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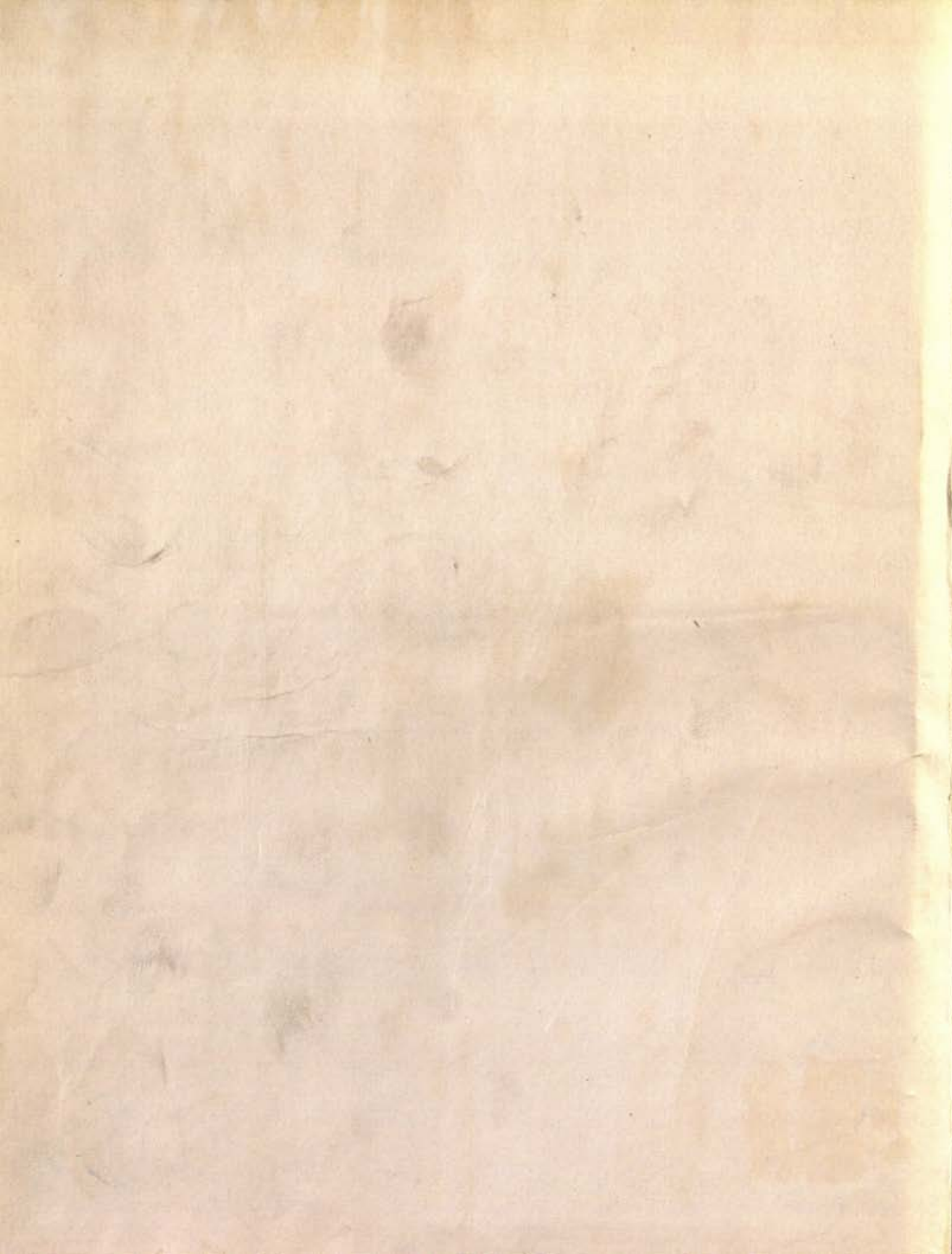
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