemorated as that of the king.¹ In addition, he confirmed Asselberg's view that the scene on E, with the rays of the Aten bestowing millions of *sed*-festivals on the figure of Akhenaten, was also connected with a jubilee, and was inclined to regard it as the same ceremony as that recorded on D. In this he was probably right because in both cases the nomens have been changed from their original Amenophis form.²

¹ Gunn, *JEA* 9, 170; 171, n. 7.

² Gunn, following Asselbergs, was wrong in thinking that the king's names have been surcharged only on the left. I am indebted to M. Bourguet and Mlle Krieger, who intrepidly climbed a high ladder to examine the Louvre slab minutely *in situ*. They report that both nomens have been altered, while the prenomen have been left intact. A photograph kindly supplied through the good offices of M. Vandier clearly shows that the original nomen on the right was Amenhotpe-netjer-hek-Wese. Slab E, however, still poses a number of problems. The two portraits of the king are totally different, a circumstance which Asselbergs seeks to explain by claiming that one is in the traditional mode and the other in the revolutionary style. This seems to me unlikely and I would suggest that through some oversight a design was drawn and cut in relief showing the two co-regents Amenophis III and IV, and this was corrected when the inscriptions were added. Gunn has noted the anomaly of finding the later form of Nefertiti's name upon this relief, and the only explanation can be that her figure (now missing) and inscription were added later to a design which originally excluded her (probably because a pattern dating

From the appearance of the Aten in these two reliefs, we should have warrant for regarding other representations of the sun-god radiating life (☉) and dominion (☰) as indicating that a jubilee is being commemorated.¹ That this is the proper interpretation seems clear from a scene in the festival hall of Osorkon II where the image of Horus Bedḥety appears as a winged disk with a frieze of *ankh*- and *was*-signs emanating from its lower edge,² a design which recalls the symbol on the Berlin relief referred to above.



FIG. 3

We can see by analogy that, just as the hands of the Aten in festival hold the *ankhs* and *was*-sceptres that appear along the lower edge of the disk of Horus Bedḥety, so Aten in his more usual aspect brings to the nostrils of the king and queen the *ankhs* that radiate

from the lower edge of the disk of Rē-Ḥarakhti in the Berlin relief. It would appear, in fact, that we must regard the five monuments A to E as commemorating specifically and incidentally that the Aten is in jubilee. Stela B could well have been made in honour of such an occasion, if the single *was* extended to the king is here not a mere touch of fancy on the part of the artist. The panel C gives more definite proof of having been carved in a period of jubilee, though the fact that it lay in the debris of the royal tomb suggests that whatever its original purpose, it had been adapted as a model relief for the sculptors employed on the decoration of the tomb chambers, and left behind when the work was abandoned.³ We shall return to the significance of scene A later.

Griffith made a second examination of D, and his reconsidered opinion supported the suggestions of Schäfer and Sethe that the name of the king in the second cartouche had originally been Amen-ḥotpe-netjer-ḥek-Wēse and that this had subsequently been re-carved into the later nomen of Akhenaten. He reached the reluctant conclusion that Akhenaten had therefore celebrated a jubilee early in his reign before his change of name. Gunn, too, accepted this evidence as showing that a jubilee of the Aten had occurred before the latter part of year six of the reign.⁴ In his study of the inscriptional evidence Gunn concluded that the Aten had celebrated more than one jubilee synchronizing with those of a king whom he took to be Akhenaten himself.⁵ The evidence that monuments D and E on the one hand, and B and C on the other, provide is that Akhenaten celebrated at least two jubilees of the Aten, one before the king's change of name and one after it, since on the latter two monuments no erasure of the king's nomen is perceptible and the queen's name appears in its later form. Moreover, whereas on D and E the king is a lonely figure, on B and C he is shown with his wife and daughters.

to a period before her marriage had been adapted by the draughtsman, or because the queen, as custom demanded, played no part in the ceremony). The fact that she must have been represented on a very much smaller scale than her husband lends support to this view, since she is everywhere else shown as little inferior in stature to her husband.

¹ It should be noted that, whereas the Boundary Stelae speak of the Aten as radiating upon the king in life and dominion, the hands of the rayed disk convey only *ankhs* to the royal nostrils.

² Naville, *Festival Hall*, pl. 6.

³ Bouriant et al. *Culte d'Atonou*, p. 11. A grid has been painted in red on the surface of the slab for the guidance of the copyists.

⁴ Gunn, *JEA* 9, 171.

⁵ Gunn, *ibid.* 172.

Are there any other representations that might be accredited to a second *sed*-festival? The writer is of the opinion that the scene sketched on the east wall of the tomb of Parennefer at El-'Amārna may well record a ceremony in this second jubilee.¹ Here the sandalled feet of a woman shown standing beside the king's faldstool are on too small a scale to be Nefertiti's and must belong to the eldest daughter. We have warrant therefore for thinking that the event recorded is quite different from the first festival held at Thebes. The king, wearing the triple Atefu crown, sits under a baldachin. The image of the Aten is unfortunately incomplete and it is not possible to see whether any of the rays would have carried *was*-sceptres as well as *ankhs*. Before the king is an unusually large array of food and drink and two groups of musicians. This can be no ordinary domestic feast such as those shown in the tomb of Ḥuya;² the elaborate crown, if nothing else, would be sufficient to dispel this idea. On the other hand, the function can have nothing to do with the reception of tribute as Davies half-heartedly suggests.³ The display set before the king is quite different in character and detail from the gifts brought by foreign legates on their Magi-like journey to the new king.⁴ Parennefer, too, who waits upon Akhenaten with napkin and perfume vase in his capacity as Washer of the Royal Hands, is not shown in the same mien and dress as those high officials who, with their wands and fans of office, introduce the foreign suppliants before the throne. The damaged inscription is moreover silent about the reception of tribute from abroad, but makes more than a passing mention of the *sed*-festival. For these reasons, the writer is disposed to think that the scene records a jubilee rite, probably in the $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{r}} - \overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{d}}$ 'Hall of Eating',⁵ and that Parennefer is the 'friend' who on this occasion is discharging the ancient rite of washing the king's feet.⁶ This episode was doubtless his finest hour and therefore chosen for perpetuation on the wall of his tomb-chapel. We know from the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum in the ruins of the palace of Amenophis III at Thebes that enormous quantities of provisions were necessary for such functions⁷ and the feast set before Akhenaten in this drawing may perhaps be regarded as significant.

We may here pause for a moment to consider a little further this phenomenon of a *sed*-festival for the Aten. The whole idea in the case of a god, even such a heavenly king as the Aten, must be considered rather incongruous; and the event can hardly have followed closely all the rites appropriate to the jubilee of a Pharaoh. The *sed*-festival as practised in historic times had for its purpose a symbolical re-enactment of the political union of Egypt under Menes,⁸ though it may also have had strong undertones of the need for rejuvenating the divine king, or renewing his sovereignty, after a long period of rule.⁹ Both concepts are incompatible with the idea of an immortal god who sloughed off his anthropomorphic form early in his development. It is hardly an idea that could have arisen spontaneously and must have been suggested by a contemporary event affecting the earthly king. Thus Gunn, who regarded the epithet *imi ḥb sd* in the Aten's

¹ Davies, *op. cit.* VI, pl. 6.

² Davies, *op. cit.* VI, p. 5.

³ Leps. *Denkm.* III, 85.

⁴ Hayes, *JNES* 10, 82-83.

⁵ Frankfort, *Kingship*, 79.

⁶ Davies, *op. cit.* III, pls. 4, 6.

⁷ Aldred, *JEA* 43, 114-15.

⁸ v. Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum* II, pl. 9.

⁹ Černý, *Religion*, 122.

titularies as referring to the god's jubilees, was yet of the opinion that these festivals coincided with those of Akhenaten himself, a viewpoint which we shall consider later.

But if the Egyptian mind could have tolerated such incompatibilities, it must have boggled at admitting the Aten to all the age-old ritual of the Pharaoh's *sed*-festival. For such a jealous god as the Aten the visit to the shrines of local gods in the jubilee courts and the making of offerings to them would be unthinkable; and the repeated robings in various costumes for a deity in aniconic form were just as impossible. Moreover, what was anathema to the Aten would be equally offensive to his child, high priest, and junior partner, Akhenaten, and we must not therefore expect to find either represented in the traditional iconography of the *sed*-festival, particularly in the later functions when the monotheism of Aten worship had become more marked.

Of the jubilee ceremonies, the only one that seems at all appropriate would be the presentation of food offerings in the Hall of Eating; and this in point of fact seems to be what is represented in the tomb of Parennefer. The king is officiating under his baldachin at a presentation of viands, but he is not necessarily partaking of them. The iconography of the El-'Amārna reliefs suggests very strongly that the ritual of Aten worship centred around the presentation of lavish food offerings, a practice which is likely to have been greatly extended during an occasion of jubilee. It is perhaps not without significance that those parts of the temple at El-'Amārna known as the *Per-hai* and *Gem-aten* in which the ceremonies of *sed*-festivals may have been performed¹ were liberally equipped with offering-tables; and a veritable 'forest' of mud-brick platforms lay to the north and south outside these sanctuaries, perhaps forming the 'Court of the Festival'.² The representations in the tombs at El-'Amārna³ show that these offering-tables were loaded with food in much the same way as the altars of various gods present at the jubilee of Osorkon II were provided with victuals.⁴

4. The dates of the jubilees

No inscription referring to a *sed*-festival during the reign of Akhenaten gives a specific date for any of those events, and if we wish to deduce when they were celebrated, we shall have to make use of other data. Thus Gunn has pointed out that certain epithets which accompany the name of the Aten may be employed as a means of dating inscriptions; the phrase $\dagger\textcircled{\text{A}}$, variant $\dagger\textcircled{\text{A}}|$, for instance, regularly following the earlier form of the didactic name of the god, whereas $\cup\textcircled{\text{A}}$, variant $\cup\textcircled{\text{A}}|$, is associated with the later name except for a few exceptions in the royal tomb and the tomb of Maḥu.⁵ Fairman has also drawn attention to the circumstance that the omission of the expression $\cup\textcircled{\text{A}}\textcircled{\text{A}}\cup\textcircled{\text{A}}\textcircled{\text{A}}$ in the titles of the Aten may be the means of dating an inscription up to the first few months of the eighth year.⁶

Such indications of date, unhappily, cannot be regarded as absolute, for while it would seem that the evolution of the Aten doctrine was organic throughout the reign of

¹ Fairman, *City of Akhenaten*, III, 196.

² Fairman, *ibid.* 195. It is worthy of note that on the Brooklyn statuette Amenophis III is described as 'Lord of Food, Rich in Provisions, Lord of Festivals in the *Per-hai*' (Hayes, *JNES* 10, 178).

³ Davies, *Amarna*, II, pls. 18, 19.

⁵ Gunn, *JEA* 9, 170.

⁴ Naville, *op. cit.* pls. 7. 8. 11. 12.

⁶ Fairman, *City of Akhenaten*, III, p. 184.

Akhenaten, it is by no means certain that the many small changes in dogma were immediately reflected in iconography.¹ It would conform to Egyptian practice if a certain number of accepted subjects for representation in relief and painting were in stock from the earlier years of the reign and only tardily and incompletely revised by the craftsmen, whose instinct would be to copy them mechanically. This is probably the explanation of the anomaly in the tomb of Maḥu, cited by Gunn, where the epithet *imi ḥb sd* accompanies the later name of the Aten. The sculptor seems to have followed a design stereotyped in an earlier part of the reign, and, while altering the name of the Aten to its later form, had omitted to revise completely the rest of the inscription.² It may be, too, that those instances where the later name of the Aten has been cut over the earlier form are the result of a belated attempt by the master draughtsman to correct an obvious anachronism after an out-of-date pattern had been followed too blindly, otherwise it is difficult to see why, in all other places where the early name of the Aten now stands, similar revisions should not have been made. The frantic haste in which the immense building operations at El-'Amarna must have been pushed forward and the obvious shortage of skilled craftsmen and efficient supervisors would fully account for such irregularities.

Despite this reservation, however, the epithets are a means of narrowing the date of an inscription when they are considered statistically, and it is worth noting that, on all those early monuments of the reign in which the nomen of the king appears in its original Amenophis form, the phrase *imi ḥb sd* is found only in the singular. Similarly, the later form of the Aten name is accompanied by the expression *nb ḥb(w) sd* in every case except for the two anomalies mentioned by Gunn.

A representation of cardinal importance for the dating of these jubilees of the Aten is scene A in the tomb-chapel of Raḥmosē. We have already referred to the decoration of the south side of the doorway in the west wall where Raḥmosē offers bouquets to the king seated under his canopy of state. Even the draft of this design was not completed before work was switched to the carving of a scene on the north side of the doorway showing the royal pair and their attendants in all the idiosyncrasy of the new Atenist style and iconography.³ The interval between these two designs must be very short indeed, months, perhaps even weeks, rather than years. While on the left-hand side Rē-Ḥarakhti appears with his didactic name still unenclosed in cartouches, and the young king has Maṭet for a consort, on the right, the Aten shines in new-born splendour upon the king and queen in the Window of Appearances, with his rays showing that he is in the jubilee that his freshly won title proclaims. No daughter is in evidence, not even as an infant in the arms of one of the queen's retinue, and this we must accept can only be among the first copies of the approved design for this particular subject and is therefore

¹ Gunn (*JEA* 9, 171, n. 8) has seen that the Boundary Stelae do not necessarily reflect the situation that existed by the time their carving was completed.

² It is significant that only one daughter is shown in this relief despite the fact that by year 9 all six had been born to Nefertiti (Aldred *JEA* 43, 38, n. 8). In an identical version of the same scene elsewhere, the expression *nb ḥb sd* appears (*JEA* 13, pl. 47). For the same reason, the dating of the monuments of the reign by the number of children shown is not always conclusive.

³ Davies, *Raḥmosē*, 31.

practically coeval with the event. Brief as the interval between the carving of these two scenes must be, there was yet a further development revealed by the stela of Kia, but not represented elsewhere—the appearance of the name of Rē-Ḥarakhti-Aten in two cartouches. The fact that the titulary of the Aten suddenly emerges in its complete early form on the right-hand side of the wall makes it evident that the rayed symbol of the disk and the accompanying epithets, particularly *imi ḥb sd*, were conferred upon the Aten on the occasion of his first jubilee and that this must have taken place very early in the reign of Amenophis IV.¹ Monuments D and E also seem to refer to this first jubilee, celebrated while the name of the king was still Amenophis.

If such a striking translation in the appearance and titulary of the Aten occurred on the occasion of his first jubilee it is reasonable to suppose that the other dramatic change that he underwent—the revision of his didactic name and epithets—also coincided with another *sed*-festival. Indeed, Gunn is in no doubt that the epithet *nb ḥbw sd* indicates that the Aten had celebrated more than one jubilee.² Such an event would therefore have occurred before year twelve of the reign, and probably in year nine.³ The question arises whether this was a second or third jubilee. The sketch on the back wall of the tomb of Parennefer and monuments B and C all show the nomen of the king as Akhenaten without the least trace of revision, and give the name of the Aten in its early form with the epithet as *imi ḥb(w) sd*. These documents apparently refer to an intermediate or second jubilee, while the revised names and titles of the Aten were acquired only on the occasion of a subsequent *sed*-festival. We may note in passing that while the Aten suffered no radical alteration in his name and styles during this second jubilee, apart possibly from the pluralizing of *imi ḥb sd* and the acquisition of *nb šnn(t) nb Itn*, it must have been about this time that the names of the king and queen were changed, though not perhaps simultaneously;⁴ and it seems plausible to consider that this critical event coincided with a ceremony of renewal during a jubilee year.

That the Aten could observe as many as three *sed*-festivals in less than nine years should come as no surprise. Tuthmosis III held four jubilees in twelve years,⁵ and both Amenophis III and Ramesses II each celebrated three, including the first occasion, in seven years.⁶ It would seem in fact that these functions were held according to a fixed system beginning with a thirty years' reign, the few apparent exceptions to this rule probably being perfectly explicable if we knew more about co-regency, especially during the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁷ We have already suggested above that the jubilees of the Aten were closely connected with the jubilees of the Pharaoh, or *vice versa*, and

¹ The scene of the distribution of rewards from the Window of Appearances, so common in the repertory of themes for decoration at 'Amārna, may in fact have had its genesis at the first *sed*-festival since one of the customs during such functions was the giving of gifts by the king to his henchmen, see Leps. *Denkm.* III, 76 b.

² Gunn, *JEA* 9, 172.

³ Fairman, *City of Akhenaten*, III, p. 153.

⁴ Gunn, *JEA* 9, 171, n. 8; 172, n. 3. An alternative explanation is that the draughtsman had not completely brought up to date an earlier draft from which he was working: see below.

⁵ Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* II, § 624.

⁶ Hayes, *JNES* 10, 84–86; Breasted, *op. cit.* III, § 549; Mond and Myers, *Temples of Amant*, pp. 163 ff.

⁷ The whole question of co-regency during Dyn. XVIII deserves closer investigation. To the writer there seems a *prima facie* case for considering that a well-established system of co-regency existed among the Theban dynasts from the beginning of the New Kingdom at least.

Gunn reached the conclusion that there was every probability that they synchronized with those of Akhenaten. In his re-examination of slab D, Griffith underlined the difficulty of reconciling a thirty-year festival with a date so early in the reign of Akhenaten. At the time he wrote, the human bones discovered in the so-called tomb of Tiy were thought to be the mortal remains of Akhenaten, and it is highly probable that as a result of Gardiner's recent study of the published archaeological evidence from the deposit¹ this attribution will return to favour. Unfortunately, however, not much more than an age of thirty at death can be claimed for these bones, even if certain pathological characteristics are taken into account² and it looks as though we shall have to admit the fact that Akhenaten died at the age of thirty-three after a rule of seventeen years. Unless we are prepared to claim that Akhenaten was sufficiently unorthodox to flout tradition wherever he found it, we shall have some difficulty in accepting that he could have celebrated three jubilees by the ninth year of his reign, i.e. before he was 26 years old. Few kings celebrated more than one jubilee, the exceptions that immediately spring to mind being the four or more of Tuthmosis III and the thirteen or so of Ramesses II. But Amenophis III also celebrated three such festivals in seven years and the conclusion seems inescapable that the jubilees of the Aten did indeed coincide with those of a king, as Gunn believed, but that king was Amenophis III. To those who contend that there is impressive evidence for a long co-regency between Amenophis III and Akhenaten, and the present writer must number himself among them,³ this solution of the problem should recommend itself. The jubilees of Amenophis III were important affairs that made a deep impression on his contemporaries, and it may well be presumed that the co-regent would hardly escape their impact but would turn them to account on his own behalf and that of his god. He may in fact have played in them the same managerial role as Kha'emwese did in the jubilees of Ramesses II, though, unlike him, hardly in the capacity of *setem*-priest, which was particularly odious to his doctrines.⁴ The jubilees of Akhenaten's co-regent, his father Amenophis III, and those of his other co-regent, 'Father' Aten, thus become closely identified.

5. A chronology of the co-regency

On the assumption that the first three jubilees of the Aten⁵ coincided with the jubilees of Amenophis III it is possible to construct a chronology of the first part of Akhenaten's reign, up to the time of his father's death, as a working hypothesis and in order to

¹ Gardiner, *JEA* 43, 23. The writer, however, wishes to make it clear that he cannot accept Gardiner's thesis *in toto*, since to him the evidence that the coffin was originally the second coffin of a daughter of Akhenaten, and only adapted later for the person who was buried in it, is overwhelming. Neither does he accept that Derry's examination of the skull of the occupant of this coffin (*Ann. Serv.* 31, 116-19) disposes of a number of issues raised by Elliot Smith and Ferguson in their report on the same remains. It is earnestly to be hoped that all the human bones from this deposit may be re-examined by pathologists who have radiological aids at their disposal and are able to subject the inner table of the cranium, or a cast of it, to very special investigation.

² G. Elliot Smith, *Cambridge Univ. Med. Soc. Mag.* IV (1926), pp. 34-39.

³ Aldred, *ibid.* 116; *JNES* 18, 113-20. The writer shortly proposes to state the case for a co-regency at greater length and to offer fresh evidence.

⁴ Davies-Gardiner, *Amenemhät*, 21.

⁵ There is no evidence that he celebrated any more, though on the analogy of those of Ramesses II others should have followed at three-year intervals.

sum up the foregoing discussion. It would be possible in some cases to define the date more precisely by giving month and day, but as our purpose is primarily to show the main sequence of events rather than their exact moment in time, this refinement is avoided here. The first of the year-numbers in the following table refers of course to the regnal year of Amenophis III, the second to that of Akhenaten.

Year 28/1. The eldest surviving son of the king becomes co-regent on reaching manhood and reigns as Amenophis IV. *Note:* The date appears to be fixed by the circumstance that 'coronation-tribute' was received in year 12 (Aldred, *JEA* 43, 114). Since Amenophis III is now known to have lived into his 39th regnal year (Hayes, *JNES* 10, 87-88), the date of the inception of the co-regency may thus be obtained by dead reckoning.

Years 28-30/1-2. The Aten cult develops rapidly from the worship of the falcon-headed Rē-Ḥarakhti, through his acquisition of didactic names, to their enclosure within double cartouches and the emergence of the idea of 'King' Aten. Temples to the new god are built at Karnak and Hierakonpolis and doubtless elsewhere. During this period, Amenophis IV marries Nefertiti, and his funerary furniture is prepared, including his canopic chest.

Year 30/2. The first jubilees of Amenophis III and the Aten are held simultaneously, when the rayed symbol of the Aten makes its appearance and the event is commemorated in a titulary which accompanies the name of the god.

Years 30-34/2-6. The revolutionary art of the Atenists bursts into sudden flower with the first jubilee and is seen at its most extreme in the colossi from the Aten temple at Karnak. The style has still undiminished authority by the time that the boundary stelae are carved at Akhetaten. The *hejira* thither is planned, and the building of the city of the Aten begun. *Note:* There is some dispute about the date of the move to Akhetaten, most authorities believing that it did not take place before year 6 (Gunn, *JEA* 9, 171) but Davies still adhering to year 4 (Davies, *Ramosē*, p. 30, n. 2). Even the earlier text of stelae K and X seems to show clearly that what is dedicated to the Aten is not a mere demarcated site, but a township already partly built; and a few years must be allowed for the region to reach even this state of development. The evidence of the wine-jar dockets is not conclusive, since beer brewed locally would have been the drink of the many workmen swarming over the site. The remains of wine-jars occurring from year 5 onwards merely give us the point at which the official classes began to take up residence in newly built quarters, probably from year 6, since the wine would hardly be new. The early planning of the move seems also to be evident in the design of the boundary stelae K and X with only one daughter provided for and the queen's name still in its early form—probably through an oversight on the part of the scribe, who had not revised properly a draft made at an earlier date, perhaps in year 3.

Year 34/6. The second jubilees of Amenophis III and the Aten are held. The Aten acquires new epithets, *imi ḥbw sd* and probably also *nb šnn(t) nb Itn*. The king's name is changed to Akhenaten and the queen's to Neferneferuaten Nefertiti. The new city at Akhetaten is occupied and dedicated to the Aten.

Years 34-37/6-9. The major part of the central city at Akhetaten and most of the tombs are constructed during this time. By the end of the period all six daughters have been born to Nefertiti.

Year 37/9. The third jubilees of Amenophis III and the Aten are celebrated, the names of the god being changed to the later didactic form and an epithet modified to *nb ḥb(w) sd*.

Year 39/11. Amenophis III dies and Akhenaten enters upon sole rule. He receives his 'coronation tribute' soon after in year twelve.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON 'AMĀRNA CHRONOLOGY'

By DONALD B. REDFORD

THE complexities of the chronology of the 'Amārna period are well known to everyone, and in the past various theories have been advanced in an effort to resolve the problems. Little agreement, however, exists among scholars. It is hoped that the present re-examination of the position will lead us a little farther towards a solution.

In forming a workable chronology for the 'Amārna period most scholars seem to have been unduly obsessed by the assumption that Tut'ankhamūn was the son of Amenophis III.² If this be accepted, the reign of Akhenaten,³ which separates that of Amenophis from that of Tut'ankhamūn, must somehow be bridged. This is done by means of a postulated co-regency which enables Tut'ankhamūn's birth to be assigned to the final years of Amenophis III. Haremḥab's reign must next be conveniently lengthened, and the whole is brought into alignment with Rowton's work.⁴

A new light, however, has now been thrown on the Amenophis-Tut'ankhamūn relationship by the twelve architrave blocks from a temple of Ay at Karnak. In the inscription on one of these the venerable 'god's father' refers to Tut'ankhamūn as his son.⁵ Thus, unless the evidence indicating Tut'ankhamūn's filial relationship to Amenophis III is differently interpreted, the young man was in the anomalous position of having two fathers! But surely we must be dealing here with 'grandfathers' or even 'ancestors'.⁶ For it is far easier to assume with Seele⁷ that both Amenophis III and Ay were grandparents of Tut'ankhamūn (and Smenkhkharē) than to thrust Tut'ankhamūn's birth back into the late years of Amenophis III, as some scholars have done.⁸ Indeed, it is doubtful whether at that time the aged monarch was capable of begetting offspring.

But while the *prima facie* probability of the co-regency hypothesis is gone, it is still upheld on other grounds. A piece of evidence often offered is the hieratic notation appended to the first letter of the Tushratta-Akhenaten correspondence (EA 27). The notation dates the receipt of the letter to 'year 2', and some scholars,⁹ supposing the line to be fragmentary, have restored it as 'year 12'. Since the contents imply the recent demise of Amenophis III, the following equation seems in order: year 12 of Akhenaten = year 39 of Amenophis III. Thus the co-regency would have begun in year 28 of

¹ I should like to express my appreciation to my instructors, Profs. R. J. Williams and W. G. Lambert, whose helpful suggestions added much to this paper. The views set forth, however, are my responsibility.

² The main evidence is the inscription on the lion in the British Museum (for bibliography, see Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, II, 312 f.); cf. also the statuette, lock of hair, &c., found in Tut'ankhamūn's tomb (Carter, *Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, III, 87), and Glanville's observation (*JEA* 15, 8, n. 2) that Tut'ankhamūn resembled Amenophis III.

³ At least seventeen years; cf. Pendlebury, *Tell el Amarna*, 28 f.

⁴ Cf. Wilson's table in *JNES* 13, 128.

⁶ As Gauthier long ago observed, *op. cit.* II, 365, n. 4.

⁸ Wilson, *op. cit.* 128.

⁵ Seele, *JNES* 14, 177.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 179.

⁹ Erman, *ZAS* 27, 63; Hayes, *JNES* 10, 180.

Amenophis III.¹ The reading, however, of year 12 is much in doubt, so that no firm conclusions may be drawn from it. If it is to be read year 2, as is highly likely,² a twelve-year co-regency is out of the question. There is in fact no unanimity among scholars on the length of the overlap; Fairman gives nine years,³ Pendlebury eleven,⁴ Englebach about nine,⁵ and Steindorff and Seele at least a dozen.⁶ Wilson elsewhere⁷ makes allowance for only a three-year co-regency in his chronological table!

The evidence put forward by those who hold to the co-regency would tend to indicate that the final years of Amenophis III's reign were spent at El-'Amārna.⁸ But there is independent evidence to show that the jubilees of his later years were celebrated in Thebes, and that at that time Amenophis was still occupying his palace south of the necropolis.⁹ A further difficulty lies in the fact that the years of the supposed co-regency are not double-dated, as we should expect, although dated inscriptions from that period are not wanting. In fact, on stelae dated to year 36 of Amenophis III (i.e. Akhenaten's year 9, after Hayes) the king is represented sacrificing to Amūn and Ḥathōr. In other words, those who suppose a co-regency are forced to assume that at the very time Akhenaten was vigorously persecuting the Amūn cult, the worship of that god was being openly practised by no less a person than his own father.¹⁰

There seems to be no conclusive evidence that the dated years of the two kings overlapped at all; in fact the difficulties pointed out above militate against any such hypothesis. That Amenophis III after his thirty-ninth or fortieth year lived on in seclusion first at Thebes and then at El-'Amārna is highly probable; but then we should be dealing not with a co-regency but with an abdication.¹¹

When the co-regency is seen to be a chimera, one is free to view the period without distortion. Amenophis III reigned for about forty years and then abdicated (under pressure?) in favour of his son Akhenaten. The latter reigned for twenty-one years,¹² during the first nine of which his father was ending his days in retirement. The final three years of the heretic's reign coincide with the short reign of Smenkhkharē. The nine years of Tutankhamūn and the four of Ay then follow consecutively.

¹ Ibid. 37.

² Cf. most recently Gardiner, *JEA* 43, 14, n. 1.

³ *COA* III, pp. 152-60.

⁴ *JEA* 22, 198.

⁵ *Ann. Serv.* 40, 134 f.

⁶ *When Egypt Ruled the East*, 201.

⁷ *The Burden of Egypt*, VIII.

⁸ Pendlebury, op. cit. 197 f.; Giles, *Aegyptus*, 32, 299 f.

⁹ Tomb of Kheruef, *Ann. Serv.* 42, 449-508; also Hayes, *JNES* 10, 82 f.; Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, 1, no. 211, l. 3; Helck (*Mitt. Inst. für Orientforsch.* 11, 200 f.) observed that the 'neuen stil' of the 'Amārna age is absent from tombs of Amenophis's late years, although it is present at the outset of Akhenaten's reign; cf. the tomb of Ra'mosē, Teivin, *Ann. Liv.* 13, 9; Capart, *Thebes*, 229.

¹⁰ Gardiner and Peet, op. cit., nos. 211, 212; Helck (op. cit. 189 f.). Moreover, in Amenophis's thirty-sixth year we hear of his sending to Tushratta to have Ishtar of Nineveh loaned to him (*EA* 23, ll. 13 f.), a deed which Akhenaten in his ninth year certainly would not have tolerated.

¹¹ Something which might be adduced as evidence for the co-regency is the ostrakon from El-'Amārna dated to year 30 (Frankfort and Pendlebury, *COA* II, pp. 103 f.). Since Amenophis III is the only monarch of this period who reigned over thirty years, it would appear to belong to his reign. We should then have to assume that the new capital was in existence in the year 30, an assumption which would make possible the longest of co-regencies. It is well known, however, that the Aten was treated much like a reigning Pharaoh, and that 'events could be dated by the Aten as well as by the king. . . . This applies also to their respective *sed*-festivals' (Glanville, in *Great Ones of Ancient Egypt*, 122). It is not improbable that the 'thirty-year' ostrakon is to be dated to the first *heb-sed* of the Aten and that it has nothing to do with Amenophis at all.

¹² Not seventeen, as often supposed; see Seele, *JNES* 14, 175.

The length of Haremhab's reign poses some problems. The highest date for Haremhab thus far discovered is year 27, mentioned in a graffito from the mortuary temple of Ay and Haremhab at Medinet Habu;¹ and at least one scholar maintains that this was the last year of the king, indeed, that the graffito makes mention of his death.² Wilson recently suggested a span of thirty-seven or thirty-eight years,³ and to complicate matters still further the famous inscription of Mes records a fantastic year 59 of Haremhab.⁴ In actual fact, a period of more than twenty-one years, yet certainly under thirty-seven, seems to be called for by the evidence. It is possible to be even more specific. Assuming, as is usually done, that Haremhab's fifty-eight-year nominal reign begins with Akhenaten's accession,⁵ and assigning twenty-one, nine, and four years respectively to Akhenaten, Tutankhamun, and Ay, we have exactly twenty-six years left for Haremhab; i.e. he died in his twenty-seventh year. One can thus agree with Anthes that the Medinet Habu graffito records Haremhab's final visit to his shrine, perhaps only a few weeks or even days before his death.⁶

Armed with this material and a *terminus ad quem* of c. 1303 B.C. for the Eighteenth Dynasty,⁷ we may construct the following chronological table for the 'Amarna Age':

1399-1360	Amenophis III	(40 years)
1360-1340	Akhenaten	(21 years)
1340-1332	Tutankhamun	(9 years)
1332-1329	Ay	(4 years)
1329-1303	Haremhab	(27 years)

It is known that the death of Tutankhamun occurred four years before that of Suppiluliumas.⁸ According to the above reconstruction, then, Suppiluliumas' demise can be dated to 1328 B.C. It is also known that Suppiluliumas' last twenty-six years were occupied with (a) two decades of military operations in central Anatolia, during which time he was absent from Syria, and (b) a final six years of campaigning in Syria against Hurrians, Assyrians, Egyptians, *et al.*⁹ The events of these six years are fairly certain: they include the Mitannian attack on Harmuriga, the Egyptian attack on Kadesh, the affair of the widowed Egyptian queen, the installation of Mattiwaza as Hittite vassal, and the revolt of Ishhupitta.¹⁰

¹ Anthes apud Holscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu*, II, pp. 107 f.

² Von Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben: Historische Grundlagen der Ramessidenzeit in Ägypten*, 104; but see Wilson, *JNES* 13, 128.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte* (3rd ed.), 386.

⁵ Following the usual assumption that year 59 was the last year of the reign. Loret (*ZAS* 39, 4) took the point of departure as Akenaten's accession; but Wilson (op. cit.) now calculates it from the death of Amenophis III (i.e. Akhenaten's year 9, according to him). Surely the period must begin with the accession of the heretic, not the death of his father.

⁶ Anthes apud Holscher, op. cit., p. 107.

⁷ It is now practically certain that Ramesses II began to reign in 1290 (cf. Rowton, *JEA* 34, 69; followed by Albright, *BASOR* 130, 7, and Parker, *JNES* 16, 43). Since the highest date of Sethos I is year 11 (Rowton, op. cit. 79, n. 1), and since his father Ramesses I probably died in his second year, 1303 is undoubtedly correct for the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

⁸ Gurney, *The Hittites*, 217.

⁹ Cavaignac, *Subbiluliuma et son temps*, 61; idem, *Les Annales de Subbiluliuma* (*REA* 1931), 232; idem, *RHA* 6, 110.

¹⁰ The so-called 'seventh tablet' of the annals; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10, 92-98, 107-19.

Now the 'great Syrian' campaign described in the preamble to the Mattiwaza treaty¹ cannot be fitted into these six years. As Cavaignac long ago observed, it must be placed before Suppiluliumas' twenty-year absence from the Syrian theatre.² To be more precise, I think it can be stated that it took place on the eve of his absence; only when the turbulent kings of Syria had been subjugated and the frontier stood in the Lebanon would Suppiluliumas venture to turn his attention elsewhere. Moreover, all the other early campaigns in Syria are evidently prior to the 'great Syrian'. Those recorded in the Mattiwaza treaty³ are *ipso facto* earlier. The affair of Surrupsi king of Nuḥashshe⁴ must likewise be earlier, since in the course of the 'great Syrian' campaign Suppiluliumas found that Sarrupsi had died.⁵ The rape of Kizzuwadna which the king takes such pains to justify also took place before the final overrunning of Syria and Mitanni.⁶

Suppiluliumas' long reign may be reconstructed, then, in broad outline as follows:

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| (a) Co-regency with his father
(campaigns in Anatolia) | x-x B.C. |
| (b) Early campaigns in Syria and Hurrian territory (probably ending with
the 'great Syrian' campaign) | x-1353 B.C. |
| (c) Twenty years of campaigning in Anatolia | 1353-1333 B.C. |
| (d) Six years again in Syria | 1333-1328 B.C. |

It may be of significance that the cessation of Syrian campaigning (b) in 1353 B.C. coincides with Akhenaten's eighth year, according to the chronology proposed here. It was in that year (or early in the ninth) that the 'Amārna 'revolution' changed in character from a tolerant monolatry to an uncompromising monotheism.⁷ It is fruitless to speculate on the effect, if any, which the recent loss of Syria may have had on Akhenaten.

To the end of period (b) may be dated a well-defined part of the 'Amārna letters. Several letters from Aziru, in which he complains of the Hittite king's advance into Nuḥashshe and his designs on Tunip,⁸ are unmistakable allusions to the 'great Syrian' campaign. Other letters,⁹ which state that Aitakama of Kadesh has gone against (*ana pāni*) the Hittites, reflect a known incident in the same campaign.¹⁰ And it has long been known, ever since the royal name was correctly read *Namḥuria* (i.e. Akhenaten),¹¹ that the correspondence of Akizzi of Qatna¹² dates from the same period. The Rib-Addi file, however, must have been complete by this time, since Akhenaten in a letter to Aziru claims knowledge of the murder of the Gebalite.¹³

Aziru's letters are full of excuses for not coming to Egypt at the request of his suzerain. Eventually he did go, how long after the 'great Syrian' campaign we cannot tell. But the famous scene from the tombs of Huy¹⁴ and Merirē II,¹⁵ depicting the homage paid to Akhenaten by Asiatics among others and dated to year 12 (i.e. 1349), may be a record of the arrival of Aziru and his retinue.¹⁶

¹ KBo I: 1, ll. 17-47.

⁴ KBo I: 4, obv. col. 1.

⁷ Gunn, *JEA* 9, 172.

¹⁰ KBo I: 1, ll. 41 ff.

¹³ EA 162, line 9 ff.

¹⁶ But see now Aldred, *JEA* 43, 114 ff.

² *Les Annales de Subbiluliuma*, 232.

⁵ KBo I: 1, ll. 38 ff.

⁸ EA 164-8.

¹¹ Cf. Albright, *JNES* 6, 59.

¹⁴ Davies, *Amarna*, III, pls. 14, 15.

³ KBo I: 1, ll. 1-16.

⁶ Gurney, *op. cit.* 78.

⁹ EA 174-(Mercer's) 176a.

¹² EA 52-55.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* II, pls. 37-40.

TERRESTRIAL MARSH AND SOLAR MAT

By ELIZABETH THOMAS

SINCE the publication of a partial photograph in 1937, the unique boat plans¹ on the ceiling of Corridor F of the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. IV, 1, A-F)² have been objects of speculation and study,³ for 'Die Deutung der Bildgedanken dieser ägyptischen Zeichnungen scheint kaum einwandfrei möglich zu sein'.⁴ No attempt will be made here to offer either a complete or an incontestable solution, but I believe further progress toward understanding is possible now, principally with regard to the representation chiefly at issue, i.e. D, by taking into fuller account material already considered—earthly marsh scenes, other occurrences of a frog with the solar bark, symbolism of the frog—and by examining the composition of the solar 'mat' at some length.

Representations presumably of the solar bark are included in very early Egyptian depictions,⁵ while the earthly reliefs of spearing and fowling which concern us here apparently occur first about the time of the Fourth Dynasty.⁶ Each of the well-known

¹ Cf. only, to my knowledge, the Graeco-Roman 'Schiffsbilder in Draufsicht' republished by Morenz, *ZÄS* 81, 140.

² Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (Bollingen Series XL), II, pl. 173, reproduced by courtesy of the Bollinger Foundation; lettered by me in the apparent direction of motion.

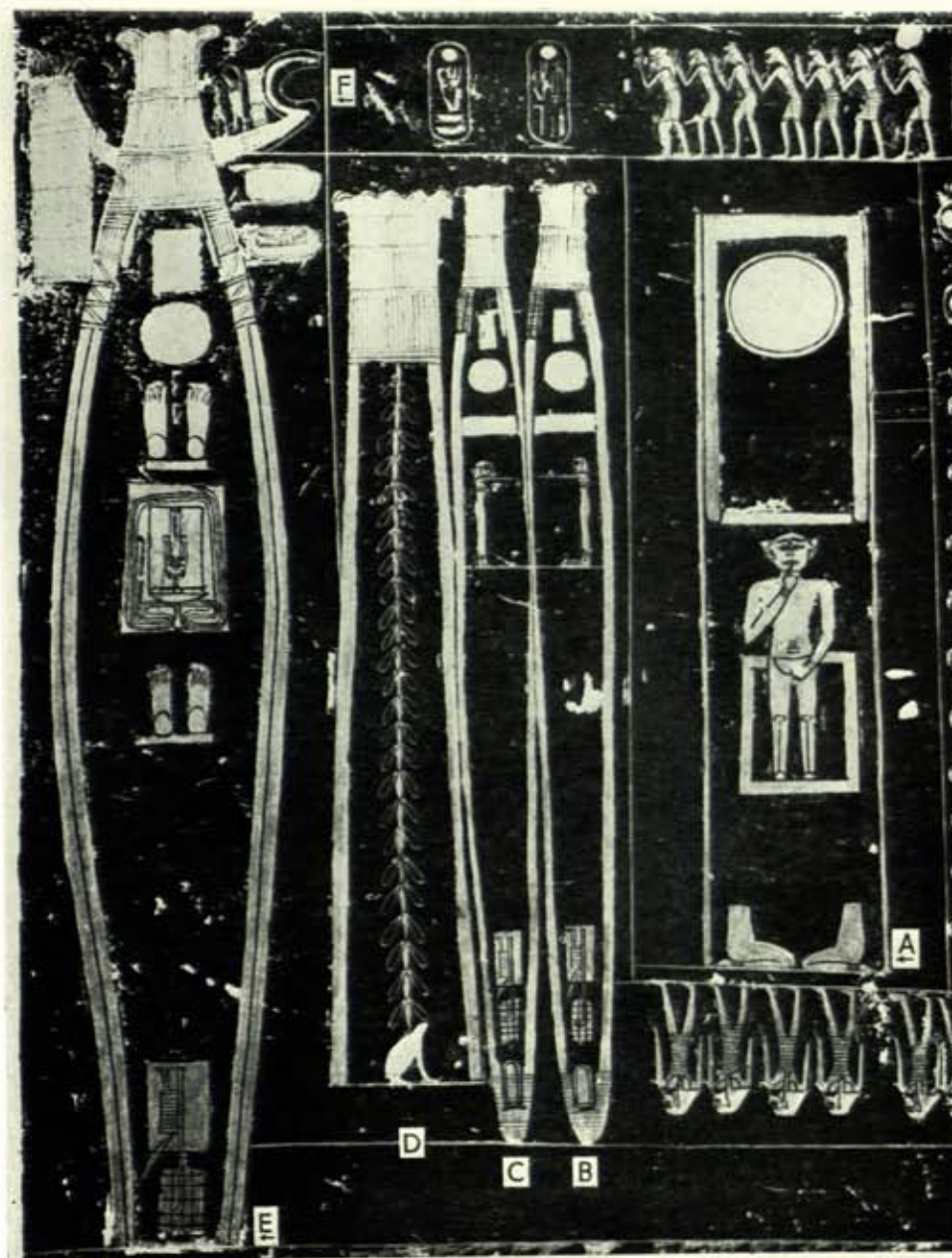
³ Grapow and Schäfer, *ZÄS* 73, 97-102, pl. 10, to be referred to below as Grapow 1, Schäfer 1. Schäfer, *Mitt. Deutsches Inst.* 8, 147-55 (Schäfer 2), without notice by any of the following. Piankoff and Maystre, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 38, 65-70, pls. 5-6 (Piankoff 1). Description only, Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit. 1, 433 (Piankoff 2). Grapow, *ZÄS* 81, 24-28 (Grapow 2).

⁴ Grapow 2, p. 28.