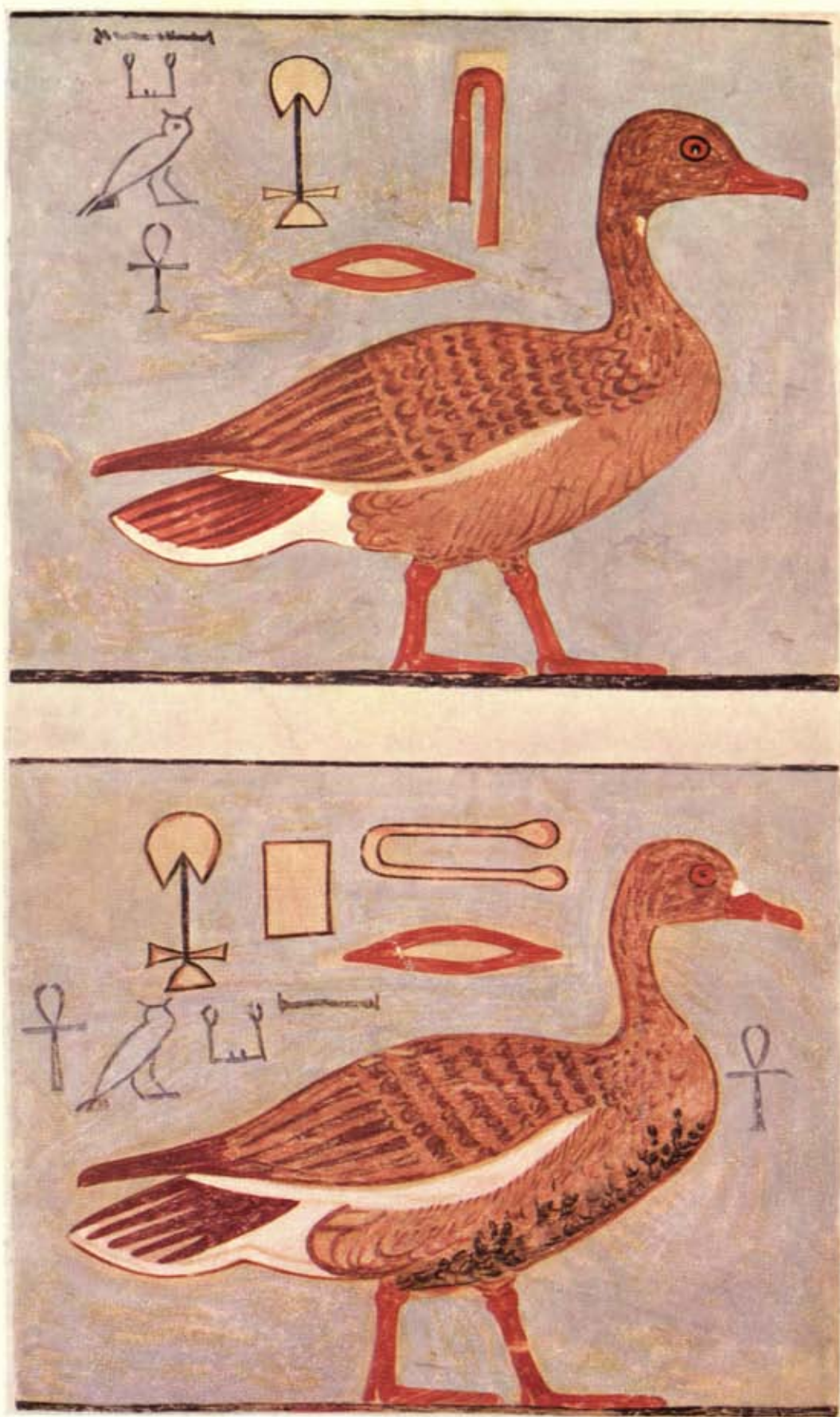
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Copied by Nina M. Davies