⁵ Figs. 4-7 'Aha-Menes and Semerkhet. Fig. 4, 'Aha-Menes a, sacred rather than solar, Nakadah Emery, *Hor-aha*, pp. 110-11; discussed with photographs and line drawings, Vikentiev, *Ann. Serv.* 33, 219-24, pls. 1-3. Fig. 5, 'Aha-Menes b, probably solar, Abydos, Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 11, 2; cf. the virtual duplicate, pl. 10, 2. Figs. 6-7, Semerkhet a-b (probably sacred, solar), Abydos, ibid. 1, pl. 17, 26. This line drawing shows prow pendant, 'ears', upright, and cabin of a and fender of b to be red, but it does not correspond in all details to the photograph, pl. 12, 1; here, for example, a horizontal line beginning at the bottom right of b, to correspond to that in a, apparently fails to continue because the vertical lines on the left extend to the edge of the label and allow no space for it.

Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats (CCG)*, p. xxv, suggests possible predynastic mat prototypes in Green's Tomb, Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, pls. 75-79; while Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, VI, pt. 1, p. 70, refers in addition to possible examples from Nubia in Dunbar, *Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia*, pl. 9. 34, 37. Hassan also brings together most of the material pertinent to solar barks, particularly in respect of the Old Kingdom; cf. Boreux, *Études de nautiques égyptiennes (Mém. Inst. fr., vol. L)*. The two most recent studies of early boats—solar, sacred, undetermined—are: Firchow, *WZKM* 54, 34-42; Anthes, *ZÄS* 82, 77-89 (this reference due to Mr. H. Fischer).

⁶ Pl. V and figs. 11-12, where other marsh activities are also included. Examples from the different periods are among those cited by Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches*, pp. 35-37; *Die Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches*, pp. 55-57; *Die Reliefs und Malereien des neuen Reiches*, pp. 77-87; and by Keimer, *Rev. Ég. anc.*, 1, 182-97; 2, 210-53; 3, 36-41. While further examples could be noted—the most pertinent will be found below—it has not been possible to search exhaustively or to be entirely certain that earlier reliefs did not exist. However, the Fourth Dynasty date is perhaps supported in the Klebs Third Dynasty reference to Petrie, *Medum*, pls. 11 and 24, where the motifs are probably beginning; further evidence would be likely in Wiedemann and Pörtner, *Äg. Grabreliefs . . . Karlsruhe*, p. 21, pl. 5, except for quality of work and uncertainty of date, said to be temp. Mycerinus. But the celestial bark was surely depicted well before the rather sophisticated reliefs in question developed; for the relation of motifs and seasons see especially von Bissing, *Ann. Serv.* 53, 319 ff.

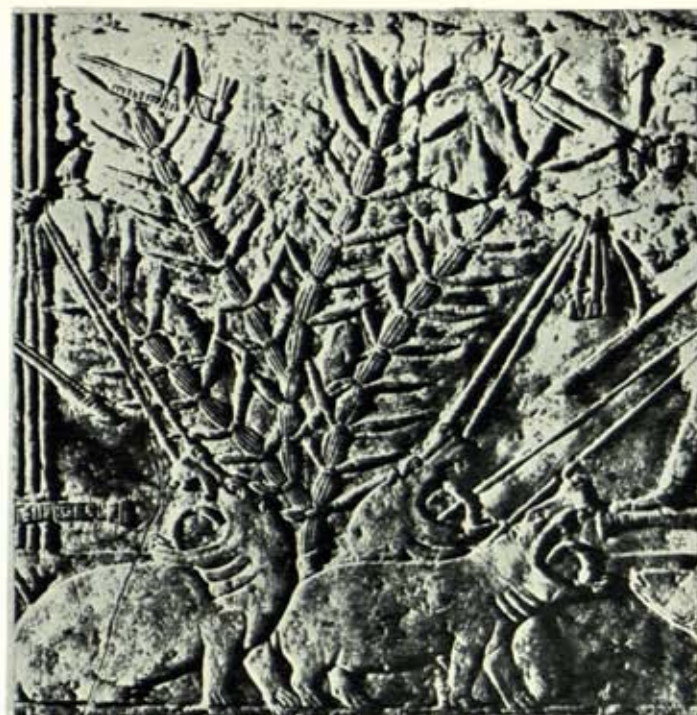


1. PLANS OF SOLAR BOATS FROM TOMB OF RAMESSES VI, CORRIDOR F.
By courtesy of the Bollinger Foundation, Inc.



2. DETAILS OF MAT OF SOLAR BOAT (Abydos b)

SOLAR BOATS



1. DETAIL OF DUELL, MERERUKA, I, Pl. 10



2. DETAIL OF BRIT. MUS. 37977

1 and 2 by courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

REPRESENTATIONS OF *PHRAGMITES COMMUNIS*



FIG. 1. Abydos *a*.



FIG. 2.
Book of the Dead, ch. 15.



FIG. 3. Situla.



FIG. 4. 'Aha-Menes *a*.



FIG. 5. 'Aha-Menes *b*.



FIG. 6.
Semerkhet *a*.



FIG. 7.
Semerkhet *b*.

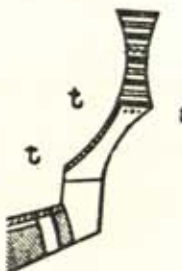


FIG. 8. Cairo 4860.



FIG. 9. Cairo 4930.



FIG. 10. Cairo 4949.

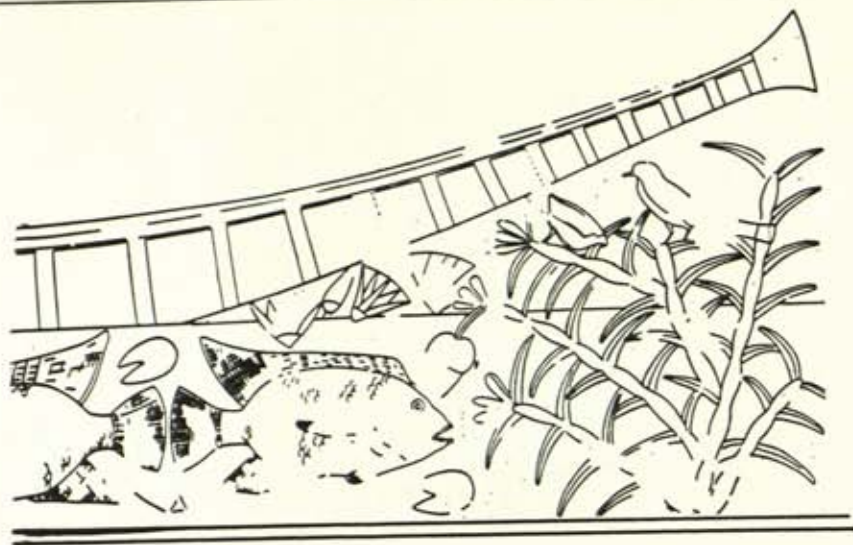


FIG. 11. *Meir*, VI, pl. 13

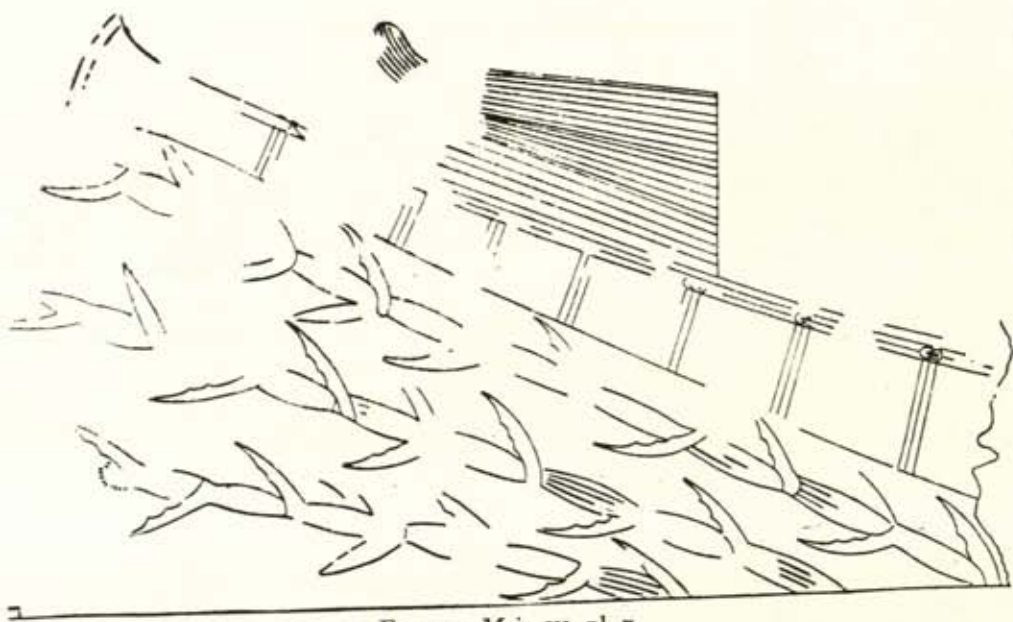


FIG. 12. *Meir*, III, pl. 7.

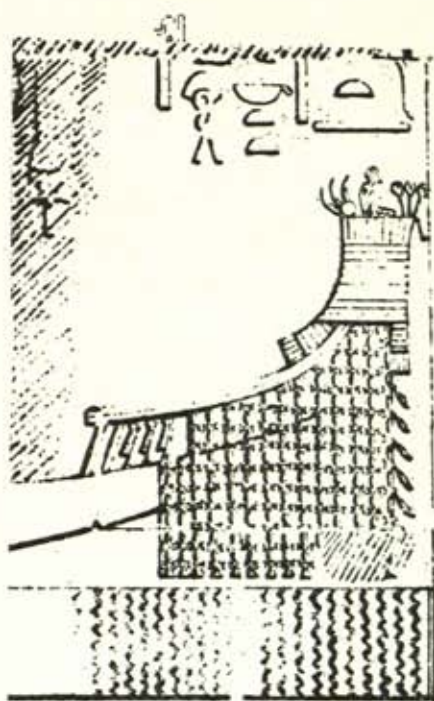


FIG. 13. *Deir el Bahari*, IV, pl. 115.

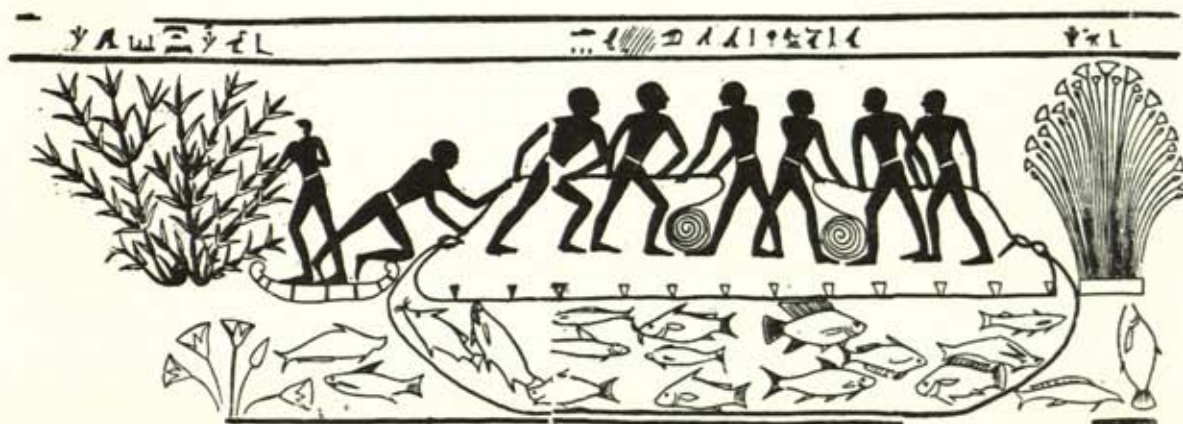


FIG. 14. *El Bersheh*, II, pl. 16.

motifs shows the tomb's owner, with his family, spearing fish or fowling with a throw-stick from a low-lying papyrus boat below whose prow and stern may be found a plant growing from the marsh. The two scenes became so popular, separately and combined, that their number now appears almost inexhaustible.

In the Old Kingdom, particularly, the frog, grasshopper, butterfly, and dragonfly are frequently seen, alone or in combination, on or near the plant.¹ In the Middle Kingdom the rock tombs of Meir added a large 'brightly coloured bird with green head and back and yellow and white breast'² to the fauna, but on the whole fewer frogs and insects appear to have been included and, of course, fewer representations are now known. By no means uncommon in the New Kingdom, the two motifs are proportionately fewer than was the case in the oldest period, perhaps partly because the first vitality and freshness were stylized with reproduction and with restriction of marsh activities to vacations in the Delta.³ The plant is so often absent that a good 'new' example has not come to hand; and even when retained it lost most of its variety, together with its frogs and insects.⁴

To my knowledge, the frog and the solar bark were first combined in Egypt by Sethos I.⁵ The combination also occurs in at least one Book of the Dead vignette, Chapter 15,⁶ and on a situla that is surely Late.⁷ The frog is also depicted with three Denderah bark-models in relief: at the curve of the *sktt*-sledge;⁸ in much the position sometimes given to the *wḏt*-eye, about half-way up the bow-slope of both *sktt* and *mṇdt*, as if drawn on the boats themselves; four frogs one after the other below the prow figure inside the bark, presumably *mṇt*, to the left of *mṇdt*.⁹

¹ Pl. V, 1; Duell, *Mereruka*, I, pl. 10, reproduced by courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago; cf. pls. 11-13. This plant occurs most frequently with spearing or fowling, but, as our chief interest, it will be considered here in all possible forms and contexts.

² Fig. 11; Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, VI, p. 26, pls. 13, 26, 2, 28, 2, Tomb C 1.

³ Cf. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê*, I, 45, where the north wall preference for marsh scenes is noted, together with its probable reason, that opportunities were best in, if not actually confined to, Lower Egypt in the New Kingdom. This does not mean, however, that the plant itself necessarily disappeared from Upper Egypt, as Keimer (op. cit. II, 189-90) seems to think likely for *Potomogéon*.

⁴ Pl. V, 2, Brit. Mus. 37977, Dyn. XVIII; Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, II, pls. 65-66, III, pp. 125-7, reproduced by courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. Though occasional fauna may occur, they remain exceptional. It is significant that both Schäfer 2 (p. 149) and Grapow 2 (p. 26) refer to Old Kingdom examples, not to New, when comparing the marsh frog and plant with the Ramesses VI solar representation.

⁵ Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, II, pls. 15 (fig. 1) and 20a (pl. IV, 2) (the line drawing, pl. 18, shows the wall to break away a short distance above the photograph). Earlier and not infrequent examples may exist, for I seem to recall others, unnoted, several years ago in a search for prow-to-prow barks. And Hatshepsut could have used the frog on the bark reproduced in fig. 13 (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, IV, pl. 115), for the corresponding section of the mat is damaged; wall traces may provide a definite answer.

⁶ Fig. 2; Renouf, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, pl. 3, upper right, without source or date; papyrus not yet ascertained.

⁷ Fig. 3; Lanzone, *Diz. mit. eg.* I, pl. 24 *ter*, without date or provenance. Mlle J. Monnet has very kindly written that she believes this situla to be Turin 3178, mentioned by Orcurti, *Catalogo illustrato dei monumenti egizi del R. Museo di Torino*, p. 162. 1, not presently available to me. Lichtheim (*JNES* 6, 169-79, pls. 5-6, reference due to Mr. E. Young) considers a similar vessel to be Saite or early Ptolemaic; in her other examples (p. 175, n. 49) the boats occur several times, the frog does not.

⁸ Is the animal, rather like a seated fox, on the corresponding sledge of *mṇdt* also a frog, or intended for one?

⁹ Mariette, *Denderah*, IV, pl. 64.

Only Schäfer 2 refers to any of these representations: to the Abydos frogs as being 'in den unteren Ecken' of the prow mats; to the *sktt*-sledge frog as being on Nile-like waters under the ship, in the manner of its earthly counterpart in the marsh.¹ The latter is perhaps correct both here and in the bow depictions, but the frogs at Abydos require further examination and comparison with those of the vignette, the situla, and Ramesses VI D.

Particularly when Abydos *b* (pl. IV, 2), with the loops, is compared with Ramesses VI D, the two appear to me to be front and side views of the same thing. Abydos *b* apparently represents two completed solar mats with a plant hanging down by the frog seated centrally in front of each, while Abydos *a* (fig. 1) and the Book of the Dead (fig. 2) simply omit the plant. It is also left out on the situla (fig. 3), where the frog perhaps even more clearly—especially since only this example seeks to represent a boat, not a model—is shown to occupy the same position on the mat.

Ramesses VI D, then, is the front view of a solar prow with the mat's 'frame' or plan, instead of the completed hanging, and with frog and plant in place. This interpretation also presents evidence in itself, I believe, for the front is a vital part, difficult to represent in two dimensions in Egypt; while the frog's-eye view from below² would seem both unimportant and unlikely, as would that from both below and above,³ and that from above only⁴ is certain in three other depictions, the deck plans B, C, E. Further, the plant as drawn is definitely hanging from the prow and to consider it so removes the unsolved problem of its growing upside down from the celestial waters.⁵

The difficulty in interpretation has probably come about in part because the upper section of D has apparently been considered as the mat, while it is actually, in my view, the same reed binding shown forward in the deck plans. These plans are drawn as if in only one plane, but of course prow and stern really curve sharply up, as in F where this binding⁶ is hidden by the mat, in a papyrus bark on an Aswān sarcophagus,⁷ and in the differently constructed model Cairo 4949.⁸ In the latter a wooden prow-cover represents the mat,⁹ but in Cairo 4860 Reisner found in the holes marked *t* 'bits of string, and the holes along the top of this part of the post (*s*) may also have borne strings', probably to carry 'a sort of bead-work curtain falling along the sides of the bow-pieces'.¹⁰ Prows of similar shape in relief on the pyramidion of Khendjer¹¹ also have this 'curtain'.

¹ P. 149.

² Piankoff 2; Grapow 2, p. 25.

³ Schäfer 2, p. 149.

⁴ Piankoff 1, p. 67.

⁵ Schäfer 2, p. 149; Grapow 2, p. 26.

⁶ Divided into two sections in B-C, three in D-E, four in F. It may also be noted that B-C have three 'scallop', E has four, D has five. B-D have a single strip down the sides, E doubles it.

⁷ 'Hiq-Ata,' Jéquier, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 9, 39.

⁸ Fig. 10; Reisner, *op. cit.* fig. 362, p. 102; photographs: pl. 22; Jéquier, *op. cit.* pl. 11. Cf. Cairo 4953, Reisner, *op. cit.* 106-7, pl. 24.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. xxvi. For two such covers without hulls see pp. 107-8, pl. 32, Cairo 4954 and 4957.

¹⁰ Fig. 8; *ibid.* pp. xxv-vi; 43-44. Reisner (p. xxvii) notes that 4860, Meir, has a green hull like the funerary barks, while the el-Bershah models, 4949 and 4953, have white. If 'the colour is significant either of structure or of function', as he believes, it would appear likely that green, following funerary models and Osiris, is, or may be, used for the night ship, white for the day. These three probably have the same date, Dynasty XII.

¹¹ Jéquier, *Deux pyramides du moyen-empire*, p. 21, pl. 6.

Thus Ramesses VI D appears to conform to A-C and E in being a plan, and in so being it gives to its 'appurtenances', plant and frog, an emphasis impossible to attain in completion or in profile. To the more or less upright bow post, seen from the front, are attached the three pieces of the frame over which its mat would be woven; under the scallops¹ a horizontal bar, noticeably absent in the other plans; under the binding on either side, a vertical strip. The bar and a scallop apparently extend beyond the reeds on either end and thus presumably around each side; holes, if considered present, would not be seen. The vertical strips perhaps serve only as corner posts, to hold the mat out, without the necessity of holes. No strip would be required on the bottom and the line here may represent the end of the mat, the water line,² or both.³ This reed binding is entirely covered by the mat in F, as usual in this tomb, and in our Book of the Dead model (fig. 2).⁴ It is shown above and presumably over the top of the mat in other examples, as Khendjer, Dēr el-Baḥrī (fig. 13), and Abydos *a* (fig. 1).

Another difficulty in interpretation has been due, I think, to failure to consider the plant in other celestial, as well as terrestrial, connexions. The prow pendant of Semerkhet *a* (fig. 6) is ambiguous, like most of the predynastic projections, but that of Ḥa-Menes *a* (fig. 4) is almost certainly a plant.⁵ And it is highly probable that a plant is depicted again on a stone model, Cairo 4930 (cf. n. 6), as Reisner's 'single line of bead-work down the middle [of the front of the prow] in relief',⁶ while the prow from the side⁷ may show the bar of Ramesses VI D. Depictions of the plant in profile over the mat are rather common in the New Kingdom, e.g., Abydos *b* (pl. IV, 2), Dēr el-Baḥrī, Bibān el-Ḥarīm, Tomb 36,⁸ and Book of the Dead.⁹

With regard to the frog, its significance in Egypt has been summarized most recently by Helck, as follows:

FROSCH. Amulette von F. sind seit vorgeschichtlicher Zeit belegt;¹⁰ ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung ist freilich nicht sicher. Vielleicht läßt sie sich erschließen aus der Bedeutung einer F.-Göttin [Heqet, wife of Khnum], die als Geburtshelferin galt, und aus der Tatsache, daß die männlichen Urgötter von Hermopolis froschköpfig dargestellt werden können. Also wird die mit dem Tier

¹ Different in kind as well as number. Do they perhaps represent variant forms of the loops on top of the F prow?

² Cf. Schäfer 2, p. 149.

³ The case in some examples, as Abydos *a-b* (fig. 1, pl. IV, 2). In others, as Ramesses VI F, the mat apparently extends below the water. Is the distinction between model and depiction sometimes a factor?

⁴ But note the similarity to Abydos in the stylized doubling of this mat and to Abydos *a* (fig. 1) in the figure of Shu supporting the sky-sign over the prows.

⁵ Emery, loc. cit., takes this end as stern; but cf. complete label and contrary opinions in references of p. 38, n. 5.

⁶ Fig. 9; op. cit. fig. 336, p. 92. It is not visible to me in the photograph, pl. 20; a possible explanation of the apparent plant-bead inconsistency will be offered below.

⁷ Fig. 9; ibid. fig. 333, p. 91, pl. 21 (photograph). Though Reisner (pp. xxvii, 82-83, 91-92; cf. pls. 19-21) compares this model and another of stone, Cairo 4924, with the solar barks, he classifies them as 'divine', their provenance, without date, being Mitrahinah, 'evidently from a temple.' But compare their statues and especially the god in his serpent-encircled shrine, 4930, with Ramesses VI E.

⁸ Schiaparelli, *Relazione*, I, fig. 87.

⁹ E.g. Speleers, *Le Papyrus de Nefer Renpet*, pl. 5; Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus*, pl. 102; id. *The Book of the Dead: The Papyrus of Ani*, I, pls. 10, 19, 21.

¹⁰ Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 12.

verbundene Vorstellung um die Erscheinung der Urentstehung des Lebens und dann der Entstehung des einzelnen Lebens (Geburt) kreisen. Hiervon abgeleitet wird die symbolische Verwendung des F.-Bildes für den Begriff der 'Wiedergeburt' bis zum christlichen Auferstehungssymbol auf Lampen christlicher Zeit mit der Aufschrift 'ich bin die Auferstehung' sein.¹

Possibly only in the Eighteenth Dynasty did the frog become the symbol of *wḥm-ꜥnh*,² perhaps best construed here as 'one who repeats life'. Exactly how, why, and when this meaning came about is not known, nor just how, why, and when the frog moved to the sky—nor whether by so moving it removed itself and its former companions from the earthly marsh.³ We do know, however, that *wḥm-ꜥnh* came into existence, or was in existence, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and that the frog came to be associated, or was associated, with the solar bark by Sethos I.⁴ Thus it would seem reasonable to suppose that these two events were perhaps connected, particularly since none of the frog's terrestrial marsh associates moved to the sky with him or came to be connected with matters solar,⁵ for the natural affinity of *wḥm-ꜥnh* and Egyptian sun-god is quite obvious.

Piankoff⁶ believes this *wḥm-ꜥnh* aspect alone to be responsible for the solar association in Ramesses VI D, while Grapow⁷ rejecting this view, attributes it solely to the earthly relationship of plant, frog, and boat. Schäfer⁸ independently concludes that both symbol and fact played a part, the explanation that appears most likely to me, though not always for the same reasons.

With regard to the physical composition of the solar mat, sometimes it appears to consist of reeds,⁹ again of beads,¹⁰ or of either.¹¹ Its origin and function, too, have been matters of uncertainty. Hassan suggests a practical beginning, perhaps a mooring-rope, anchor-cable, or an ornamental development of a protective fender, the last favoured by Hassan,¹² and by me. But rather than from his Nubian examples, the clue to this conclusion comes more clearly for me from the idea of combining the two features shown in the 'Aḥa-Menes and the Semerkhet ships: the ornamental pendant and the

¹ *Kleines Wörterbuch der Ägyptologie*, p. 105.

² For *Ḥeḥet* and *wḥm-ꜥnh* in all periods see Spiegelberg and Jacoby, *Sphinx* 7, 215–28 and 8, 78–79, with further references; Egger, *Mitteil. d. Geogr.-Ethnol. Ges. Basel*, 4, 1935, with particular emphasis on representations (reference from Schäfer 2). Wiedemann, *Das alte Ägypten*, p. 266, suggests as origin for *wḥm-ꜥnh* the fact that the frog 'entstehe von selbst' from the Nile mud. Cf. *pr wḥm-ꜥnh* in the *snt*-game, Pieper, *ZÄS* 66, 21–24. The tadpole as symbol for 100,000 and its depictions in this connexion are well known.

³ Conceivably this was a factor, though it is possible that the explanation referred to above sufficed, namely, stylization and retreat of the marshes.

⁴ Or *Ḥatshepsut*, as noted above.

⁵ But cf. *Snḥm* Ⓞ, 'Grasshopper City,' in *Št-ḥtp* and *Št-snḥm(w)*, 'Field of Grasshoppers,' (BD 125, III, 20), Budge, *Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, II, 588, 687.

⁶ P. 67.

⁷ P. 26.

⁸ P. 149.

⁹ Cf., for example, Foucart, *Sphinx* 10, 190.

¹⁰ Particularly in the bark models, as Hassan has noted (op. cit. 70–71), and in two unpublished mats in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (14. 3. 21–22, Lisht, Dynasty XII). These mats, in contrast to the Cairo models, hang only from the sides of the bow, not the front. Mr. Young, who kindly allowed close examination, agrees that there is now no evidence to indicate that the front was ever covered; a possible explanation is that these models would have been seen only from the sides as originally placed, prow to prow (presumably), and perhaps up against some object between them.

¹¹ As Abydos *a-b*, fig. 1, pl. IV, 2; Dēr el-Baḥri (fig. 13).

¹² Loc. cit.

practical fender.¹ In his 'Essai sur la nomenclature des parties de bateaux', Jéquier interprets *šrw*, 'Les roseaux', in this way: 'Tout à l'avant de la barque, tombant du haut de la proue jusqu'au ras de l'eau, on voit sur les représentations peintes, une sorte de draperie striée de lignes verticales qui n'était autre, à l'origine, que la figuration des roseaux arrachés par le bateau divin à son passage dans la région marécageuse séparant le monde de la nuit de celui des vivants.'² Perhaps as the fender caught, or was considered to catch, this marsh growth, probably reeds in particular, it came to be represented as covered, or woven, with the most suitable part of this material, while the single stem of 'Aḥa-Menes might be retained as final decoration.

Jéquier continues: 'On peut se figurer cette tenture un peu dans le genre de certaines portières japonaises, une série de cordelettes assujetties dans le haut seulement et sur lesquelles étaient enfilées des perles longues, ou, s'il faut en croire le déterminatif qu'on trouve ici, de petits morceaux de bois cylindriques.' These beads, some long, some round, are not unlike the sections and circular joints of a number of representations of the earthly prow-stern plant,³ identified by Keimer as *Potomogéton lucens*,⁴ called 'Laichkraut' by Schäfer 2 and Grapow 2.

Two questions regarding this plant come to mind. Could it be so woven,⁵ and thus reconcile the apparent reed-bead inconsistency? Could 'Laichkraut' be correct and make likely the frog's string of eggs as prototype for the decorative 'beads'? But all of the taxonomists with whom I have talked⁶ were immediately and unanimously certain that the representations in question could be no variety of *Potomogéton*;⁷ and apparently the frog has no spawning favourite among water plants. However, another identification did not prove easy. Finally, Dr. Täckholm suggested by letter *Phragmites communis*, the common reed, still abundant in Egypt, that has grown up in peat bogs all over the world to serve as a great land-builder.

At first this identification seemed to me impossible, until further Egyptian representations came to hand and I was able to examine growing specimens of the species, if not the variety, in New Jersey marshes. The pointed, alternate, sheathed leaves of *Phragmites* cover inconspicuous joints of an upright culm that never branches, but the sheath is striated, as it is without exception or variation when detail is included in the Egyptian depictions. The older examples may also show the sheath itself and occasionally pointed leaves that are not opposite,⁸ while the culm can be upright and even have

¹ Actually shown in combination, as it were, in Ramesses VI D.

² *Bull. Inst. fr.* 9, 56.

³ And also that of the Mereruka hippopotamus hunt.

⁴ *Op. cit.*; e.g., I, fig. 1, p. 184.

⁵ This is not to say that such material was necessarily woven, even for models, or that actual boats were ever constructed; but it seems reasonable to assume that material suitable for its function would have been chosen for depiction.

⁶ To whom I again express appreciation, particularly to Dr. Edgar Anderson, Dr. Vivi Täckholm, and Dr. E. J. Alexander; the latter's kindnesses have included criticism of this paper. It is to be hoped that this amateur's summary will lead one of them to make a professional study.

⁷ Keimer, *op. cit.* 3, 37, refers to earlier doubts of Egyptologists that were refuted to his satisfaction by a botanist, E. Leick.

⁸ Fig. 12; Blackman, *op. cit.* III, pl. 7, Tomb B 4. Cf. especially Keimer, *op. cit.* I, fig. 5, p. 187; 2, fig. 2, p. 212. Also, Dr. Täckholm tells me that in young *Phragmites* shoots—especially those growing in drier habitats, not directly in water—the leaves, while remaining alternate, are 'very crowded and appear to be two-sided as in the pictures'.

rather the appearance of a single 'bush' of *Phragmites*.¹ When its full, dense growth is attained it is impenetrable, but the edges can always be fished and hunted, the culms bending² under prow and stern of shallow boats while remaining strong enough to bear the weight of frogs, and the presence of land insects indicates proximity to shore. It would seem possible, too, for this bending and consequent crossing over of culms to have been represented by the artist as branching, particularly in the limited space under the boats; and once begun the convention could hold regardless of wall area.

Certainly these culms would have been pliable when green and strong enough as warp for the mats, for today they are used for both roofs and fences, while ancient objects include arrows and crates.³ The rhizome, or runner whereby the plant propagates itself, is quite flexible even when thoroughly dry, and its piercing end would serve readily as a natural needle for the woof. This rhizome is also easily accessible and plentiful, for it creeps to long distances—eighteen metres having been seen⁴—and is above ground, I find, when *Phragmites* grows on land. Further, its exposed, prominent joints could surely have served as prototype to the round ones, and thus to the bead, while the unique rubbery red colour⁵ of its stem appears to have been followed in a number of depictions. Old Kingdom representations are known, for example, from Dahshūr⁶ and Dēr el-Gebrāwī,⁷ Middle Kingdom from Lisht⁸ and Beni Hasan,⁹ while New Kingdom paintings at Thebes include Puyemrē,¹⁰ British Museum 37977, and Ramesses VI D.¹¹ It should be remembered, too, that the Semerkhet pendant and fender are red; though possibly only coincidence, presumably such a fender would catch rhizomes not firmly rooted. The trefoil terminal point frequently shown is puzzling in red, however, particularly when spotted a deeper colour, as in the Dahshūr and Puyemrē paintings. That

¹ Fig. 14; Griffith and Newberry, *El Bersheh*, II, pl. 16. Cf. fig. 11, *Meir*, VI; pl. II, 1, *Mereruka*; Wiedemann and Pörtner, loc. cit. In the latter, is the animal the caricatured hippopotamus suggested, or an early example of the frog, standing and rather crudely cut?

² Cf. the Arabic name for *Phragmites*, *Hagna* and variants, 'readily bending', Täckholm, *Flora of Egypt*, I, 209; and Brit. Mus. 37977 (pl. V, 2). In the latter and in the culm under the stern, not reproduced here, this bend is perhaps even more clearly indicated than in *Meir*, III (fig. 12).

³ Täckholm, op. cit. 213, 215, the latter referring to New Kingdom reed columns in stone; Borchardt, *Die ägyptische Pflanzensäule*, p. 50.

⁴ Täckholm, op. cit. 210.

⁵ Dr. Alexander tells me he knows no other rhizome comparable in this respect. It would seem quite natural that this unusual characteristic should attract attention and the colour come to be used at will for the green culm as well, so that it and the rhizome are not always certainly distinguishable.

⁶ In colour, Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, I, pl. 4; III, 10–11; in black and white, with a discussion of provenance, Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 205–6, n. 2, pl. 51b.

⁷ Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwī*, I, pp. 12–13, pls. 3, 5; red stems, blue joints as below.

⁸ The model mats in the Metropolitan Museum referred to in p. 45, n. 10 above. Here the long sections of the warp are red, the round stylized joints of the woof are blue. Of course, the rhizome is readily adaptable for either direction, or both.

⁹ Tomb 3, east wall, over entrance to shrine, above right upper angle of clap-net: Davies facsimile in colour, Metropolitan Museum 33. 8. 18, published in black and white by Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 77b (too small in scale to be useful for the plant); unrecognizably stylized in Griffith, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 33. In the Davies copy the red stems and alternate, pointed, green leaves could very nearly be a photograph from nature of *Phragmites* rhizomes.

¹⁰ Davies, *Puyemrē*, I, pp. 36, 48–53, pls. 9, 4, 11. 1.

¹¹ Schäfer 2, p. 148: 'Das Auffälligste daran [Bugteil] ist der Pflanzenstengel mit rotbraunen, wie geschnürt aussehenden Abschnitten und nur weiß umrissenen Blättern.'

it is probably an artistic development that could take more than one form is apparently indicated by comparison with British Museum 37977 (pl. II, 2), which definitely ends in three grey-green leaves, originally sketched half their final length.

There appears to be no doubt, then, that all solar mats could consist of *Phragmites* culms and rhizomes, or representations thereof; and that such, or similar, composition would have been possible is principally our concern here.¹ The single stem hanging from the prow or over the mat would be the rhizome, of course. The great divergences shown in the Old and Middle Kingdom representations under the boats may indicate different varieties of *Phragmites*, or may sometimes display another species, though I now incline to the view that a *Phragmites* is everywhere responsible. The taxonomist hoped for above could probably settle the question definitely.

Only once, to my knowledge, is a name applied to any of these plants, *bꜣt nt nšꜣ*, 'bush of *nšꜣ*'.² Keimer has been puzzled at its being a product of the Wādī Natrūn³ and at its being differentiated into *nšꜣw* of Upper and Lower Egypt,⁴ impossibilities for *Potamogeton*. But Sickenberger⁵ in 1892 found *Phragmites communis isiacus* ninth in order of abundance of plants in the wādī, and Täckholm says that this variety can withstand salt in soil or water.⁶ The *nšꜣw* of Upper and Lower Egypt are also readily explained if *Phragmites*, for Täckholm has described two varieties other than *isiacus*, listed a fourth, and said that 'there exist numerous races in Egypt' of this species.⁷ She also notes the ancient use of the rhizome in popular medicine, it being 'ascribed diaphoretic and diuretic properties',⁸ while the reed itself is known from all periods.⁹ She identifies the reed-leaf hieroglyph, the sign for *i*, as the *Phragmites* panicle, 'easily distinguished from *Arundo* [Spanish reed] by its lax, acute, one-sided (not dense, ovoid, symmetric) panicle'.¹⁰ Plant and sign are well illustrated in close proximity in the wild-bull hunt at Medinet Habu.¹¹

The rarity of this panicle is presumably to be explained by the fact that, in contrast to lilies and papyrus, it was sparsely in bloom, if at all, when spearing and fowling were at their height. The species as a whole flowers from July to March, but the main period is October–December,¹² when the inundation, as well as the season and perhaps press of work as water receded, would have tended against marsh activities. Only four

¹ Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 3rd ed. p. 162, refers to *Phragmites* matting of Dyn. I (Macramallah, *Un Cimetière archaïque . . . à Saqqarah*, pp. 3, 40–42, 44, 50–51).

² Fig. 14, *El Bersheh*.

³ Op. cit. I, 194; Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, R16, p. 30. Suys, *Étude sur le conte du Fellah Plaideur*, p. 3, simply repeats the suggestion made by Gardiner (*JEA* 9, 7); the resemblance to bamboo was first noted by Griffith and Newberry, op. cit. p. 34.

⁴ Papyrus Ebers, 83, 14, § 669.

⁵ *BIÉ*, 1892, p. 192, reference due to Keimer.

⁶ Op. cit. 210.

⁷ *Ibid.* 210–11.

⁸ *Ibid.* 213.

⁹ *Ibid.* 213–15.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 215.

¹¹ Great Temple, exterior, first pylon, south tower, west face, Nelson, *Medinet Habu* (OIP IX), II, pls. 117, 130 (reinforced, normal photographs), a rather natural depiction of *Phragmites*, yet including a few opposite leaves, as never in nature. From an earlier publication of this temple Täckholm (p. 215) cites the lion-hunt thicket, highly stylized, on the exterior of the north wall as *Phragmites* mistaken for *Arundo*. Now (Nelson, op. cit. I, pl. 35) it appears likely that a few ovoid panicles actually do represent *Arundo*; certainly none suggest 'papyrus plants' (Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III: The Texts in Medinet Habu Volumes I and II*, p. 39).

¹² Täckholm, op. cit. 211.

other possible occurrences of the bloom are now known to me. Three, from Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, show the reed standing with papyrus, not under a boat: *Kenamün* and *Nakht*, fowling-spearing combined;¹ *Amenemhēt*, hippopotamus hunt.² Täckholm thinks the *Nakht* example may be *Arundo*, rather than *Phragmites*,³ and the same would appear true of *Kenamün*, especially when the two are compared with *Amenemhēt*. In the latter, the looser design of the panicle is heightened by short red lines—perhaps originating in the appearance of this bloom in its first and green stage—and in my judgement *Phragmites* is represented. The fourth, the beginning of the inflorescence, is perhaps indicated in fig. 12 (*Meir*, III), lowest culm.

The occurrences of *nšw*-plants, including that above, in Egyptian medical papyri may be summarized as follows:


(1) The fruit, used to bandage: for a broken bone, Hearst 1, 13, §13; for *tmyt*, Hearst 11, 11. §169.

(2) The plants alone and of Upper and Lower Egypt, to bandage for stiffness: Hearst 8, 11-12, §110 = Ebers 85, 12, §694; Ebers, 83, 14. §669.

(3) The leaves, as a drink for snake-bite, Ebers 17, 15, §56.

(4) The water, to draw a vulva together, Ebers 96, 11, §825. The bandages, 1 and 2, four of the six minimum occurrences, apparently fit the diaphoretic quality of *Phragmites*. But a physician tells me that neither of the known properties would suit either of the other cases.

Keimer⁴ has referred to these localities as having in their names the element *nš*: *Nšwt*, *Tw-nš*; *Nšw* (variant *šw*),⁵ *Tw-šw*,⁶ *Nšyt* (variant *Nšt*), *Niš*, *Mr-nš* (old *Tw-nš*?). The first two have as distinctive determinatives a plant that must be that of the prows and sterns; while both *Tw*- and *Mr-nš* are reasonable as *Phragmites*, *tw* because of the land-building characteristic, *mr* presumably as representing a channel through a reed marsh.

With regard to the last five, Keimer's conclusion, from Kees, that a relation exists between crocodile, crocodile god, and plant seems fully justified and as fitting for *Phragmites* as *Potomogéton*, if not more so. For our purpose, however, it is more important to note the omission of the initial *n* in two of the examples and to compare the resulting *šw* with the mat designation, above, transcribed by Jéquier as . His reason for writing the hieratic sign that begins the word with this variant is not clear to me, unless by analogy with Lacau's use in Cairo 28055.⁷ But compare the trefoil tips with those of the El-Bershah *nš*, fig. 14. Then compare this *bit nt nš* with

¹ Davies, *Ken-Amün*, 1, p. 36, pl. 51; *Nakht*, pp. 67-68, pls. 22-24.

² Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, pls. 1, 1 A.

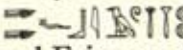
³ Op. cit. 207. For a fifth and certain occurrence see von Bissing, op. cit. pl. 14, Fifth Dynasty.



⁴ First two, op. cit. 1, 194; L. D., III, pt. 2, pl. 21: mastaba of Mer-ib, son of Cheops, inscriptions published by Roeder, *Inschr. Mus. Berlin*, 1, 93. Last five, op. cit. 3, 41, with reference to the brief study by Kees of an Upper Egyptian crocodile god, *ZÄS* 64, 107-12; examples, which could probably be extended, are from the latter, pp. 108-9.

⁵ Dēr el-Abyaḍ (White Monastery) at Sohag; Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* v, 31, 'on site of ancient Shau or Neshau'.

⁶ Apparently so written.

⁷ *Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel empire (CCG)*, 1, 149, interior, end.

the highly stylized *bꜣt mḥw*¹ on the other side of the seine; and both with two words from an Edfu text:  'His wings span the Two Plants'.² In discussing this dual³ Blackman and Fairman show that its use in this sense, 'the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt', is not uncommon.

With further regard to the El-Bershah tomb, Griffith and Newberry 'confidently assert' on the basis of remaining painted columns 'that each chamber was represented as upheld by four columns, those in the northern or inner chamber representing the northern plant , those in the outer or southern the plant of the south '.⁴ Here the plants are obviously reversed, presumably by printing error; and the two rooms are north-east and south-west by compass. However, the columns certainly represent the Two Lands and show this duality to be present in the tomb, at the same time making unlikely, it would seem, accidental juxtaposition of *nšꜣ* and *mḥw*. Yet if so the two are reversed, the papyrus being to the south-east, the *nšꜣ* to the north-west. If the stylized *mḥw* was not added rather as an afterthought opposite the functional *nšꜣ*, a possible explanation is intact borrowing of design from the west wall of a tomb, perhaps one facing the Nile from its west side.

This is not to say, of course, that *nšꜣ* and 'the plant of the south' are, or can be, one—only that the possibility seems worth considering. Certainly *nšꜣ* as *Phragmites* would probably be as typical a counterpart for the Lower Egyptian papyrus as Upper Egypt could have offered in the oldest period, one that perhaps could have been adapted more easily than *šmꜣ* to oppose *mḥw*. It may be significant, too, that the heraldic plant of the south frequently has a pink or red culm and centre comparable to the stem under prow and stern. It would seem likely, further, that there is a relation, or overlapping, of *nšꜣ* and *šꜣ* as designations of water plants. If they are, or may be, the same, support is added to the composition of the solar mat suggested above, or so it would appear from Jéquier's *šꜣw* and his conclusions.