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NOTICE TO MEMBERS, LIBRARIANS, AND OTHERS

It was noted previously in Vol. XXX that the annual Indexes customary until Vol. XXVII would have to be temporarily abandoned, and would be replaced by quinquennial or decennial Indexes. It now seems likely that the Index to cover a number of volumes will be deferred to Vol. XXXVII.

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

IT is a fortunate circumstance that the present volume of the *Journal* is able to open on a relatively optimistic note. A twelvemonth ago it was impossible to hold out hope of a resumption of the Society's work in the field, and our silence on this score concealed a serious doubt whether our financial position would admit of such resumption. Two events have brightened our horizon: first, the gift of a further \$17,000 on the part of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jnr., which has enabled Miss Calverley, accompanied by Miss Collis as her assistant, to proceed to Abydos to continue the recording of the splendid reliefs and inscriptions in the temple of Sethos I; and second, an intimation from the Lords of the Treasury, as recent as the end of February last, that they proposed 'to invite Parliament to vote a grant-in-aid of the expenses of the Society of £3,000. os. od. in 1947/48'. The latter most welcome news was the response to an application setting forth our urgent need for financial assistance, and specifying the various projects to the completion of which the Society was pledged. Among these the publication of outstanding memoirs held the principal place, but it was also recognized that the continued excavation of Amarah West was no less urgent. In existing conditions it is hardly surprising that the foreshadowed Government grant is considerably smaller than the subsidy asked for, and in consequence the feasibility of an excavation to start in December of the present year will be largely conditioned by what donations or additional subscriptions we can obtain in the coming months. We have taken steps to approach various foreign institutions which supported us nobly in the pre-War days, but the view has rightly been taken in one such quarter that a British institution ought not to be mainly dependent on external aid, and *we therefore strongly urge all readers of this Foreword to send whatever monetary gifts they can to the Society's office, earmarked, if so desired, for the excavations at Amarah West, and to urge their friends and acquaintances to do the same.* Nor need it be disguised that such support may legitimately be claimed on grounds other than merely archaeological. Would it not be a sad confession of our poverty-stricken state should we be unable to undertake any large-scale operations in the Nile Valley, while American, French, and Belgian expeditions are all busily engaged, not to speak of the extraordinary activity being displayed by the Egyptians themselves?

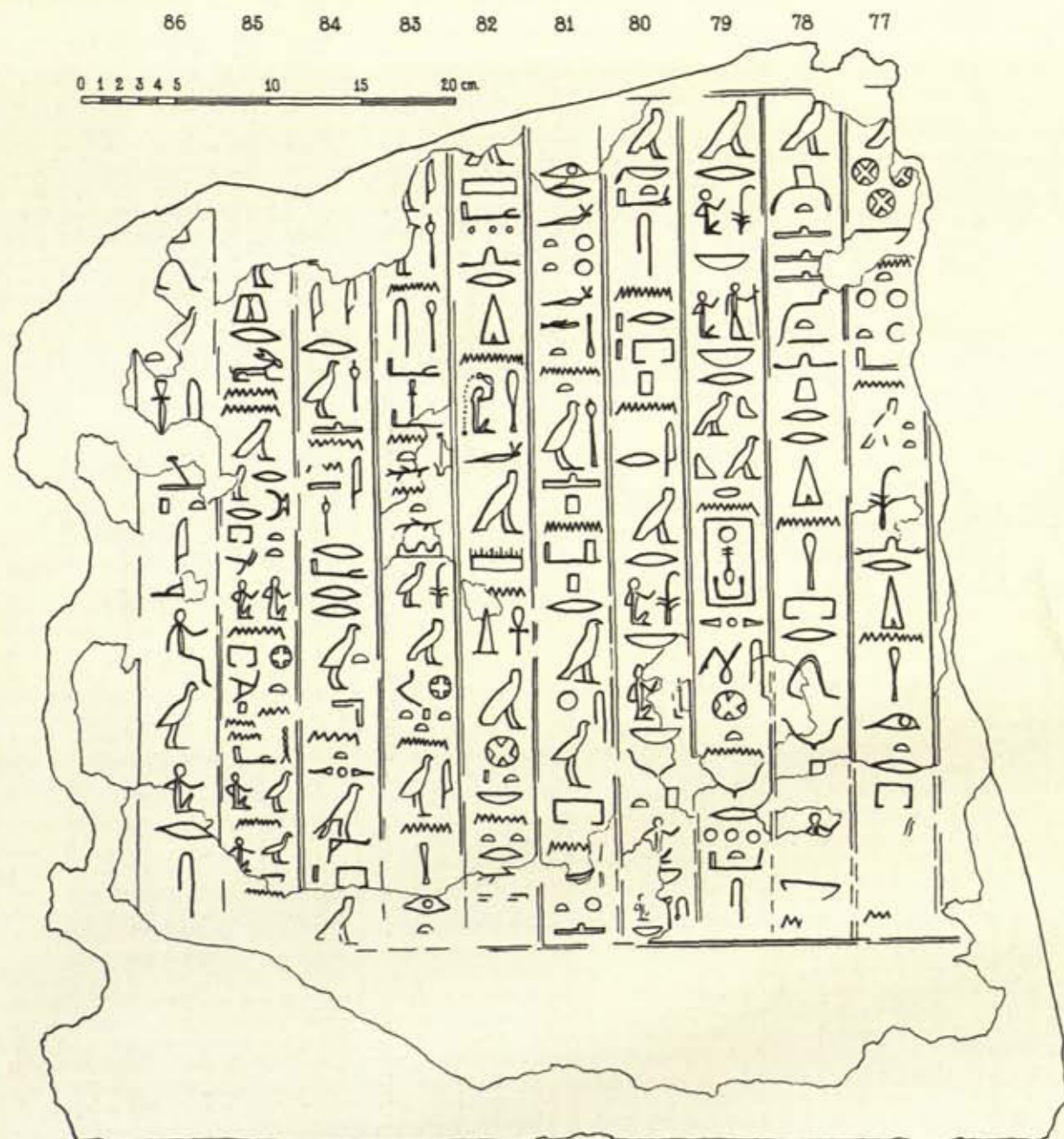
In our desire to put in an appearance in the field, our publications have not been forgotten. This *Journal* will be continued under the editorship of Mr. R. O. Faulkner, and the retiring Editor appeals for the extension to his successor of the same help on the part of contributing scholars that has been so generously bestowed upon himself. *City of Akhenaten, Part III*, the posthumous work by our deeply mourned excavator J. D. S. Pendlebury, will go to press as soon as Mr. Fairman's chapter on the inscriptions has been received. A further volume on the late Sir Robert Mond's excavations in the Necropolis of Thebes has long been in the printers' hands, and ought to appear before

many months are past. In the Graeco-Roman field, another instalment of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* is far advanced, and a plan has been mooted for the production of a second part of the Society's publication *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library*. The report on the excavations at Sesibe must be postponed until Mr. Fairman is free to undertake it. In the matter of British Egyptological publications there have been serious obstacles which are the sole reason why hitherto we have had less to show than other countries: shortage of paper and of man-power are handicaps over which scholars themselves have no control, but in the end we shall succeed in furnishing proof that our efforts have, quantitatively at all events, not been inferior to those of other lands.

So much space has had to be devoted here to our Society's own concerns that it will be impossible to expatiate on other topics to the extent that we could have wished. In particular we should have liked to dwell upon the great services to Egyptology of several eminent personalities, the loss of whom we record with deep regret. Two of these attained a ripe old age: the distinguished French scholar Victor Loret, who died in February 1946 at his university town of Lyons in his eighty-seventh year; and Gustave Jéquier, the Swiss *savant*, Loret's junior by nine years, whose excavations at South Saqqārah were perhaps his most memorable achievement. Among our own people we mourn the deaths of two extraordinarily active and able archaeologists, the chemist of the Cairo Museum A. Lucas (see *JEA* xxxi, 2) and the Chief Keeper of the same Museum Reginald Engelbach, to whom Professor Glanville devotes a fitting tribute below; for many of us a visit to Cairo will no longer afford the attraction which it did when these two ever-willing friends and helpers were there to welcome us.

At home, there have been two professorial changes, Professor Glanville obtaining the Chair founded at Cambridge through the munificence of the late Sir Herbert Thompson, while Glanville's place at University College, London, has been taken by Jaroslav Černý, the well-known Czechish Egyptologist. With these two outstanding scholars the teaching of new recruits to our ranks is in safe hands, for both alike possess an all-round competence in archaeology as well as in philology, if indeed for a moment we may take the retrograde step of considering these disciplines as distinct and separable from one another.