To summarize briefly, it would appear that Ramesses VI D represents in plan and from the front a solar mat with plant and frog similar to side views of the completed mat from Abydos, Book of the Dead, and a situla; that the fabric of the solar mat is, or could be, the same plant, associated with the frog in its terrestrial marsh, and probably the *nšꜣ* as *Phragmites*, if not also the prototype of the plant of the south; that the frog's long association with birth and its old relation to the *nšꜣ* would quite naturally combine in its new symbolism of *wḥm-ꜣnh* to make for it a place among the *nšꜣw* at the front of the prow of the sun-god, probably the first, and certainly the supreme, example in Egypt of one who daily 'repeats life'.

With regard to other aspects of the Ramesses VI ceiling, there seems, first, to be general agreement that E represents *sktt* and that F is the same bark from the side—incidentally, sailing eastwards to the sunrise in the position given it in the tomb. The

¹ 'Bush (of) papyrus', as I read the inscription above the plant, contrary to Griffith and Newberry, who take the papyrus clump as determinative, *op. cit.* 34. This is possible, of course, though not included with *bꜣt* in *Wb.* 1, 416. In any case, the reference is clearly to a 'bush' of papyrus, named or not.

² *JEA* 35, 99, 105.

³ Which they read *bꜣwy*, *JEA* 36, 67.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 31.

rectangle and circle forward, like the two rectangles and *šms*-sign aft, in B, C, E represent common appurtenances of solar barks, though the goddesses with arms outstretched normally stand in the bow, or beside the barks.¹ The two pairs of feet in E are masculine, as the *ntr*-determinative indicates, and presumably represent positions for statues of Sia and Hu, as Piankoff 1² and 2 believe, as against Grapow 2's suggestion of bodies made invisible in the darkness³ and Schäfer 2's theory of 'Betenspuren'.⁴ Schäfer 2 thinks that B and C perhaps had sickle-shaped sterns with free-hanging cartouche decorations,⁵ perhaps comparable to the sterns, collars, and rectangular nameplates of our Abydos prows. Grapow 1⁶ reasonably considers A to be part of a deck plan, also, but its relation to the others is not clear to me in detail. The figure in the shrine appears to be standing to Grapow, as to me, while Piankoff 2 thinks he is seated. Probably the similarity in head treatment with that of the decan figures in Corridors B and E⁷ has been considered too obvious for mention.

With regard to Grapow 2's question of the number of boats actually intended, he thinks three are meant, as in Corridor C at sunrise.⁸ But it appears to me rather that the long boats in Corridors C and F combine the two short barks into one; and that D of Corridor F represents alike the front view of E-F and of B-C combined; indeed D's position in itself suggests the combination of B-C as one vessel.⁹ I cannot prove this, if it is provable, but indications of a single solar bark¹⁰ appear to me to exist here, in the Corridor C motif, and elsewhere, including this Pyramid Text passage: 'You sleep in *msktt*, you wake in *m'ndt*'.¹¹ Is Phiops moved as he sleeps from one boat to the other? Or does *msktt*, instead, change its name, with its direction, before he wakes? Should an affirmative answer to the first question continue to be taken for granted before the second is given full consideration?

¹ The boats being prow to prow. For all occurrences known to me see *JEA* 42, 65-79; circles in B-C mistaken for disks, p. 76, n. 3. Cf. the goddesses in Abydos *a-b*, Calverley, op. cit. pls. 15, 18.

² P. 66.

³ P. 28.

⁴ Pp. 149-51.

⁵ P. 148.

⁶ P. 97.

⁷ Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit. I, figs. 137-8; II, pls. 146-8, 162-71.

⁸ P. 26; Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit. II, pls. 149-50, and cf. pl. 187. For another parallel see Montet, *Les Constructions et le tombeau d'Osorkon II à Tanis*, I, pls. 21, 25.

⁹ Cf. Grapow 2, p. 26.

¹⁰ Cf. my previous statement of this view, *JEA* 42, 79, n. 3.

¹¹ 1479a (P, M, N): *sḏr-k m msktt irs-k m m'ndt*. *Sḏr* as 'spend the night' would not, in my view, change the meaning or fit the implied contrast.

40500.

TWO UNPUBLISHED DEMOTIC DOCUMENTS FROM THE ASYŪṬ ARCHIVE

By A. F. SHORE and H. S. SMITH

IN 1923 the Trustees of the British Museum acquired a number of related documents which were shown on internal evidence to have come from Asyūṭ or its immediate neighbourhood. Of the two principal documents, one contained a unique account of a trial before a native Egyptian court in 170 B.C., and the other a record of the division of family property in 181 B.C. which ultimately gave rise to the court proceedings. These and nine other documents concerned with the affairs of the same family were published by Sir Herbert Thompson in 1934.¹

There are two further documents in the British Museum, which are clearly connected with the Archive both by internal evidence and by the date of their acquisition. We wish to thank the Trustees of the British Museum and Mr. I. E. S. Edwards, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, for permission to edit these texts here, and to quote from other unpublished demotic papyri in the collection of the Museum. We are also indebted to Professors W. Erichsen and C. F. Nims for valuable suggestions on points of detail.

Pap.B.M. dem. 10589, for some reason which remains obscure, was not included or mentioned by Thompson in his edition of the Asyūṭ texts, though a description of it with some preliminary notes appears in his handlist of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, and references to it are contained in his manuscript demotic dictionary. The document is dated the 12th Phamenoth, year 6 of Ptolemy VI Philometor (April 15, 175 B.C.). It consists of two sheets of light brown papyrus with an average overlap of $\frac{6}{10}$ in. It measures $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length by 13 in. in height. The right-hand sheet on the recto measures just over 4 in., the left-hand sheet approximately 9 in. At the left-hand edge is the join of a third sheet now missing. The papyrus is of indifferent quality, the texture indicating rough workmanship. It is, however, in excellent condition, having suffered little damage in the unrolling (see pl. VI). The recto contains fourteen full lines and one short line of writing across the horizontal fibres. The length of the full lines varies from just under to just over 11 in. The verso (see pl. VII, left) contains a list of sixteen witnesses written across the vertical fibres, to the right of the join between the two sheets. The scribe's name was Imhotep, son of Psi (?), who is otherwise unknown from the Asyūṭ Archive. His hand is small and neat, and very similar to others represented in the Archive, but not so consistent. No attempt was made to avoid bad places on the recto, notably in line 10.

Pap.B.M. dem. 10601 consists of a single sheet of papyrus measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length

¹ *A Family Archive from Siut from Papyri in the British Museum*, Oxford, 1934. Quoted as Thompson, *Siut*.

and 6½ in. in height (see pl. VII, right). It contains six lines of writing across the horizontal fibres; the longest of these measures 4 in. and the shortest 3 in. The verso is blank.

B.M. 10589: Transliteration

Sir Herbert Thompson's system of transliteration has been adopted to facilitate comparison with the other documents of the Asyūṭ Archive. Numbers in brackets refer to the lines of the papyrus.

H-sp 6 3-pr ss 12 n Pr-ε; Ptwlmys 'rm Qlwptr' n ntr(·w) nt pr nt 'r mt-nfr-t p wcb slgsntrws 'rm n ntr-w sw . . (?) (2) 'rm n ntr-w sn-w n ntr(·w) mnḥ(·w) n ntr-w mr-yt-w n ntr(·w) nt pr 'rm n ntr-w mr te-w mw-t t fy n'še m-bḥ Brng' t mnḥ-t t fy dnw nb m-bḥ rsn' t mr-sn t wcb rsn' (3) t mr-yt-s nt e-w sh n'-m-w n Rc-qt šc-te-w hb rn-w a Hplws s Ss n wcb Ptwlmys p Swtr n P-sy nt n p tš N 'rm Pr-ε; Ptwlmys p ntr nt pr (4) nt 'r mt-nfr-t a Gyn:s s Tstws n wcb Pr-ε; Ptwlm^{sic} 'rm Qlwptr' t mw-t t fy dnw nb m-bḥ rsn' t mr-sn nt n P-sy

dd grg hyt'·t bk Wpwy (5) Te-f-ḥp s P-te-³ s Wpwy-²w s P-te-³ s a s 2 mw-t-w Ta-b' n w' r n s-ḥm-t 'w' ta Wpwy-²w mw-t-s Ta-wsr

st mte-t ε-n te-n εš a-ḥr-t tm šht-t-t (6) tm ty šht-w t-t tm ḥr ḥ-t-t tm ty ḥr rm nb n p t' mte-n ḥ-t-t n p ss n mr qt hrhr nt e'-r-t 'r-f n pe-t cy nt ḥwy n snt'·t ḥnc pe-f 'nh nt 'r n-f rs (7) ḥnc ne-f wrḥ-w nt pe-f qty ḥnc nt nb nt ty a-r-f nt n t 'we-t rs 'mnt n tme P-ḥyr n Sywt n hyn-w n pe-t cy nt ḥry ḥnc nt nb nt ty a-r-f rs p ḥry Pr-ε; (8) mte-t pr a-r-f mḥt n wrḥ-w n p cy Mtry s Pa-'mn ybt n wrḥ-w n Pa-ḥy p rḥty 'mnt n wrḥ-w n P-te-³s s Pa-ḥy p rḥty tmt n n hyn-w n (9) pe-t cy nt ḥry ḥnc nt nb nt ty a-r-f a te-n n-t p cy nt ḥry ḥnc nt nb nt ty a-r-f n t šb-t n n wrḥ-w nt ḥwy n snt-t nt n t 'we mḥt n P-ḥyr n Sywt nt e ne-f hn-w^{sic} (10) sh n p sh n tm šht a'-r-t n-n a-r-w a-te-t n-n ḥ-t n(?) ḥr p cy nt ḥry ḥnc nt nb nt ty a-r-f e-n mty a p s 2 a ty n-t p cy nt ḥry ḥnc nt nb nt ty a-r-f n t šb-t n ne-t wrḥ-w (11) nt ḥwy n snt-t ḥ-t nt e wh-t ty-st n-n e-n šht-t-t ge mte-n ty šht-w t-t n pe-t cy nt ḥry nt e wh-n ty-st n-t n t šb-t n pe-t cy^{sic} ḥ-t n ty p hwy a-ḥry šc dt (12) e-n ty n-t ḥt 300 te-f pš-t ḥt 150 a ḥt 300 cn n hmt 24 a 2 n w' hwy ḥn hwy 10 n p 'bt rn-f a e-t m-s-n a ty wy-n a-ḥr-t cn n ḥtr 't-mn e-n 'r n-t (13) p sh nt ḥry a tm šht-t-t n p cy ḥnc pe-f 'nh ḥnc nt nb nt ty a-r-f a e-n m-s-t n p ḥp n p sh n tm šht a'-r-t n-n ḥ-t a n wrḥ-w a-te-t n-n n t šb-t n n nt wh-n (14) ty-st n-t ḥry n ḥ-sp 6 3-pr ss 12 n Pr-ε; Ptwlmys nt cnḥ dt a ty 'r-t n-n pe-f ḥp n ss nb

sh 'Y-m-ḥtp s P-sy(?) nt sh Sywt 'rm ne-f m'w rn n wcb-w Wpwy n ntr-w sn-w (15) n ntr(·w) mnḥ(·w) n ntr-w mr-yt-w n ntr(·w) nt pr

Witness-list:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Hr- ² w sy P'-ḥr | 6. P-šr-wb's-t sy P'- |
| 2. Hr sy P-te- ³ s | 7. P-te- ³ mn- ³ py P-šr- ¹ |
| 3. Hr-bḥ 'Y-m-ḥtp(?) | 8. P-wr-tyw sy Wpwy- ² w |
| 4. Dd-ḥr sy P-šr- ³ s | 9. P-te- ³ mn- ³ py sy Ns-ḥr |
| 5. Nḥt-ḥr sy 'Y-m-ḥtp | 10. P-te-ḥr-p-ḥrt sy P'- ² mn |

¹ Apparently not P-šr-n-'s.t, cf. no. 4.

11. *P-te-wsr sy Gm-w-hrp*
 12. *'Np-'w sy P-te-'mn-'py*
 13. *P-te-wsr¹ sy Twt*

14. *P-te-hr-p-hrt sy Ns-hr*
 15. *Hr sy P-te-wpwy(?)*
 16. *P-te-'y-m-htp sy Qrqs*

Translation

(Superscript letters refer to the notes)

Year 6 Phamenoth day 12 of Pharaoh Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Cleopatra the gods Epiphaneis Eucharistoi; the priest of Alexander and the gods Soteris^a and the gods Philadelphoi and the gods Euergetai and the gods Philopatores and the gods Epiphaneis and the gods Philometores,^b (and) the Athlophoros before Berenice Euergetes, (and) the Canephoros before Arsinoe Philadelphos, (and) the priestess of Arsinoe Philopator, (being) as they are written at Alexandria until their names are sent;^c Hippalos son of Sos being priest of Ptolemy the Soter at Psoi which is in the Thebais, and of Pharaoh Ptolemy the god Epiphanes Eucharistos; Kineas son of Dositheos being priest of Pharaoh Ptolemy and Cleopatra the Mother; (and) the Canephoros before Arsinoe Philadelphos who is at Psoi.

Said the bird-snarer^d and servant of Wepwoi, Tefhape son of Peteese, and Wepweteu son of Peteese, two persons, their mother being Taba, with one accord, to the woman Ewe daughter of Wepweteu, her mother being Taosiri:—

It is owing to you from us (and) we promise you^e not to hinder you nor to cause you to be hindered, nor to stand in your way nor to cause any man of ours to stand in your way, on the day on which you wish to build or demolish your house, the foundations of which are laid,^f together with its court which is to the south of it^g and its waste-plots which are around it and everything which belongs to it, which is in the south-western district of the village of *P-hyr* in Asyūt.^h The boundaries of your house aforesaid and everything which belongs to it (are)

- south the street of Pharaoh, on to which you may go out:ⁱ
- north the waste-plots of the house of Matrai son of Pamun:
- east the waste-plots of Pahy the fuller:^j
- west the waste-plots of Peteese son of Pahy the fuller;

completion of the boundaries of your house aforesaid and everything belonging to it.

We have given^k to you the house aforesaid and everything which belongs to it in exchange for the waste-plots, the foundations of which are laid,^f which are in the northern district of *P-hyr* in Asyūt, the boundaries of which are written in the deed-of-not-hindering which you made for us concerning them, which^l you have already given to us for the house aforesaid and everything belonging to it; we being agreed,^m the two of us, to give to you the house aforesaid together with everything which belongs to it in exchange for your waste-plots, the foundations of which are laid already,ⁿ which you have given to us.

If we hinder you or cause you to be hindered in respect of your house aforesaid, which we have given to you already in exchange for your house,^o from today henceforward for ever, we will give you money, 300 (*deben*), the half of which is money, 150 (*deben*), that is money, 300 (*deben*) again, in copper at the rate of 24 (*obols*) to 2 (*kite*),^p

¹ Or possibly *P-te-'s.t.*

within ten days in the month in question. You still have a claim upon us to make us withdraw compulsorily, without delay, we having made the above deed not to hinder you in respect of your house and its courts and everything which belongs to it.

We have a claim upon you in respect of the rights (conferred by) the deed-of-not-hindering, which you have already made for us concerning the waste-plots which you gave to us in exchange for that which we have given to you above, on day 12 of Phamenoth, year 6 of Pharaoh Ptolemy who lives for ever, so as to make you carry out for us the rights (conferred by) it at any time.

Written by Imhotpe son of Psi,⁹ who writes in Asyūṭ and its suburbs in the name of the priests of Wepwoi and the gods Philadelphoi and the gods Euergetai and the gods Philopatores and the gods Epiphaneis.

Notes

(a) The Soteris must be intended here, but the writing can represent neither *nt nḥm* nor *nt lg ḥb*. The writing of *n ntr-w* appears to be the longer form which this scribe employs in *n ntr-w sn-w*, *n ntr-w mr-yt-w*, and *n ntr-w mr te-w mwt*, but not in *n ntr-w mnḥ-w* or *n ntr-w nt pr*. If this is so, only five strokes are left to represent 'Soteris'. Thompson had already suggested a defective writing of *Swtr*, and Erichsen would read the group *Sw(tr)*, interpreting the first stroke as the sign of the cartouche. This seems the best reading, though it must be admitted that we know of no other instance in Ptolemaic demotic documents of *Swtr* occurring at this point in the protocol, and that the name is perfectly correctly written in line 3, where it is in place. The Soteris appear sporadically in the title of the priest of Alexander and the Ptolemies in demotic protocols of the later years of Philopator and the earlier years of Epiphaneis,¹ but not in any document from the reign of Philometor earlier than the present one; later documents of his reign generally include them.² It is possible that at the time of the change in protocol referred to in the next note the attention of the scribes was drawn to the omission of the Soteris, and they were instructed to include them. The writing here might then perhaps be the attempt of a scribe to fulfil these instructions without knowing either of the usual demotic translations of 'Soteris'.

(b) This is the earliest occurrence of the gods Philometores in the title of this priest in a demotic document, and proves that Philometor was married by April 15, 175 B.C. In Berlin 3112, dated February 22, 175 B.C., and Louvre 3440 (Revillout, *Chrest. dem.* 375), dated a day later, the singular form Philometor is used. Even allowing for a time lag before the news reached Upper Egypt, the marriage cannot have taken place long before February 22. It may be useful to note that Philometor's mother, Cleopatra I, must have been dead by September 14, 176 B.C., since B.M. 10726 (unpublished) of that date has the same formula as Berlin 3111+3141 of November 18, 176 B.C., quoted by Bell and Skeat in *JEA* 21, 263 n. 2 as giving the latest possible date for her death. Thus at least five months elapsed between Cleopatra I's death and the marriage; this would appear to leave ample time for the obsequies of Cleopatra I and the preparations for the marriage ceremony.

(c) Cf. B.M. 10593/2 *šr-te Pr-ṣḥb*, translated by Thompson 'until Pharaoh appoints (them)(?)'. In a note he suggests that the eponym priests may have been nominated in Mesore or the epagomenal days, but that the news may not have reached Upper Egypt until some time later. In the case of B.M. 10593, dated Khoiak 17, the delay will have been at least 77 days; in the case of B.M. 10589, over six months. Causes other than mere dilatoriness may have been at work.

¹ E.g. Philopator, year 8 (B.M. 10377); year 12 (Berlin 3075); year 14 (Hauswaldt 14); year 15 (B.M. 10392). Epiphaneis, year 2 (Leyden 373, b. c.; Cairo 30660, 30700); year 5 (New York Hist. Soc. 373); year 9 (Rosetta). In the later years of the reign the Soteris are apparently omitted.

² E.g. Philometor, year 7 (B.M. 10593); year 12 (B.M. 10513).

(d) We owe the reading of this title, hitherto unattested, to Erichsen, who would translate 'he who prepares bird-snares'. For this writing of *grg*, see Erichsen, *Glossar*, 586, and for *hyt* *ibid.* 270; the latter word does not appear to be spelt with *h* elsewhere.

(e) Lit. 'they are yours at our hand, we declare to you'; *te-n* *cs* must be Present I, though it is more normal for *st mte(-k)* *c(-y)* to be followed by an infinitive, see Glanville, *Catalogue*, I, 17 n. c, 23 n. b, 48 nn. f and g.

(f) The phrase *nt hwy n snt-t* is found elsewhere as a description of houses and, as Spiegelberg has seen (*Rec. trav.* 33, 177) must correspond to Coptic ⲡⲓ-ⲥⲏⲧⲉ 'to lay foundations' (Crum 346a). The phrase is clearly parallel to such phrases as *nt qt hbs* 'which is (completely) built and roofed', *nt hrhr* 'which is ruined', regularly used in these documents to describe the state of houses; and might well therefore mean no more than 'which is well-founded'. But in lines 9 and 11 the phrase is applied to *wrh-w*. A *wrh* was a piece of untitled ground, often but by no means always attached to a house, which was not built on but was used for domestic and general purposes (e.g. dumping rubbish, storing pots or implements, tethering goats, &c.). No such plot had 'foundations' in the modern sense, though we have retained the word in translation. But neither did the Egyptian mud-brick town house have extensive foundations; generally the ground seems simply to have been dug over and levelled, and a floor of mud-bricks or mud plaster laid upon it, the lines of the walls being marked at the most by shallow trenches. Even a *wrh* would require digging over and levelling from time to time if it was to retain its usefulness, and perhaps a mud-floor might be laid on occasion. Since the root meaning of *hwy* is 'to beat' (Wb. III, 46), it is possible that the basic meaning of the phrase is something like 'to beat a level foundation', more particularly as hieroglyphic *snt-t* often seems simply to mean 'ground', 'floor' (Wb. IV, 179, 11. 12). (The alternative translation 'which is razed to the ground' seems to be ruled out by the Coptic evidence.) At all events, *nt hwy snt-t* should have the same meaning in both cases; if we are correct, it implies that both properties were no more than building plots, levelled off in preparation for future development.

(g) Lit. 'which makes for it the south'.

(h) See Thompson, *Siut*, 28, n. 142.

(i) See Thompson, *Siut*, Vocab. no. 112 for other instances.

(j) Thompson read *P^o-hy*, compare Greek Πᾶς (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 255a); cf. also *Siut*, Vocab. no. 405; Sethe, *Bürgs.* 128, 5; Berlin 3080, B. 1; 3114, 3; 3140, 4. Nims kindly informs us that he considers that the name should be read *P^o-t^o-wy*, Greek Παῖρος, in every case.

(k) It is clear from the following object *p cy nt hry* that a *te-n* cannot be a relative form. Nims suggests that *a* here has no syntactical function, but is simply a mark indicating the beginning of a new section, cf. Thompson, *Siut*, pl. 9, 13. 18. 24; pl. 10, 2. Erichsen would prefer to see here the precursor of Boh. ⲉⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲁⲓ, which is on occasion used to throw the emphasis on the adverbial extension (see Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte*, 48-49); translate then 'to you we have given'. The *stm-f* here, as regularly in demotic legal documents, should indicate an action just concluded.

(l) *a-te-t* can hardly introduce a main clause here, since it has no direct object, and the substance of what follows is repeated in the clause beginning *e-n mte* below. It must therefore be taken as a relative form, the antecedent of which may be either *wrh-w* or *sh n tm sht*; comparison with lines 11 and 13 shows that the former was intended. The reading *n(?) hr* seems inevitable, but the *n* defies explanation. The meaning 'in return for' required for *hr* in this clause is unusual, but Thompson in his manuscript dictionary quotes *n sb-t hr p shn* 'in exchange for the lease' from Turin, Dēr el-Medinah 28, 4 (unpublished); cf. also *ty 2 hr wr* 'give two for one' (Spiegelberg, *Demotica*, II, 50).

(m) Grammatically, *e-n mte* can only be circumstantial, and therefore carries on the perfect tense of *te-n n-t*; but bearing in mind the implication of present state in *te-n n-t* (see n. k), the translation offered seems justifiable.

(n) *h-t* does not occur with the phrase *nt hwy n snt-t* in lines 6 or 9, and seems to give very poor

sense. Perhaps it really belongs after *nt e wh-t ty-st n-n* 'which you gave to us (earlier)', cf. the similar phrase later in line 11; the scribe may first have missed these words out and written *h-t* after *snt-t*, then realized his error and added them, without however correcting the position of *h-t*.

(o) *ry* 'house' must here be an error for *wrh-w* 'waste plots'.

(p) For the reading and meaning of this expression, see now Lichtheim, *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*, 1-5; also Erichsen and Nims in *Acta Or.* 23, 132-3.

(q) Read by Thompson *P-sn-Thwt*, but the form of the sign read *Thwt* is unconvincing, and no other names compounded with Thoth occur in the Asyūṭ Archive. For our very tentative reading, cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 402; if correct, the name means 'The Son' and must refer to Horus. But it is unattested elsewhere.

Commentary

B.M. 10589 is an undertaking by Tefhape and Wepweteu, sons of Peteese, to the woman Ewe, daughter of Wepweteu, not to hinder her from building operations on a house and court in *P-hyr*, a village of Asyūṭ. The woman Ewe is well known from the Asyūṭ Archive. She was the second wife of Petetum, and mother of Tefhape, the defendant in the great suit concerning the division of Petetum's property between the children of his two marriages. The house concerned in B.M. 10589, however, formed no part of the disputed inheritance, since it was Ewe's own personal property. It is possible that Wepweteu son of Peteese was the same man as Wepweteu, the father of Ewe; if so, Ewe exchanged property with her father and uncle. But the relationship is not mentioned in the document, as one might have expected it to be, and Wepweteu must have been a very common name at Asyūṭ, where Wepwoi was the local god.

The undertaking is introduced by the phrase *st mte-t r-n* 'it is owing to you from us'. This phrase and its variants are regularly used to introduce written undertakings to fulfil obligations of a specific nature; for instance, to pay rent,¹ to repay a loan,² to pay embalming costs,³ to produce a person at a specified time,⁴ to observe a neighbour's rights when building,⁵ not to bring a suit against someone.⁶ Specific undertakings not to hinder building operations or repairs are not known to us from elsewhere; but a clause to the same effect, phrased very similarly to B.M. 10589, occurs in some *sh wy* 'deeds of renunciation of claim'.⁷ The undertakings cited above are always reinforced by a penalty clause, and B.M. 10589 follows the rule in this respect. But in another way it appears to be unique. In lines 9-10 Tefhape and Wepweteu say: 'We have given to you the house aforesaid and everything which belongs to it, in exchange for the waste-plots . . . the boundaries of which are written in the deed-of-not-hinderer which you made for us concerning them'; and in lines 13-14 they say: 'We have a claim upon you in respect of the rights (conferred by) the deed-of-not-hinderer which you have already made for us concerning the waste-plots which you gave us in exchange for that which we have given to you above, on day 12 of Phamenoth year 6 of Pharaoh Ptolemy

¹ Bürgs. 1, 10; 4, 6; see p. 24.

² Fayyūm W, line 10 (unpublished), in possession of the Griffith Institute.

³ B.M. 10561 (unpublished).

⁴ B.M. 10500 and 10524 in Glanville, *Catalogue*, 1, 21, 46.

⁵ *Straßburg Wiss. Ges.* 18 (N.S. 24); see Bürgs. 24.

⁶ B.M. 10750, A 9 (*JEA* 44, 92-93); P.Mich. 4526 C, 2; B.M. 10774, 10 (to be published by Nims); Leiden 378, 5-6 (*AJS* 57, 247); Cairo 31254, 19-20. We owe the last two references to Nims.

⁴ Bürgs. 7, 6.

who lives for ever.' This is the date which stands at the head of B.M. 10589 itself. On that day, therefore, Ewe first gave a deed-of-not-hindering to Tefhape and Wepweteu concerning the property she had given to them, then they gave to her B.M. 10589, which concerns the property they had given to her. It is clear, having regard to the opening words of the contract, that B.M. 10589 is also a 'deed-of-not-hindering', and that the two documents exchanged were worded in precisely the same manner, with the names of the parties and the properties reversed. There was thus an exchange of undertakings not to interfere with each other's building operations; and it is this which is unique. Although the documents were drawn up on the same day, Ewe's document is stated to have been made $\langle n \rangle h \cdot t$ 'first' or 'already'. This signifies that, in law, Ewe's agreement came into force before Tefhape and Wepweteu's, though in practice they were probably written at the same time; this fact carries with it the inference that Ewe was the one who originally applied for the agreement to be drawn up.

In what circumstances were these complementary undertakings drawn up? One possibility that might suggest itself is that, some time after exchanging properties, the parties fell out with one another over proposed alterations, and had recourse to a court of law, where they were ordered to draw up documents guaranteeing each other's rights. But though it was the regular practice of the Egyptian courts to enforce their verdicts by calling upon the loser in a suit to draw up a written guarantee, we know of no instance where the successful party was also required to guarantee the loser's rights. And it would be very remarkable, had the exchange of property really taken place at an earlier date than that of the agreement not to hinder building operations, that neither the date of the earlier transaction nor the documents giving legal effect to it should be referred to in B.M. 10589; for the demotic scribes were normally most careful to refer to these particulars. All that is in fact said in B.M. 10589 about the exchange of properties is that it took place $\langle n \rangle h \cdot t$.¹ As shown above, this phrase does not necessarily imply that the exchange took place at an earlier date, but merely that, in law, the exchange must have been prior to the agreement not to hinder each other. Thus, on the analogy of the use of $\langle n \rangle h \cdot t$ in line 13, there is some reason to suspect that the exchange of property and the drawing up of the agreement not to hinder building operations actually took place on the same day. This suspicion becomes virtual certainty when we re-examine the passages quoted above.² For the sentence 'We have given to you the house . . . in exchange for the waste-plots . . ., we being agreed the two of us, to give you the house aforesaid . . . in exchange for your plots . . ., which you have already given to us,'³ must surely be the actual legal record of the conveyance of the house to Ewe;⁴ while in the passage quoted from lines 13-14, the construction is so loose that it is by no means clear whether it is the drawing up of the deed-of-not-hindering or the conveyance of the property that is stated to have taken place on the 12th of Phamenoth of year 6—a state of affairs surely intolerable in a legal document, unless both had in fact taken place on that day.

If these deductions are correct, then B.M. 10589 and its companion document, in

¹ In line 10, and twice in line 11 (see n. *n*).

² See n. *n*.

³ See lines 9-10.

⁴ See further nn. *l* and *m*.

addition to their formal character as undertakings not to hinder building operations, made explicit in their opening words and in the description 'deed-of-not-hindering', also constituted the actual legal instruments by which the properties were conveyed. In demotic law, conveyances of property were normally effected by means of the *sh etbe ht* 'deed of sale' and the *sh wy* 'deed of cession', used in combination.¹ In such documents the fact of conveyance is given pride of place. The *sh wy* may even include a clause prescribing penalties against anyone interfering with building operations on the property in question.² In B.M. 10589, however, the conveyance is made subordinate to the agreement not to hinder. This subordination of a conveyance, though it may represent a shift of emphasis rather than a change of substance,³ appears to be unique in demotic law.

A possible reason why the parties in the present case chose to emphasize the guarantee against future interference with building operations rather than the actual conveyance emerges, if we have correctly interpreted the phrase *nt hwy snt-t*, applied to both properties, as meaning that they were in fact simply building plots ready for future development.⁴ The sort of trouble that might occur with undeveloped property is illustrated for us by three cases cited in the demotic 'Legal Code' from Hermopolis West.⁵ In the first, a man is convicted of having unjustifiably interfered with another man's building operations, and is made to pay damages. In the second, a man interferes allegedly on behalf of a third party, whom he is bound over to produce within thirty days or suffer punishment. In the third, a man illegally sends a mason to build a house on a site, the ownership of which is disputed; the mason, on failing to respond to a request to stop work, is brought before the court, and punished with fifty lashes, unless he is prepared to swear that no request to stop work was made to him. Similar interference with building is the subject of a complaint preserved in a Louvre papyrus,⁶ and may have been common. If then their property was undeveloped, it may well have been the main concern of the parties to B.M. 10589 to prevent such interference in the future; and this may explain the unusual form in which the conveyance was drawn up.⁷

¹ More accurately rendered 'deed of specie payment' and 'deed of renunciation of claim' ('Abstandschrift'). We presume that an exchange would have been treated for documentation purpose as a bilateral conveyance, but we have failed to discover a parallel instance of an exchange of real estate. An exchange of cows in the 35th year of Darius is recorded in a single document at Turin (see Revillout, *Notices des papyrus démotiques archaïques*, 435, and Griffith, *Rylands*, III, 31, no. 63.)

² For references, see p. 56, n. 7.

³ The name *sh n tm sht* 'deed-of-not-hindering' given to the document does not imply that this is its whole purpose, but merely attracts attention to that aspect of the transaction which was felt to be most likely to lead to future litigation. Professor Sidney Smith has drawn our attention to an interesting parallel in cuneiform law, in which there is a type of legal document called *tuppi la ragami* 'tablet of not making a plea'; this name does not necessarily characterize the whole content of the document, but only that aspect of it required if legal proceedings arose later.

⁴ See n. f.

⁵ G. Mattha, *Bull. de l'Institut d'Égypte*, 23, 303-4. These may be hypothetical cases, but their inclusion in the 'Code' surely argues that the courts were occasionally faced with this type of case.

⁶ Louvre 2437+2434: see Erichsen, *Demotische Lesestücke*, II, 1, 101.

⁷ Prof. Nims tells us that, so far as he is aware, there appears to be no feeling in villages in Upper Egypt today that waste ground is in any sense private property, and no notice is taken of mere trespass; it is only when someone begins to use it for some specific purpose that there may be dispute. In other words, private property

B.M. 10601: Transliteration

- (1) *Twt P-te-ʾtm p nt dd*
- (2) *Te-f-ḥp P-te-ʾtm te-y mh*
- (3) *pe-k wn hn p ʾrtb sw 17*
- (4) *mn mt e-y cš m-s-k nʾm-s*
- (5) *pe-k wn t dn(·t) $\frac{1}{3}$ p 17*
- (6) *8 $\frac{1}{2}$ 17 cn sh sw 21*

Translation

Tuot son of Petetum says to Tefhape son of Petetum: I am paid your portion of the seventeen *artabas* of wheat. I have no claim against you in respect of it, (namely) your portion, (being) the third part of the seventeen (*artabas*), (its half is) eight and half, (that is) seventeen again. Written . . . day 21.¹

Commentary

The brothers Tuot and Tefhape are well known from the other documents of the Archive. Tuot, son of Petetum by his first wife, Tshenese, inherited two-thirds of all his father's property, while Tefhape, son of Petetum by his second wife, Ewe, inherited one third. In the great lawsuit of year 12 of Philometor, Chratianch, wife of Tuot, claimed that the whole inheritance belonged by right to Tuot, since Petetum had made a deed endowing his first wife and her children with the whole of his property in year 21 of Epiphanes. But Tuot had later assented to a deed by which his father Petetum endowed his second wife and her children with one-third of his property, and four years before the great trial he had been compelled by the *strategos* to make out a deed of apportionment of one-third of the inheritance to Tefhape, to which Chratianch had assented. When therefore Chratianch presented her pleas in year 12, the judges very properly endorsed the judgement of the *strategos*, and found for Tefhape.

The present document is a receipt given by Tuot to Tefhape for the third part of 17 *artabas* of wheat, presumably an amount payable by them as joint owners of the land, either as rent or tax. It should belong in all probability to the years between the two trials, when Tuot and Tefhape were farming the land in uneasy co-operation; perhaps year 9, when they worked the land together, is a slightly more likely choice than year 10, when they leased it jointly to Agylos.² The document is further proof that Tuot, however unwillingly, recognized his half-brother's rights, and that Chratianch's case was untenable.

rights seem to be thought of as rights to usufruct rather than rights of ownership in our sense. Possibly, he thinks, a similar feeling may have obtained in Ancient Egypt, where all land in theory belonged to Pharaoh; if so, this might have led to undeveloped property being treated legally in a slightly different fashion from other real estate in certain cases. On the other hand, he has also suggested that the form of indirect conveyance exemplified by B.M. 10589 may perhaps have avoided the tax *ἐγκύκλιον* generally levied on documents recording property transactions, and have been adopted at least, in part, for this reason.

¹ The reading *sw 21* is certain; what is written before it should therefore be part of the date, but appears to defy this interpretation. Possibly the unread group contains the scribe's name, but we can suggest no satisfactory reading.

² Thompson, *Siut*, pp. 18-19.

SALE OF INHERITED PROPERTY IN THE FIRST CENTURY B.C. (P. BRIT. MUS. 10075, EX SALT COLL. NO. 418)

By E. A. E. JELÍNKOVÁ

(Continued from Vol. 43)

Translation

(a) Date

(1) Year 18, 2nd day of Khoiak,⁽¹⁾ of King Ptolemy,⁽²⁾ the god Philopator Philadelphos⁽³⁾ and the priests of the Kings⁽⁴⁾ who are appointed (to the priesthood) in Alexandria.⁽⁵⁾

(b) Contracting parties

Hath declared the merchant,⁽⁶⁾ resident⁽⁷⁾ in the Anubieion⁽⁸⁾ which is subject to⁽⁹⁾ the (Greek) authorities⁽¹⁰⁾ of Memphis, Nekhtnebef, son of Ḥor-āc,⁽¹¹⁾ with the merchant⁽¹²⁾ Harmakhis,⁽¹³⁾ the Elder, son of Ḥor-āc, with Harmakhis, the Younger, son of Ḥor-āc, with the lady Tsheren-Harmakhis,⁽¹⁴⁾ daughter of Ḥor-āc,

(2) the (last) three persons being the younger brothers and sister of Nekhtnebef aforesaid, being four persons declaring together,⁽¹⁵⁾ their mother being Nekhtaus,⁽¹⁶⁾ to the lady Esoeris, daughter of Petenefertum,⁽¹⁷⁾ who is called⁽¹⁸⁾ Aries,⁽¹⁹⁾ her mother being Tei-erow.⁽²⁰⁾

(c) Main part of the contract

(§ 1) Thou hast caused our hearts to agree to the (amount of) money for our house⁽²¹⁾ which had been built and which is roofed over and which is completed by door (and) window,⁽²²⁾ the dimensions of which make 18 divine cubits from south to north by [.] divine cubits from west to east (3), and (for) our mill,⁽²³⁾ our storehouses⁽²⁴⁾ which had been built at the door of it,⁽²⁵⁾ which are its north, which are within the Anubieion,⁽²⁶⁾ on the south side of the dromos⁽²⁷⁾ of⁽²⁸⁾ Anubis-⁽²⁹⁾ Chief-of-his-Mountain,⁽³⁰⁾ the great god, (properties) which (come) from all that fell to us⁽³¹⁾ as a (hereditary) share⁽³²⁾ in the name of the lady Nakhtaus, daughter of Petemuthis, her mother being Esoeris, our mother, the sister of thy mother.⁽³³⁾

(§ 2) Their boundaries being:

South: the house of the lady [.]-by (?)⁽³⁴⁾ which was⁽³⁵⁾ (4) in the holding of Teos, son of Ḥarsiphrē, and which is in the holding of the children⁽³⁶⁾ of his children.⁽³⁷⁾

North: the dromos of Anubis⁽³⁸⁾-Chief-of-his-Mountain, the great god.

West: the house of 'Ankh-Ḥapi, which was in the holding of the lady Ta-Merwer,⁽³⁹⁾ his daughter, and which is in the holding of the children of her children.

East: the house of [.]-eḥe,⁽⁴⁰⁾ which is in the holding of another person; the street being between them;

being the total (of the neighbours).

(§ 3) Thine is the house, the mill, the storehouses [aforesaid (?), of which the]⁽⁴¹⁾ dimensions⁽⁴²⁾ and the boundaries are mentioned [above according to that] which is written above. We have no (5) claim⁽⁴³⁾ on earth upon thee in their names, from this day for ever. Whosoever shall come (to have claim) upon thee on account of them, we will cause him to renounce⁽⁴⁴⁾ claim upon thee. We will make them (i.e. the properties) clear for thee from every contract, every deed, every claim on earth.

Thine is every contract which has been made concerning them, with every contract which has been made to us concerning them, with every contract (and) every document to which we are entitled in their names.

Thine they are with their legal rights.

[Thine] is that to which we are entitled in their names.

The oath (or) the giving of proof (6) which shall be required of thee in order that we observe⁽⁴⁵⁾ it [for thee] in their names, we will observe it.

(§ 4) The merchant, resident in the community⁽⁴⁶⁾ aforesaid, Ḥor-āc, son of Petoserapis,⁽⁴⁷⁾ his mother being Tamuthis, the father of the four persons⁽⁴⁸⁾ aforesaid, declares:—

Observe⁽⁴⁹⁾ every provision aforesaid. My heart has agreed to them. You have claim⁽⁵⁰⁾ on me to do for thee according to every provision aforesaid. That which the four persons, my children aforesaid, will not do for thee, I will do for thee from [this day till the term aforesaid according to every provision aforesaid]. Thou hast [claim upon us, the (last)]⁽⁵¹⁾ five persons. (7) Thou hast claim upon the one thou wishest among us, being the (last) five persons,⁽⁵²⁾ in order to do for thee the legal rights of the contract aforesaid. If thou shouldst wish to have claim upon us, being the (last) five persons,⁽⁵³⁾ thou wilt⁽⁵⁴⁾ have (claim upon us).⁽⁵⁵⁾

(d) *Notary*

Written by Pakhe (?) son of Ḥar-khem.⁽⁵⁶⁾

(e) *Greek registrar's docket*

Arios.⁽⁵⁷⁾ As recorded in the Anubieion. Year 18, Khoiak, 2nd day.⁽⁵⁸⁾

(f) *Signature of the witness*

Written by Ḥor-āc son of [Petoser]apis.⁽⁵⁹⁾

(g) *Archivist's remark*

Esoeris.⁽⁶⁰⁾

(h) *Witnesses*

- (1) Petemuthis son of [.]
- (2) Ḥor-āc son of Pete- [.]
- (3) [. . . .] khe (?) [.]
- (4) Pa- [.] son of Phrēc
- (5) Ḥor son of Imḥotep
- (6) Panofre son of [.]
- (7) Tuot son of Tuot
- (8) Harmakhis son of Pa- [.]
- (9) Tuot, the Elder [.]
- (10) Mnevis son of Wer- [.]
- (11) [Pete]men (?) [. . . .] son of Pete- [. . . .]
- (12) Men (?) son of Pete- [.]

Commentary¹

(1) The same date is given by the Greek registrar's docket, cf. (e) above. This document confirms that in the first century B.C. the contracts must have been registered in

¹ The following abbreviations are used in this article other than those customary in this *Journal*: CCG in reference to Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, vol. II (+ *Texte*) and vol. III; CD = Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*; DG = Spiegelberg, *Die demotische Grammatik*; DU = Seidl, *Die demotische Urkundenlehre*; FAS = Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut*; GDT = Junker, *Grammatik der Denderah Texte*; MDAIK = *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo*; PN = Ranke, *Ägyptische Personennamen*; PT = Otto, *Priester und Tempel*; Ryl. = Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*.

the graphieion on the same day as they were drawn up. This contract, together with P.Leiden 380 (A) and P.Leiden 380 (B),¹ issued also in the year 18 (= 64/63 B.C.) of Auletes, adds 20 years to the 'Chronicle of Ptolemaic Memphis', which, previously established from Greek sources only, ended with the year 34 of Ptolemy Soter II (= 84/83 B.C.), cf. Wilcken, *UPZ* I, p. 665.

(2) Ptolemy: this instance shows an unusual spelling of the termination by *-ytes* which has been noted only in P.Louvre I, 3268, l. 1 and P.Louvre 3264 ter, l. 1,² both of them dating from the year 8 of Auletes. The filiation of the king is not indicated in the dating clause of the Memphite contracts after year 41 of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (= 130/129 B.C.), see P.Leiden 373a, l. 1.³ This abbreviated formula must have been adopted for the dating clause by the Lower and Middle Egyptian notary offices during the years 34-40 of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, since P.Cairo 30619, l. 1 (Tebtunis) of year 33 of Euergetes II (= 138/137 B.C.)⁴ is, as far as our documentary evidence goes, the last to give the complete filiation of the king.