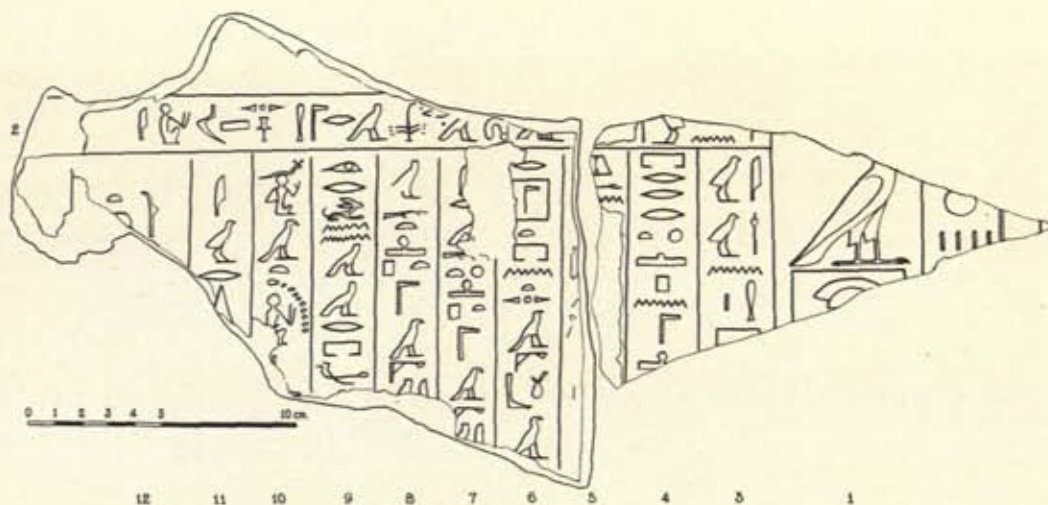
Those desirous of news about recent finds in Egypt should not miss the opportunities so splendidly afforded by the *Illustrated London News*, and here having other fish to fry we pass rapidly over the discovery of a temple of Nektanebes by Montet at Tanis, of the Serapeum of Alexandria by Rowe, and at the Blunt Pyramid of Saqqārah by M. Abd Essallam M. Hussein. A coming event that may prove of great importance is the projected formation of an International Association of Egyptologists with its centre at Copenhagen. The promoter of this scheme is Professor C. E. Sander-Hansen. A preliminary meeting is being arranged for August of this year, and among the subjects to be discussed will undoubtedly be the Hieroglyphic Dictionary, the fate of which for so long hung in the balance. The latest news is that the materials for this are intact and after sojourning for years in a salt-mine have been handed back by the Russians to the Berlin Academy, where they are being unpacked by Professor Grapow, the pre-War editor.



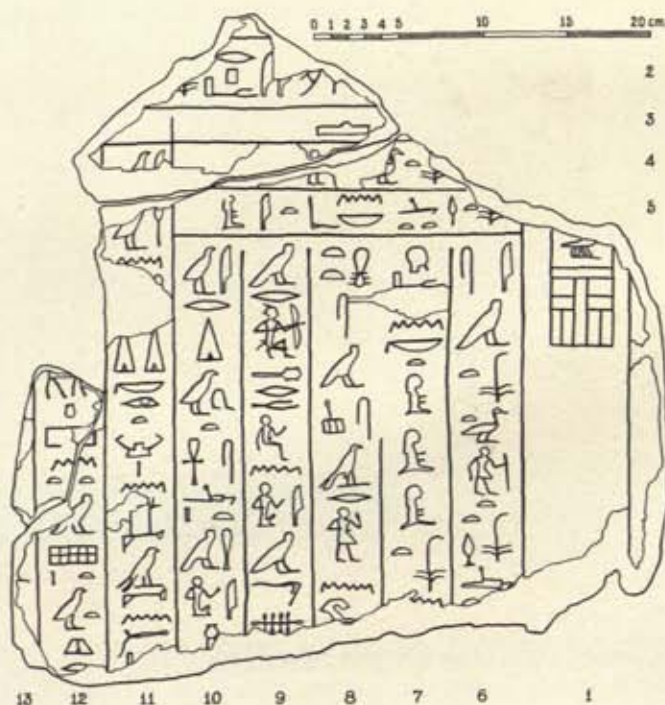
DEGREE OF THE REIGN OF PHIOPS II FROM COPTUS
Fragment 'D' in the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art, New York



DECREE OF THE REIGN OF PHIOPS II FROM COPTUS
Fragment 'D' in the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art, New York



Fragments of a Decree issued by the Horus Kha[-bau(?)]