(3) *p: ntr mr-ît mr-sn*: the identity of this Ptolemy with Neos Dionysos (Auletes) is supported mainly by P.Oxy. 236b (cf. P.Oxy. II, 139), issued in the same year as our document. The words *p: ntr mr-ît mr-sn* are to be considered as Auletes's official style standardized by the three principal notary offices of Egypt in the recording of the dating clause from the year 13 of Auletes (= 69/68 B.C.) onwards; see P.Bibl. Nat. 224, l. 1; P.Bibl. Nat. 225, l. 1;⁵ P.Innsbruck, l. 1;⁶ P.Cairo 30610;⁷ P.Louvre 2411;⁸ P.Louvre 2464;⁹ P.Leiden 380 (A+B);¹⁰ P.Cairo 50149.¹¹

(4) *n: wcb-w n n: Pr-ε: w nt iw-w sh n-îm-w n Rε-kdt*: the same wording is to be found in other Memphite contracts such as P.Leiden 374 (I); P.Leiden 374 (II);¹² P.B.M. 01229;¹³ P.Louvre I, 3268; P.Louvre 3264 ter;¹⁴ P.Bibl. Nat. 224; P.Bibl. Nat. 225; P.Innsbruck; P.Louvre 2411; P.Louvre 2464; P.Leiden 380 (A); P.Leiden 380 (B).¹⁵ In the contracts from Tebtunis, however, the title of the Alexander priest was retained even in the shortened version of the dating clause, cf. P.Cairo 30625,¹⁶ P.Cairo 30616 (*a+b*),¹⁷ and P.Cairo 30610.¹⁸ The holders of the priesthood are not specified in the legal documents from the first century B.C., cf. Glanville and Skeat, *JEA* 40, 57, n. 57 and 58, n. 58. The last documents to give the complete list of priesthoods are P.Vatican 22,¹⁹ P.New York 374,²⁰ and P.New York 375,²¹ which, contrary to the prevailing opinion that the holders of the priesthood were not specified later than 116/115 B.C.,²² date from the year 9 of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX Soter II (= 109/108 B.C.). In the documents

¹ See Leemans, *Aegyptische Monumenten van het Nederlands. Museum*, II, pls. 208-11; Sethe, *Bürgerrechtsurkunden*, pp. 745-6.

² See Revillout, *Rev. ég.* 2, 91, pl. 28.

³ See Spiegelberg, *CCG* II, 33, *Texte*, 66.

⁴ Spiegelberg, *Rec. trav.* 25, 4-6. Sethe, op. cit. 737-45.

⁵ Spiegelberg, *CCG*, II, pl. 20, *Texte*, 36-37.

⁶ Quoted by Wilcken, *UPZ* I, p. 620.

⁷ See Spiegelberg, *CCG* III, pl. 62, p. 110.

⁸ Unpublished.

⁹ See Wilcken, *UPZ* I, 620; *Rec. trav.* 25, 4-6. Sethe, op. cit. 737-45; Spiegelberg, *CCG* II, pl. 20; *Rev. ég.* 3, pl. 7; Leemans, op. cit., pls. 208-11.

¹⁰ See Spiegelberg, *CCG* II, 25-26, *Texte*, 50-56.

¹¹ See *Rev. ég.* 3, 25.

¹² Ibid. 27.

¹³ See Leemans, op. cit. II, pl. 185.

¹⁴ Quoted by Wilcken, *UPZ* I, p. 620.

¹⁵ See *Rev. ég.* 3, pl. 7.

¹⁶ See Leemans, op. cit., pls. 203-11.

¹⁷ Leemans, op. cit. II, 193-4.

¹⁸ See *Rev. ég.* 2, 91, pl. 28.

¹⁹ See Spiegelberg, *CCG* II, 40, *Texte*, 77-78.

²⁰ See Spiegelberg, *CCG* II, pl. 20, *Texte*, 36-37.

²¹ Ibid. 26.

²² See *CdE*, no. 25, 142.

from Gebelēn, although the shortened version of the dating clause appears there in the years 107–103 B.C., cf. P.Adler 6¹ and P.Adler 7,² the old type of this clause is still to be found in the years 93–92 B.C., cf. P.Adler 20³ and P.Adler 21.⁴

(5) *sh*: lit. 'write'. The meaning 'appoint' someone to the priesthood, i.e. 'to write someone to a (function of) priest (*adscribere*), suits here; for a similar use of *sh* cf. Griffith, *Ryl.* 3, 388 and Crum, *CD* 382a. The earliest known occurrence of *sh* with this derivative meaning, which replaced the current *smn*, 'establish, institute', is to be found in a contract from Asyūt, P.B.M. 10575, l. 1,⁵ from the year 25 of Ptolemy V Epiphanes. It is surprising that *sh* did not penetrate into the usage of the Upper Egyptian contracts, where *smn* is repeatedly to be found. However, *sh* appears to be firmly fixed in the shortened dating clause of the contracts from Memphis and the Fayyūm. The instances provided by the Memphite documents are quoted under n. (4); for the Fayyūm see P.Cairo 30621, 30615, 30616 (*a+b*), 30617 (*a+b*), 30620, 30626, 30625, 30627, 30630.⁶

(6) *šwty*: the reading *šwty* was recently discussed by G. R. Hughes in 'Are there two demotic writings of *šw*?', see *MDAIK* 14, 80–88.

(7) Read *rmt*. The sign as written must have its own value and can in no way be attached to the preceding word. The same mode of writing is to be found in l. 4 in the expression *he-rmt* and in P.Cairo 30603, l. 4 (end of the line). *Rmt Pr-Inp*, an expression which is to be found only in the late Memphite documents, such as P.Vatican 22, l. 13, P.New York 374, and P.New York 375; similarly *rmt Pr-Wsr* in P.Cairo 30602, l. 4 and P.Cairo 30603, ll. 4, 5.⁷ In this connexion it is worth quoting P.Innsbruck, l. 9,⁸ which enumerates the categories of people included under *rmt Pr-Inp*. They were: *wrb* = priest, *wn* = pastophores, *šwty* = official (?), *šwty* = merchant, *wyr* = peasant, *gl-šri* = kalasiris, *tnm* . . . (?), *rmt Inp* = people (connected with the cult of) Anubis, *sdm-čš p; hb* = servant of the Ibis, *sdm-čš p; bik* = servant of the Falcon, *šwty n hwt-ntr* (*n Inp*?) = official (?) of the temple (of Anubis) and the necropolis servants, such as the taricheutes and choachytes.

(8) *Pr-Inp*,⁹ the Anubieion of the Greek records, cf. Wilcken, *UPZ* 1, pp. 14–16. The location of this village has not been identified. Mariette's view, cf. *Sérapeum*, p. 10, adopted and developed by Wilcken, cf. op. cit. p. 14, cannot be confirmed by fresh archaeological data. Moreover, the history of this place is obscure before the Greek period. It would be reasonable to suppose that the Anubieion was a foundation of later date. The documents from the New Kingdom such as P.Harris, 51, 1 ff.¹⁰ and P.Wilbour¹¹ say nothing about the existence of a *Pr-Inp* under the heading 'Memphis'. Probably the foundation of the Anubieion is to be put in the Saitic period. A slight hint is offered by

¹ See Griffith, *P.Adler*, p. 80.

² Ibid. p. 81.

³ Ibid. p. 97.

⁴ Ibid. p. 99.

⁵ See Thompson, *FAS* p. 33.

⁶ See Spiegelberg, *CCG* 11; P.C. 30621 = pl. 36, p. 74; P.C. 30615 = pl. 24, p. 47; P.C. 30616 (*a+b*) = pl. 25, p. 50; P.C. 30617 (*a+b*) = pl. 27, p. 56; P.C. 30620 = pl. 36, p. 71; P.C. 30626 = pl. 39, p. 78; 30625 = pl. 40, p. 77; P.C. 30627 = pl. 40, p. 79; P.C. 30630 = pl. 42, p. 83.

⁷ See Spiegelberg, *CCG* 11, 3–5.

⁸ See Spiegelberg, *Rec. trav.* 25, 4–6; Sethe, op. cit., 737–45.

⁹ The evidence in native documents concerning the Anubieion is too extensive to be discussed in detail here. The following remarks are confined to points not dealt with by Wilcken, *UPZ* 1, pp. 14–16.

¹⁰ See Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris*, pp. 57 ff.

¹¹ Gardiner, *P.Wilbour*, 11, Comm. 125 ff.

two stelae found in Sakkārah: Louvre C 101 from the year 50 of Psammetichus I¹ and also Florence 1639 (2507),² where we read of *tꜥ hꜣst nꜣ Inp* 'Necropolis of Anubis'. We are inclined to establish a connexion between the settlement of the servants of that necropolis, which must have been later than the New Kingdom, and the Anubieion of the later date, since the Memphite legal documents show that the necropolis servants formed the largest and, most probably, the chief class of the inhabitants of the Anubieion throughout the whole of the Greek period. The only valuable items of evidence on the history of the Anubieion are provided by the papyrological sources. The native legal documents give a solid base on which to reconstruct the most probable aspect of this village. We read in our text (cf. ll. 3-4) about several private properties which were situated southwards from the dromos of Anubis. A similar description is to be found in P.Louvre 3268, l. 4; P.Louvre 3264 ter, l. 4; P. Leiden 378, l. 4; and P.Innsbruck, l. 4. These also indicate that the western boundary of these houses was the enclosure wall of the Temple of Anubis (*pꜥ sbd nꜣ hꜣwt-ntr nꜣ Inp*). Hence we picture the Anubieion as a conglomeration of houses which stood in the corner formed by the eastern enclosure wall of the temple and the southern side of the dromos. It is doubtful whether the Anubieion could be an independent administrative unity. The description given in our text (cf. n. 9) sets out clearly that the Anubieion must have been kept under the direct control of the royal administration of Memphis; see also Wilcken, *UPZ* 1, no. 7 and no. 122. However, in view of the very numerous legal documents issued there, the Anubieion must have played an important part in the legal affairs of the native inhabitants of the Memphite regions and was probably one of their chief religious centres. Furthermore, P.Vatican 22 and P.New York 375 offer solid support for the view that the Anubieion must have been an important trading centre of the Delta, especially in the matter of the free purchase of corn.

(9) *nt hr nꜣ shꜣn-w n Mn-nfr*: lit. 'which is upon the functionaries (?) of Memphis'. This expression occurs frequently in the topographical indication provided by the late Memphite documents; see P.Vatican 22, l. 13³ = P.New York 375⁴ = P.Louvre 3268, l. 4,⁵ *Pr-Inp nt hr nꜣ shꜣn-w n Mn-nfr*; P.Louvre 3268, l. 6 = P.Innsbruck, l. 8,⁶ *pꜥ dmy tꜥ ewet nꜣ Wynn-w nt hr nꜣ shꜣn-w n Mn-nfr* 'the village of the District-of-the-Greeks which is *hr nꜣ shꜣn-w*—of Memphis'; P.Louvre 2411, l. 5, *pꜥ dmy nꜣ tꜥ hꜣst Mn-nfr nt hr nꜣ shꜣn-w n Mn-nfr* 'the village of the Necropolis of Memphis which is *hr nꜣ shꜣn-w* of Memphis'; P.Louvre I, 3264, x+5, *tꜥ hꜣst nꜣ Mn-nfr nt hr nꜣ shꜣn-w n Mn-nfr* 'the Necropolis of Memphis which is *hr nꜣ shꜣn-w* of Memphis'; P.Leiden 380 (A), l. 4, *pꜥ dmy-šty nꜣ pꜥ hꜣry-hb nt hr nꜣ shꜣn-w n Mn-nfr nꜣ tꜥ hꜣst Mn-nfr* 'the village (providing) the income of the taricheutos which is *hr nꜣ shꜣn-w* of Memphis, upon the Necropolis of Memphis'; P. Leiden 380 (B), l. 6, *thny Wsr nt hr nꜣ shꜣn-w n Mn-nfr* 'the faubourg of Osiris which is *hr nꜣ shꜣn-w* of Memphis'; P.Cairo 30602, ll. 4. 5. 13 = P.Cairo 30603, ll. 4. 5, *Pr-Wsr nt hr nꜣ shꜣn-w n Mn-nfr* 'the Serapeum which is *hr nꜣ shꜣn-w* of Memphis'. Spiegelberg in his translation of P.Cairo 30602 and P.Cairo 30603⁷

¹ Revillout, *Notices*, 276 and *Mélanges de métrologie*, 417.

² Schiaparelli, *Museo archeologico di Firenze*, p. 375, pl. 7.

⁴ See *Rev. ég.* 3, 26. ⁵ See p. 63, n. 3. ⁶ See p. 63, n. 6.

³ See p. 63, n. 19.

⁷ See Spiegelberg, *CCG* 11, *Texte*, 4-9.

misunderstood this expression and rendered 'Serapeum welches auf der Necropolis von Memphis (liegt)'. Sethe in his translation of P. Innsbruck¹ suggested the interpretation 'auf den Administrationen von Memphis'. The basic meaning of *hr*, indicating position, is hardly possible here. The context suggests a possible derivative meaning of *hr*, used here as a technical idiom of the language of the legal documents. That *hr* can have a special idiomatic use is shown by its occurrence in the expression *nt hr p: htp-ntr*, lit. 'which is on the estate of the temple', already quoted by Sethe in *Bürgerrechtsturkunden*, p. 164, § 30. According to Sethe, the preposition *hr* aims at defining the relationship between private hereditary property, such as fields, houses on the one hand, and on the other hand the Temple, on which estate this property was situated and to which it belonged in theory. The holder of such land could have usufruct of his holding and could keep its possession in his family. However, he was under the obligation of paying the due fees to the temple. We assume in the light of the examples gathered by Sethe that the preposition *hr*, indicating basically the idea '(being) upon', can convey a definite technical sense which could correspond to the modern legal idiom 'to be under jurisdiction or control of an authority'. There is a similarity between the use of *hr* in the expression quoted above and the evidence of *hr* in our text. A village 'being upon the administration of the chief town of the nome' can only mean that this village is dependent on that administration, i.e. subject to its orders. The suggested interpretation seems to meet the situation as it was in Memphis. We know from the Greek sources that the villages situated round Memphis were under the control of the royal administration of Memphis, especially with regard to financial matters, see *UPZ* I, no. 122, l. 9. Hence, the sources quoted above show not an occasional occurrence of a special use of *hr* but rather the normal construction. These examples are noteworthy in the first place from the philological point of view; they indicate an extension of the usage of *hr* apparently first pointed out by Sethe. They also set out clearly the method of conveying a legal term for which the language was unable at that date to create a new and appropriate word. Moreover, these instances throw light on an interesting point regarding the organization of the Memphite nome in the late Ptolemaic Period. We have here a series of localities which must apparently have been kept under the direct control of the authorities (*n: shn-w*) of Memphis. This method of indicating the administrative relationship is to be considered as peculiar to the late Memphite documents. It can hardly be a simple alternative for the common expression *n p: tš n Mn-nfr* 'in the nome of Memphis', which never occurs in connexion with the place names quoted above. It is reasonable to suggest that this expression must have contained another legal idiom which aimed at marking the close connexion between two places such as the capital and the neighbouring communities. It has been noted that this expression is chiefly applied to the villages which had grown up near to the ancient cult places surrounding Memphis. These localities should be, from the administrative point of view, more closely attached to the capital than others in the same nome, at least as regards financial matters. This expression might well indicate only the villages on the *kōms* of the ancient Memphis which formed, with the centre of the town, a single administrative unity—

¹ Sethe, *op. cit.* 738.

the 'City of Memphis'. The possible date of this organization is difficult to establish. The earliest evidence is provided by P.Cairo 30602 from 116/115 B.C.¹

(10) *nš šn-w* is used always in the plural in the expression quoted under (9), see above, p. 65. *nš šn-w* raises the question whether we have here only its abstract meaning (cf. Griffith, *Ryl.* 3, 387, administration, managers, sim. Sethe, *Bürgerrechtstsurkunden*, p. 738), or whether it indicates the whole body of administrative functionaries of a definite centre. This title has had various interpretations. Spiegelberg² considered that it indicated a financial official, taxation officials in general, corresponding to the Greek *λογευταί*, although the passage quoted by him in P.Erbach, ll. 8-9 hints at a rather general meaning: *nš šn-w n dmy nš šn-w n mē nš šn-w nš rmt-w nt hb n mdt Pr-ε* 'the scribes of villages, the scribes of districts, the *šn-w*, the men who are sent on the affairs of the State.' In P.dem. Wiss. Gesell. 18, l. 5,³ the *šn-w* appear to be connected with the higher royal and judicial functionaries: *nš šn-w wpe tīgst srtikws ipistts hnc gy rmt nb n pš tš nt hb n mdt Pr-ε* 'the *šn*,⁴ judge,, strategos, epistates, and everyone who is sent on the affairs of the State'. Spiegelberg interpreted this series of titles as indicating 'Kollegium der ägyptischen und griechischen Richter, Laokriten- und Chrematistengericht'. The instances of *šn*, while associated with *rmt iw-f tr-šhy*, quoted in the 'Regulations' of the guilds in Tebtunis,⁵ give evidence also of a mere judicial aspect of the function exercised by the *šn*-officials. Sethe⁶ was inclined to regard the *šn* as some sort of magistral or police official, being in charge of small as well as large administrative units, see P.Berlin 3080, l. 9, *pš šn nš cy-w n Nt* 'the *šn*-official of the Theban districts'; P.Cairo 30753, l. 3, *pš šn n tš dnit Pwlmn* 'the *šn*-official of the district Pulmen'; P.Cairo 30659+31191, l. 4, *pš šn mē n tš dnit n Pwlmn* 'the *šn*-official of the place of the district Pulmen'. Thompson's views on the meaning of this title were somewhat different. In *Theb. Ostr.* 39, n. 7, he took the *šn*-official as the title of the collectors of rents or other dues belonging to the Temple. This view is supported by P.B.M. 10598,⁷ l. 2, *pš hry A pš hm-ntr Thwt pš šn Pr-ε* 'the Excellency A, prophet of Thoth, and royal overseer'; Thompson thought that the *šn* was a royal overseer of the Temples and equated him with the overseer of the Memphite Temples known from the 'Serapeum papyri', cf. Wilcken, *UPZ* 1, 44; sim. a graffito from Gebel Shēkh el-Haradi,⁸ l. 3, *pš šn n Min pš ntr ε pš šn n tš rpīt tš ntrt εst* 'the *šn*-official of Min, the great god, the *šn*-official of Repit, the great goddess'. However, the instance of *šn* in P.B.M. 10591 (= B), V, l. 7,⁹ *wh Twt tš mkmk n A pš šn pe-s smt B pš strkws* 'Tuot had made the petition to the A, the overseer, and likewise to B, the strategos', will be comparable to the instance quoted in P.dem. Wiss. Gesell. 18, cf. above and Thompson, op. cit. p. 21, n. 82, who considered this official as probably having control of the *γη βασιλική*. In P.B.M. 10528, l. 2,¹⁰ the *šn*-official appears as having control over the financial matters of the servants of the necropolis. This brief

¹ See Spiegelberg *CCG* 11, *Texte*, 3-5.

² See *ZÄS* 42, 57.

³ Spiegelberg, *Erbstreit*, p. 50.

⁴ *šn* may possibly apply to all the titles which follow.

⁵ See P.Cairo 30605, l. 19 (= *CCG* 11, 25) and P.Cairo 31179, ll. 20.21 (= *CCG* 11, 291).

⁶ Sethe, op. cit. 106-8.

⁷ *FAS*, p. 21 and ibid. n. 82.

⁸ *ZÄS* 51, 68.

⁹ *FAS*, pp. 6. 21.

¹⁰ Glanville, *Cat. Brit. Mus.* 1, pp. 15. 18 (g).

account of the occurrence of the title *shn* in the legal documents indicates that it might cover several functions which fundamentally might have been different. The evidence shows at any rate that all these functions were of higher degree and connected with the royal administration. The *shn*-official assumed judicial functions as well as supervision over the temples and their personnel. He appears also to be connected with any taxation procedure. Our provisional opinion is therefore that the title *shn* might mean the trustees of the Royal administration¹ equipped with wide executive powers mainly in the legal and financial affairs of the country. The suggested interpretation would meet the situation at Memphis. It is reasonable to suppose that the people living in the villages surrounding Memphis, as well as the entire administration of these villages, were under the control of the Greek functionaries residing in Memphis. Under the term *ns shn-w* of Memphis we imagine a body of officials entrusted by the royal administration with control over the cult-places, including the Necropolis, in the neighbourhood of Memphis.

(11) For the reading *Nhty-nb-f*, see Griffith, *Ryl.* 3, 300, n. 4. The reading *Hr* is probable. The writing of the second part of the name is not clear and the reading *wr* or *rs* would be technically possible. However, in the subsequent occurrences of the name the group is similar to that of the normal writing of *rs*. Moreover, the person mentioned here is the same as the man mentioned later in the same line and in l. 6 (i.e. the father of the A contracting party), about the reading of whose name there is no doubt.

(12) *JJ** cannot form part of the name. The same group is to be found in P.Bibl. Nat. 224, l. 2; P.Leiden 374 (I), ll. 3-4; P.Leiden 374 (II), ll. 3-5. In all these transactions a single contracting party consisted of several persons, but only the first person shows the title, and the names of the others are preceded by the same group as quoted above. It seems possible, therefore, that the scribe used an abbreviated group to avoid the repetition of the title which occurs just before. The value of this group thus appears to be comparable to that of the classical *mi-nn*, see Griffith, *Ryl.* 3, 283, n. 3 and Erichsen, *Gloss.* 152. A similar case was quoted by Griffith, see *Ryl.* 3, 262, n. 2, in a contract of the time of Amasis.² In that example, *P.Corp. Pap. Louvre*, no. 10, confirms that the second member of the contracting party bore the same title as the first person.

(13) *Hr-m-he*: the same writing occurs in P.Leiden 374, ll. 3, 6; P.Vatican 22, l. 14; P.Berlin 3145, l. 1. It is possible to interpret this writing either as *Hr-m-ih* 'Horus is in the horizon' or *Hr-nty-hy* 'Horus is high'. P.Berlin 3145, l. 1, where we meet the name of King Harmakhis, confirms that the examples quoted above are to be considered as the late way of writing the name *Hr-m-ih*, cf. Ranke, *PN* 247, no. 17.

(14) *-he-* is the most likely reading and this enables us to restore as *Ti-šrit-Hr-m-he*.

(15) *rs 4 n wr rs*: lit. 'being four persons with one mouth', a common formula defining judicial solidarity, cf. Sethe, *Bürgerrechtstsurkunden*, p. 162. But here, as in P.Leiden 379, l. 7 (Memphis), *s* appears instead of *ht*, not all members of the A contracting party being of the same sex, cf. Sethe, op. cit. p. 283.

(16) *Nhty-ws*: an alternative reading might be *Nhty-he*, but the manner in which the plural *-ty-w* (cf. l. 4) is written, suggests the reading *Nhty-ws*, cf. Griffith, *Ryl.* 3, 452.

¹ See *Wb.* IV, 217, 6, and 218, 1.

² Revillout, *Corpus Pap. Louvre*, no. 18, l. 2.

(17) *Pi-dj-Nfr-Tm* is not a common name and occurs only in P.Berlin 3119, l. 4 and verso, ll. 2. 9. The feminine form is found in P.Cairo 30602, l. 5. For the rather unusual way of writing *tm*, see Erichsen, *Gloss.* 630.

(18) *De* instead of *de-tw* is frequent at this period.

(19) There can be no doubt of the reading *rs*, which may possibly be the Egyptian rendering of the Greek name *Ῥοῖς*, cf. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 46.

(20) *Ty-r-rw*: this way of writing *Ty-* was pointed out by Griffith, *Ryl.* 3, 257, n. 4.



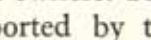
(21) *py-n cy*: most probably refers to the house itself, as the word *cy* is used in the singular, cf. Glanville, *Cat. B.M.* 1, p. 6-7, n. (h). We find in P.Leiden 374 (I), l. 5 and in P.Leiden 374 (II), l. 6 that the merchant's house held by the necropolis servants is defined as *cy-šdy n šwty* 'endowed house of the merchant'; sim. in P.Leiden 380 (A), l. 6 = P.Leiden 380 (B), l. 6, *n cy-w-šdy n šwty nt mte p: snh nt hry n Pr-Inp* 'the endowed houses of the merchants which belong to the rent aforesaid, in the Anubieion'. The merchants' houses in the Anubieion seem to have been an endowed institution to which a special sort of fund was assigned. These funds could possibly derive from the corn trade for which these houses were used according to P.Vatican 22, especially ll. 16-17. It could be expected that in this particular transaction the houses and the adjacent property were mentioned only to indicate the source of the benefits, since this is the usual practice of all the settlements of the necropolis servants in which the foundations are mentioned instead of the rent they provide. Hence the subject-matter of this transaction must have been only the sale of the benefits provided by this merchant's estate, since the former owner was a woman; now the estate was held by four persons, one of them being a woman also. Finally, this property came into the possession of a woman. In that case, the suggested interpretation appears possible.


(22) *sbe*: this writing indicates the same spelling as in Coptic *ⲥⲃⲉ*, cf. Crum, *CD* 321b. *mḥ n sbe ššt*; *ššt* appears for the first time instead of *sy* in the common formula for describing a house in a contract from the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator, see P. New York 373b, l. 3,¹ and, unlike the Upper Egyptian contracts, was repeatedly used in this formula up to the date of our contract. See P.Innsbruck, l. 4; P.Cairo 30602, l. 6; P.Cairo 30603, l. 5. 6; P.Louvre I, 3268, ll. 3. 4; and P.Louvre 3264 ter, ll. 2. 3.

(23) *het-nwty*: this peculiar writing of the word *hwt* is noteworthy as anticipating the spelling *he* which is to be found in the Coptic *ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲉ* 'monastery', cf. Crum, *CD* 692a. The compound word *het-nwty* is recorded only in the late Memphite texts such as P.Leiden 378, l. 3; P.Innsbruck, l. 5; P.Cairo 30602, l. 6; P.Cairo 30603, l. 3; P. Louvre 3268, l. 3; and P.Louvre 3264 ter, l. 2. P.New York 373, l. 3 gives *nwty* only. *hwt* has not been preserved in the Coptic compound word for 'mill' where we find *ⲙⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧ*, cf. Crum, *CD* 229b. The evidence quoted may perhaps suggest that the *hwt-nwty* is a Lower Egyptian usage since *ⲙⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧ* occurs only in Sahidic texts.

(24) *mḥr*: the same word occurs in the documents quoted in n. 23 in an identical description of private property and is always connected with *het-nwty*. As these instances show the full writing of the final *r*, we may assume we have here a word other than the *mḥy* quoted by Thompson in *FAS* A, l. 10 and in *FAS* Vo, VII, ll. 8. 9. The latter seems

¹ *Mizraim*, 1, pls. 7-10.

rather to be, as Thompson suggested, see *FAS* Gloss. no. 141, a derivative of *mhr*, cf. *Wb.* II, 130, or , cf. *ibid.* 131, 7. The argument against their being identical in meaning is the phonetic value of the final letter; there is no contemporary documentary evidence for the replacement of *r* by *y* when the former is the final letter, cf. Spiegelberg, *DG* § 4. It is not improbable that the word *mhr* should be linked with , cf. *Wb.* II, 132, 9–10. The latter is a word current in New Kingdom taxation texts, cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 27, 24, n. 2 and *AEO* II, 212. It was even used as a synonym of *šnw*, cf. *Wb.* IV, 510, probably being a part of the latter, a small storehouse for corn. This meaning also would be required by the present case; the purpose for which these *mhr-w* were used is determined by their connexion with the *hwt-nwty* 'mill' and, moreover, by the activities of the owners. This could only be the storing of corn and seed. This interpretation is supported by the expression , see Gardiner, *AEO* (Plates), pl. 9, l. 12. In *FAS* A, l. 10, and especially in *FAS* Vo, VII, ll. 8–9, *mhy* is not connected with the storage of corn. This formula gives an interesting picture of the organization of a private estate in the Delta in the Late Ptolemaic period, and it would be wrong to suppose that it is restricted to a description of a merchant's estate. The subsequent items of evidence confirm that this formula is to be considered as a specifically Lower Egyptian method of describing any house of the villages near Memphis. We find the same wording in the description of the houses belonging to the necropolis servants as well as of those in the Serapeum. The earliest known instances date from the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator, cf. P. New York 373b, ll. 2–3; *sim.* P. Leiden 378, l. 3; P. Innsbruck, ll. 4–6; P. Cairo 30602, l. 5; P. Cairo 30603, l. 5; P. Louvre 3268, ll. 3–4; P. Louvre 3264 *ter*, ll. 2–3.

(25) *hr-rf*,  = : see Spiegelberg, *DG* § 332, Junker, *GDT* § 240, and Crum, *CD* 920a. *hr-rf* must be used with its basic meaning. It appears repeatedly in the description of the private properties in the documents quoted in n. 24.

(26) *nt n Pr-Inp hr p d rsn hfty-he n Inp*: the same topographical indication occurs in the texts quoted in n. 24. See also above, p. 64, 8.

(27) *hr p d n hfty-he*: the restoration of ⟨*p*⟩ is confirmed by the texts quoted in n. 24. It is a usual expression in the topographical indications in the contracts from the Fayyūm, see, for instance, P. Cairo 30612, l. 4; P. Cairo 30617, l. 3; P. Cairo 30620, l. 6; P. Ryl. 44, l. 7; and from Memphis, cf. n. 24. The earliest known instance is to be found in a contract from Memphis, P. Louvre 2412, l. 4,¹ from the reign of Alexander Aegus. The property that document deals with was situated *hr thny nh-twi p bl sbt thny hr p d rsn hfty-he* 'In the faubourg of 'Ankh-tōwi, outside the wall of the faubourg, on the southern district of the dromos of Imhotep son of Ptaḥ, the great god'. *d* should be considered in the instances quoted above as a technical term indicating more than the side of the dromos, cf. Griffith, *Ryl.* 3, 299, n. 6. P. Bruxelles 2, ll. 2/3² and P. Philadelphia 7³ show the use of *mr* 'place, district' in a similar context. This word does not occur with this definite meaning in the Fayyūm and

¹ Revillout, *Corpus Pap.*, pl. 14, Spiegelberg, *P. Bruxelles*, p. 14.

² Spiegelberg, *P. Bruxelles*, pp. 8–9; recently Glanville, *Cat. Brit. Mus.* 1, pp. xxxvii–xxxix.

³ *Mizraim*, 7, pls. 7–8.

Memphis contracts. Moreover, it has been noted that in the instances quoted above the private houses appear to have been built only on the southern side of the dromos. The same arrangement existed in the Serapeum. This may have been the usual organization of the villages that grew up on the estate of the Memphis temples; the northern side of the dromos seems to have been occupied by the cult buildings according to P. New York 388, l. 2,¹ *pꜣ cy-ḥtp n pꜣ gm nt n pr-Wsr-Ḥꜣp ḥr pꜣ rd mḥty n ḥfty-ḥe Wsr-Ḥꜣp pꜣ ntr ʿ* 'the resting place of the² which is in the Serapeum, on the northern district of the dromos of Osorapis, the great god'.

(28) *n Inp*: very often in this text the scribe is at pains to write out the indirect genitive.

(29) *ḥfty-ḥe n Inp*: the dromos of Anubis is known only from papyrological sources, see P. Louvre 3268, l. 4; P. Louvre 3264 ter, ll. 3-4; P. Leiden 378, l. 3; and P. Innsbruck, l. 4.

(30) *Inp tpy tw-f* Anubis-Chief-of-his-Mountain, cf. Kees, *ZAS* 58, 79; Gardiner, *AEO* II, 29, and Junker, *Giza*, II, 52-56; III, 12-13; IX, 58. No documents referring to the cult of Anubis and no archaeological data on the temple of the god are preserved from the Late Period. We gather from the legal documents, see especially P. Leiden 379³ and P. Leiden 373 c, b,⁴ that the worship of Anubis seems to have been of prime importance in the religious life in Memphis during the Greek period. This view can be supported only by a very small number of invocation texts addressed to Anubis and preserved by P. Cairo 50072,⁵ P. Cairo 50110, and P. Cairo 50111.⁶

(31) *nt ḥn nt nb 'a-ir ph r-ḥr-n*: as far as can be ascertained from the known documents, this formula does not appear in the Memphite documents before the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor. *Nt ḥn nt nb*, apparently the property sold by this arrangement, must have been only a *dnit-pšyt* 'part share': see n. 32.

(32) *dnit*: P. Cairo 30620, l. 10⁷ suggests the interpretation *n dnit n sꜣnh* 'as a share of pension'. No other documents, however, are known that can help us to determine whether the property described above belonged only to the father's estate or whether it was a property which the mother inherited from her father. In theory, since the father had obviously a proprietary interest in it (see the clause of agreement), this property might have been that which the wife brought into the marriage. There is no confirmation that the wife brought into the marriage a property of the kind described here. The dowry consisted usually of money and different objects, see especially P. Ryl. 16, ll. 6-8;⁸ P. Ryl. 20, ll. 5-6;⁹ P. Ryl. 22, ll. 5-6.¹⁰ This was also the custom of Lower Egypt. According to P. Leiden 373a¹¹ and P. B.M. 10229 (reign of Auletes)¹² the wife did not bring into the marriage any property other than a definite amount of money, from which the husband assigned to her her usual allowance. In referring to the most probable nature of the merchant's estate as indicated above (see p. 69, n. 21), we suppose that the husband in this particular case might assign to his wife the merchant's house

¹ *Mizraim*, I, pls. 12-13.

² Name of a sanctuary. However, the meaning is not certain; cf. *Wb.* v. 169, 11 and *ibid.* 38, 8.

³ Sethe, *op. cit.* p. 712.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 724-6.

⁵ Spiegelberg, *CCG* III, pl. 32.

⁶ *Ibid.* pl. 48.

⁷ *Ibid.* II, pl. 36.

⁸ See Griffith, *Ryl.* 3, 139 and 271.

⁹ *Ibid.* 149 and 277.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 151 and 279.

¹¹ Sethe, *op. cit.* 731.

¹² Quoted by Wilcken, *UPZ* I, 620.

together with the mill and the storehouses as the basis of her yearly allotment. By virtue of the marriage property settlement, this reverted to the children after her death. In support of this theory may be quoted the similar arrangement recorded in P.Louvre 3268.¹

(33) *ts snt n try-t mwt*: 'the sister of thy mother' replaces here the words 'thy aunt'. It is to be noted that the usual way of indicating the relationship in the Memphite documents is always analytic, cf., too, l. 4 and below, n. 37.

(34) *-by* (?). The interpretation of this name remains doubtful; the reading *-by* is palaeographically more suitable than *dy*. See the way in which *dy* is written in the name *Pi-dj-Ty-m-htp* in the same line. As to *-y*, we find here the same method of writing it as in the verb *fy* 'to carry'. Probably the filiation of this person was not indicated here. The lacuna is too narrow to insert the word *syt* 'daughter' and yet another name.

(35) *'a-wn-ne-w*: the reading is certainly correct; the same expression occurs once again in l. 4.

(36) *'a-wn-ne-w hr A nt hr ns hrd-w*: 'which was in the holding of A which is (now) in the holding of his children'. The usual method of indicating absolute ownership is here developed. This passage is interesting because it marks out the distinction between the present generation of possessors and the most probable first owner; cf. n. 37.

(37) *ns hrd-w n nsyf hrd-w*, sim. later in the same line. With regard to this use of the word *hrd*, the Egyptian language seems to lack words to indicate the various succeeding generations as well as to mark different degrees of relationship. As pointed out in n. 33 an analytic method was used which consisted of juxtaposing the fundamental words indicating the members of a family. Instances of this method are frequent in the Memphite legal documents, see P.Leiden 379, l. 1, *ps it n psy-y it* 'the father of my father' for 'my grandfather'; ibid. l. 1, *ts mwt n psy-y it* 'the mother of my father' for 'my grandmother'; P.Louvre 2412, l. 1, *ts šrit n psy-y sn* 'the daughter of my brother' for 'my niece'; ibid. l. 2, *ts mwt n ps it n psy-y it* 'the mother of the father of my father' for 'my great-grandmother'; P.Bruxelles 6033, l. 1, *ps it n ps it n try-k mwt* 'thy great-grandfather'; ibid. l. 2, *ps sn hm n psy-y it* 'the younger brother of my father' for 'my uncle'; P.Cairo 30602, l. 7, *psy-y it ps it n try-tn mwt* 'my father, the father of your mother' for 'my father, your grandfather'.

This method might have had its own legal meaning so as to avoid any possible confusion in the relationship. It might also have been used to stress the hereditary nature of the property described in the contracts. It has been noted in the Memphite legal documents that the transactions dealing with property transfer of any kind were concluded mainly in the framework of a family. There are no documents preserved showing a transfer of property to a person outside the owner's family, doubtless from a desire to keep the property within the family. As this usage can be investigated from early Greek times until the end of the Ptolemaic period,² we suspect that this fact may have been more than a simple usage of the owner's family. It may be presumed that heredity was the prominent feature of the holding of private properties in the Delta.

¹ See *Rev. ég.* 2, 91, pl. 25.

² See P.Louvre 2412, being the earliest instance; cf. Spiegelberg, *P.Bruxelles*, p. 14.

(38) *hfty-he n Inp*, cf. above, p. 71.

(39) *Try-n-Mrw*: the only instance of the feminine form of this name known to us. *Mrw* 'Mnevis' shows the full writing of *m*, cf. Erichsen, *Gloss.* 168.

(40) (...) *-ht* is palaeographically possible. The filiation seems to have been omitted here as at the end of l. 3.

(41) The lacuna is apparently too small for the restoration of *nt hry*.

(42) Read *ny-w he-w*; *he* is used here as a noun, cf. *FASB*, VI, l. 7 and Erichsen, *Gloss.* 347. A comparable writing giving *e* instead of *y* occurs in P.B.M. 10597, l. 10 (= *FASB* p. 47) and P.B.M. 10598, l. 8 (= *ibid.* p. 77).

(43) The current clauses are abbreviated in this document. The tendency to shorten the usual clauses is to be noticed first in the Memphite documents from the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator, see P. New York 373b, l. 5.¹ *Mtw-n mdt nbt n p: t:* only is used here instead of the complete formula, for which see P. Hauswald, 10, l. 4.²

(44) *iw-n r dy-wy:f*: the preposition *r* is written out before the infinitive, so too in l. 6, whereas often at this period it is omitted.

(45) Cf. P. Hauswald 10, l. 5 for the whole wording of this clause. *ir* must apparently have the same meaning as *ir* in the agreement clause, see n. 49.

(46) *p: pr*: this late way of writing *pr* is quoted by Erichsen, *Gloss.* 132. *Pr* provided with the geographical determinative but without further complement is to be taken as a technical term indicating a definite administrative entity, as pointed out in n. 9, see above, p. 65.

(47) Read *P:-dy-Wsr-Hcp*, cf. below, n. 60, p. 74.

(48) The reading *n p: s* is correct; see later in the same line.

(49) Read *e-iry mdt nbt*. The writing is not clear but the reading is certain. This part of the text can only contain the clause of agreement. For the 'Memphite' type of the agreement clause, see especially P. Leiden 379, ll. 7. 8 and Sethe-Partsch, *Bürgschaftsurkunden*, pp. 712 ff. The technical meaning of *ir* 'observe', is clearly set out by the instances provided by the 'Regulations' of the guilds in Tebtunis; see P. Cairo 30605, l. 5;³ P. Cairo 31179, l. 5;⁴ and P. Cairo 30619, l. 3.⁵

(50) The document is damaged. The meaning of the clause requires *tw-*, cf. Spiegelberg, *DG* § 136 and Sethe, *Bürgschaftsurkunden*, pp. 40-41.

(51) This part of the text is not clear. The readings given here were established from P. Leiden 376.⁶ For this particular clause see l. 20 (= *op. cit.* p. 208).

(52) *iw-t m-s:n r p: s* 5 only occurs here. For the complete version of this clause, see P. Leiden 376, ll. 28-29 and Sethe, *op. cit.* pp. 240-1, § 60.

(53) *iw-t m-s: p:y:t mrt y n-im:n*: the same wording is to be found in P. Leiden 380 (A), l. 8 and P. Leiden 380 (B), ll. 8-9.⁷ For the meaning of the clause 'you can hold any one of us responsible for all five' as in partnership, see Sethe, *op. cit.* pp. 37, 38, 87, and 242.

(54) *e-ir:t*: the reading is certain, cf. P. Leiden 376, l. 30 and Sethe, *op. cit.* p. 243, § 63.

¹ *Mizraim*, I, pl. 3.

² Spiegelberg, *CCG* II, *Texte*, p. 19.

³ *Ibid.* p. 67.

⁴ Spiegelberg, P. Hauswald, pp. 34-35.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 290.

⁶ Sethe, *op. cit.* 205-45.

⁷ See n. 4.

(55) Our text ends with the words *e-ir-t hpr*. For the complete version of the final clause see again P.Leiden, 376, ll. 30-31.

(56) *hm*: this example shows the metathesis of *h*. The reading *hm* is confirmed by P.Leiden 380 (A), l. 9, which was drawn up by the same notary. It has been noticed that the notaries from Memphis, unlike those of Upper Egypt, never bear any titles. There seems to have been no connexion between the notary office and the temple such as occurs so often with the other notary offices in Middle and Upper Egypt, cf. Otto, *PT* II, 295, n. 8 and Seidl, *DU*, p. 4.

(57) Read *Ἀριος*, cf. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 47-48. The name of the scribe of the grapheion comes first in the documents from the first century B.C., cf. Wilcken, *UPZ* I, 620. The earliest instance is from the year 80/79 B.C. in P.Leiden 374 (I) and P.Leiden 374 (II). This Arios is known for the first time in the year 7 of Auletes, see P.Innsbruck and P.Louvre 3268. Except P.Bibl. Nat. 224 and P.Bibl. Nat. 225, all the demotic documents preserved from the reign of Auletes were recorded by the same Arios, cf. Wilcken, *UPZ* I, 620-1.

(58) The reading *Ἀναγέγραπται διὰ [τοῦ] ἐν τῷ Ἀνουβιεῖω (γραφεῖον)* is confirmed by the docket of P.Leiden 380 (A) and P. Leiden 380 (B). The location of the grapheion of the Anubieion (cf. Wilcken, *UPZ* I, 15) is not yet known.

(59) The signature at the foot of the document is obviously written in a different hand. The name *Hr-ꜥ* suggests that we might have here the father of the A contracting party, cf. l. 1 and l. 6. Therefore the name of Horār's father should have been *Pi-dy-Wsr-Hꜥp*, cf. above, l. 6.

(60) *Ist-wryt*, written in the upper left-hand corner of the papyrus, is the name of the B contracting party. This is not normal in legal documents. It might possibly indicate a more developed organization of the notary archives where the individual persons had their own personal 'dossiers'.

A RECEIPT FOR *ENKYKLION*

By T. C. SKEAT

THE Greek papyrus here published was found rolled up with some demotic documents, from Philadelphia in the Fayyūm, belonging to the Egyptian Department of the British Museum, and is edited by the courtesy of the Keeper of that Department. One of the demotic documents, P. dem. B.M. 10750, was published by H. S. Smith in the last number of this *Journal*; the remaining documents, P. dem. B.M. 10744 A and B, were to have been published in this number, but as they have proved to be the bottom halves of two papyri at Michigan, Professor C. F. Nims of Chicago has kindly consented to edit them, with the associated material, in his forthcoming publication of the Michigan demotic papyri. It is clear that B.M. 10774 A and B must have been divided by their original finders, as is frequently done by illicit diggers; and there seems little reason to doubt that the B.M. group are a part of a single haul of papyri, thus affording a presumption that they are of the same provenance and approximately the same date. This is supported by internal evidence, though the documents appear not to be concerned with the same families or properties.

Text

The papyrus had been broken into a number of fragments, which, however, when fitted together made it possible to reconstitute the whole, apart from minor defects. Unfortunately the first three lines are very badly rubbed, and the writing generally is often of so cursive a character that even where perfectly preserved it is very difficult to decipher, as the reader can judge for himself from the accompanying illustration (plate VIII, facing p. 79).

BRITISH MUSEUM EGYPTIAN DEPARTMENT PAPYRUS 10750 A. 15.3 cm. × 7.5 cm.

Λ ἰδ̄, Φαῶφι κ̄η Dec. 10(?), 209 B.C.
 ἐν Ἰερο(κοδίλων) πό(λει) [. . .]
 παρὰ Ἀρ [. . .]
 τος κατὰ τὸ ἐκτεθὲν
 πρόσταγμα περὶ τὴν ἐκ
 προκα(τα)λήψεως οἰκίαν
 τὴν οὖσαν ἐν Φιλ(αδελφεία), ἣν γράφει
 ἀπογεγράφθαι [τ]ῇ τε
 [τ]οῦ Φαῶφι πρὸς Καλλικράτ[ην]
 τὸν οἰκονόμον καὶ Ἰμού-
 θην τὸν βα(σιλικὸν) γρ(αμματέα), ἣν ἐτιμήσατο
 τρ, τὸ καθῆκον τέλ[ος] τοῦ ἐγκυ(κλίου)
 χα(λκοῦ) πρ(ὸς) ἀργύριον τ̄ ὁκτώ = [Ϛ] / η = Ϛ
 καὶ τόκον / χα(λκοῦ) πρ(ὸς) ἀργύριον η[]/.

5

10

In addition to the above, there are two very small Greek fragments, one containing the word *συγγραφάς* and, in the line below, † *Ἀχ*, the other containing only the phrase *χα(λκοῦ) πρ(ὸς) ἀ(ργύριον)*.

Translation

Year 14, Phaophi 28 (?) . . . in Krokodilopolis . . . from Ar . . . in accordance with the published decree, concerning the house in previous possession (?), situated in Philadelphia (?), which he reports that he has declared on the 15th of Phaophi to Kallikrates the Oikonomos and Imouthes the Royal Scribe, and which he valued at 100 dr., the tax due for *enkyklion*, copper on the silver standard eight dr. 2½ ob. = 8 dr. 2½ ob., plus interest (?), total, copper on the silver standard 8 dr. 3 (?) ob.

Notes on the text

1. The day of the month is very uncertain, but must be later than the 15th (cf. l. 8). At the end of the line the traces suggest, e.g., *πῆ(πτωκεν) ἐπὶ [τὴν]*.

2. *ἐν*, which seems certain, is followed by two monograms, the former of which is very doubtfully read as *Κρο(κοδῶλων)*, though it is difficult to see what else can be intended in view of the fact that the papyrus came from the Fayyūm. The monogram *πό(λει)* should be followed by *βα(σιλικήν) τρά(πεζαν) ἐφ' ἧς (ὁ δέινα)*, but the traces are too faint to read. The Royal Banker in 202 B.C. was Euronax, cf. P.Petr. III, 57 (b), but it does not seem possible to read that name here.

3-4. If *παρά* is correctly read, *Αρ* must be the beginning of the taxpayer's name, and *τος* in l. 4 the conclusion of his patronymic.

6. The papyrus clearly reads *προκαλήψεως*, but the correction here printed is rendered certain by the only other occurrence of the word in the papyri, viz. in the Edfu papyrus partially republished, with a valuable commentary, by Mlle C. Préaux in *Chronique d'Égypte*, xiv, 376-82. This is a copy of a letter from Theogenes, whom Mlle Préaux identifies as the Dioiketes, to Thonis, Royal Scribe of the Oxyrhynchite Nome, written about Choiak 4 of Year 14, i.e. Jan. 16, 208 B.C., only a few weeks after the date of the present papyrus. The contacts between the Edfu papyrus and the present document are so close that it seems desirable to quote the section reprinted by Mlle Préaux:

Θεογένης Θῶναι χαίρειν. ἔγραψας ἡμῖν 12
 διαπορε[ῖ]ν τί π[ρ]ακτέ[ον] ἐστὶν ὑ[π]ὲρ τῶν
 τετιμημέν[ων] μὲν [. . .]χ. [. . .] . υγ
 ἐκ προκαταλήψεως, μὴ δ[ιωρ]θωμέν[ων] δὲ τὰ κα- 15
 θήκοντα τέλη καὶ τῶν ἀ[π]ογεγραμμένων
 μὲν, μὴ ἀπτηνηκό[των] δ' ἐπὶ τὴν διατί-
 μησιν. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐξ ὧν καὶ σὺ πρότερον ἐπεσ-
 τάλκης καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων [π]ροσπέπτωκεν ἡμῖν,
 ἐνίοις συμβέβηκεν ἐμπ[ε]πτωκέναι εἰς ταύ- 20
 τ[ὰ] διὰ τὸ τοὺς πλείστου[ς] γ[ιν]έσθαι πρὸς τῷ
 σπόρῳ, πρὸς μὲν τὴν τί[μ]ησιν καὶ [τ]ὴν κατα-
 βολὴν, κρίνομεν ἔτι προνοη[θῆ]ναι ὅλας ἡμέρας λ,
 ὥστε συντετελέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν κατὰ τὸ πρόσ-
 [ταγ]μα οἰκονομ[ίαν] 25

Mlle Préaux took *ἐκ προκαταλήψεως* (l. 15) with the participle *τετιμημένων* read (though very doubtfully) at the beginning of the preceding line, and translated 'ceux qui ont déposé l'évaluation (de leurs biens?) par anticipation'. In the present papyrus, however, we find the phrase *τὴν ἐκ προκαταλήψεως οἰκίαν*, i.e. the word is linked with the house, and not with any word expressing

valuation or registration. The normal meaning of *προκατάληψις* is 'pre-occupation', either in the physical or in the metaphorical sense, and I accordingly suggest that in its present context, both here and in the Edfu papyrus, it means 'previous occupation' of the property, or perhaps even 'original ownership'. This would be a parallel to the term *πρόκτησις*, which signifies the documents proving original ownership of property.

7. The compendium expanded as *Φιλ(αδελφεία)* consists of the letter *φ* surmounted by what appears to be a *λ*. Possibly the *ι* is conceived of as combined in the vertical stroke of the *φ*. Despite some superficial resemblance, the compendium is clearly different from that expanded as *Κρο(κοδῶλων)* in l. 2.

9-11. Kallikrates the Oikonomos and Imouthes the Royal Scribe, together with an Epimeletes, Apollonios, recur in a group of documents in Cairo published by Grenfell and Hunt in *Archiv*, II, 82-84, of which the first three are reprinted in Wilcken, *Chrestomathie*, nos. 224 a-c. These documents are dated Year 14, Phaophi 30, and as shown below there can now be no doubt that they, like the present papyrus, belong to the reign of Philopator. The documents consist of notifications to the Epimeletes, Apollonios, that declarations of house-property have been made to Kallikrates and Imouthes, accompanied by statements of the valuations put on the property by the owners, and undertakings to pay the tax due. The property is described as, e.g. *τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν μοι οἰκίαν*, and there is no trace of the phrase *ἐκ προκαταλήψεως*. As already mentioned these documents are not in themselves declarations, but statements that declarations have been made; what appears to be the beginning of an original declaration, addressed, however, to Imouthes only, is P.Petr. III, 72 (= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 222). This is, indeed, dated L ιξ Φαῶφι δ, but there seems little doubt now that L ιδ must be the correct reading. Here again the phrase used is *τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν μοι οἰκίαν*.

12. I have failed to find a satisfactory reading of the characters between *καθηκον* and *ἐγκυ(κλίον)*, and that given in the text is offered with the utmost reserve. It does not seem possible to read *τὸ καθήκον εἰς τὸ ἐγκύκλιον*, the phrase found in P.Lond. III, 1200, 8.

13. On the rate of tax, see below.

14. Apart from the initial *κ*, the first word in this line is to me almost completely illegible owing to the extreme cursiveness of the writing. Comparison with *καθηκον* in l. 12 suggests that it terminated with *-ον*. In proposing *τόκον* I have in mind the possibility that interest was charged on the tax if not paid immediately, a supposition which would also explain why the date on which the actual declaration was made is carefully recorded in ll. 9-10. The interest due must have been a very small amount, even if reckoned at the usual 24 per cent. per annum, and the writer may have merely rounded the sum up to the next complete obol. I have therefore ventured to restore 3 ob. at the end of the line.

General Commentary

This is not the place for an extended discussion of Ptolemaic property-taxes or the *enkyklion*, but I may perhaps summarize what seem to me to be the main points raised by the present text:

(1) The peculiar rate of *enkyklion*, 8 dr. $2\frac{1}{4}$ ob. per cent., has hitherto been found only in two papyri from Thebes, viz. SB 5729, of Year 13, Tybi 4 (Feb. 15, 209), and P.Lond. III, 1200, of Year 14, Thoth 7 (Oct. 20, 209). As the present papyrus comes from the Fayyūm, it now seems certain that this rate was not peculiar to the Thebaid, but applied to the country as a whole.

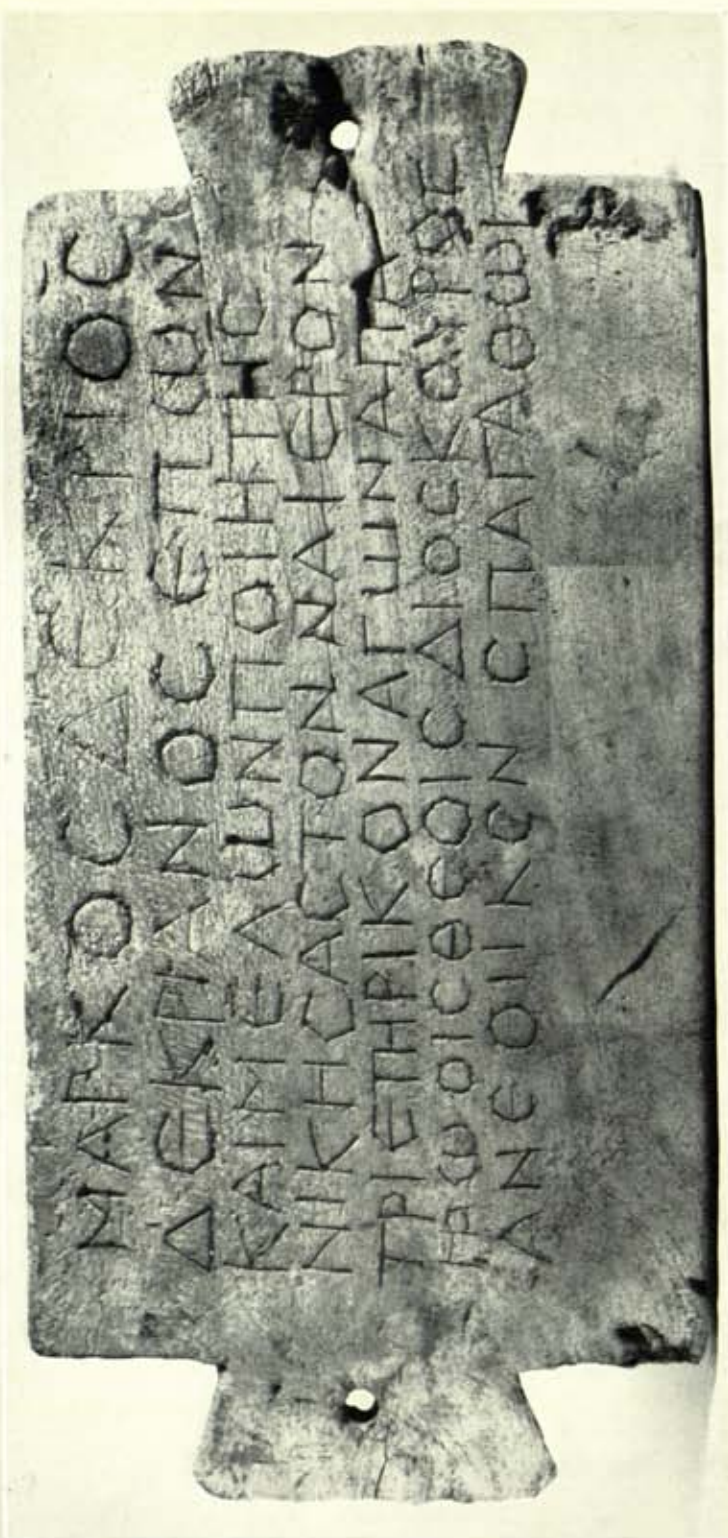
(2) There emerges for the first time a definite link, if not an absolute identity, between property-tax on buildings and *enkyklion*. Hitherto it has generally been stated that the *enkyklion* was levied only on transfers, or potential transfers, of property, such as sales,

mortgages, &c. But in the present instance there is no reference to any form of alienation, and if the interpretation proposed above of the phrase ἐκ προκαταλήψεως is correct, the taxpayer was the original owner still in possession. It seems possible that when the tax was first introduced, or at any rate reorganized, at the time of these papyri, it applied in the first place to all existing property, and in the second place to all transfers of property made after the date of the proclamation; this would explain why such a large proportion of the population was affected, as is indicated in the Edfu papyrus. This point leads on to the question whether a regular property-tax, in the sense of a continuing institution, in fact existed in Ptolemaic Egypt: the impression given in these papyri is that the tax was a 'once-for all' levy on house-owners, for it is certainly remarkable that no valuations or declarations of property appear to have survived except those dating from precisely this period.

(3) Since the Edfu papyrus, after the researches of Mlle Préaux, is firmly anchored in the reign of Philopator, it follows that the present papyrus, the Cairo group, P.Petr. III, 72, SB 5729, and P.Lond. III, 1200 can be securely assigned to the same reign. The undated P.Lond. I, 50 = Wilcken, *UPZ* 116, a return to the Epimeletes of the Memphite nome declaring the value of certain properties κατὰ τὸ ἐκτεθὲν πρόσταγμα, can also be attributed to the same period. As a further result, we can now place the Arsinoite officials Kallikrates the Oikonomos, Apollonios the Epimeletes, and Imouthes the Royal Scribe in the year 209, and identify the last-named with the Imouthes son of Horus who figures as Royal Scribe in some demotic papyri of 204-203 (Peremans and Van 't Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, I, p. 51, no. 450). Furthermore in P.Teb. 705, a letter from Theogenes (the Dioiketes, as Mlle Préaux has pointed out) to Apollonios (doubtless the Epimeletes), which now can certainly be dated 209, the Royal Scribe Tothoes mentioned in ll. 2 and 5 cannot have held office in the Arsinoite nome (cf. Peremans and Van 't Dack, *op. cit.*, no. 475), where Imouthes was in post, nor in the Oxyrhynchite, where, in the Edfu papyrus, we find Thonis.



A RECEIPT FOR ENKYKLION, 209 B.C.



AN AGONISTIC DEDICATION FROM ROMAN EGYPT

AN AGONISTIC DEDICATION FROM ROMAN EGYPT

By P. M. FRASER

THE wooden plaque here published (pl. VIII) was acquired by the Ashmolean Museum in 1930, and bears the accession number 1930.26. It was purchased in Egypt by B. P. Grenfell, but no details of its provenance are known. I am grateful to the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum for permission to publish it.

Measurements: height 0.15, width 0.324, thickness *c.* 0.017.

Μάρκος Δέκριος
 Δεκριανός, ἐπῶν
 καὶ μελῶν ποιητής,
 νικήσας τὸν να ἱερὸν
 5 τριετηρικὸν ἀγῶνα, πα-
 τρώοις θεοῖς Διοσκούρο(ι)ς
 ἀνέθ(η)κ(ε)ν ν. <ἐ>π' ἀγαθῶι.

This inscription is not very communicative. It is rudely scratched on a *tabula ansata* resembling a mummy-ticket, in a manner fashionable in Roman Egypt.¹ The lettering is stiff and careless, with numerous errors in the carving. In l. 6 the tau is more like a gamma, and the second iota of Διοσκούρο(ι)ς is omitted; in l. 7 the cross-stroke is omitted from the eta, and the central stroke from the epsilon, of ἀνέθ(η)κ(ε)ν; and in the same line the central stroke is omitted from the epsilon of <ἐ>π'. The iota adscript of ἀγαθῶι reflects the traditional and solemn nature of the formula. The lettering is not such as can be assigned to any very precise date; it can hardly be earlier than the second century, while the absence of Αὐρ(ήλιος) suggests a date before A.D. 212.

The plaque contains a dedication by M. Decrius Decrianus, epic and lyric poet, in celebration of his victory in the '51st sacred trieteric festival' to the 'gods of his fatherland', the Dioscuri. The dedication does not state in what class of competition the victory was won, but the dedicant probably regarded this as self-evident: the victory was in the two branches of poetry which he professed.

The dedication is a simple memorial of a victory in one of the many festivals of Roman Egypt. The dedicant's ethnic is not given, and it is therefore likely that he was a native of the place where the competition was held, but in the absence of any indication of provenance it is not possible to identify either the festival or the city. Even if we exclude Alexandria from consideration on the ground that such a rustic monument bespeaks an origin in the chora of Egypt, festivals with poetic competitions, in which ποιηταί of different kinds occur, are known in Imperial Egypt from Memphis, Antinoupolis, Oxyrhynchus, and elsewhere, any one of which might have provided the occasion for this dedication.² Similarly, the reference to the fifty-first sacred (i.e.

recognized by an emperor) trieteric competition—indicating an original foundation one hundred and one years previously—does not help to determine the occasion, for we know far too little of the games of Roman Egypt to be in a position to decide which might qualify under this rubric. Again, the Dioscuri, to whom, in the role of *πατρῶοι θεοί*, the dedication is made, are familiar deities in many places in Egypt, but we do not know of any place where they were worshipped predominantly. Thus there is no possibility of locating the dedication by this means.³ The simple description of the competition, without either eponymous title (such as, for example, *Ἀντίνοεια*) or statement of the rank it enjoyed (*ισολύμπιον*, *ισάκτιον*, etc.), suggests that the festival of which it formed part was a small one, of purely local appeal.

Finally, the poet himself. M. Decrius Decrianus, like most poets recorded as victors in competitions, is otherwise unknown.⁴ The gens Decria plays a very insignificant role in history, and there is no means of telling to which member of the family the dedicant owes his name and citizenship.⁵ It may be noted that two Decrii with the rank of centurion served in the Roman army in Egypt, but there does not seem to be any connexion between them and our poet.⁶

Notes

1. Cf. Fraser and Rönne, *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones*, 179 ff., for such representations of *tabulae ansatae*.

2. For Memphis see the elaborate list of ephebic victors of A.D. 220, published by M. N. Tod, *JEA* 37, 86–99, with the detailed study of it by J. and L. Robert, *REG*, 65, 190 ff., no. 180. For Antinopolis see P.Lond. 1164i (A.D. 180) (translated in A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 397–8, no. 251); *IGRR*, IV, 1519 (Moretti, *Iscr. Agon. Grec.* 84), l. 23; cf. Kühn, *Antinopolis*, 121–2, J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.* 192–3. For Oxyrhynchus see particularly P.Oxy. 2338, the interesting list of *κήρυκες*, *ποιηταί*, and *σαλπιγκταί* granted *ἀτέλεια* in the late third century; among other agonistic documents from Oxyrhynchus are P.Oxy. 705 (A.D. 202) containing the record of the bequest of Aurelius Horion (cf. Turner, *JEA* 38, 84; J. and L. Robert, *loc. cit.*), and *SB* 7336; cf. in general Roberts' introductory remarks to 2338 (where, however, P.Oslo. 189, is wrongly assigned to Oxyrhynchus: its provenance appears to be unknown). For Hermoupolis see Wessely, *C.Pap.Herm.* 73 (*Stud. Pal. Papyrusk.* 5) and cf. Méautis, *Hermoupolis-La-Grande*, 154–5; 201–3, and Johnson, *loc. cit.*

3. For the cult of the Dioscuri in Egypt see von Bissing, *Aegyptus*, 33, 347–57, esp. 352 ff.; cf. also Wilcken, *Chrest.* 118; Bell, *Cults and Creeds*, 17, 63. Apart from the Fayyūm, for which there are several references, the cult is also attested in the chora at Acoris (see von Bissing, *op. cit.* 349 ff.), Oxyrhynchus (P.Oxy. 254), and Heptacomia (W. *Chrest.* 94).

4. Thus P.Oxy. 2338 (see note 2) contains the names of twenty-two poets all unknown, but since their ages range from 15 to 24 this need cause no surprise. For other poets in Graeco-Roman Egypt see Calderini, *Stud. in onore U. E. Paoli* (Florence, 1956), 153 ff. (cf. *JEA* 43, 106, no. (33)). Similar obscurity surrounds for the most part the poets, dramatists, musicians, etc., who form the subjects of numerous honorific decrees of the Hellenistic period (a large number are reprinted by Guarducci, *Mem. Linc.* 6, 2 (9), 1929, 648–65).

5. See the references in Schulze, *Gesch. Lat. Eigenn.* 102–3 and *PIR*², s.v.

6. See Nicole and Morel, *Arch. Milit. du 1^{er} siècle (P.Gen. Lat. 1)*, of A.D. 90 (= Cavenaile, *Corp. Pap. Lat.* 106), v, 19, cf. *ibid.* 26; and NS, 1913, 22 (*AE*, 1913, 215), the tombstone of L. Decrius Longinus of leg. XXII Deiot. (A.D. 68–Hadrian), cf. Lesquier, *L'Armée rom. en Égypte*, 40–55.

TWO COPTIC LETTERS

By J. W. B. BARNES

THESE well-preserved sixth-century letters in Sa'idic were found among the Greek papyri from the late Dr. John Johnson's excavations at Antinoöpolis, whose edition is in progress. Each was still folded and bound with a string of papyrus fibre, which was tied with a knot but bore no trace of a seal.¹ It might be suggested that they were duly delivered, read, and tied up again. If, however, as seems probable, they were found together, this is perhaps made less likely by the fact that their destined recipients were different, whereas the writer of 1, Heraclides, may well be identical with the similarly designated Heracle of 2. It seems probable, therefore, that they never reached their respective destinations.

1. 33·8 × 12 cm. Written in a neat sloping hand. Heraclides writes to Stephen that certain details of a plan of agricultural work for which the latter would seem to have been responsible have failed to meet with the approval of the community. Although the writer is senior to the addressee, the tone of his letter is conciliatory; it gives the impression that the policies of the community's work were the subject of free discussion among its members.

ⲫ ⲁⲓⲭⲏⲥⲣⲁⲓ ⲡⲧⲉⲧⲏⲙⲉⲥⲁⲗⲟⲡⲣⲉⲡⲉⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲡⲥⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲛⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲓⲡⲉⲭⲥ ⲁⲓⲁ-
 ⲥⲡⲁⲫⲉ ⲡⲧⲉⲧⲏⲙⲉⲓⲧ-
 ⲥⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲛⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲓⲣⲁⲥⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲏⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲏⲁⲡⲟⲩⲥⲓ ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ-
 ⲡⲥⲏⲙⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ-
 ⲱⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲉⲡⲉⲣⲱⲃ ⲁⲣⲉⲥⲏⲉ ⲡⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲣⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲱ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲱⲃ ⲣⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲙⲁⲩⲱⲁⲧ
 ⲁⲭⲏⲧⲣⲟ[ⲩ]
 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲡⲉⲓⲱⲉ ⲣⲟⲗⲱⲥ ⲉⲡⲥⲩⲛⲁⲟⲙⲟⲛ ⲡⲧⲁⲛⲉⲥⲏⲛⲩ ⲭⲟⲱⲥⲓ ⲁⲡⲣⲱⲃ ⲁⲣⲉⲥⲏⲉ
 ⲛⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ
 ⲥⲡⲉⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲙⲉⲩⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲣⲏⲡⲣⲱⲃⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲙⲏ ⲁⲣⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲭⲟⲟⲥ
 ⲭⲉ ⲥⲁ-
 ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲗⲟⲡⲟⲛ ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉⲥⲏⲉ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲡⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩⲩⲧ ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲧⲏⲙⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲏ ⲛⲁⲛ
 ⲉⲡⲉⲓ ⲥⲡⲉⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲙⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲣⲏⲡⲉⲥⲏⲛⲩ ⲡⲧⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲟⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥ
 ⲣⲱⲟⲩ
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¹ The string came across the gap which, as so often, was designedly left in the middle of the address.

Verso: Ϝ $\overset{\pi}{\text{παιεβαλϚ}}$ $\overset{\alpha}{\text{αμεριτ}}$ $\overset{\delta}{\text{πινρε}}$ $\overset{\alpha}{\text{εττ}}$ $\overset{\alpha}{\text{αμανεχ}}$ $\overset{\alpha}{\text{πκγρ}}$ $\overset{\alpha}{\text{στεφανος}}$ $\overset{\alpha}{\text{α}}$
 $\overset{\alpha}{\text{επρακλειδης}}$ $\overset{\alpha}{\text{[π]ελ}}$ $\overset{\alpha}{\text{α}}$

3. $\text{I. } \pi\tau\sigma\sigma\tau\epsilon(\tau)$ 5. $\alpha\gamma\omega\rho\pi\pi\rho\omega\acute{\eta}$: see comm. 10. $\pi\epsilon\lambda(\alpha)\chi(\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma)$ 11. $\alpha\pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\omicron\phi\iota\lambda\epsilon(\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma)$; $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\rho\tau(\omicron\gamma\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma)$. Verso: $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda(\omicron)\eta(\rho\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma)$; $\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha(\mu\eta)$; $\pi\kappa\gamma\rho(\omicron\varsigma, -\iota\omicron\varsigma, \omicron\gamma -\iota\varsigma)$; $\pi\iota\epsilon\lambda(\alpha)-\chi(\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma)$.

'I received the letter of your beloved, honoured, and Christ-loving magnificence, and I greeted your honoured sonship. And I was glad when I heard of your good health through it. About the little field:—the matter did not meet with the approval of the community. And it is not for me to dispose of any matter on my own account without reference to them. If you had gone by the general gist of what the brethren said, the matter *did* meet with our approval; and, believe me, I think that they did not make a burden of the work; indeed, some others said that it was rather light. Well, if you like it that way, the choice lies with you. For, believe me, not one of the brethren when he heard approved of distributing the work among them so as to leave the rest lying on the land. For you realize that if we share it among them, the rest is wont to lie idle; this stands to reason. I greet your honoured, Christ-loving magnificence through this humble letter. Farewell in the succour of the Holy Trinity. And through you I greet the most divinely favoured and beloved brother Apa Magistor the *chartularius*.' (Address:) 'The most magnificent, beloved, honoured, and Christ-loving son, the lord Stephen: Heraclides the humble.'

2. $\pi\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$: cf. $\pi\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\omega\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}$, 7 below.

4. $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\pi\epsilon\iota\omicron\epsilon$, etc.: the construction seems elliptical, but intelligible: 'if you had gone by the general gist of what the brethren said, (you would have said that) . . .'

5. $\alpha\gamma\omega\rho\pi\pi\rho\omega\acute{\eta}$: for $\alpha\gamma\omega\rho\pi\pi\rho\omega\acute{\eta}$, or $\alpha\gamma\omega\rho\pi\pi\alpha\eta\epsilon$ (or $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$)? $\rho\omega\rho\pi\pi$ evidently contrasts with $\epsilon\alpha\sigma\omega\sigma\gamma$, though the form $\rho\omega\rho\pi\pi$ is not attested by Crum, *Dict.* s.v. $\rho\omega\sigma\pi\pi$; neither is the sense 'to make (or deem) heavy' which seems required here.

7. The objection to the scheme is apparently that to share out the work would involve waste of cultivation and produce.

9. $\pi\pi\alpha\iota$: grammar obscure; for $-\pi\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\iota$?

2. 31×12.4 cm. The body of the letter and its address are in a large crude hand. George, the priest (*ἱερεύς*) of the hamlet of Telke, and Heracle inform a higher authority whose name is illegible about the results of the dispatch by the latter of a guard to exact payments in respect of some cattle; all those who were liable have submitted to the exaction with the exception of two men who have resorted to the immemorial practice of the overtaxed Egyptian peasant and fled; they are now in the addressee's own district, and the writers anticipate that if something is not done their mischievous example will be followed by others. On the verso, below the address, is a short note in a second, smaller and neater hand, barely legible except at the end; the same hand has written the name and designation of a person on a loose slip of papyrus measuring 7.1×8.7 cm. which was found folded up inside the letter. For its possible significance, see commentary.

4 ϣεωρε ϣιερεϣε απепωα πт[. .]πтλне απρнракле πιελ^αχ
 петсраї απεγχοεис αγω π[ε]простатис πνγριс р'φ[
 же катѡе πтатенαπтα[оe]ic тпo[о]γпапоγερше
 εβολ εтвetepe απпетбн[оо]γe аγстоιχε тпpoγ
 5 простанаλoтa απoγa πoγa шатпρωαе снаγ
ααατε πшaγane аγтeγpиe сите аγпoт аγeи нити
 εppaї еpетαпеттшaже тaρoογ eγнaшт eγcopckaп-
 ααλoн εβολ катaсoп απεpоoγ απaιαтpαφoн oн аγпoт
 шaнтeγпкooγe пaγ epoογ пcoγпoт ρωωoγ ρйтaфopαиn
 10 пaї oн ϣ oγxai ραпxoeic πппростатис eт'тaйнγ +

Verso: (1st h.) ϣ таaс απαxoeic [(c. 20 letters) πie]λ^[α]χ

(2nd h.) ϣ [α]ρεпρωαе п . . . [c]ραї п[α]i εтbe аγсpaї пaї αλλα απε-
 cpaїλaαγ пaγ
 eγbλaπтeи н απeпoαтe
 πφaσι +

Enclosure (2nd h.):

κωνcтaнтинe
 παπο ιερeωн
 нпeпoωαн πшe
 πaпoγп

1. πт[. .]πтλне: the first τ seems certain; not π (see n.); πιελαχ(ιστος) 2. No room for η[εγ]πpoc-
 татис. At end, letter after p: ι or γ? 6. More correctly πшaγane аγтeγpиe 10. 1. (π)пaї

Verso: 1. πie]λaχ(ιστος) 3. ηxαp[β] = xαpт(ογλapиoс)? 5. 1. ααφace.

'George, the priest (ιερεύς) of the hamlet of . . . Telke, and Heracle the humble, write to their lord and protector the lord R. . . .: that accordingly as your lordship sent out the guard concerning the cow and the (other) beasts, they have all agreed (to pay) their respective shares; with the exception only of two fellows with cropped hair, who have absconded, each taking his wife with him, and come up to you; if your strict pronouncement does not reach them, spreading mischief every time the day comes round for them to pay their dues; they have absconded, and so others see them and they too abscond by the incitement of these. Farewell in the Lord, our honoured protector.' (Address:) 'Deliver to my lord . . .: . . . the humble.'

(Second hand:) 'Some people . . . have written to me about . . .; they have written to me, but I have not written anything to them, as he is behaving in an interfering and insidiously obstructive manner.'

(Enclosure:) 'Constantine, sometime priest (ἀπὸ ἱερέων) of the hamlet of Shenanoup.'

1. ϣιεpeγc: cf. enclosure; and *Ryl. Copt.* 278: . . . πaн]нγe πпeтaиe αππεpиepeγc ππeпoиkeиoн; with the editor's n.: 'It is to be noted that for the smaller local subdivisions the clergy are the responsible officials.' απeпoωα: eпoωα (cf. eпoωн in the enclosure), not пoωα, as Crum, *Dict.* s.v.; the word is

evidently one of the widely various Coptic corruptions of *ἐποίκιον*; cf. Krall (*Rain.* 11), 145, where *πενωσᾶ ἀπα φοιῆδαμμιων* is equivalent to *ἐποίκι) ἄπα Φ.* in the Greek subscription.¹

π[.]π[.]τ[.]κε: this is the *Τέλλε χω(ρίον)* of P.Lond. 1461, 33; a place commonly mentioned in Hermopolite Coptic documents, and variously spelt (*τηλλε, τελλε*, etc.); mod. Dalgah. The letters preceding it here are puzzling; *πενοικειον* π[.]π[.]τ[.]κε is cited by Crum from P.B.M. Or. 6201B; since, however, η[ο]υ cannot be read here, possibly the π[.]π[.] of the B.M. papyrus is a mistake for τ[ο]υ; if so, supply τ[ο]υ π[.]τ[.]κε here.

π[.]ρακε: see introduction. (Note that the second hand in this letter, though superficially similar to that of 1, is not the same.)

2. π.ϕ[] : π(ο)ϕ[]ος?

6. π[.]π[.]α[.] (= -π[.]α[.]-)ανε: the detail is perhaps mentioned to assist in their identification.

Verso 3 seqq. The second writer, who is evidently being spied upon by an enemy, seems to have taken the opportunity to smuggle a message to the addressee on a letter written by another. The identity of the person named in the separate enclosure is uncertain; if his persecutor was named after *ετῆε*, Constantine may be the writer of this note; if some other matter was mentioned after *ετῆε*, Constantine may be his enemy. In either case the motive for the separate enclosure was presumably secrecy. If, as seems likely, neither letter reached its destination, it is conceivable that this person's malice was responsible for the fact.

Enclosure 1. 2. *π[.]α[.]π[.]ο ἱερεων*: for *ἀπό*, see *Ryl. Copt.*, p. 146, n. 3; *ibid.* p. 254 (index, s.v.).

3 seq. *πενωσῆ π[.]π[.]π[.]α[.]π[.]ο[.]γ[.]η* is otherwise unknown.

¹ For substitution of σ for κ before ι, see Rahlfs, *Griechische Wörter im Koptischen*, Sitzb. preuß. Akad., 1912, pp. 1036 ff.



AMICE MARY CALVERLEY

AMICE MARY CALVERLEY

By JANET LEVESON GOWER

[Introduction by Sir Alan Gardiner]

[No Egyptologist will need to be reminded of the four magnificent folios in which Amice Calverley, assisted by Myrtle Broome, recorded in photograph, colour, and line the famous paintings and reliefs of the great temple of Sethos I at Abydos. Nor is it merely her altogether exceptional powers as an artist which make of this work a *monumentum aere perennius*; the carrying through of such a task demanded an organizing power and a restless energy such as could hardly have been found in any other single individual. The genesis of the Abydos publication is set forth in the Introduction to the first volume and consequently will not be repeated here. Our readers will, however, be interested to learn more about the background and the other achievements of one who may certainly rank among the most remarkable women of her time, and the account here given by her cousin reveals aspects of her astonishing career of which the present writer, a friend of over thirty years' standing, had only a glimmering. It was a stroke of good fortune which secured her the admiration of John D. Rockefeller Jnr., who not only financed her Egyptian enterprise, but who also, recognizing the great value of her undertakings in Greece, Crete, and the Near East, helped and encouraged her in them as well. These short prefatory words of mine cannot dwell upon sides of her nature which were as marked as her amazing artistic and practical talent: her deep charity and the never-failing courage with which she aided her fellow-creatures. We shall never see her like again.

ALAN H. GARDINER.]

AMICE MARY CALVERLEY was born on 9 April 1896, the daughter of Edmund Leveson Calverley and Sybil Salvin.

The Calverleys were of Calverley and Oulton Hall, Leeds, now absorbed into the mining country. Although she was later whole-heartedly to adopt Canadian nationality, she set great store by her Yorkshire ancestry, and was especially interested in her descent from Sir John Ibbetson, 6th Bart., her great-grandfather, who took the name of Selwin on inheriting Down Hall, Essex, and married Isabella daughter of General John Leveson Gower of Bill Hill, Berks. Their daughter, Isabella Mary, married Edmund Calverley, whose eldest son inherited Down Hall from the last Selwin-Ibbetson, his uncle, Lord Rookwood. The third son was Amice's father.

Her mother's family were likewise north-country. The Salvins had been at Croxdale, co. Durham, since 1474. Anthony Salvin was a well-known authority on medieval military architecture. His restorations may be seen at the Tower of London, Alnwick, and other castles, and he designed modern ones such as Peckforton. His second son Osbert, Amice's grandfather, married Caroline Maitland. A naturalist and F.R.S., his great work was done in Central America, to which many volumes bear witness, and his own methods of showing specimens of natural history have been adopted in our museums. Both Amice's mother and aunt were of unusual artistic talent with ability for delicate work. No doubt Amice's draughtsmanship came to her from this family.

A major in the Essex Regiment, Leveson Calverley left the Army and was for a time

librarian at the Cape, whence he took his family to Canada. There he left them and returned to England.

Amice studied her music and earned a little by her fine sewing. She went to New York and supported herself as mannequin and dress-designer, and finished up at Wanamaker's Store. In 1922 she gained a scholarship at the Royal College of Music and soon came to England.

Working for a time with Vaughan Williams, she set her heart on writing an opera founded on a story by Mrs. de Morgan. It was finished (typically at 3 a.m.) in March 1926. It had many travels, and was given an audition at the Vienna Opera House, but to her grief was never accepted.

At the end of 1926 she was staying at Oxford, encouraged by Sir Leonard Woolley to take up drawing for archaeology. Apart from a week's stippling with the miniaturist Edith Davies, her efforts were self-taught, and included upsetting a bottle of ink over an 'immemorial sherd' at the British Museum. She was urged to let her opera go and publish her lesser compositions, but her mind was now running on other things. In 1927 she began her connexion with the Egypt Exploration Society.

In 1933 she spent the summer in Austria, writing a quartet in F minor, performed in Vienna, London, and Canada, and broadcast from the last. I think it was in 1935 she decided to take up flying with the idea of having a plane at Abydos. Getting no particular encouragement from the E.E.S., she did not complete her training, though she was thrilled with her solo flights.

In the spring of 1938 she was in Rumania and took a series of exquisite colour films with the Carpathians for background, showing folk-dancing and funeral and fertility rituals, not dissimilar to those of the Egyptians.

On the outbreak of war she drove for the Invalid Children's Aid Association in the evacuation scheme, but in 1940 was recalled to Canada because of illness in the family. She came back to England in November 1941 and was sent by the Ministry of Information to Cairo to be attached to the Embassy for propaganda. After a long journey by sea, and flight from Durban, she arrived to find she was not wanted. She contrived to visit Abydos and found her people expecting her, having, in their mysterious way, known that their beloved lady had flown over them on her way north to Cairo. On return she joined the Air Force with a view to using her draughtsmanship. After the inevitable service as A.C.W. and cadet, she was sent to Medmenham where, underground, she was put to figures, not drawing, and her eyes suffered. In 1944 she was Civilian Relief worker, Mediterranean, with U.N.R.R.A.

On her return to Abydos in 1947 there was an outbreak of cholera, and she was busy inoculating, with vaccine obtained by her from Chicago, not only her villagers but some 750 British and Americans in Upper Egypt.

In 1949 her Egyptian work came to an abrupt end. She went to Crete and filmed peasants and flowers pending a hoped-for settlement of the misunderstanding. In February she took air pictures of Greece under snow from a general's plane, landing during a battle—the first set-back of the Communists, who held much of Greece at that time. She returned to Crete and on the boat met a young soldier-musician whose

troubles gave her the idea of going back to the front and filming the struggle. She next found herself in the Epirus, and with the Commando Brigade of Colonel Papageorgopoulos—three days' march into the mountains—she stayed to take films and to nurse in the forward receiving station in the battle of the Grammos. There was but one other woman, a nurse, on this front. Afterwards she was given the badge of a Greek Commando which she treasured proudly. Later she looked up many of the men she had nursed, and, shocked by the lack of after-care, worked out a scheme for training and establishing the disabled.

On her return in 1950 her film was shown at the Central Office of Information. She had hoped it would be used to raise funds for the wounded, but this small though heroic military side-show did not rouse the interest she had counted on. During this visit she broadcasted to Greece, and gave a lecture with coloured slides of the Abydos Temple at the Royal Institution.

In 1951 she came over from Greece for a few days in a military plane to see about her film. Characteristically, she had given marrow from her breast-bone to a wounded 14-year-old and had a dressing on her chest. She was still in Greece in 1952, recording and broadcasting, but not at all in health, though making the usual ruthless demands on her staying power.

Amice was one of those exceptional English women the desert Arab takes to his heart. She was at her best at Abydos, where she had made a little garden of sweet peas and mignonette in the waste. Her high, small singing voice echoed among the pillars of the temple while she worked, and inspired the sparrows to tweet as they hopped around her. At evening came her patients, with sores and ailments of every sort, humble family groups from far over the desert, to crouch in the sand at a little distance, awaiting her help.

Health and energy she expended recklessly, lavishing her resources on often thankless causes. Difficult she often was, but her powers of deep affection and faithfulness, her absolute integrity, and almost overwhelming generosity will not be forgotten by those who knew her well.

Her mind never rested, 'driven on', as a friend has just written, 'by a sort of fury to do all she could in her life and express all her talent'. She could never understand that the beauties of Abydos, music, poetry, and nature, to which she was intensely sensitive, did not appeal to everyone she met—some might even be bored.

Amice was the product of a broken home, and she felt this keenly. Always devoted to my parents, she found in our home a stability she loved to count on. Whenever she came back one felt she had never been away; and it is still hard to realize that she will not come again.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1958)

By P. M. FRASER

I. Bibliography

(1) A survey of Greek epigraphy by J. and L. ROBERT appeared in the period covered by this bibliography: *REG* 71, 169-363. I refer to this where necessary as 'J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull.* 1958'.

(2) My own survey of the year 1957 appeared in *JEA* 44, 108-16.

(3) The first part of N. SAUNERON's *Temples ptolémaïques et romains d'Égypte, Études et publications parues entre 1939 et 1954, répertoire bibliographique* (Inst. franc. d'arch. orient., Bibl. d'étude, 14) will be of use to students of Graeco-Roman Egypt since it contains a general bibliography of the temples: the second part concerns hieroglyphic texts.

(4) *Onoma* 6, Supplément (bibliographie onomastique), 51*-66*, contains a 'bibliographie onomastique de l'Égypte ptolémaïque', compiled by H. LECLERCQ as part of the programme of *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (cf. below, no. (38)). It covers the years 1914-50, and contains a list of articles and books (and their reviews) concerned with 'the anthroponymy and toponymy of Ptolemaic Egypt'.

II. New Texts

(5) In *Ann. Serv.* 55, 301-34, S. ADAM publishes an account of his discoveries in the eastern Delta from 1950 to 1955. These include a stamped plaque from Athribis (pl. 9, and cf. 303-4) containing the name 'Ερμού|ένους (cf. the plaque with an identical inscription, *JEA* 43, 101, no. (7)), and a number of amphora-handles (pl. 9, b, cf. *ibid.*).

(6) In *Archaeology*, 11, 117-22, A. BADAWY writes on the Roman cemetery of Hermoupolis West (Ashmunēn), a section of which he excavated in 1949. His finds include a funerary-chapel with graffiti, of which he publishes no transcript but gives a photograph on which can be read, in good lettering, (a) to the left, "Οσιρις· έτελεύ|τησε|ν Εύπο|ροῦς, L ιθ, | 'Εφέ|π κδ, (b) "Οσιρις· | [έτελ]εύ|[τησ]εν | [Α]πίων, | έτων ιγ, | ήμερων ν, Αθῶρ κε, (c) "Οσιρις· | έτελεύ|τησεν | Αμμωνία L ιβ (or η), | Τῶβι η.

(7) M. CRAMER's *Archäologische und epigraphische Klassifikation koptischer Denkmäler des Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York und des Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Harrassowitz, 1957) contains a number of unpublished Christian Greek tombstones of the simplest form, none sufficiently important to warrant quoting here.

(8) In *JRS* 48, 117-29, 'The Funerary Garden of Mousa', P. M. FRASER and J. B. NICHOLAS publish, with a detailed commentary, an Alexandrian inscription containing a report in *oratio recta* of a judgement given by a Roman magistrate in respect of the ownership of a κηπόταφος. The document in its present form is not earlier than the prefectship of Mettius Rufus (89-91), who is mentioned in it. Unfortunately the actual course of events is not wholly clear, and the text raises many interesting questions regarding the application of Roman funerary law in Egypt, and indicates once more how often such documents deviate from codified law.

(9) In *Archiv f. Orientforsch.* 18, 279-87, H. BRUMMER and H. HOMMEL publish a relief of unknown origin, now in Glasgow, bearing a representation of Amasis and a Greek inscription. The latter, discussed by H. on 284-7, is read by him as δ βασιλ[εύς] | Αμασι[ς] | δ Πασιο[ύφ]. The lettering is obviously not that of the Saite period, and H. dates it to the end of the second or, more probably, the first half of the first century B.C., although he unfortunately makes little attempt to compare it with the lettering of the large number of dated Ptolemaic inscriptions, comparing only *OGIS* 182 (see below). The labda of βασιλεύς is λ (see below). The third line is interpreted by B. as δ πα-Σιο[ύφ], a Greek transcription (with the addition of the Greek article) of Eg. p-siuph, meaning 'Amasis of Siuph' in Upper Egypt, which is taken as confirmation of Hdt. ii, 172, 1, έβασίλευσε Αμασις, νομού μὲν Σαίτου έών, εκ τῆς δὲ ἡν πόλιος, οὐνομά οί έστι Σιούφ. The edge of the stone is close to the omicron, and since the letters are widely spaced any letter, including upsilon,

is possible at this point. H. regards the sign ν as a mark of abbreviation the necessity for which he explains by the assumption that an object or inscription stood immediately to the right of the break and conditioned the length of the line; he compares the contemporary occurrence of the sign in MILNE, *Cairo Cat.* 25, no. 9296, col. ii, l. 12 ($\sigma\eta\mu < = \sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$). However, it would be very surprising if the word $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ was abbreviated in this manner. H. explains the inscription as the work of a Greek familiar with Egyptian who wished to inform Greek passers-by of the identity of the philhellene king. This may be so, but I must confess that the inscription as a whole does not strike me as a genuine product.

(10) In *Rev. Phil.* 1958, 92 ff., P. MASSON publishes 'Inscriptions grecques et chypriotes du petit temple d'Achoris à Karnak'. He quotes first of all the graffito from the temple, already published, SB 6698, $\beta\alpha\lambda\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega\nu$ $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omega\nu$ $\Lambda\acute{\epsilon}\delta\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, and compares the Cypriot ethnic here, $\Lambda\acute{\epsilon}\delta\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, with its occurrence in a fragment from Kafizin published by MITFORD, *Aegyptus*, 33, 84, n. 1 (cf. *JEA* 40, 140, no. (90)). He also quotes unpublished graffiti from the same temple, one in Greek, $\text{Τιμαγόρας Πέτρονος Λέδριος}$, and one in the Cypriot syllabary. He dates these graffiti to the first quarter of the fourth century or slightly later. Unfortunately no photographs or copies of any sort are given. Another unpublished graffito reads $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ Τιμῆος Σαλαμίνιος , followed by a syllabic version of the same.

(11) In *Eos* 48, 2 (*Symbolae R. Taubenschlag* ded. 2), 117-19, D. MEREDITH publishes four inscriptions from the amethyst mines at Abu Diyeiba in the eastern Desert near Philoteris, found by L. A. TREGENZA. 1: a dedication to Ptolemy Philometor, Cleopatra, Pan Epekoos, Apollo-Aroeres, $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$. M. prints $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$ in his text, but the iota is very clear on the photograph: correct also J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull.* 1958, no. 537, where M.'s reading is repeated. In l. 4 correct the lapsus $\eta\gamma\mu\langle\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma\rangle\ldots$ to $\eta\gamma\mu\langle\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma\rangle\ldots$. In l. 6 M. reads Πανίσκου των υιών . The last word, if correct, presumably indicates that Paniskos is of the class of $\nu\iota\omicron\iota$ $\tau\omega\nu$ $\eta\gamma\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\omega\nu$ (see LESQUIER, *Instit. milit. des Lagides*, 82). 2, reproduced upside down in fig. 3: a dedication [$\text{Πανὶ Εὐδῶδωι εὐχ[ἀρίστωι θεῶι καὶ] Ἀρποχράτῃ}$]. The lettering closely resembles that of some of the third-century synodic decrees (Canopus, etc.). 3: apparently part of a similar dedication, also has a very characteristic hand of the early or middle part of the third century (π is, ω egas, \omicron microns). 4: a Roman dedication to Isis, Sarapis, and Pan. This has two final lines which M. mentions but does not transcribe: they are not all legible on the photograph. M. says (119): 'Philoteris is usually believed to have been founded by (?) Ptolemy II Philadelphus', and adds in a footnote: 'Strab. xvi. 4. 5 (769): some of his references to places on the Red Sea coast are geographically doubtful.' But who else would have founded a city so named? Items 2 and 3 are of interest in this connexion as showing relatively early Ptolemaic activity in the area.

(12) In *Ann. Serv.* 55, 191-7 G. MICHAELIDES publishes a portable bronze offertory-box from the neighbourhood of Memphis, bearing on the lid the representation of a curled serpent above which is the word $\nu\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\epsilon$. M. reasonably regards the box as the property of a mendicant priest or $\alpha\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$.

(13) In *Ann. Serv.* 55, 203-6 (and pl. 1) A. RIAD publishes an architraval dedication from Euhemeria, now in Cairo. The dedication is to Preemarres on behalf of Philometor and Cleopatra. Riad dates it, on account of the absence of any children, to 172/1. It runs: $\nu\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ $\text{Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας, θεῶν Φιλομητόρων, υ, Νεχθίβις Σοκομήνιος καὶ οἱ υἱοί, τὸ πρόπυλον Πρεμαρρήτι θεῶι μεγάλωι, εὐχήν}$. R. notes the other dedications to Preemarres (the deified Ammenemes III).

(14) In *Maeander*, 10, 79-82 (and photograph) A. SADURSKA publishes an inscription from the collection formerly in the Lyceum Hosianum at Braunsberg (now Braniewo) and now in Warsaw. It is a late metrical tombstone of poor quality in a sunk frame. S.'s text as here published, S¹, contains some errors. A partially corrected version, S² (with suggestions by P(eek)), appears in *Bibl. Class. Or.* 2, 3-5 (and cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull.* 1958, no. 529). I reproduce the text as in the latter publication, embodying some necessary corrections: $\text{Ἰγνωτὴ ἐμὴ Τσατεχάνι, ὅτι αἶμα μητὲρ ὁμαρτή, | ἅπαντα τὰδ' ἀρπάξασα μετ' ὥχεο δῶμα θανόντων | ὁρφάνος ἐν πάντεσσι καὶ οὐχ ἐνὶ μόνον ἐτύχθην | ναι μὰ (μ)ε συντρίψει (π)ένθος ζῶντά περ ἐμῆς | εἰς ὃ κεν ἐνθ' ἀφίκωμαι ὁππῇ φθαμένη μ' ἐβεβήκεις}$. On the left frame $\epsilon\upsilon\mu\omicron\iota\rho\epsilon\iota$ $\sigma\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, on the right $\alpha\theta\langle\acute{\alpha}\nu\rangle\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$. Line 1, Σατεχάν S¹, corrected by P. to Τσατεχάν . Line 2, ὁμαρτή S¹, Ὀμάρης S² (P): the τ of ὁμαρτή is visible on the photograph. Line 4, ὥχει S¹ and S²: of course ὥχεο , the omicron of which is clear on the photograph. Line 7, $\text{ναι μὰ σὲ (sic) συντρίψει μὲν θ(ε)ός}$ S¹ and S², but the latter in a footnote accepts, as confirmed by a study of the squeeze, a suggestion of P., με λίθος , for μὲν θ(ε)ός . However, the photograph shows that the last letter of l. 7 cannot be labda, and seems to be a coarse, retrograde nu (ν). The

correction <π>ένθος is minimal, and the sense of the line is finally recovered by the alteration of σέ to <μ>ε. Lines 11-12, εὐμοίρει οὐδείς | [οὐδείς] ἀθάνατος S¹, εὐμοίρει οὐδείς | ἀθ[ά]νατος (wrongly accented and punctuated, but correctly translated 'Sei glücklich! Keiner ist unsterblich') S². In l. 2 ἀρπάξασα is strange thus used. Pace S., there is nothing Christian in this epitaph.

III. Studies of previously published inscriptions

(15) BLANCHE R. BROWN's *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style* (Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts, Arch. Inst. of America, 6) is among the most substantial works in the field of Ptolemaic art to appear in recent years, and in some respects supersedes PAGENSTECHER's *Nekropolis* (1919). It is largely concerned with the painted stelae of Alexandria, and thus falls within the scope of this bibliography. The epigraphical observations, which play a considerable part in the argument, are from the pen of C. B. Welles, who, however, worked from photographs only, except for the stelae in New York. Ch. I gives the first full account, based in part on unpublished material in the archives of the Metropolitan Museum, of the 'Soldiers' Tomb' of the third century B.C., discovered at Hadra in 1884, which yielded a large number of Hadra vases and painted stelae. This chapter sets the whole hitherto uncertain information regarding this tomb and its contents in some sort of order, and also provides readings of a considerable number of inscriptions on Hadra vases which had remained unpublished or had been published only in photographs. Among the virtually unpublished items from the tomb are the two inscribed vases, reading respectively *Ἀπολλωνίου* and *Ἀντοεῖς Διδωρίγου* (cf. Welles, 8, n. 17), and one inscription, largely indecipherable, painted on a vase of a shape not otherwise attested from this tomb: the inscription is given thus (no photograph) - - - ΔΕ| ο πο... νηαφ. η σοαδων. | - η βιδυμυνοχελληνησ| μ Λ Λ βισιννησησικαησδωδεκ. . ε... αιτε. Welles points out that it would be possible to read *ὁ Ἰδων[ις]* at the end of l. 2, and that 'in l. 4 the almost certain δώδεκα suggests a following θεοί, but that is almost pure speculation'.

Ch. II contains the catalogue, with detailed descriptions and excellent plates, of the painted slabs and stelae, nos. 1-11 being from the 'Soldiers' Tomb'. I note here some points concerning the inscriptions. No. 1 (Pag(enstecher) 19) is now read as - - - θαν - - - - ηρα - - -, instead of merely - - - θαν - - . θαν suggests the beginning rather than the middle of a name, and there were probably two inscriptions, one (of which an initial alpha is perhaps visible) on the left for the man and one on the right for the wife. 2: the ref. in the lemma (in note 6: it is a great inconvenience that all the lemmata are given as footnotes) should be to Pag. 63. 3: inscription unchanged (Pag. 32). 4 (Pag. 54) previously read as ... ελοτ..., now read as *Πελοπίδης Θεσσαλός*. The photograph shows most of the first name, but should it not be *Πελοπίδας*? 5 (Pag. 46) is now read as - - ιαττος Γαλάτης. 6 (Pag. 52); inscription unchanged (cf. Welles, 17, n. 15). 7 (Pag. 23) is now read as *Φιλέστα γυνή Σισωνων[ς] Αναξίμου Γαλάτου* (cf. Pag. ad loc.). 8 (Pag. 31), 9 (Pag. 25): reading unchanged (B. seems to attribute the readings of nos. 7-9, as also of nos. 21 ff., to Launey, the last person to refer to them; in fact they were the readings already given by Neroutsos and other previous editors). Nos. 12-29 are a selection of stelae (some uninscribed) from other tombs, mainly from the large collection of 121 pieces in Alexandria Museum. 14 = Br(eccia) *Iscriz.*, 239, Pag. 61, no change. 17 = Br., *ibid.* 234, Pag. 5. 20 = Br., *ibid.* 242. 21 = Br. 237 (very illegible, read by Br. as - - - - ξενος Μακεδών, and by Reinach as - - - - ξενος [Γ]αλάτης. Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* 1, pl. 19, no. 1, after inspection of the original, preferred Br.'s reading and B. retains it also; it is unlikely that a Galatian would have a pure Greek name as early as the beginning of the third century B.C. It is remarkable that the same word could be read so differently). 22 = Br., *BSAA* 25, 115-16, read by Br. as - - - - Λεοντίσκου. ης, and now by Welles as - - - ος Λεοντίσκω [Η]πειρώτης (for which both here and in the Index B. invents the novel ethnic 'Epeiretan'). 33, given by NEROUTSOS, *RA* 1887 (2), 212, no. 51, as *Ἀριστόδημος Καλλισθένης*: the stone now bears the inscribed inscription *Ἀρηστοδυμο Καλληστω*, of which Welles says: 'I believe that the rather banal inscription was added long after the original preparation of the stele, possibly replacing a faded dipinto on the same surface.' Since Neroutsos could not fail to read the present inscription (pl. 15) had he seen it, it seems certain that what he saw was the original painted inscription, and that the present inscribed version, with its impossible etacism and its strangely irreconcilable forms, is an attempt made after the date of Neroutsos's publication to perpetuate the fading inscription. Sufficient time elapsed between the discovery of the inscription in Ramleh in 1875 and its purchase by the Louvre in 1886 (see REINACH, *Mon. Piot*, 18, 43, esp. n. 2, for details regarding the purchase of the pieces by the Louvre; cf. also in general B. 19) for such reworking to have

been effected with the object of enhancing its commercial value: there is no indication when Neroutsos, who did not publish the stone until 1887, saw it for the last time. 24 = Pag. 16. 26 = *Ann. Mus. Gr.-Rom.* 1940/50, 25 f., *Νικάνωρ Μακε...* IO- . Welles translates simply 'Nikanor, a Macedonian', but the difficulty to which I drew attention in *JEA* 40, 126, no. (11) by a question-mark still persists: what is the interpretation of the IO towards the end of the line? It clearly cannot be part of *Μακεδών* unless that name is regarded as a patronymic, *Νικάνωρ Μακε[δόν]ος Μακεδών*, which would be a strange coincidence, even though *Μακεδών* as a proper name is attested later (*Ath. Mitt.* 32, 37, no. 19, l. 10; MIHAILOV, *Inscr. Graec. Bulg.* 14, l. 17; 213). 27 = ROSTOVITZ, *SEHWW* 1, pl. 37, 1, unchanged. 28 = Pag. 6. 29 = Pag. 17. The inscription was given by BRECCIA, *Rapp.* 1912, 27, as *Κλέων | [unclear] εα. Κλέων [Κλ]έα(?)*, and the form *[unclear] εα* was reproduced by Pag., and here, where the second name is given as [-] εα. The excellent photograph (pl. 21, 2) shows a surprisingly wide blank space with surface preserved before the epsilon, with no trace of a letter. Pp. 33 ff. contain, in continuous enumeration with the preceding chapters, a selection of the loculus-slabs with false doors, most of which are uninscribed. 30 = Pag., fig. 61, is a notable piece, the metrical inscription of which is still unpublished, and of which a brief description is given by Welles (n. 87), who says that the writing of the inscription is 'of a good semi-cursive of the first or second century of the Roman period', and B. correspondingly regards the wailing women represented on either side of the inscription, and the inscription itself within the *tabula ansata*—in fact everything above the representation of the door—as a late addition, the tomb itself being of the third or second century B.C. (so Pag. 187; for his discussion see 89 ff.: B. 37, 42-43, n. 85, says that Breccia, *Rapp.* 1912, 23, dated the tomb to the second century B.C. on the basis of the decoration, palaeography, and associated finds, but I cannot find that he did in fact date the tomb either there or anywhere else). This seems to me doubtful; when I saw the piece in Alexandria I had the impression that the inscription might be Ptolemaic cursive, and, *pace* B., the wailing women are paralleled even on an Attic vase (see FRASER and RÖNNE, *Boeotian Tombstones*, 64 and 191, where this representation is discussed). Moreover, such meticulous writing and decoration are surely unlikely in a reused tomb of the Roman period. In any case, it is essential that this important document should receive a full publication. 33 = Pag., fig. 59. The inscription has always (Botti, Breccia, Pag., B. herself) been given as *Ξενάρχη χαίρει* (on B. ad loc., and 46 she has become 'Xenarche'), but all the photographs seem to show that the first visible letter is pi: perhaps [*Ε*]παρχί (cf. *Ἐπαρχίδης*). 39 ff. contain a detailed discussion of the chronology of the Alexandrian necropoleis. B. here rebuts in particular the view of KLEINER, *Tanagrafiguren*, that the Chatby cemetery should be dated wholly to the third century and not at all to the fourth (cf. *JEA* 39, 89, n. 1), and then discusses the chronology of the painted stelae themselves on stylistic grounds. Her results, though reached by the application of new criteria, do not seriously alter the generally accepted chronology. On 47-48, esp. n. 41, there is a valuable bibliography of the faience oinochoae. Her discussion of the 'richer tombs', i.e. hypogaea (52-60) of Mustafa Pasha, Anfushy, and Ras el-Tin, is followed by a new section of catalogue (nos. 38-47), this time of polychrome Hadra vases. The only inscribed vase is 45 = *Sieglin Exped.* 11, 3, fig. 54, *Ἐρμοκλέους Χίου*. 67-83 (nos. 48-52) deal at length with the chronology of Alexandrian mosaics. 48 is the famous representation of Alexandria, Rostovtzeff, op. cit. 1, pl. xxxv, from Thmuis (E. Delta), the inscription of which, *Σώφελος ἐποίησεν*, Welles here dates (67, n. 197), by comparison with some Pergamene inscriptions, to the late third or early second century B.C. It could be considerably later, and this would agree with the Pergamene stylistic parallels invoked by B. in the stylistic analysis (72-74) which are of the mid-second century. But in any case the real problem is that posed by Rostovtzeff (loc. cit.), and not touched on by B., whether the work is a copy or not, of an earlier work, not necessarily in the same medium: historically this seems likely. The work finishes with a brief but sensible discussion of the problem of the 'Alexandrian Style', in which B. comes firmly out against the notion of such a separate style.

(16) In *CP* 53, 169, n. 5, C. Edson discusses the meaning of *Μακεδόνι σὺν στρατιῶτι* in the epigram from Coptos, Wilhelm, *SB Wien. Akad.* 224 (1), 38 ff., no. V, which Launey maintained (*Recherches*, II, 1097, add. to I, 293) meant simply 'a soldier of the royal army'. Edson maintains that it probably refers to native Macedonian immigrants enrolled in the army.

(17) E. GABBA'S *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia* (varying from whole texts to very brief extracts) contains a few items from or concerning Egypt: I = *OGIS* 726; III = *Syll.* 585, ll. 138-9 (Ptolemy Macron at Delphi: cf. *JEA* 44, 114, no. (45)); VI = *OGIS* 96; VIII = *OGIS* 129; XI = *CIF* 1450; XIV = *CIF* 1510. Each is provided with a brief but useful commentary.

(18) In *Isr. Explor. Journ.* 8, 145, fig. 2, J. LEIBOVITCH, illustrating the chthonic significance of the female griffin with its foot on a six-spoked wheel (of which he here publishes an excellent example with an inscription dated A.D. 210/211 from the neighbourhood of Gaza), reproduces in line-drawing the Alexandrian (?) funerary relief in the Museo Civico of Bologna, of the Imperial period, bearing a representation of a dead child reclining in 'Totenmahl' position, pointing at a small figure of a griffin; the inscription reads $\text{C}\omega\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\ \text{L}\ \gamma, |\mu\eta\nu\omega\nu\ \beta, \epsilon\upsilon\psi\acute{\upsilon}|\chi\epsilon$ (it is a striking example of the unreliability of such line-drawings that L.'s drawing omits the last line altogether). This inscription was first published by K. SCHAUENBERG, *JDAI* 68, 69, fig. 23, in his article 'Pluton und Dionysos', where it escaped my notice; he describes the stone (70), but does not quote the inscription. S. says 'als Fundort wird Alexandria angegeben', and this is accepted by L. But DUCATI, *Guida del Mus. Civ. di Bologna*, 67 (where the piece was originally described), says only 'Ägypten', and there is nothing in the inscription itself to suggest an Alexandrian origin.

(19) H. W. PLEKET's publication of the Greek inscriptions in the Museum at Leiden, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, Nieuwe Reeks XXXVIII, Suppl., contains as no. 55 (and pl. x, 55) a new publication of *OGIS* 707, the dedication from Tyre to T. Furios Victorinus, Prefect of Egypt (159/60) and praefectus praetorio, by Fortunatus, $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda(\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma)\ \alpha\rho\chi\iota\tau\alpha\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma[\varsigma]\ \text{A}\iota\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{o}\delta\omega\nu\ \text{A}\lambda\epsilon\chi\alpha[\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma]$. The text contains no significant alterations. P. follows CAGNAT, *IGR* III, 1103, who suggested that the inscription might have been brought in modern times to Tyre from Egypt, and says 'since Fortunatus is $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ of the finances of Alexandria it seems reasonable to assume that the stone comes from Alexandria'. This is possible, but it is surely misleading to give 'Alexandria' as the provenance. Nothing is known of the circumstances of discovery (the only source, *Bull. Soc. Ant. France*, 1901 (2), 228, says simply 'découverte à Tyr'), and the mere fact that the offices held by the dedicant are Alexandrian does not prove an Alexandrian provenance: would P. regard, for example, *CIJ* 918, from Jaffa, as of Alexandrian origin?

(20) In *AJA* 62, 369-77, G. M. A. RICHTER discusses 'Ancient Plaster Casts of Greek Metalware' apropos of the recently published casts from Begram. In this connexion she discusses the well-known material from Memphis published by RUBENSOHN, *Hellenistisches Silbergerät in antiken Gipsabgüssen* (1911). She maintains that this is not early Ptolemaic, but Roman, on the basis of the painted inscriptions on one piece, $\text{E}\pi\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\eta\mu\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\upsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ and $\mu\eta\mu\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\upsilon\nu\omicron\iota$, for the date of which she quotes Professors Guarducci and Turner to the effect that (Turner) 'there is no compulsion for the third century date; any date between the second century B.C. and the second century A.D. is conceivable, but I myself would incline to prefer the first century B.C.' She concludes that the plaster reliefs 'were cast in the Roman period from examples of Greek metalware that were still extant at the time'.

(21) In his critical survey of G. E. Bean's publication of the Greek inscriptions of Side in Arif Müfid Mansel, G. E. BEAN and J. INAN, *Die Agora von Side und die benachbarten Bauten, Ber. über die Ausgrab. im Jahre 1948*, L. ROBERT, *Rev. Phil.* 1958, 15-53, refers to several inscriptions from or concerning Egypt: see below, nos. (26), (27), (39), (47).

(22) In *Cah. Arch.* 9, 99-115, 'Le Linteau copte dit d'Al-Môallaka' (the 'suspended' church in Old Cairo), M. SACOPOULO republishes in a detailed study with excellent photographs the figured panel in the Coptic Museum in Cairo bearing the inscription in relief-letters published by JOUGUET in M. SIMAIKA's *Guide sommaire du Musée copte* (1937). The panel portrays the entry of Christ into Jerusalem and other episodes in his life. The inscription reads: - - - $\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega\varsigma\ \lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \alpha\chi\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\kappa\tau\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\theta\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\omega}\kappa\epsilon\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\omega\mu\alpha\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \omega\varsigma\ \epsilon(\pi\iota)\omicron\upsilon\rho(\alpha\nu)\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\ (??)\ \Sigma\iota\nu\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$ (so J. followed by S.: $\epsilon(\pi\iota)\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ is difficult, and on the photograph I seem to see $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma\ [\kappa]\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\upsilon$) | [- - - $\alpha\gamma\lambda\acute{\omega}\varsigma$] S (= $\kappa\alpha\iota$, as usually but not always in this inscription) $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\omega\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\rho\iota\sigma\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \phi\omega\nu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ (\kappa\alpha\iota)\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \text{"}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\ \pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\eta\varsigma\ \acute{o}\ \omicron\upsilon(\rho\alpha)\nu\acute{o}\varsigma\ (\kappa\alpha\iota)\ \acute{\eta}\ \gamma\eta\ \tau\eta[s\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota]\alpha\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ [\delta\acute{o}]\xi\eta\varsigma\text{"}$. ($\kappa\alpha\iota$) $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\omega\nu\tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\tau\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\pi(\lambda)\alpha\chi\upsilon\epsilon\ \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{o}\tau\iota\ \epsilon\nu\ \omicron\upsilon(\rho\alpha)\nu\acute{o}\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\omega\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \omega\nu\ \pi\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma\ (sic)\ \delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \epsilon\nu\ \acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\ \epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron(\kappa)\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \beta\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\ - - - | \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}\nu\alpha\iota\ \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\omega\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi[\epsilon]\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \text{M}\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \text{A}\beta\beta\acute{\alpha}\ \text{Θ}\epsilon\omicron\delta\omega\acute{\rho}\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\delta\rho\omicron\upsilon\ (sic, for dative: in the form, apparently, $\Delta^{\circ}\text{P}$) ($\kappa\alpha\iota$) $\text{Γ}\epsilon\omega\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\omega\ \delta\iota\alpha\kappa(\acute{o}\nu\omega)\ (\kappa\alpha\iota)\ \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\acute{o}\mu\omega$ followed by the date, $\mu(\eta\nu\acute{o}\varsigma)\ \text{Π}\alpha(\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu)\ \text{ι}\beta, \text{ιν}(\delta)\ \gamma, \text{Δ}\iota\omicron\kappa(\lambda\eta\tau\iota\alpha\nu\acute{o}\upsilon), \text{v}\alpha$, i.e. A.D. 335. S. discusses the theology contained in the hymn, and places it on grounds of content between 335 and 356 (the date of publication of the first three discourses of Athanasius, whose doctrines she sees summarized in the inscription) and 431$

(the absence of any reference to *θεοτόκος*, established as an official title of the Virgin at the Council of Ephesus in that year). It is a pity that the years of the era are not very clear on the photograph.

(23) In *Chron. d'Ég.* 33, 113–34, C. VANDERSLEYEN publishes a detailed discussion of the inscription on the base of 'Pompey's Column', *OGIS* 718 (*IGR*, III, 106), with reference to the much-debated name of the prefect in l. 4. He retails at length the history of the early copies from Lucas to Wilkinson, tracing the sequence of the different editions, etc. He arrives at the conclusion that by the end of the nineteenth century, when Botti read the inscription and took a squeeze of it, the name of the prefect was, as Botti admitted, no longer legible, and maintains that the only two authentic readings (as opposed to conjectures) are those of Salt, *Ποσιδῖος*, and of Wilkinson, *Πούβλιος*. He follows Grenfell and Hunt in arguing that since a prefect Publius of the reign of Diocletian appears in two papyri, P.Oxy. 1204 (of 299) and 1416 (undated), it would be a rare coincidence if there had been another prefect Posidios in the same reign, known only from the inscription. I may make one contribution. Nobody, so far as I know, has ever published a photograph of this inaccessible inscription. I have an excellent one myself, taken when the sun was briefly at the right angle, and this seems to me to show an upsilon, faint but certain, in the third place in l. 4. If this is correct, then *Ποῦ[π(β)λιος - -]* must be the name. There are, indeed, possibly even traces of the second pi, *Ποῦ[π[λιος - -]*. Further, V. says that the name of the prefect can only have been of eight letters: that there is no room for more before *ἐπαρχος*. Measurement of the space on my photograph shows that in fact there is room for six letters between the upsilon and the first letter of *ἐπαρχος*. Read therefore *Ποῦ[π[λιος δ]*.

IV. Religion

(24) In his article on dedications made by Gentiles to the Jewish God E. BICKERMAN, *Rev. int. des droits de l'ant.* 5, 137–64, 'The Altars of Gentiles', discusses instances of the inclusion of the God of Israel with pagan deities in dedications, etc. In this connexion he discusses (157–8) *SB* 1323, the tombstone (of the second century A.D.) of Arsinoe, *θεῶ ὑψίστῳ καὶ πάντων ἐπόπτῃ καὶ Ἡλίῳ καὶ Νεμέσεσι αἶρει Ἀρσεινῶν ἄωρος τὰς χεῖρας· ἣν τις αὐτῷ φάρμακα ἐποίησε ἢ καὶ ἐπέχαρὲ τις αὐτῆς τῷ θανάτῳ ἢ ἐπιχαρεῖ, μετέλθετε αὐτούς*.

(25) The seventh and eighth volumes of E. R. GOODENOUGH's *Jewish Symbols*, 'Pagan Symbols in Judaism' contain, like their predecessors, a vast amount of interesting material and speculation. These volumes are concerned particularly with the symbolism of lions, trees (VII, 1–134), miscellaneous divine symbols (rosettes, wheels, masks), and (VIII, 1–117) erotic and (121–215) astronomical symbols. These subjects are treated with the customary vigour and wealth of documentation, and whether or not one agrees either with the author's premisses or his conclusions the volumes are a pleasure to read. They contain, however, no discussion of epigraphical material from Egypt, so I pass them over.

(26) In *Rev. Phil.* 1958, 32–33, L. ROBERT discusses the dedication of a *ἑστία* to Sarapis at Side (see below, no. (47)), and quotes in this connexion *SEG* VIII, 608, from Kōm el-Aḥmar, where, he says, the term seems to have no connexion with the hearth of a 'culte familial, civique ou d'association' and probably is used in the sense of *βωμός*.

(27) *Ibid.* 44, n. 2, L. ROBERT points out, in a discussion of washing-places in synagogues, that *SB* 27 (= 6210) = *CIG* 1531, *Ἐλεάζαρος Νικολάου ἡγεμὼν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Εἰρήνης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ ὥρολόγιον καὶ τὸ φρέαρ*, is not evidence for synagogal practice, for even if Eleazar is a Jew he is clearly here making the dedication in his military capacity as a *ἡγεμὼν*.

(28) In *Charisma, Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes*, I, F. TAEGER discusses the evidence for Ptolemaic ruler-cult. Unfortunately, the volume as a whole is essentially based on the old standard collections of material—particularly *OGIS*—and needs continual amplification and correction in this respect. There are also very few references to modern discussions (see Taeger's remarks on this point in the preface). Thus, though there are many interesting observations and also general conclusions, and though it is useful to have a full-scale treatment of this subject, instead of one of more limited scope, as is usually the case, it is rather a jumping-off ground for further studies than a definitive treatment of the subject, and its theses need to be tested in the light of the large amount of material which has accrued in the last fifty years or so. For the Ptolemaic cult in the Aegean see 243 ff. (Aegean islands), 247 (Rhodes), 251–2 (Cyprus); for the state-cult of the Ptolemies see 287–308, for native Egyptian influence on ruler-cult see 416–26 (418–20 contain a brief analysis of the synodic decrees).

V. *Political and Social History, etc.*

(29) As of general interest I may note the paper of L. AMUNDSEN, *Acta Congr. Madvig.* 1, 251-65, 'The Classical Greek Background of Ptolemaic Law', a clear statement of the facts with particular reference to the divergences of *PHal.* 1 (*Dikaionmata*) from Attic practice.

(30) In *Mus. Notes*, 8, 81-98, A. A. BOYCE discusses the instances in which Caracalla bears the cognomen 'Severus'. The evidence is mainly from the coins of Alexandria and Thrace and Moesia, but she also discusses (88-90) that of papyri and of inscriptions from Egypt. She maintains that the evidence of these, as of the coins, shows that the name was not introduced until after the death of Geta in 211. She says of *IGR* 1, 1185, in which Caracalla apparently occurs with the name Severus, that it must refer to Septimius Severus and Geta, and not Caracalla and Geta. However, the first emperor named in the inscription bears the name Antoninus, which did not form any part of Septimius' titulature, and thus this inscription seems to show that Caracalla at least on occasions bore the name Severus before the death of his brother. In l. 4, end, of the same inscription, perhaps restore [κάστρων] rather than [αὐτῶν].

(31) In a more general field I may note that E. BRECCIA has published a third edition of his *Egitto, Greco e Romano*. Its difference from the first edition (the second, of 1940, I have not seen) consists in the addition of two chapters, one (89-106) a survey of the Italian excavations of Antinopolis in 1934-40, and one entitled 'Il più importante paese del mondo', and in the omission of two chapters on Petosiris and his tomb. There are also considerable additions to the notes, some apparently already included in the edition of 1940, others referring to recent work.

(32) In *Eos* 48, 2 (cf. above, no. (11)), 101-15, C. KUNDERIWICZ publishes his study on 'l'évolution historique de la responsabilité des fonctionnaires dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque' (cf. *JEA* 44, 112, no. (28)): the evidence is all from papyri.

(33) In *Πολέμων*, 6, 7-16, "Τίς διεδέχθη τὸν Πτολεμαῖον Γ;" A. N. OIKONOMIDES discusses the combined evidence of *IG* ix, i², 56, the exedra at Thermos bearing the statues with inscribed bases of Euergetes I and his family, and P.Haun. 6, the papyrus (of which O. is engaged in a new edition) containing a summarized biographical account of the Ptolemaic dynasty in the third century B.C., to throw fresh light on the sequence of the sons of Euergetes. He suggests that the natural sequence for the names on the exedra is that the crown prince Πτολεμαῖος stood at the left end of the blocks joining the two extremities, and the next eldest at the right end, the place occupied by Magas. From this assumption O. proceeds as follows. He maintains that Polyb. v, 34, 1, ὡς γὰρ θάπτον Πτολεμαῖος ὁ κληθεὶς Φιλοπάτωρ, μεταλλάξαντος τοῦ πατρός, ἐπανελόμενος τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μάγαν... παρέλαβε τὴν Αἰγύπτου δυναστείαν, shows that Philopator only ascended the throne after he had disposed of Magas, who therefore had evidently more right to it than he had. Since, therefore, Magas is shown by his location on the exedra, according to O., to be the second son, and since he could not have had more right than Philopator if the latter had been the first-born, it follows that the first-born of the exedra is not Philopator. He maintains that this age-relationship is supported by Polyb. xv, 25, 2, which shows that Philopator was too young to rule (this being done by Sosibius and Agathocles), and P.Haun. 6, which shows that Magas was sent on an expedition to Asia during the lifetime of his father. The eldest son, he argues, must at that time have been of ripe years, but (a) Polybius as cited above, (b) P.Haun. 6, which describes Philopator as παῖς νέος παντελῶς, and (c) App. *Maced.* 4, which calls him a παῖς, at a considerably later date (see below) all show that Philopator was still a child at the time of his father's death. O. concludes that Philopator was the youngest son of Euergetes, and consequently restores his name in the missing space (f) on the exedra. He assumes that the eldest son of Euergetes, (b) of the monument, and also Alexander, (g), the third son according to O., both died before Euergetes.

The errors in this paper are obvious (quite apart from O.'s unawareness of previous work upon the papyrus, notably SEGRE, *Att. Pont. Accad. Rendic.* 19, 268-80 and MOMIGLIANO, *CQ* 44, 107-16, cf. also *ibid.* 116-18), and, errors apart, it contains some very strange things. In the first place O.'s view regarding the sequence of the princes on the exedra, i.e. that they were arranged in descending order as follows, (1), (4), (3), (2), rather than in the normal descending order, (1), (2), (3), (4), seems entirely arbitrary. Secondly, by a weird oversight, he has not seen that the two passages which he quotes as direct evidence for the youth of Philopator, P.Haun. 6 and App. *Maced.* 4, refer not to that prince but to his infant son, Epiphanes, while the other passage quoted in support of this contention, Polyb. xv, 25, 2 (on the position of which see P. MAAS, *Mélanges Grégoire*, 1, 443-8), is a list of the crimes of Sosibius, and provides no evidence for the age of

Philopator; it shows only that Philopator was a weak ruler under the influence of Sosibius. Moreover, the statement in P. Haun., that Euergetes sent Magas on an expedition to Asia, is no more significant for his seniority than that in Plutarch (*Cleom.* 33) that Sosibius feared the popularity of Magas with the army (a popularity which is now explained by his earlier presence on campaign), for he may have been no more than a boy at the time, if he was in the company of an experienced general. Finally the passage of Polybius (v, 34, 1, quoted above) which is said to show that the claim of Magas was stronger than that of Philopator, though it might literally be so interpreted, evidently should not be so, for had Magas been older, this, and not his popularity with the army, would have been the cause of his danger to Philopator, and would certainly have found mention. In brief, both the foundations and the conclusions of this article seem chimerical. The second part of the paper (15-16), 'Η ἐπικλήσις "Εὐφράτης" τοῦ Πτολεμαίου Γ' is fantastic. I have not seen the same author's article, *Δωδεκανησιακὸν Ἀρχεῖον*, 2, 218-27, 'Χρονολόγησις τοῦ πρὸς Πτολεμαίων τὸν β' πολέμου τῶν Ῥοδίων καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν ναυμαχίας τῆς Ἐφέσου', but the remarks of J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull.* 1958, no. (63), suggest that it too is based on misapprehensions.

(34) In *Bull. Acad. Belge* (Classe des lettres etc.) 44, 199-217, Cl. Præaux writes on 'Tradition et imagination dans la civilisation hellénistique d'Égypte'.

(35) In *Rev. Phil.* 1958, 35, n. 3, L. ROBERT contests the view of Wilhelm that the ethnics of BRECCIA, *Iscriz.*, no. 165 (WILHELM, *Beiträge*, 224, no. 227), are Alexandrian demotics. He restores in ll. 5 and 6 the ethnic *Κασά[της]*, and points out that the names are mainly Cilician. Wilhelm, loc. cit., had already noticed and discussed this fact, and his preference for the view that the ethnics were Alexandrian demotics is hard to understand.

(36) I may also call attention to C. SASSE's *Die Constitutio Antoniniana*, a detailed account of P. Giess. 40, and of work done upon it. There is a great deal of grammatical and linguistic analysis (some of it surely unnecessary), but the work as a whole is a very useful guide to the controversies surrounding this difficult text. It contains (129-43, esp. 134-43) a vast bibliography.

VI. Prosopography

(37) The third volume of *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* did not reach my hand in time for inclusion in my previous bibliography, so I may notice it here. It contains the prosopography of the clergy, the notarial and legal official. It opens with a list, in which inscriptions play some part, of the eponymous priests of Alexander and the Ptolemies at both Alexandria and Ptolemais. It embodies the results of the recent papers of GLANVILLE and SKEAT, *JEA*, and of HINTZE in *Mitt. Inst. Orientforsch.* (cf. *JEA* 41, 135, no. (19)), and also contains a good deal of previously unpublished information. This list will no doubt long remain standard. A few odd points concerning the epigraphical evidence of the rest of the volume may be noted. 6303 ff., the list of *ιερείς ἐκ Τουπήων*. I recently collated this inscription, which is carved on very friable sandstone, in the Egyptian Department of the Louvre, and it is barely legible. The names in ll. 10 ff. are particularly difficult to read. 6308: the patronymic is apparently not *Ἀμμωνος* but *Δάμωνος*. 6309, the patronymic is probably *Προῖτος* and not *Πρώτος*. Occasionally the caution exercised in assigning a priest to a specific cult seems excessive. For example, 6307 and 6394, 'prêtre de Zeus et de la θεὰ Συρία?', the mark of interrogation seems unnecessary: the relevant inscription, *OGIS* 733, is a dedication to these deities (and to the θεοὶ σύνναοι) by Apollonius and Machatas, Macedonians, described simply as οἱ ἱερείς. It does not seem to me at all likely that the priests of another cult (presumably the contingency envisaged by the insertion of the question-mark) would make a dedication to deities other than the deity whose priests they were. In this particular case the presence of the article seems decisive. (Incidentally, the location of the cult given for 6307 and 6394, Magdola, is wrong in itself—it should be Pelusion, the site of the cult mentioned in P. Ent. 13, ll. 2-3—and in any case a cross-reference to 6644 is essential.) The same argument applies also to 6398, where the dedicant of a plaque to Agdistis is called ὁ ἱερεὺς, and again to 6551, the twin dedications to Poseidon Hippios by ὁ ἱερεὺς. Contrast with this practice that of, for example, 6410, where a dedication to Ptolemy VI only is made by Nikomachos ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διός, the cult of which he was priest bearing no immediate relation to the dedication, and also (less cogently) 6382, where Cleon, the dedicant, calls himself ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διός: here the dedication is not only to Zeus Olympios and Zeus Synomosios, but also to the Theoi Adelphoi. 6438, the comment is 'sans doute d'Isis et d'Anubis'; surely here too there can be no real doubt. The cult here is said to be at Busiris, but the inscription is from the other Abuḳīr, i.e. Canopus.

(38) In *Eos*, 48, 2 (cf. above, no. (11)), 121-32, W. PEREMANS and E. VAN 'T. DACK publish 'Notes concernant PSI xiii. 969', an administrative letter of the first century B.C. addressed by one Achilleus to Seleucus. They identify Seleucus with the στρατηγός καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων of BGU 1761, etc. (*Pros. Ptol.* 330), and discuss possible candidates named Achilleus for the author of the letter. In this context they discuss SEG VIII, 532, the dedication of a 'year 10' by τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἱππέων τῆς θεραπείας in honour of Πτολεμαῖος Ἀχιλλέως, συγγενής, στρατηγός, and ἐξηγητὴς τοῦ Ἀρσινόου, and suggest that the father of Ptolemaios is the Achilleus of the papyrus. They propose to identify the 'year 10' with the tenth year of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy Soter II, 108/7, rather than with the tenth year of Cleopatra VII, as proposed by Otto and Bengtson. I have collated the inscription and am inclined to think that palaeographically (*pace* REHM quoted in OTTO and BENGTSON, *Niedergang*, 179, n. 5, and 223) 108/7 is perfectly possible. They suggest a further possible identification with Achilleus, the ἐκλογιστής of P.Ryl. 69. In connexion with the phrase in the papyrus, πρὸς τῇ προστασίᾳ τῶν κατὰ [τὸ]ν νόμον πάντων they discuss the office of Socrates ὁ μάλιστα τοῦ ἱεροῦ διὰ πάντων προϊστάμενος mentioned in one of the Theadelphia asylum-documents (SB 1161, second copy 6156).

(39) In *Rev. Phil.* 1958, 35, L. ROBERT discusses the name 'Ρωίς on the Hadra vase, OGIS 86, 'Ρωίς Ἀποασίος Ἐτεννέως, and also in WILHELM, *Beiträge*, 224, no. 227 (cf. above, no. (35)), where it appears as Ταρκόνδας Ῥωίος, Πα - -, the last word of which R. would restore as Πα[νεμοτειχίτης], but what is given in Breccia's text as a pi, and by Wilhelm as a dubious pi, seems to be a mu. This was my own reading, when I collated it, and it seems fairly clear also on Breccia's photograph, pl. xxvi, even though there has been some miscarving.

VII. Lexicography, etc.

(40) In their study of the word ὑπηρέτης in civil and judicial administration in Egypt, JfP 11-12, 141-66, H. KUPIZSWESKI and J. MODRZEJEWSKI quote the phrase ἡ κοινὴ ὑπηρεσία of the Philae proskynema, CIG 4896, and refer to the ὑπηρέται of the dedication to Philometor, OGIS 106, by three chrematistai, an eisagogeus, and a ὑπηρέτης.

(41) I may also note the lexicographical study of C. SPICQ, *Stud. Theol.* (Lund), 12, 169-91, 'La Philanthropie hellénistique, vertu divine et royale', in which are collected numerous instances of the word φιλανθρωπία from inscriptions and papyri.

(42) In *Journ. Bibl. Lit.* 77, 339-49, "Stewards of God"—the pre-Christian Religious Application of Oikonomos in Greek', J. Reumann notes (339, n. 21) the secular occurrence in the edict of Tib. Iul. Alex. of an ἐπίτροπος τοῦ κυρίου ἡ(ι) οἰκονόμος, and (344) of an οἰκονόμος σιτικῶν in the Socnopaiou Nesos inscriptions OGIS 177, 179, also the royal oikonomos of ibid. 188. He points out (345) that the use of οἰκονόμος to designate the treasurer of private societies, guilds, and clubs is attested by OGIS 50. 51. He is particularly (345 ff.) concerned with the οἰκονόμοι of the Memphian papyri, especially UPZ 56, and the Prinz-Joachim Ostraka, whom, following Wilcken, he regards as sacral officials and argues from this (349 cf. 343) that the οἰκονόμοι of *Inscr. Magn.* 99 (the decree relating to the cult of Sarapis) may also be cult-officials.

VIII. Geography

(43) The *Tabula Imperii Romani*, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, is enriched by a new map, entitled Coptos, compiled by D. MEREDITH. It contains a valuable archaeological map of the Eastern Desert, the area to which M. has devoted especial study, and is preceded by a useful introduction, bibliography, and list of publications containing inscriptions from the area.

IX. The Ptolemaic Empire

(44) In *BCH* 82, 77-82, J. BOUSQUET publishes a new fragment of the Amphictyonic decree authorizing acceptance of the festival of the Ptolemaieia instituted by Philadelphus ('Évergète', Bousquet, 78, top, by error) in honour of Soter, of which two fragments were republished by myself in *BCH* 78, 49 ff. The new fragment, which forms the top of the stela and contains only the Amphictyonic date-formula, does not join the other fragments, and is associated with them by B. on grounds of lettering, measurements, and texture. The new fragment raises problems of considerable historical interest, for it is dated by the archon Pleiston to 266/5, while the famous decree of the Nesiotic League accepting the same festival, *Syll.*³ 390, is commonly dated to c. 280 B.C. B. maintains that none of the arguments in favour of this date is decisive, and that we

must suspend judgement as to the date of the Nesiotic acceptance. His arguments against the date c. 280 are unfortunately not developed beyond the interpretation of the phrase *νῦν... διαδεξάμενον τὴν βασιλείαν*, and even if he is right in maintaining that this cannot be pressed into service on behalf of the early date, there remain other considerations which favour a date considerably before 266 for this text. Thus it is at least possible that the Amphictyonic acceptance may have come some years later than that of the Nesiotic League, which was immediately under Ptolemaic suzerainty. I hope to return to this question elsewhere. In regard to the text of the inscription the new fragment establishes the length of line, previously conjectural, and B. is able to reduce the length of my restorations, while accepting my corrections of Pomtow's readings.

X. Nubia, Ethiopia, etc.

(45) In *Riv. Stud. Or.* 32 (2) (*Scritti in onore G. Furlani*, 2), 749–56, E. LITTMANN discusses some Greek monograms from Syria and Abyssinia. The latter, which alone concern us, are graffiti on Christian wine-jars from Adulis published by PARIBENI, *Mon. Ant.* 18, cols. 551–2, fig. 59. He makes various attempts to explain their mysteries, but his solutions seem arbitrary and reinforce Paribeni's remark that elucidation of these signs is an 'impresa ad un tempo ardua e sterile'.

XI. The Egyptian Gods

(46) I may note briefly V. VAN GONZENBACH's *Untersuchungen zu den Knabenweihe im Isiskult der römischen Kaiserzeit* (*Antiquitas*, 4), which contains a catalogue of all known instances (all of the second century A.D. or later) of dedications of representations of children with the characteristic lock of Horus, many from Italy. She prefaces the catalogue by a full discussion of the origin and significance of the type.

(47) In *Rev. Phil.* 1958, 32, no. 52, L. ROBERT republishes the dedication to Sarapis at Side published by G. E. BEAN (cf. above, no. (21)) *Δὲ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς τὴν ἐστίαν Σώζων [Εἰ]ρηναίον*.

(48) In the year under review CH. PICARD has published three articles entitled 'La Sphinge tricéphale dite "Panthée" d'Amphipolis et la démonologie égypto-alexandrine', concerning primarily the inscribed reliefs representing a composite type familiar from Egypt (see especially GUÉRAUD, *Ann. Serv.* 35, 424 ff.). The most important of the three articles is that in *Mon. Piot*, 50, 49–84 (the other two articles are in *CRAI* 1957, 35–46 and (essentially the same article) *Act. Antiq.* (Budapest), 5, 228–39) in which P. republishes a monument of the same type from Amphipolis, long regarded as lost and republished by SEYRIG, *Ann. Serv.*, *ibid.* 197–202, from an old copy, and since 1949 in Budapest Museum. The inscriptions on the relief were originally published by PERDRIZET, *BCH* 22, 350–53 (who saw the stone): *ἱερητεύοντος Ζωίλου τοῦ Κασσάνδρου* to the left, and *Τοτοῦ θεοδαίμονι ὑπνωι ν Πόπλιος Κλώδιος Σέλευκος τὴν εὐχήν* to the right. The deity *Τοτοῦς* is identical with the *Τιθοῦς* who occurs in the similar reliefs from Egypt. P. discusses (after Guéraud) the inscriptions containing the latter name. He also discusses an unpublished dedication to *Θεοδαίμων* by *Ἀδαῖος Παραμόνου* from the Serapeum of Thessalonika, the publication of which by M. Makaronas in the memorial volume to G. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ, II (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1953/4, 2) P. forecasts (unfortunately the second volume appeared without this article). P. gives finally a detailed study of the various sphinx-reliefs of this class from Egypt, and (80 ff.) the evidence of the Alexandrian Imperial coins.

a deity,¹ the name might perhaps be rendered 'he who creates fury' or 'he who is created by fury';² neither version is particularly convincing.

Nothing is known about the origin of the piece. As for the date, *km* determined by the papyrus roll speaks for a date later than the Old Kingdom, and yet — for — points to an earlier date.

HANS GOEDICKE

On the origin of the hieroglyph —

IN a recent issue of the *Journal* Mr. Iversen³ put forth a new explanation for the origin of the hieroglyph — . While the form in which the sign occurs from the Twelfth Dynasty onward had long been identified with the lid of a quiver,⁴ its older form — defied explanation. In his paper Mr. Iversen postulates a word *š* meaning 'lid' and that 'any form of lid could originally be used to represent the hieroglyph, but from about the Twelfth Dynasty the lid of the quiver became its standard representation'.

Support for this explanation Mr. Iversen derives from an Old Kingdom relief at Karlsruhe.⁵ He considers the scene as 'representing a man apparently closing some sort of a box with a lid . . .'. Unfortunately the representation is marred at the crucial point by the juncture of two blocks. The other figures of the group are engaged in various activities connected with the making of bread. The woman next to this man is grinding cereal on a flat stone, while in the lower register a woman is kneading dough in a large jar and another is tending the fire in which the bread is baked. We thus have here a coherent group depicting different stages of bread making, and it seems justifiable to postulate that the person in question was engaged in the same activity.

The representation is accompanied by the legend — — 'sifting flour'.⁶ The scene, not infrequently found,⁷ was commented on by Junker,⁸ who cited a modern Nubian parallel to the practice. The verb expressing the depicted activity is written here — — . Other spellings are — — ,⁹ — — ,¹⁰ and — — .¹¹

The spelling occurring on the relief at Karlsruhe as well as that from the tomb of Ti opposes the reading *š* adopted by the *Wörterbuch*¹² and it appears inevitable to read *š* as proposed by Montet.¹³ In the light of the two above-mentioned occurrences the sign used in this connexion would have to be transcribed *š*. Montet illustrates the hieroglyph in question by two specimens from the mastaba of Ti and explains it as a sieve with a handle. Since the phonetic value of this particular hieroglyph seems originally to have been *š*, its identity with the sign so frequently used with the value *š* is questionable, apart from a possible confusion, especially as it is difficult to see how a word denoting a sieve could be linked with *š* 'back', the most frequent meaning of the phonogram.

In the mastaba of *Nb-kw-Hr*, north of the Unas causeway, I observed a particularly interesting specimen of the hieroglyph for *š*, contained in the word *šd*, the frequently mentioned feast.¹⁴ The north wall of the chapel where the sign occurs is exceedingly well carved and the individual hieroglyphs show a great deal of detail. The sign under discussion is represented as a rectangular object to which a rope is attached. The latter runs partly along the upper edge of the rectangle, while the free end stands up at an acute angle and has a loop at its end. The form and arrangement

¹ One could think of a defective writing of *Hsyt* (*Wb.* III, 162), but this seems rather unlikely.

² *Km* in names is attested only from the Middle Kingdom; cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 334, 2-6.

³ *JEA* 42, 54-57.

⁴ First suggested by Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, IV, 1153; cf. also Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.* Sign-list Aa 18.

⁵ Wiedemann und Pörtner, *Äg. Grabreliefs zu Karlsruhe*, pl. 5.

⁶ It is uncertain if the hieroglyphs behind the person have to be added here.

⁷ Montet, *Scènes*, 234 f.

⁸ Junker, *Giza*, XI, 161.

⁹ Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. 85.

¹⁰ *Leps. Denkm.* Ergänzung, 21.

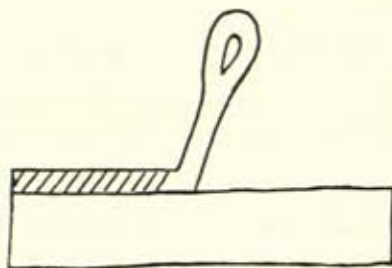
¹¹ Junker, *ibid.* 160 and fig. 64.

¹² *Wb.* IV, 16, 9-10.

¹³ Montet, *op. cit.* 224 f.

¹⁴ *Wb.* IV, 28, 3.

of the rope closely resemble carefully drawn examples of Δ .¹ In this instance it seems clear that the rope attached to the harpoon was shortened in the hieroglyphic depiction for the sake of the balance and clearness of the form. A similar arrangement is likely to prevail for the sign under discussion, which thus has to be recognized as an object of rectangular outline² with a long rope ending in a loop attached to it.



An object of this particular shape occurs on two royal reliefs of the Old Kingdom,³ where it is carried by archers and apparently represents a quiver. On the older example from the temple of Weserkaf⁴ the object filled with arrows is hanging over the left shoulder. The second occurrence is of uncertain date, but in all likelihood belongs to the Old Kingdom.⁵ A group of archers in a crowded arrangement are shooting their arrows.⁶ On the back of each man hangs a quiver emptied of the arrows, which are held in the drawing hand. In both instances the object is a container of rectangular shape with a rope attached which is tied around the shoulders.

It is particularly the latter instance which has a striking similarity to the hieroglyph Δ . The way they carry the quiver on the back seems to suggest that it was from this practice that the word derived its principal meaning 'back', or vice versa, that from being carried on the back the term was applied to the quiver. As far as the technical point is concerned I am inclined to assume that the rope on which the object was suspended was firmly connected with it on one side. On the other presumably existed some kind of knob on which to fasten the loop at the end of the rope and so to facilitate the putting on of the object.

This form of quiver,⁷ as I am inclined to term the object under discussion, occurs only in connexion with soldiers in the Old Kingdom, whereas in the hunting scenes in the mastabas of this period the quiver is not depicted.

When the quiver is considered the origin of the hieroglyph Δ , the later development of the sign becomes better understandable. Δ is the lid of a quiver, and the hieroglyph thus remains within the range of its original pictographic value, though replacing the depiction of the entire object by that of a presumably significant part of it, a practice well attested in the formation of the hieroglyphs.

HANS GOEDICKE

¹ Cf. for instance, Jéquier, *Mon. fun. de Pepi*, II, pl. 49.

² This does not necessarily mean that the object had rectangular shape; a cylindrical form would likewise appear as a rectangle in an Egyptian representation.

³ It is probably also depicted in Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 4, in the top register to the left.

⁴ Dr. Smith gave me his kind permission to quote this example and supplied me with his drawing of the drawing, for which I wish to express my sincere gratitude.

⁵ The piece, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art under inv. no. 22. 1. 23, was found re-used in the pyramid of Ammenemes I at Lisht. A detailed publication of this interesting object is intended in the near future.

⁶ A similar scene was recently found by Prof. Selim Hassan during the excavation of the causeway of the pyramid of Unas.

⁷ Cf. Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, 219, figs. 587-91, where no rope is indicated. Of particular interest is the model found at Asyût (Chassinat-Palanque, *Fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout*, pl. 13, 1), according to which the object had a cylindrical shape, which would appear in the drawing as a rectangle.

Ramesses III: notes and queries

RECENT interest in Ramesses III, his sons, and his successors¹ leads me to record a few notes and queries put down in the Queens' Valley in 1953-4, in the hope that further investigation along the lines indicated will provide additional evidence for this perplexing period.

Ramesses III was surely, as Campbell understates it, 'somewhat frugal in recording wives' names'²—and children's, he should have added. Seele has now pointed in fullest detail to this 'frugality' in reliefs at Medinet Habu and Karnak; but no one, to my knowledge, has suggested the possibility of a carry-over to the Queens' Valley. Here four or five tombs listed on the 1926 Survey Map³ as 'prepared for an unknown queen' are strangely reminiscent of religious papyri prepared for an unknown buyer whose name was never entered in the spaces reserved for it. Tombs 32, 40, and 73 contain one or more blank cartouches,⁴ while 36 has spaces only; my notes fail to include these details for 75 and it is likely that its present anonymity was not original, particularly since its extensive plan differs widely from the others.⁵

These notes, made for another purpose, are totally inadequate for considering the possibility of a relation of these tombs to Ramesses III. But they do show that enough decoration remains on the walls of the four for comparison and approximate dating. The overall plans available to me tend to be short and wide, rather than long and narrow. The outstanding quality of 40 is comparable to that of Nefertari in some respects, while its 'canopic room' in particular appears to be too individual for anonymous conception.⁶ Thus lack of names in these tombs seems more puzzling than their absence in the temples. Does the coincidence have a meaning that perhaps would help explain the practice in both cases?

In contrast, there was originally no dearth of names in the sons' tombs in respect of the father, Ramesses III, or of the owner: 42, Præhiwenmaf; 43, Sethikhopshef, Ramesses VII or VIII;⁷ 44, Kha'emwêse; 53, Ramesses, Ramesses IV;⁸ 55, Amenhikhopshef, Ramesses VI. The decoration in all cases appears to have been much the same, while the principal characteristic of the plans is length and narrowness in 43, 44, 55—as in the presumably unfinished tomb of Isis, 51, the mother of Ramesses VI, who provided the tomb, and the queen of Ramesses III.⁹ 42 and 53 differ:

¹ Seele, *Ägyptologische Studien H. Grapow zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, 296-314; Nims, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 14, 136-9; Yoyotte, *JEA* 44, 26-30; Černý, *JEA* 44, 31-37; specific references to these articles is usually omitted below. For the tombs discussed, see the pertinent pages in Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* 1, pt. 2 (2nd ed.), and in Schiaparelli, *Relazione*, 1, neither available to me at present.

² *Two Theban Princes*, 5.

³ Sheets E 1-2.

⁴ Since the cartouche could be used for royal daughters, it is usually impossible to distinguish queens and princesses here. They are wives of Osiris, of course, with no reference to earthly consorts, if any.

⁵ Cf., too, Champollion's count of four tombs 'pour des reines ou des princesses dont le nom ne fut pas écrit', Bruyère, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 25, 158. The latter's theory of tombs held ready for immediate decoration at the death of a member of the royal family deserves consideration, but for me it has no bearing on the final omission of names. None of the five had doors in 1954.

⁶ This tomb, especially, warrants publication.

⁷ Since Nims (p. 138) removes the obstacle of *mr-hrw* noted by Seele, would it not be more reasonable to assume the identity of prince and king than to presume for the latter a second individual of whom almost nothing is known? If so, Ramesses-Sethikhopshef would be Ramesses VII or VIII, depending upon whether or not Ramesses-Itamûn was the son of Ramesses VI. No Kings' Valley tomb for Sethikhopshef is now known, but I have noticed two distinct styles of decoration in the Ramesses IX tomb, no. 6; several of the ceilings and architraves are much finer in workmanship than some at least of the walls. Does evidence of possible usurpation exist in the tomb or on the ostraca?

⁸ Identified by Yoyotte and Černý. In addition to Yoyotte, for the other four princes' tombs see Bruyère, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 157-65, and his opinion that the future 'nous rendra peut-être d'autres tombes'.

⁹ As Černý demonstrates. Is it possible that 51, similar in plan to the princes' rather than the other queens', was originally made for another son? Only 52, the tomb of Queen Tyty, is comparable in design. It should be

the roughly square sarcophagus room of 42, reached by a single corridor, is supported by the only pillars of the group; 53, shorter and wider than 'normal', adds a large room off to the right at the end of the main axis and was to have been enlarged still further from this addition. Thus on the basis of typology alone it is more likely that 53 was re-made, rather than made, for Ramesses;¹ and re-use should be considered for 42 also.

On this basis, too, it is possible that the anonymous tomb next to 42 on the north-east and distant only a few feet, 41, was originally cut for a sixth son. Immediately upon entering, 41 impresses one as being the typically long, narrow type used by Ramesses III. Like 53, it is listed on the 1926 survey simply as 'uninscribed'; I did not look for fragments or other evidences of original decoration. My memory is that of a damaged tomb, whether by intent, time, or accident, particularly in the room off the corridor on the right. The floor is everywhere covered with debris and the tomb thoroughly blackened from fire, as commonly in this Valley; for example, in 42, 43, 53, 55, 68, 71, 74, 75. If Pentwēre of the harem conspiracy was, indeed, a son of Ramesses III, as Seele believes, was this tomb to have been his? Or could it be the open, unused tomb attributed by Papyrus Abbott 5, 3 in Year 16 of Ramesses IX to children of Ramesses II?²

Whether or not this question of specific ownership can be answered, it would seem certain, as Yoyotte has proved with regard to 53, that a thorough examination, with plans to scale, of all tombs unaccounted for in this wādi would be rewarding. And less evidence, as he says, remains each day.

ELIZABETH THOMAS

Wpwttyw 'bystanders'

IN my note *JEA* 42, 36(71) on *Lebensmüde*, 85, I hazarded a guess that the sense there of *wpwttyw*, lit. 'messengers', might possibly be 'bystanders'. Since that note was printed I have seen Caminos's comment on P. Sallier IV, vs. 4, 1, in his *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 347, where he calls attention to a word written $\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{y}}\overline{\text{w}}$ (P. Kah. 9, 2. 16) or $\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{y}}\overline{\text{w}}$ (P. Sall. IV) which means 'household', later extended to 'crowd'. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that the obscure *wpwttyw* in *Lebensmüde*, 85, must in that context have a somewhat similar sense, in which case my guess of 'bystanders' may not have been unduly wide of the mark.

R. O. FAULKNER

Dw, wdi, rdi

IN texts from the Old Kingdom onwards we meet with three apparently synonymous verbs which are written respectively $\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{w}}$, $\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{i}}$, and $\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{i}}$ or $\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{i}}$ (var. $\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{w}}$ or $\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{i}}$). Of these, the last is by common consent granted full independence, but according to *Wb.* V, 414 $\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{w}}$ is to be regarded merely as a variant of $\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{i}}$. I believe that this conclusion is mistaken, and that $\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{w}}$ is a verb in its own right. The first point to be noted is that whereas the basic meanings of $\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{i}}$ are 'give',³ 'place',⁴ those of $\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{i}}$ are 'place',⁵ 'throw';⁶ a survey of texts from the Old Kingdom to the Eighteenth Dynasty has

remembered, too, that 41-44 form quite a compact group at the end of the southern branch, while 51-55 are in continuous line in the principal wādi—if 54, unfinished according to the survey, is omitted; it should be investigated, however.

¹ A question raised by Yoyotte, since 'two successive decorations' are beyond dispute. For the dependability of plans cf. Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, 6-7.

² Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies*, 1, 40; II, pl. 3. Is it likely that such a tomb of Ramesses III might have been assigned at this time to Ramesses II? The robbers' practice of burning coffins in the tombs is, of course, well known and probably accounts in part for the blackening.

³ *Pyr.* 9b. 828a. 830b. 1681a; *Ürk.* I, 91, 7; Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. 23.

⁴ *Pyr.* 16c. 31a. 65a; *Textes rel.* 14, 4; 18, 29; *Ürk.* IV, 221, 7; 261, 5.

⁵ *Pyr.* 299b. 465c; Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 75, 17; Ebers, 19, 6; *Textes rel.* I, 9.

⁶ Gardiner, *Notes on Sinuhe*, 49.

not yielded a single instance of 𓄏 in the sense of 'give',¹ so that 𓄏 and 𓄏 are synonymous only in part. Further, 𓄏 has a masculine infinitive dw , in vertical columns written 𓄏 , see Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, III, pls. 62. 72. 75; Davies and Gardiner, loc. cit.;² var. 𓄏 *Urk.* IV, 309, 5, whereas the *tertia infirmae* verb wdi has a feminine infinitive 𓄏 *Urk.* IV, 339, 6; 353, 3. This alone is sufficient to show that dw is distinct from both wdi and rdi , the latter writing its feminine infinitive as 𓄏 or 𓄏 . That this verb dw is not a biliteral but belongs to the *ultima infirmae* class is shown by the existence of geminated forms (*Pyr.* 52b. 807c. 1775b; *Urk.* IV, 260, 13). In the parallel texts of *Pyr.* 656c. 1249b. and 1254c 𓄏 and 𓄏 occur side by side; in Spell 527 the two forms are completely interchangeable, for 1248b has 𓄏 in all three versions, whereas 1249a has only 𓄏 and 1249b, as already stated, has both. In such cases it is not impossible that 𓄏 may indeed be a mere variant of 𓄏 , but it is equally possible that one is a genuine alternative for the other; these instances do not invalidate the case for the real independence of the two verbs. It is of interest to note that in the Pyramid Texts $\text{d}(w)$ in its sense of 'place' is far more common than $\text{wd}(i)$.

The relationship between dw and $(r)\text{di}$ is of a rather different nature. In the period under review they are rarely confused in the script, the only instance that has come to my notice being 𓄏 'put to shore', *Urk.* IV, 9, 6, beside the more usual 𓄏 , e.g. *Urk.* I, 104, 16 (with det. 𓄏); IV, 309, 5, var. 𓄏 . Naville, loc. cit., apart from the strange medical idiom 𓄏 , varr. 𓄏 . . . and 𓄏 . . ., discussed by Breasted, *P. Edwin Smith*, 134. Here some corruption has undoubtedly occurred, and it seems probable that $\text{wd}\cdot\text{hr}\cdot\text{k sw}$ may be the true reading out of which the others have been corrupted. On the other hand, the semantic and phonetic relationships between dw and $(r)\text{di}$ are closer than between dw and wdi . The two former are much more nearly synonymous, both sharing the basic senses of 'give' and 'place', and, in those forms of rdi which have lost the initial r , the pronunciation must have been very similar to the corresponding forms of dw ; in fact, if we are right in reading the geminated form 𓄏 as dd , it is not to be distinguished, so far as the consonants are concerned, from the gemination 𓄏 of dw . Only in the infinitives 𓄏 and 𓄏 do the two verbs show any essential phonetic difference once the initial r of rdi is dropped, and this may explain why, in texts subsequent to the Old Kingdom, dw occurs much less frequently; it is probably being progressively replaced by $(r)\text{di}$.

It can hardly be accident that three more or less synonymous verbs should all have only one strong radical and that radical d . I have suggested elsewhere³ that from the ancient word yd 'hand'—lost in Egyptian but preserved in Hebrew—whence the hieroglyph 𓄏 derived its value d , there sprang a denominative verb idw 'act with the hand'. I believe that this verb survives in the form dw ,⁴ and that wdi and rdi are secondary formations from it which have been assimilated to the general class of *tertia infirmae* verbs. It is surely significant that the basic meanings of 'give', 'place', 'throw' which these three verbs share between them are all activities of the hand, and I suggest that it is in the one radical d common to all three that the implication of manual operation lies.

R. O. FAULKNER






¹ The apparent exception $\text{r wdt rn n imy-r hmtw-ntr}$. . . 'to give the name to the chief prophet . . .' *Urk.* I, 282, 5 is a shortened expression for 'to put the name on the list of'; even in English the use of 'give' here is figurative.

² Certainly an infinitive: 'the giving of oil'.

³ *OLZ*, 1958, no. 1/2, col. 31.

⁴ I have failed to trace what I believe to be the original form idw or idw , and it would seem that the original initial i was already lost by the time we first meet this verb. Thacker's view (*Semitic and Egyptian Verbal Systems*, 74 ff.) that in 𓄏 and 𓄏 we are dealing with a verb dwy is, I think, ruled out by the gemination 𓄏 , which could occur only if the d were a penultimate radical to which the weak final is assimilated; idw or idw > dw fills this condition, and dwy does not.

Mst 'knee'

In his *Onomastica*, vol. II, p. 242*, Sir Alan Gardiner rejects the rendering 'knee' for  *mst*, preferring to translate as 'thighs', 'lap', see also Barns, *Ram. Pap.* p. 16. While this word can undoubtedly have the meaning 'thigh', 'haunch' as a joint of meat, this sense is surely secondary; that the basic meaning is 'knee' is indicated by the verb  'kneel' *Pyr.* 1057. 1535, var.  P.Ram. III, A 14, ed. Barns, while the attitude of mourning  *Sin.* R 10; *Westc.* 12, 20, must be 'head on knee', for 'head on lap' would be an impossible physical contortion. Finally, in de Buck, *Coffin Texts*, Spell 20 (1, 56), referring to the resurrection of the deceased, we read: 'Gēb has opened for thee thine eyes which were blind,  he has straightened for thee thy knees which were bent, there is given to thee thine heart (*ib*) which thou hadst from thy mother, thine heart (*hity*) which belongs to thy body'. Here there is a clear allusion to the early attitude of burial with the knees drawn up, an attitude which Gēb removes when he restores the body to life. We conclude therefore that *mst* is rightly rendered as 'knee' in *Wb.*, while in the case of animals 'hock' is probably the best translation (*Wb.* 'Kniestück'); when used as a joint of meat this part of the animal usually includes some or all of the haunch above the hock. The 'knees' of a quadruped are on the forelegs, which in Egyptian are *hps*.

R. O. FAULKNER

The Gayer Anderson Jubilee Relief of Amenophis IV

IN my article on the beginning of the El-'Amārna period in the foregoing pages of this issue it will be seen that by implication I date the Gayer Anderson limestone relief at Cambridge² to the first jubilee of the Aten in regnal year 2 of Akhenaten, in view of the fact that the nomen of the king was originally inscribed in its Amenophis form. This dating, however, would appear to be controverted by the evidence afforded by the inscription on the left of the relief where the Aten is unequivocally described as 'at (the House of) Rejoicing in Akhetaten', a building which was not erected and occupied much before year 6 at the earliest. I am not disposed to accept Fairman's tentative suggestion that this *Pr-hry m iht-Itn* was at Hermonthis.³


The explanation must rather be that the qualifying phrases referring to the Aten were inscribed on this relief later, probably in or after year 6 at the same time as the king's nomen was altered to its Akhenaten form. The epithets of the Aten appear to have been crammed into a space not originally allotted for them and the feeble minuscule glyphs are in marked contrast to those forming the rest of the inscription.

Moreover, apart from the reference to the Southern On, it is certain on other grounds that this relief came from the temple of the Aten at Karnak and not from Akhetaten as Griffith seems to imply. It clearly reflects in its nervous drawing and rather inept carving the characteristic style of the first years of Akhenaten's reign, and should be associated with similar reliefs which have come to light as a result of recent clearances around the Second Pylon at Karnak. Above all, its measurements conform closely to the standard dimensions of all such Theban *talatates*.⁴

C. ALDRED

Note on a hitherto unknown technique in Egyptian bronze-working

THE fact that the Egyptians used a great variety of alloys of copper, tin, lead, zinc, and other metals has been evident for many years, and that alloys of differing proportions and properties were

¹ T9C, whence this passage is quoted, omits , but the damaged M.C. 105 yields the correct reading.

² In the Fitzwilliam Museum, No. E.G.A. 2300, 1943. Griffith, *JEA* 5, 61 ff., and op. cit. 8, 199 ff.

³ H. W. Fairman, *COA* III, 193.

⁴ J. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 24, 299.

deliberately chosen for manufacturing the different parts of bronze objects, parts which were subjected to differing kinds of wear or secondary treatment, has been amply proved by such metal analyses as appear in the publication of the Buchis burials at Armant.¹ Now I believe that I have found evidence for a technique in which a bronze casting was coated in some manner with a thin layer of a significantly different alloy of the same metal.



FIG. 1. Portion of surface of situla.
(Magnification $\times 4.2$)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art recently purchased a bronze situla of the normal late period type² and it was submitted in due course to the Conservation Department for examination and

¹ Mond and Myers, *The Bucheum*, 1, pp. 105-6. In two bronze situlae the body material varied from the handle material in such a way as to suggest that the former was chosen for its suitability for secondary carving and engraving, and the latter for its hard wearing properties.

² Accession No. 58. 76. 5. At present unpublished except for a photograph which appears in the Parke-Bernet Galleries (New York) *Sale Catalogue*, May 15, 1958, on p. 11, no. 61. It is to be the subject of a forthcoming article in the *Museum Bulletin*.

treatment. Preliminary microscopic examination revealed in many areas the presence of a surface layer having a glassy bluish-grey appearance (fig. 1), and Mr. Murray Pease, who made the examination and to whom I am grateful for the results here published, was of the opinion that this layer was not the normal result of the corrosion of the bronze, but was 'a deliberate application made at the time of the object's fabrication' and perhaps was of a vitreous nature. I therefore agreed to his suggestion that he submit specimens of the body and layer materials to an outside laboratory for spectrographic analysis. The results of this analysis are as follow.¹

	Core metal	Coating
Copper . .	Major	Major
Tin . .	Minor	0·x
Arsenic . .	0·x	Not found
Lead . .	0·x (low)	Major
Iron . .	0·x (low)	0·0x (high)
Antimony . .	0·0x	0·00x (low)
Silver . .	0·0x	0·0x
Nickel . .	0·0x (low)	Not found
Silicon . .	0·00x	0·x (high)
Magnesium . .	0·00x	0·0x
Aluminium . .	Not found	0·x (low)

about equal

Elements checked but not found: zinc, cadmium, chromium, cobalt, vanadium, tungsten, bismuth, titanium.

From these results it can be seen that there is an unusually high proportion of lead in the surface layer only, and since such bronze alloys were sometimes used in the late period to simulate silver, it can be assumed that that is the purpose in this case.

It only remains to discover how the layer was applied. Mr. Pease's preliminary suggestion that it was of vitreous nature was not fully born out by the analysis, since this shows no sufficiently high proportion of silicon for it to have been a typical enamel glaze. There is, nevertheless, a quite wide variation in the proportions of silicon found in the two samples and some sort of semi-vitreous coating, involving alkaline metals, now lost, may be a remote possibility. Dr. R. H. Bell of the consultant laboratory and Mr. Pease agree in suggesting that 'it was a heavy plating of lead-copper alloy', applied by dipping the casting into a molten mass of the alloy, 'subsequently re-chased and polished to simulate silver'. As one would expect, no trace of the coating was found on the inside of the situla, though the rim and the rings for the bail handle are coated.

It would have been interesting to compare an analysis of the handle, but unfortunately this part of the situla is lacking. I should be grateful for any information on situlae or other objects exhibiting a similar technique, or having varying alloys in their constituent parts, and I hope that this short note may lead to the re-examination of some of the bronzes in our collections.

E. YOUNG

¹ The laboratory, Lucius Pitkin, Inc., quotes the following quantitative definitions of the terms employed in the analysis: Major=above 5 per cent. estimated. Minor=1-5 per cent. estimated. 0·x, 0·0x, 0·00x=concentration of the elements estimated to the nearest decimal place; e.g. 0·0x=0·01-0·09 per cent. estimated. 'Not found' means not detected in the particular sample by the technique employed.

REVIEWS

Tombs, Temples and Ancient Art. By JOSEPH LINDON SMITH, edited by Corinna Lindon Smith. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1958. xv+349 pp. and 47 half-tone illustrations.

In this delightfully readable book are described the lifework and experiences of a highly gifted American painter in many different lands, but above all in Egypt. Most of his original work having found homes in his own country, the British public must rest content with the many samples here shown in photography, the majority being reproductions of ancient sculpture in relief and in the round. It is not the business of this *Journal* to dwell upon the author's artistic talent, nor yet upon his literary ability, but it is a pleasure, if a melancholy one, for the present reviewer to testify to the faithfulness of the lively glimpses afforded of the eminent excavators and scholars concerned in the great discoveries at Thebes in the first quarter of this century. The rapid pen-portraits of men like Maspero, Petrie, Reisner, Quibell, Carter, and Weigall, as well as of Theodore Davis who financed the digs, bring all these old friends to life again. A great debt is due to Mrs. Lindon Smith for having so ably edited and abridged the diaries kept by her husband throughout the long life of eighty-six years which terminated in 1950.

Here we must concentrate our attention upon the two sensational discoveries in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings where Lindon Smith was not merely an eye-witness, but even an active participant. The account that he gives of the finding of Iuya and Tuia is less instructive than diverting, but the reader will derive much amusement at what he has to tell about the V.I.P.s to whom special deference had to be shown. Of greater importance are the twenty pages devoted to that 'so-called Tomb of Queen Tiye' which I discussed in my article in *JEA* 43, 10 foll. The sequence of events attending this discovery is described in minute detail, and here Lindon Smith must at least be regarded as first-hand evidence. According to his narrative it was he, not Theodore Davis, who first entered the tomb and even removed with his own hands the sheets of solid gold which covered the mummy. All that we are here told has, we are made to understand, been taken from notes made at the time, but it was only forty-two years later that Lindon Smith allowed himself to be convinced that the mummy found was that of Smenkhkare and that he ventured to put forth a theory of his own largely dependent upon the conclusions reached by Engelbach and Derry. This is not the place to thresh out the problem afresh, but I cannot refrain from using this occasion to modify my own contention that the coffin was made for Akhenaten from the start. I owe to C. Aldred my conversion to the view that it was originally intended for one of the 'Amarna princesses and only secondarily adapted for the king. Aldred takes as his point of departure the justified assumption that Akhenaten, from the very beginning of his reign, will have started preparing for himself a funerary equipment not vastly inferior to that which ultimately fell to Tutankhamun's lot; clearly the coffin now reconstructed in the Cairo Museum, though not unworthy of a royal princess, was not up to Pharaonic standard. I confess having overlooked the importance of the uraeus bearing the name of Aten in its later form; this had obviously been later affixed to the head in order to transform a coffin not intended for a king into one which could so serve. I now also see that the excision of words at the beginnings and ends of the long bands of inscription is explicable only by the desire to eliminate all reference to the princess who was the coffin's original owner, and the replacement of these words by kingly titles would naturally have the effect of throwing into relief Akhenaten's ultimate ownership. However, I still adhere to my opinion that the inscription on the foot-end was largely prompted by the example of those earlier and later coffins which placed a speech of Isis in that position, and I attach great weight to the pronoun of the 2nd person masculine in the words put in the mouth of the female speaker now seen to have been the originally intended occupant; if she, and not Akhenaten whose name is so prominent on the coffin, was that intended occupant, then the pronoun in question can have only been used to express the hope that she would continue to live in his proximity to all eternity; or in other words, this princess's coffin had been designed to find a place in the family tomb at El-'Amarna. The same conclusion emerges also from the words 'who shall be here living for ever' left standing after Akhenaten's cartouche both in the horizontal bands and on the foot-end of the coffin. I am happy to

record Aldred's agreement with me that the makers of the final interment believed that they were burying the heretic king himself; we both find the testimony of the magical bricks incontrovertible.

The particular problem to which so much space has been given above naturally forms but a small part of Lindon Smith's most interesting book; but it chances to be the part most likely to appeal to readers of our *Journal*; and that must be my excuse for having dealt with it at such length.

ALAN H. GARDINER

Les Maximes de Ptahhotep. By ZBYNĚK ŽÁBA. Éditions de l'académie tchécoslovaque des sciences. Prague, 1956. Roy. 8vo. Pp. 176. Price 40 crowns.

I do not think that any literary genre is more essentially Egyptian than the book of wisdom, the manual of manners and day-to-day living. Such works were favourites from at least the Third Dynasty until Egyptian culture lost its individuality with the coming of Christianity.

The Precepts of Ptahhotep claims in its introduction to have been written by the vizier Ptahhotep in the reign of Asosi of the Fifth Dynasty. It is therefore a very old book indeed, and we are fortunate that it survives entire in the Prisse Papyrus which dates from about the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty. Most of the text is also covered by duplicates of later date.

Dr. Žába opens with a preface, and follows this with the three sections of the book proper: the text, the translation, and the commentary. Finally there is a bibliography of books consulted.

The text is hand-written in clearly made hieroglyphs, and is set out verse by verse, numbered according to the system introduced by Dévaud. With one small exception every known version of the book is included in full. The exception is the fragments of the B.M. Papyrus No. 10509, now to be found in Caminos's *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script*, which were not available to Dr. Žába for publication. In every case the verse as it is found in Prisse is written out first, whilst immediately beneath come all the other versions. The comparison of one version with another is thus made as easy as is practically possible. This is a great help in translation, as the later texts often throw a welcome light on the difficulties in that of Prisse. This publication of the complete text of the Precepts of Ptahhotep is in itself sufficient to make the possession of the book well worth while, because no other up-to-date transcription of this very important document is available.

The translation is printed, and is complete and separate for each version of the text. This is a valuable feature since it enables students of other disciplines to make full use of every aspect of the evidence presented by the variant versions. I have studied the translations with great care, and the more I have studied them the more impressed I have become with the great acumen and scholarship shown. Every single verse has been translated: a feat of skill and courage; indeed a great contrast to Erman's rendering in his *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* with its summaries, dashes, and plain omissions. Naturally not every translation of Dr. Žába's will be accepted, but many an improvement will stem from his suggestions, and nothing can detract from the general success that has attended his efforts to find coherent meaning in this notoriously difficult text.

The commentary runs into no less than 68 printed pages. In it Dr. Žába has defended his translations, sometimes at length, and has provided invaluable discussions on grammar, syntax, and vocabulary. I have found this commentary most useful.

I have no hesitation at all in recommending Dr. Žába's *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep*, and I look forward to the detailed study of the orthography of the manuscripts, of their relation to one another, of the arrangement and contents of the book, and of historical and literary aspects of the text, as well as to the complete vocabulary and index of ideas which he has promised for the future.

I have noticed the following misprints and errors:

P. 7, n. 1, l. 5. The number of the British Museum papyrus should be '10509' not '10409'.

P. 45, verse 364. ☐ is to be read, not ☐, in the middle of the line.

P. 51, verse 448. ☐ is omitted after ☐.

P. 75. The line number in the translation of Prisse should read '107' not '104'.

P. 132, note to verse 220, last two lines. The *JEA* reference should read '109 note 2' not '108 note 1'.

P. 134, note to verse 239. The paragraph number in the last line should read '496' not '446'.

P. 144, note to verse 320, etc., first line. The quotation from *L₂* should read '☐|☐|---' not '☐|☐|---'.

See p. 41, verse 320, and also the B.M. facsimile.

P. 146, note to verse 335, second line. The verse number should read '334' not '335'.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Hieratic Ostraca. By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ and ALAN H. GARDINER. Vol. I. Oxford, printed for the Griffith Institute at the University Press by Charles Batey, 1957. Folio. Pp. x+35, pls. 115. Price £6. 6s.

For years we have been tantalized by references to the Gardiner Ostraca, the Petrie Ostraca, and others. Now, thanks to Sir Alan Gardiner and to the devoted labours of Professor Jaroslav Černý a large part of these collections is published and so made available for the use of all.

Everyone will know the collections of ostraca that have been published by the Cairo Museum and the French Institute of Cairo. The present volume, in effect, forms an addition to these but far surpasses them in beauty of presentation, for the paper is of high quality, the printing is a delight to the eye, and the plates are superb.

This book contains over 300 new ostraca, the core of the work being the specimens from the collections of Sir Alan Gardiner, the late Sir Flinders Petrie, and the Leipzig Egyptological Institute. In addition there are numbers of specimens from the collections of the Rev. Colin Campbell, the Rev. Dr. G. O. Nash, the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, and other sources.

The ostraca in this book are from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasty in date and are, with one exception, all from Thebes. The contents are both literary and non-literary, comprising such subjects as extracts from the Anastasi Papyri, various hymns, the Instructions of Ammenemes and of Hardjedef, the Lansing Papyrus, love songs, magical papyri, the Satire of the Professions, as well as accounts, work journals, legal proceedings, letters, lists of goods, lists of names, oaths, and payments.

The ostraca are described individually plate by plate. In each case the name of the collector or other owner is followed by a statement of the material of which the ostrakon is made, how it is inscribed, whether it is complete or not, the nature of the contents, and references to other publications if any.

The plates, which naturally form the main mass of the book, reproduce the ostraca full size. Numerically these plates run from 1 to 115; but this is deceptive, for there are 115 plates of hieroglyphic transcription in a beautifully clear hand made by Professor Černý, 78 plates of excellent hieratic hand facsimiles, and 4 plates of collotype facsimiles, making 197 plates in all. In the case of the 33 plates for which no facsimiles are provided a single line of the hieratic is given to illustrate the style of handwriting for most of the ostraca concerned.

The book is provided with an explanatory note which gives the principles followed and details about the technical terms and symbols used. There are two indexes; one (Index A) lists the ostraca by the names of the collections and owners, the other (Index B) lists the ostraca by contents in two groups, literary and non-literary.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Private Tombs at Thebes. Vol. I. *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*. By TORGNÝ SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH. Oxford, printed for the Griffith Institute at the University Press by Charles Batey, 1957. 4to. Pp. xii+51, pls. 72. Price £4. 4s.

When Norman de Garis Davies died in 1941 the Griffith Institute in Oxford came into possession of a large amount of unpublished material which he and his wife had collected. This material has been used to produce this book, which is to be the first of a new series of volumes on the private tombs at Thebes. More of the material will be utilized for the projected future volumes.

This book, as always with the publications of the Griffith Institute, is finely printed on good paper. No effort has been spared to produce the best practicable record of the tombs in question, which are very badly damaged. Mr. Davies's drawings and descriptions have been used as a base, but they have been studied, revised, and also collated with the originals in Egypt. The records made by early travellers have been examined and used to complete details which are no longer extant.

The plates depicting these tombs are mostly line drawings in black and white, but there are a number of excellent photographs of details and objects. These plates are preceded by some fifty pages of detailed description. In addition there is a Foreword by Mr. D. B. Harden, a note entitled Acknowledgements, lists of contents and plates, and a series of indexes covering Names of Divinities, Royal Names, Names of Private Persons, Titles and Occupations (selective), General Index, References to *Urkunden*, iv, and References to Wreszinski, *Atlas*.

As is stated in the title, four tombs are described in this book, numbers 73, 155, 17, and 48. No. 73 is that of an official whose name is lost but who lived in the time of Hatshepsut. He was the Chief Steward of the king and held the same posts as the famous Senmut, whom he probably succeeded in office. No. 155 belongs to the Great Herald Antef, who also lived during the reign of Hatshepsut and who owned the Louvre stela No. C. 26. No. 17 belongs to the Chief Physician Nebamūn and is probably to be dated to the reign of Amenophis II. No. 48 is of the time of Amenophis III and belongs to the Chief Steward of the king, Amenemhēt, called Surer.

With regard to Surer an interesting point arises, for it is stated that the tomb was mutilated twice, once under Amenophis III and then again when Akhenaten carried out his campaign to remove the name of Amūn. The explanation adopted is that Surer fell into disgrace. It seems to me that there are objections to this because the tomb was never finished and because fragments of costly statues and burial furniture were found in it. It is hardly likely that such equipment would have been put into an unfinished tomb so that I would suggest that Surer died before his tomb was finished, was buried, and that soon afterwards his family fell into disgrace, whereupon the tomb received its first mutilation.

Each of the tombs published in this book exhibits items of considerable interest. In No. 73 Hathōr-beds are shown exactly like those actually found in the tomb of Tutankhamūn. There are also two elaborately decorated three-sided screens drawn with the sides spread out into one continuous line, and a scene showing the smoking out of artificial hives to collect honey, which is uncommon. No. 155 contains the well-known hippopotamus hunt and a fowling scene in which appears a crocodile seizing a fish. The vintage depicted in this tomb from the picking of the grapes to the storing of the new wine is most interesting. No. 17 has a scene in which a rich Syrian and his wife are shown visiting the physician Nebamūn, perhaps in search of medical treatment. Connected with this scene are a Syrian ship and some chariots drawn by hump-backed oxen. This tomb also contains detailed scenes of the ancient burial rites and of the ceremony of the opening of the mouth. No. 48 has portraits of Amenophis III seated on his throne set inside a number of pavilions; curious pairs of figures of the hippopotamus goddess, of the god Bes, and of a lion, all standing upright; and also a series of scenes in which the king gives thanks for the harvest.

At the very end of the book are two plates which show the remarkable and elaborate gifts presented to Tuthmosis IV which are depicted in the tomb of the Chief Steward Thenuna, No. 76.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Late-Egyptian Miscellanies. By R. A. CAMINOS (*Brown Egyptological Studies*, Vol. I). London, 1954. £4. 4s.

This volume contains the results of work for a doctoral thesis prepared by Dr. Caminos at Oxford under the supervision of Sir Alan Gardiner. The subject is the translation of and commentary on those texts published by Gardiner in his volume of the same title in the series *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*. They consist of short passages, often in the form of letters, in which a multitude of subjects is discussed. Favourite topics are the discomforts of the soldier's life, the hardships of life abroad, encomiums of the king, the superiority of the scribe's profession above all others. The passages are collected on papyri of varying length, and it is usually understood (following the opinion of Erman) that these collections were prepared for the use of student scribes. When Gardiner made his publication he said in the Introduction that he was unable there to undertake a discussion of the nature and purpose of these papyri: 'The difficult problems involved in such a discussion are better reserved for the Commentary which will follow in course of time.' Dr. Caminos has now provided the Commentary but he has not, unfortunately, written any general remarks on the nature and purpose of the papyri which contain the individual texts. This is a great pity, because he must in the course of his work have formed many ideas about the Miscellanies which would only result from intimate knowledge and close study. May we hope that he will some day provide us with an essay in which the problems discussed by Erman in *Die ägyptischen Schülerhandschriften* are further examined. Such a study could also profitably include an examination of the physical characteristics of the papyri. There is still much to be learned about Ancient Egyptian book-production and about scribal training. Why, for example, do such relatively well-written papyri so often contain 'corrections' of signs? Are they fair copies or are they student products? There are many questions of this kind to be answered. Let us hope that an attempt to answer them may soon be made. Even negative results have their value.

The present volume differs in its scope from the earlier purely textual publication in the addition of a fuller text of the miscellany Turin A, of which further fragments were found after the appearance of Gardiner's volume. Transcriptions of the more complete sections of the *verso* of this document are included in an Appendix at the end.

Caminos deals with the texts by the method of simple translation and commentary. The various sections of each miscellany are taken one by one. First he gives a list of previous translations followed by his own translation; then comes the commentary, in which the difficulties and points of interest are discussed in great detail. This is, in general, a lexicographical commentary rather than a commentary of exegesis. Its purpose is to support and explain the translation, not to interpret the meaning of the texts. The bulk of the texts, however, is such that some limit had to be placed on the commentary. There can be no doubt that Dr. Caminos was wise to restrict the first commentary on these texts to one aimed at establishing a reliable translation by a careful consideration of all the textual problems and by seeking to determine as closely as possible the precise meaning of the many rare and unusual words. A number of the pieces of composition included in the Miscellanies contain long lists of materials and objects; the purpose of these lists was, in all probability, to test the student scribe and exercise his care in copying what was unusual. Such lists are often so full and long that they could be classified almost as Onomastica, and the only satisfactory way by which the meanings of many of the words can be established is that followed by Gardiner in *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. All relevant material has to be collected, all other occurrences of the individual words examined in their contexts, and conclusion as to their meaning can then be drawn accordingly. This encyclopaedic technique has been fully mastered by Caminos. His assiduity in ransacking Egyptological literature, as demonstrated in this volume, is surely unsurpassed. There can be very few discussions relative even indirectly to the Miscellanies that he has failed to discover. The notes that he has then written are admirably brief and always clear. One may complain that in some cases the lists of references for parallel uses and occurrences are accompanied by too little commentary, but had Caminos enlarged his discussion further, his book would have been very much longer.

What Dr. Caminos has done here is to provide an important tool for the Egyptological scholar. The volume is packed with valuable and interesting discussions of words and many new meanings have been elicited for rare words. By including almost one hundred pages of indexes Caminos has made the book easy to consult and has ensured that it will be consulted. It will surely be of the greatest use as a work of reference and is indeed a mine of information.

A few small points, mostly of translation, may here be mentioned:

Bologna 1094, 3, 4. The idea that the verb *sk* includes both the processes of ploughing and sowing and requires the translation 'cultivate' is graphically demonstrated by tomb scenes where both activities are covered by the one word; see a note on the occurrence of *sk* in the Middle Kingdom letter Hekanakhte I, 1 in *The Hekanakhte Papers and other early Middle Kingdom Documents*, at present in the press.

Bologna 1094, 7, 5. C. translates 'it is *your* condition that I long to know daily'. More strictly perhaps translate 'it is you (*or* you are the one) whose condition I long to know daily.'

Anastasi II, 9, 1. At end C. translates, 'may poverty outstrip wealth'. The words translated 'poverty' and 'wealth', *nmh* and *wsr*, are elsewhere in this section translated 'the poor (man)' and 'the rich (man)', and in no case is the seated-man determinative added. Perhaps, therefore, at the end we should translate, 'may the poor (man) outstrip the rich (man)'.

Anastasi III, 6, 8 ff. In this passage, in which the writer describes the sufferings of an army officer from the liveliness of his horses, there is a difficulty over pronouns. The masculine singular pronoun is used both for the officer and apparently also for his team (undoubtedly, as C. suggests, understood by the writer as *htri*, although this word is never used). Much of the passage remains obscure, but perhaps the words *iry-f sw m tbtj n tbtw* should be rendered, 'They (the team) make him into sandals for (*or* of) a sandal-maker', not 'He makes them into, etc.' The writer seems to be describing what happened to the officer, and a little further on he writes: 'They (the team) throw him into the thicket.' He is perhaps describing how the officer was flayed by the rough treatment.

T. G. H. JAMES

A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum. By W. C. HAYES. New York, 1955.

The document studied in this volume is one of a number acquired in Egypt in the late nineteenth century by Charles Edwin Wilbour. It was presented to the Brooklyn Museum in 1935 by Wilbour's daughter and it now bears the number 35. 1446. In its present form, the result of the piecing together of several hundred fragments, it is 182 cm. long and Hayes estimates that originally it was approximately 209 cm. long.

On the *verso* the principal text is a register of people, mostly men, brought to justice for having deserted from conscripted service, probably state service in most cases, on the land. The register is arranged in three columns, and in each column the individual items are entered under seven separate heads, lettered *a* to *g* by Hayes: *a* gives the name of the person, *b* some fact about him to facilitate identification; *c* states the sex of the person; *d* contains a directive to the Great Prison to release the hostages held in place of the malefactor and it specifies the law he has transgressed; *e* registers the fact that the fugitive has been captured and is at or is on his way to the Great Prison; *f* contains a statement by a scribe of the vizier that action has been taken against the fugitive and that the case is closed; the *g* entries consist of a single sign in each case confirming that the matter is finished.

The directives of the *d* entries are dated mostly either to year 10 or to year 31 of a king not directly named but identified with considerable probability as Ammenemes III of the Twelfth Dynasty. Inasmuch as the various entries were made by different hands, some of which are thought to exhibit characteristics of Thirteenth Dynasty hieratic, it is unlikely that the document was written out at one time; it must have been compiled as the various cases reached completion. The statements of action taken in entries *e* to *g* seem in every case to have been added subsequently. Hayes suggests that the document formed part of the *šfd n ḥbnty nty wnn m ḥnrt wrt* 'the Criminal Register which is in the Great Prison', which is mentioned in the *Duties of the Vizier*; but he cannot explain its undoubtedly selective nature.

Three smaller texts, A, B, and C, were inserted in blank spaces within the main text of the *recto*. Text A is a copy of a letter written by a local official; its substance is mostly lost, but Hayes surmises that it had a close connexion with the main register of runaway conscripts and that it indicates that local officials of this kind (the man in question is a *ḥnbty n w*) played an important part in assisting the Great Prison to execute its functions in bringing fugitives to justice.

Texts B and C are copies of royal edicts issued in years 5 (?) and 6 of an unnamed king identified by Hayes as a predecessor of Sebkhotpe III, possibly Sekhemrē Wadjkhatu Sebkemsaf I, who is here taken to be a Thirteenth Dynasty king. In B the vizier 'Ankhu, probably the famous vizier of the Thirteenth Dynasty, is instructed to arrest a man Pay, accused of doing some wrong to a fugitive in his charge. In C the king grants a petition that the servants of Pay should be handed over to another whose servants had been forcibly carried away.

Although the meaning of the texts on the *recto* is obscured by insufficient understanding of their background and by their uncertain relationship to each other, it is surprising what a wealth of information the editor has succeeded in extracting from them. He has made what are basically rather unpromising texts the vehicle for a number of penetrating studies of late Middle Kingdom social life and administration. In particular his examination of the *d* entries of the main text is full of rewarding discussion—the character of the Great Prison, the precise meanings of technical terms concerned with fugitives, the nature of the *ḥr n dd-rmt* 'the Office of the Provider-of-people', and examination of the laws by which the fugitives were brought to justice. It may be said in criticism that the commentary is at times so full that it prevents easy comprehension of what the document says. In his treatment of the main *recto* text Hayes discusses each group of entries separately, and it is not until the end that the reader sees what is happening. Perhaps the summary containing one specimen case should have come at the beginning and not at the end. If this had been the case the significance of each group of entries would more readily be grasped by the reader.

The *verso* of the papyrus contains one principal text and three subsidiary texts closely connected with the principal text. This principal text is a list of servants, or possibly slaves, which Hayes associates with text C of the *recto*, according to which the household servants of Pay are to be transferred to another man. More than half the servants listed are designated Asiatics, the remainder being Egyptians. The former bear in many cases names that are identified by Albright—whose findings are presented in brief in this volume¹—

¹ For a fuller discussion see *JAOS* 74, 222–33. See also, Posener, 'Les Asiatiques en Égypte sous les XII^e et XIII^e Dynasties' in *Syria*, 34, 145 ff.

as north-west Semitic. The great interest of this list is, as Hayes points out, the new light it throws on the size of the Asiatic element in the population of Egypt during the late Middle Kingdom. In this one household there were more than forty. Hayes suggests that as we have no evidence of large-scale Egyptian military operations against Asia it should perhaps be assumed that there existed at this time a considerable trade in Asiatic slaves carried on by the Asiatics themselves. Such slaves were probably prisoners of war taken in skirmishes between Asiatic states. In general their skills were superior to those of the native Egyptian peasant-workman, and this fact is reflected in the titles held by the individuals named. Many of the Asiatics are weavers while only Egyptians were humble field hands (*ihwtwy*) or gardeners. The majority of the names held by the Egyptians consists of the simplest Middle Kingdom types, and Hayes maintains that this fact also points to the servile status of their holders. He considers that this colourless character of the names 'suggests that these people and their parents were born slaves and had inherited their state of servitude in each case from a, perhaps remote, ancestor'. It may be thought that this is reading too much into names. One is reminded that most Middle Kingdom names are of common and frequently of colourless types; Ipys, Hetepets, Rensonbs and the like are to be found in almost any list of names, and the vizier 'Ankhu was himself content with one of the commonest of names. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to deny that the list on this document presents good evidence for the existence of slaves in large numbers in private households in the late Middle Kingdom.

Subsidiary Text A of the *verso* is a docket recording the transference of the slaves listed to their new owner. It is dated with almost complete certainty to year 1 of Sekhemrē-Sewadjtowē Sebkhotpe, whom Hayes would make the immediate successor to Sebkemsaf I. Text B is a semi-legal instrument by which the new owner of the slaves makes over the slaves along with his other property to his wife Senebtisy. This text in form closely resembles the *imyt-pr* of the Middle Kingdom and early New Kingdom and the marriage settlements and similar documents of later times. The confirmation that this gift had been made is contained in Text C, a short docket inserted between the columns of the main text of the *verso*.

Hayes completes his study of this papyrus with a section of General Comments in which he considers the nature of the document, the classes of labour mentioned, the light it throws on the administration and judicial organization of Egypt in the late Middle Kingdom, and evidence it provides for the history of that period. Here he brings together in synthesis the conclusions arrived at in the more detailed Commentary which has gone before. In particular, his study of the administrative and legal organization of the period is most valuable, and his method of utilizing other evidence of a nature equally tenuous to that of his own document is a lesson in unextravagant, moderate scholarship.

A few small criticisms may be brought against the presentation of the text and commentary. In the first place, the format is such that the photographic reproductions of the papyrus are in size about two-thirds of the original. This is scarcely sufficient for comfortable reading, as the writing is on the small side. The student who wishes to examine the text in difficult places is thus hampered, and the absence of facsimile copies of doubtful passages is equally to be regretted. On the *recto* Texts A, B, and C are written upside down in relation to the main text; the transcription gives them the same way up. This inversion facilitates the consultation of the texts, but it greatly hinders comparison between the hieratic original and the transcription. There is much to be said for arranging a transcription as closely as possible in the same manner as the hieratic original. Lastly, the non-use of hieroglyphic signs in the body of the Commentary means that the author has to refer to particular signs by description, an unnecessarily clumsy method of reference.

This book is, nevertheless, a model publication of its kind. An initially unpromising text has become the inspiration for a study which is both learned and humane, both fruitful in discussion and very well written—a book of the sort rarely met with in Egyptological studies these days.

T. G. H. JAMES

Altägyptische Grammatik, Part I. By E. EDEL. *Analecta Orientalia* vol. 34. Rome, 1955. \$20.

One of the problems facing the writer of a Grammar of Ancient Egyptian is the limitation he is to place on the scope of his work. The so-called classical period linguistically is that of the Middle Kingdom. At this time there was a remarkable homogeneity in the language used for all written matter whether historical, literary, religious, philosophical, or private. Each group of texts has, from its particular nature, certain

characteristics of style and syntax which distinguish it from other contemporary groups, but in general these characteristics are few in number and they do not hinder the writing of a grammar that can with considerable truth be called Middle Egyptian. With Late Egyptian the case is far otherwise. The language used in secular documents of the New Kingdom is markedly different from that of literary texts; official inscriptions of the period are written in a modified Middle Egyptian, while the language of texts of the 'Amarna Period can also be distinguished by its own particular grammatical characteristics. Erman in his *Neuägyptische Grammatik* drew his evidence for grammatical forms somewhat uncritically from these four groups of texts. In consequence the overall picture of Late Egyptian gained from this study is one which fits no one group of texts. He failed to make it quite clear that certain forms are to be found only in particular types of texts. The problem is basically one of the definition of terms. What is Late Egyptian? Some might say that it is only the language found in the secular, non-literary documents such as letters, legal documents and official records. What then is Old Egyptian?

When we consider the material that survives from the Old Kingdom it becomes evident that we have to use a different criterion when we seek to distinguish what may be called Old Egyptian. Secular texts are rare and few have been published. There are in fact two groups of texts which must be considered. In the first place are the monumental inscriptions found mostly in tombs, of the type published in *Urkunden* I. Secondly there are the Pyramid Texts. It might be doubted whether it is fitting to treat these two groups of texts together from a grammatical point of view. The Pyramid Texts form a group which is restricted temporally to a relatively short period of time, at least from the point of view of being written down, if not of composition. They are by their very nature unusual texts in which unusual language and perhaps unusual forms are used. The monumental texts, on the other hand, are somewhat elusive in yielding up their grammatical secrets because summary writings are common.

In the work here reviewed Professor Edel has made use of the two groups of texts to produce the first systematic study of Old Egyptian. We are here offered the first part of the work, a final judgement on which must wait until the second part has been published. The legitimacy of including Pyramid Texts and monumental texts in one grammatical analysis has been doubted above, but it must be admitted that there is much to be gained from doing so from the point of view of the study of forms. In the Pyramid Texts full writings abound and they supplement largely the summary writings of the monumental texts. Edel has used the evidence of the fuller writings to construct a formidable pattern of forms in which the semi-vowels *i* and *w* are appreciated to the full.

The first part of the Old Egyptian Grammar is devoted chiefly to a searching analysis of grammatical forms. After an introduction on the character of Old Egyptian and its relation to later stages of the language and sections on writing and phonology come three sections concerned with Pronouns, Nouns, and Verbs. In the part to come we can therefore expect the study of Particles and Prepositions and a systematic examination of the syntax of sentences.

In the section devoted to Nouns (which includes Adjectives and Numerals) Edel subjects the Egyptian substantive to a rigorous examination based on the analysis of root-formations and on endings and formative prefixes. In the case of nouns formed with the prefix *m* attention should be drawn to the long additional note given in the *Nachträge* (p. xxxix) where Edel enlarges on an observation of Hintze that when the first consonant of the radical word is a labial, *m* is replaced by *n*, e.g. *npr* 'corn' from *prt* 'produce, grain'.

The greater part of the volume is that which deals with the verb. The same exhaustive study of the sources yields here what is probably the most comprehensive and valuable study of the verb in Old Egyptian since Sethe wrote *Das ägyptische Verbum*—a work to which Edel frequently acknowledges his debt. In Chapter XIII he studies what he regards as a new form—the *sdmwf*. The uses of the *sdmwf* differ not at all, it would seem, from those of the simple *sdm.f*. Instances are confined to certain verbal classes, and all are to be found in the Pyramid Texts apart from one so identified in *Urk.* 1, 39, 7. Can it be that we have here not a new verbal form but some variant of the *sdm.f* with which it should be classified and from which it should not be distinguished? Alternatively it might be a usage confined to the Pyramid Texts. The solution of such problems of classification cannot, however, be satisfactorily achieved while our knowledge of ancient Egyptian vocalization is so meagre. A similar problem which is much illuminated by Edel's study but is by no means solved is that of the prothetic *i* (his *j*-Augment, see §§ 449 ff.). The vast majority of the cases occurs in the Pyramid Texts, and it is not clear whether the presence of this *i* modifies the sense of the verb or not.

With this problem, as with many others, one can only collect examples and point to distinctions of form; distinctions of meaning are harder to elucidate and one wonders whether the evidence will ever be available to effect satisfactory explanations.

Other discussions of especial interest and value in the general treatment of the verb are the examination of differences between perfective and imperfective participles (§§ 634 ff.), the treatment of the Relative Forms (Chapter XX), and the study of the infinitive used substantively as a complement (Chapter XXIII).

This volume ends with very full indexes and a series of tables with paradigms of nouns and verbs. The verbal paradigms which include tables of forms for all verbal classes and those of other selected verbs of special interest—*ii*, *iri*, *wdi*, *hwi*, and *rdi*—provide a useful prospectus of the verb in Old Egyptian and should prove of great value to students.

Two points should be mentioned in connexion with the system of transliteration used by Edel. In the first place, by using the evidence of the fullest writings to be found, especially in the Pyramid Texts, he produces transliterations which seem perhaps unnecessarily overloaded with unwritten *i*'s and *w*'s. The common practice of indicating by means of brackets letters unwritten but understood is here not followed. Secondly, no indication is given by means of stops or hyphens of additions to verbal and nominal stems; 'my nose' is *fndi*, 'they have heard' is *sdmnsn*. Surprisingly the transliterations given in the paradigm tables are pointed in the more usual manner.

The volume has been splendidly produced with large type and the use of a hieroglyphic fount. It is laid out clearly and is refreshingly free from excessive theorization. Explanations are kept short and are admirably lucid. The author has made the task of consultation as easy as possible by providing an excellent table of contents and full indexes.



A few misprints and omissions have been noted: p. 121, l. 4 at end, add *nb* after *jwwtwt*; p. 289, read $\overline{\text{w}}$ for $\overline{\text{u}}$; in a large number of places the *tiw*-bird has been used in place of the very similar *i*-bird, e.g. § 315, l. 1; § 326, l. 4; § 445, l. 4; p. 211 seven times; p. 221, l. 2; § 505, l. 9 twice; § 579, l. 4.

T. G. H. JAMES

A Corpus of inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones. By the late N. DE GARIS DAVIES, edited by M. F. LAMING MACADAM. Oxford, printed for the Griffith Institute at the University Press, 1957. Pp. x, pls. 45 (un-numbered), indexes (10 unnumbered pages).

This long-awaited volume is a notable addition to the meagre literature concerned with those objects in terracotta known as Funerary Cones. It consists principally of drawings of 611 impressions found mostly on cones. The drawings are largely facsimiles made by the late Norman de Garis Davies during the many years he spent in the Theban Necropolis. His aim was to establish in as many cases as possible a final text, assembled often from numerous imperfect examples. He himself collected a large number of cones which he eventually presented to the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum (a fact not mentioned in this publication). He also had excellent opportunities both in the field and in travelling for examining specimens as they were found in the Theban Necropolis and examples in old collections in Museums. The fruits of his assiduous searchings are here presented and they form a most impressive body of evidence, far surpassing any earlier collection both in number and fidelity. The facsimiles are reproduced in the sizes of the originals and are splendid examples of Davies' skill as a careful draughtsman.

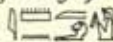
The drawings have been assembled for publication by Dr. Macadam, and to Davies' collection he has added a number of his own finding together with hand-copies of examples found in earlier publications but of which Davies had made no facsimiles. Macadam has also written a Preface to the plates in which he explains the arrangement of the cones on the plates. The volume is completed by indexes of names and titles. These latter are not, it seems, part of the volume as originally planned, because Macadam states in his preface that indexes would form part of a future volume which would also include lists of correspondences with previous publications and a list of correspondences with tomb numbers. He also looks forward to a further volume in which the cones and their texts will be studied linguistically, historically, architecturally and in other ways.

With so much to expect in future publications it is difficult to criticize the present volume for its omissions. It must be said, however, that as it stands, the book is not easy to use and is a disappointment. It is surprising that the editor could have considered publishing the plates without indexes and one can only be thankful that indexes have in fact been supplied. They have not, unfortunately, been compiled strictly in accordance with the principles of arrangement adopted by Macadam and described in his Preface. The texts are grouped according to whether lines are vertical or horizontal and then by the number of lines on an impression; within each group the texts are arranged alphabetically. Thus Macadam reads  or  as *imy-r* and texts containing titles embodying this word are arranged accordingly. The compiler of the indexes has however, read it as *mr*. Similarly, words which Macadam in his Preface reads *ipwty*, *ihwty*, and *ikhdw* are indexed *wptwty*, *chwty*, and *(i)khdw*. In cone 455 one difficult title has been read *lbity n Tmn* 'bee-keeper of Amūn' (Preface, p. viii); this title is made of 'uncertain reading' in the index.

A volume which claims to be a Corpus should have as one of its aims completeness in the publication of the relevant material. There seems to be no indication in this volume that a real attempt has been made to



FIG. 1

exhaust the possible sources where cones might be found. As no information is given of where specimens of each cone exist (an omission which should be rectified in one of the future publications promised) the reader is unable to judge which collections have been examined. The British Museum collection, which is large, could itself have provided much supplementary material. In many cases it possesses examples which provide better impressions from which doubtful signs in Davies' copies could have been confirmed or corrected. Thus B.M. 9728 gives a superior text for Macadam 60; B.M. 35472 is an almost perfect example of Macadam 377; B.M. 35688 has a more complete text than that of Macadam 358. B.M. 65189 and 65190 have texts not given in Macadam. A drawing (not facsimile) of the text on 65189 is given in fig. 1. 65190 bears a rectangular impression of which very little can be made out except the name of the owner . Both these cones were presented to the British Museum by Sir Robert Mond and came originally from his excavations in the Theban Necropolis. They do not appear to have been published in any of the reports of those excavations. Reference to the report by Mond and Emery in *Liverpool Annals*, Vol. 14, revealed another cone-impression not included in the present Corpus—that of a *sš ihw* whose name is lost (p. 23, fig. 15).

It is to be hoped that Dr. Macadam will soon publish the next part of his study with the remaining indexes and correspondences. An index of Egyptian words apart from that of titles would be of much use for the identification of cones with damaged texts. Another useful list would be one giving, wherever possible, the find-spots in the Theban Necropolis together with a map showing the position of tombs. In most cases the find-spot is unknown, but there must be many examples for which some evidence of discovery is available. Until these additional indexes and correspondences are published the usefulness of the present volume will be much limited.

T. G. H. JAMES

Die Constitutio Antoniniana. By CHRISTOPH SASSE. Otto Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden, 1958. Pp. 144, pl. 1. D.M. 18.

One of the papyrus documents treasured by the University of Giessen is a copy of some edicts of the Emperor Caracalla. Its tattered opening column is the most famous, for it was identified by its first editor as the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, the edict which conferred Roman citizenship on the whole Roman world. But it is in sorry condition. The initial portion of the surviving lines is torn away: the considerable amount of loss can be measured by the standard form of imperial titulature to be restored in the opening line, and by comparison with the succeeding column. What remains has been mutilated by worms. Nevertheless, the general lay-out of a grandiose pronouncement can be discerned: four sentences marked out by punctuation and spaces, the words ἀπα[σιν], οἰκουμένην, πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων. Can the details be filled in with any confidence? All analogy counsels caution. There is a special reason in this case, recognized by the author, though the principles involved are not discussed by him: the text is founded on a version in Latin. It is not clear whether the Greek text should be considered a parallel version to the Latin drafted in Rome by the emperor's *ab epistulis Graecis* or a translation of that text into Greek, in which case it might even have been made in Alexandria in the prefect's chancery. But its dependence is clear. The structure of the second sentence τοιγαροῦν νομίζω [ο]ύτω *adverbs* δύνασθαι τῇ μεγαλει[ο]τητι αὐτῶν τὸ ἱκανὸν ποι[εῖν] εἰ... is basically alien to Greek which would have used participles (on the model of καλῶς ποιήσεις δούς) instead of οὕτω picked up by an εἰ and the optative. It is hard to believe this syntax uninfluenced by a Latin model *itaque existimo hunc in modum me maiestati eorum satisfacere posse, si contribuam*. Does this fact of dependence help or hinder the investigation? It is of course open to the author to invoke it in his favour on those occasions when he can establish the presence of Greek technical terms.

This happens especially in his discussion of the critical lines 8 and 9. Passing in review the more important supplements proposed, he shows reasons for rejecting them all, including those of Wilhelm and Stroux. His collection of parallel material from juridical texts of practice for the μένοντος clause makes it probable that this clause should be taken to be a 'Regelsatz', of a common type, marked by the emphatic initial position of the participle: the sense of μένοντος is 'there remains in force', the clause is, in lawyer's jargon, 'salvatory', and the words that follow (χωρίς δεδειτικίων) constitute an exception to it and not to the preceding main clause. The weight of fire brought to bear from the slips of the *Papyruswörterbuch* cannot be resisted.

In place of what he rejects the author makes a suggestion only after an inquiry into the nature of the *dediticii* involved. He concludes (with many reservations) in favour of the widest general meaning: rebels or external enemies, recently surrendered, their fate not yet determined by Rome. Such persons must naturally be excluded from citizenship. He therefore proposes to read μένοντος [οὐδένης τῶν ἐλασσων]άτων χωρίς τῶν δ., 'as a result of this grant there remain in force none of the conditions of lower status except that of the *dediticii*.'

What Sasse began as a critical examination he has turned into something constructive. His positive suggestions cannot be demonstrated: but they are economical modalities of interpretation. If we accept them we learn three things from the papyrus: (1) the connexion of the grant with the removal of Geta from the purple; (2) its bombastic and megalomaniac claim to glorify the gods of Rome; (3) the legal terminology of the grant.

The reviewer has learned much from Sasse's sound sense and critical perception. He has one regret, that to accompany the photograph (not as good as that in *ed. princ.*), there was not also given a new edition of the text, with diplomatic copy confronting Sasse's own version, and credit given for corrections and supplements where it is due.

E. G. TURNER.

Among other books received for review the following should be mentioned:

- Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, Vol. I. Edited by VICTOR A. TCHERIKOVER in collaboration with ALEXANDER FUKS. Published for The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, Harvard University Press; London, Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. xx+294. Price 96s.
- Egyptian Years*. By L. A. TREGENZA. Oxford University Press, London, 1958. Pp. xx+198, pls. 8+maps 2. Price 25s.
- Picture Writing in Egypt*. By NINA M. DAVIES. Published on behalf of The Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, by the Oxford University Press, London, 1958. Pp. viii+56, pls. 17, figs. in text 6. Price 30s.
- La Médecine égyptienne*, No. 3, Les Médecins de l'Égypte pharaonique, Essai de Prosopographie. By DR. FRANS JONCKHEERE. Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Brussels, 1958. Pp. 172, figs. 24.
- The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications*, Vol. LXXX, *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*. By MIRIAM LICHTHEIM. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1957. Pp. xiii+85, pls. 53. Price 94s.
- Der Staat der Griechen*. By VICTOR EHRENBURG. II Teil, Der hellenistische Staat. B. G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig, 1958. Pp. vii+102. Price DM 7.90.
- A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*. By K. A. C. CRESWELL. Penguin Books, 1958. Pp. xiv+330, pls. 72, figs. in text 64. Price 8s. 6d.
- Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style*. By BLANCHE B. BROWN. Published by The Archaeological Institute of America through a subvention of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cambridge, Mass., 1957. Pp. xvii+108, pls. 45.
- The Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, Vol. IV, *Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal*. By DOWS DUNHAM. Published by The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., 1957. Pp. xxiv+218, pls. 75, figs. in text 136. Price \$32.50.
- Harvard Semitic Series*, Vol. XVI, *Excavations at Nuzi*, Vol. VII, *Economic and Social Documents collected and transcribed by Ernest R. Lacheman*. Harvard University Press; Oxford University Press, London, 1958. Pp. xii+139. Price 45s.
- Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden der Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Texte, Übersetzungen, Indices. By WALTER C. TILL. Adolf Holzhausens Nachfolger, Vienna, 1958. Pp. xv+214.
- History Unearthed*, A survey of eighteen archaeological sites. By SIR LEONARD WOOLLEY. Ernest Benn Ltd., London, 1958. Pp. 183, pls. 105+frontispiece. Price 30s.

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

A. EGYPTIAN

I. WORDS AND PHRASES

ip 'review' (vb.); *ip r* 'be cognizant of'; *ip ib* 'comprehending', 'intelligent'; *ip dt-f* 'possessed of understanding', 42, 13.




'Imn-Rc-nsw-ntrw 'Amonrasonthêr', 41, 87.
imh tw m 'hold firm to', 42, 18.
ini m 'have recourse to', 42, 38 (96).



- inn 'if', 42, 19.
 iri in future clauses in Late Egyptian, 41, 98.
 ihm 'hold back', restrain, 42, 32 (18).
 ihm 'detention', 42, 39 (104).
 Tsds a god, 42, 32 (22).
 it ntr 'father of the god', 43, 35.
 rt qsr 'holy chamber' = celestial Hall of Judgment, 42, 32 (23).
 rfd 'attractive (?)', 42, 34 (36).
 rn'n 'ever' after negative, 41, 88.
 rhr 'attend to', 42, 30 (7).
 rsk 'extortions (?)', 'oppressions (?)', 42, 19.
 rk 'set' of sun, 42, 35 (60).
 rkr 'straightness', 42, 15.
 rwh + noun + hr 'lay something on', 41, 23 (8).
 rpy 'decision (?)', 41, 25 (24).
 rpytyw 'bystanders (?)', 42, 36 (71); 45, 102.
 rwnyt 'daybreak (?)', 44, 24, n. 5.
 rwnyt : n nty w. nb 'entities of every kind', 41, 89.
 rwhr 'fish', 41, 13.
 rwh 'seek', 'wish', 41, 90.
 rwsf 'ignore', 42, 30 (6).
 rws 'be destroyed', 'make desolate', 42, 35 (53).
 rwsbt 'utterance', 42, 17.
 rwdi 'place', 'throw', 45, 102.
 Bt-xf 'ram of Amūn', 42, 12.
 bikh 'clear of character', 41, 28 (56).
 bwit 'covert', 42, 37 (78).
 bfi 'malt', 44, 63.
 p-n hr hrt 'that which was aforetime', 42, 14.
 p definite article used in references to species, 41, 91.
 pr-sn 'home', 42, 39 (107).
 pr 'escape', 42, 35 (61).
 pr-r kind of workman, 45, 10.
 prw for prw-n-r 'utterance'?, 41, 27 (51).
 phr huty 'turn the heart of', 41, 89.
 pss 'exert' oneself, 42, 13.
 fry tp 'lift the head'; — d'd 'lift the head', 'be cheered', 42, 20.
 fnhnh 'carpenter', 41, 14.
 mit 'reed', 41, 16.
 mrtw 'viewing-place', 42, 58.
 must 'knee', 'hock', 45, 104.
 m-pi 'if', 'provided that', 41, 89.
 mn ht 'be sick', 45, 9.
 mnt 'such a thing'; 'the like', 'like case'; 'sort'; 'kind'; 'pattern', 42, 20.
 mnk 'complete', 'give effect to', 42, 18.
 mr 'partisan', 41, 23 (9).
 mryt 'crocodiles', 42, 37 (81).
 mhyt 'storm from the north', 42, 35 (58).
 mhtmt 'a closed or sealed receptacle', 41, 13.
 mst 'child-bearer', 'mother', 42, 36 (64).
 mk . . . mk 'certainly . . . indeed', 41, 23 (4).
 mtt nt ib 'affection (?)', 42, 38 (64).
 mdw 'rod', 42, 13.
 mdw hnc 'argue with', 42, 30.
 n, ny, suffix of 3rd pers. (?), 42, 37 (87).
 nb nsw twy 'Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands', epithet of Amūn, 42, 13.
 nby 'gold collar', 41, 15, n. 4.
 nm 'question' (vb.), 42, 30 (1).
 nhptw meaning unknown, 42, 31 (15).
 nhpty kind of craftsman, 41, 13.
 nty 'be choked, stifled', 42, 15.
 ntf 'loosen', 'let loose', 42, 15.
 ntr 'godship', 42, 18.
 ntr r wr (n) hr 'the very great primordial god', 41, 96; 42, 122.
 rwi 'escape', 42, 31.
 rmn 'be on a level with', 42, 14.
 rmnyt 'domain', 42, 14.
 rmt 'man', 'mortal', 45, 15; — n intw 'offering-bearers', 42, 14.
 rh-nf 'statue', 42, 12.
 rkh wr 'the Great Burning', month-name, 41, 123.
 rdi 'give', 'place', 45, 102; — r tr 'leave alone', 42, 38 (91).
 hry hr rwt 'put down in writing', 45, 15.
 hwi 'mourn', 'bemoan', 41, 10 f.
 hwt tr 'roam the earth', 42, 38 (102).
 hwt 'trodden way', 42, 39 (106).
 Hbrdt, Hmdrt n. pr. 'Meadow-saffron', 44, 32.
 hn 'appoint', 'recommend', 42, 12.
 hry: r-hry 'upwards', 'onwards', 41, 93.
 hki mrt 'Ruler of Justice', 42, 8, 20.
 hs: wr hs Rr 'the blessings of Rē are great', 41, 92.
 htw 'awning', 42, 39 (105).
 hty 'danger', 42, 20.
 htm r 'apply oneself to', 42, 18.
 htw 'creeks', 42, 37 (80).
 hpr mdi 'befall', 41, 89.
 htw a drink, 41, 94.
 hwdt 'carrying-chair', 45, 9.
 hntw 'accusation', 41, 89.
 hns 'move in two directions', 41, 13.
 hntyw 'sideboards', 41, 15.
 hr mdi 'as well as', 'indeed', 41, 91.
 hrp 'offer', 'minister', n 'to', 42, 13.
 hmtty 'seal-maker', 41, 15.
 htt: r-htt 'similarly to', 41, 94.
 ht: r-ht 'like', 41, 94.
 htti 'similarly to', 41, 94.
 hti 'clothes-peg (?)', 42, 39 (111).
 st rh-nf 'statue-place', 42, 12.
 si 'lid', 42, 57.
 sry 'await', 43, 112.
 sry 'prepare' a bed or bier, 42, 35 (48).
 ssw 'beam' of wood, 42, 57.
 stwt 'force' of wind, 43, 78.
 stwt 'arrow', 41, 15.
 stwtwn 'coax', 'cajole', 42, 18.
 sp 'leave over' to an evil fate, 42, 38 (100).
 sppy 'remainder', 'shortcoming', 41, 93.
 sph 'arrive at', with n, 41, 27 (50).
 sndm hr isb 'cause to sit on the throne', 42, 11.
 srh 'complain', 42, 38 (101).
 sh ntr 'embalming-booth', 44, 72.
 shprw 'offspring (?)'; 'increment', 42, 17.
 shm 'forget', 41, 92.

Shny a deity, 44, 73.
shr 'condition', 'estate', 41, 89; *irt* — 'have power, authority', 41, 91.
sšm 'nature', 'state', 'condition', 42, 15.
sšmw 'portrait', image, 'counterpart', 42, 15.
skv 'cultivate', 45, 111.
sg 'command (?)' a boat, 42, 32 (21).
Stnt a deity, 44, 73.
st 'drag', writings of, 42, 31 (11).
stni 'compare'; 'emulate', 42, 12.
sdh 'ease (?)' (vb.), 42, 32 (17).
sqdm 'make envious (?)', 42, 34 (40).
štw 'worth', 'value', 42, 14.
šr 'promise'; 'threats', 42, 17.
šn (det. ) 'pass in review', 45, 14.
šnw (det. ) 'list', 'inventory', 45, 14 f.
škrj 'coiffeur (?)', 41, 15.
šdl 'bring', 'procure', 45, 9.
hi 'manner', 'condition', 41, 89.
km 'profit', 42, 33 (29).
khkh 'old', 44, 74.
g'st (gs) 'mourning', 42, 19.

gwš 'become askew, bent, twisted'; 'be distracted (?)'; 'turn away', 41, 91; 42, 19.
twntw 'reward' (n.), 42, 17.
tp(y)w nb ntw t 'all who are upon earth', 42, 11.
tp-rsy 'the South', 43, 6.
tfyt 'leap' (infinitive), 42, 33 (33).
th 'mislead', 42, 31 (10).
tjfr 'saw', 41, 15.
ts 'allot', 42, 16.
dy 'here', 'there', 42, 12.
dw 'give', 'place', 45, 102.
dwn: m dwn 'henceforward', 'regularly', continually', 42, 14.
dbt: r dbt-tw-f 'on account of him', 41, 89.
dmi 'river-bank', 43, 80.
dmi n 'befall', 41, 28 (58); — *hr* 'cleave to', 42, 39 (114).
dmqwt 'crowd', 41, 12, n. 2.
qhr 'be bitter'; 'embitter'; 'bitterness', 41, 90.
qit krt 'carry out the work', 45, 10.
qfi 'sink in'; 'deteriorate', 'decay', var. *qfi*, 42, 51.
Qd a deity, 41, 31.
qdt-n 'said by', juristic term introducing depositions, 42, 12.

II. HIEROGLYPHIC SIGNS AND GROUPS

 late variant of , 41, 99.
 variant of *imy-r* 'overseer', 41, 121.

 Late Egyptian writing of particle *in*, 41, 94.
 origin of, 42, 54; 45, 99.

B. DEMOTIC

'hy 'husband', 44, 95.
'qt 'builder', 44, 95.
mhr 'storehouse', 45, 69.
n ht 'first', 'already', 45, 58.
nt m-s-f 'pertaining to', 44, 94.
het-nwtj 'mill', 45, 69.

htwy n šnt-t 'beat a level foundation', 45, 56.
šn-w 'administrator', 'authorities', 45, 67.
sh 'appoint', 45, 64; *sh wy* 'deed of cession', 44, 87;
sh etbe ht 'deed of sale', 44, 87.
qt 'build', 44, 95.

C. COPTIC

(See also the Glossary to the Old Coptic Horoscope, 43, 93 ff.)

αλκαραιν 'Sunday (?)', 43, 120.
 ασηλω 'depression (?)', 43, 90.
 εν, ει 'grave', 43, 121.
 κωκ εσοβε 'leprosy', 43, 119.
 καρωτ 'silence', 43, 119.
 αιικε 'rest', 'rest oneself', 44, 122.
 μογλλεc 'mule', 43, 120.
 αιικε 'sort', 'kind', 42, 20.
 μοπτιε 'thirty-five', 43, 90.
 αιπτιρω 'kingship (?)', 'kingdom (?)', 43, 92.

πυιτ 'locks of hair', 44, 122.
 ελο εβολ 'drive to distraction (?)', 43, 121.
 ογπαε 'turn', 'change' for the worse, 43, 120.
 ψα 'nose'; 'nozzle'; 'spout'; 'lip' of cup, 43, 121.
 ψοαι 'father-in-law', 44, 122.
 ψοαιε 'mother-in-law', 44, 122.
 εοτε 'fear', 42, 20.
 ειτογ εγψοαιε 'grind them fine', 43, 121.
 εωρψι 'make heavy', 45, 22.

D. GREEK

ἀλλ' οὐ γέ 'still at least', 41, 116.
 Αμονρασωνθηρ 'Amonrasonthēr', god, 41, 87.

προκατάληψις 'previous occupation (?)'; 'original ownership (?)', 45, 77.
 τὸν κατὰ γῆς 'Farewell, x (?)', 41, 117.



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