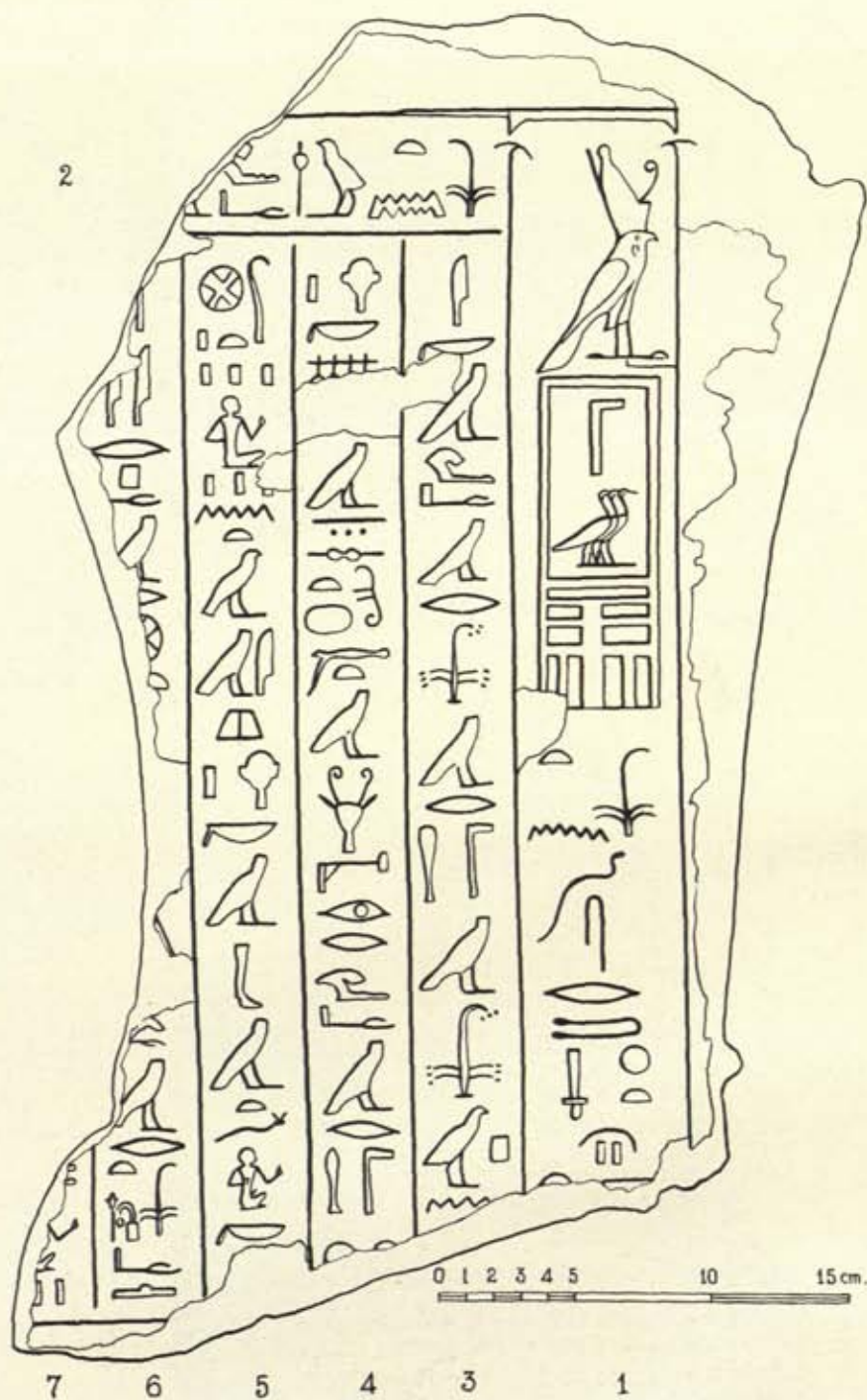
Fragment of a Decree issued by the Horus [Netjery]-bau
 ROYAL DECREES FROM COPTUS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF
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The New York fragment of the Decree of the Horus Khat-[bau(?)]



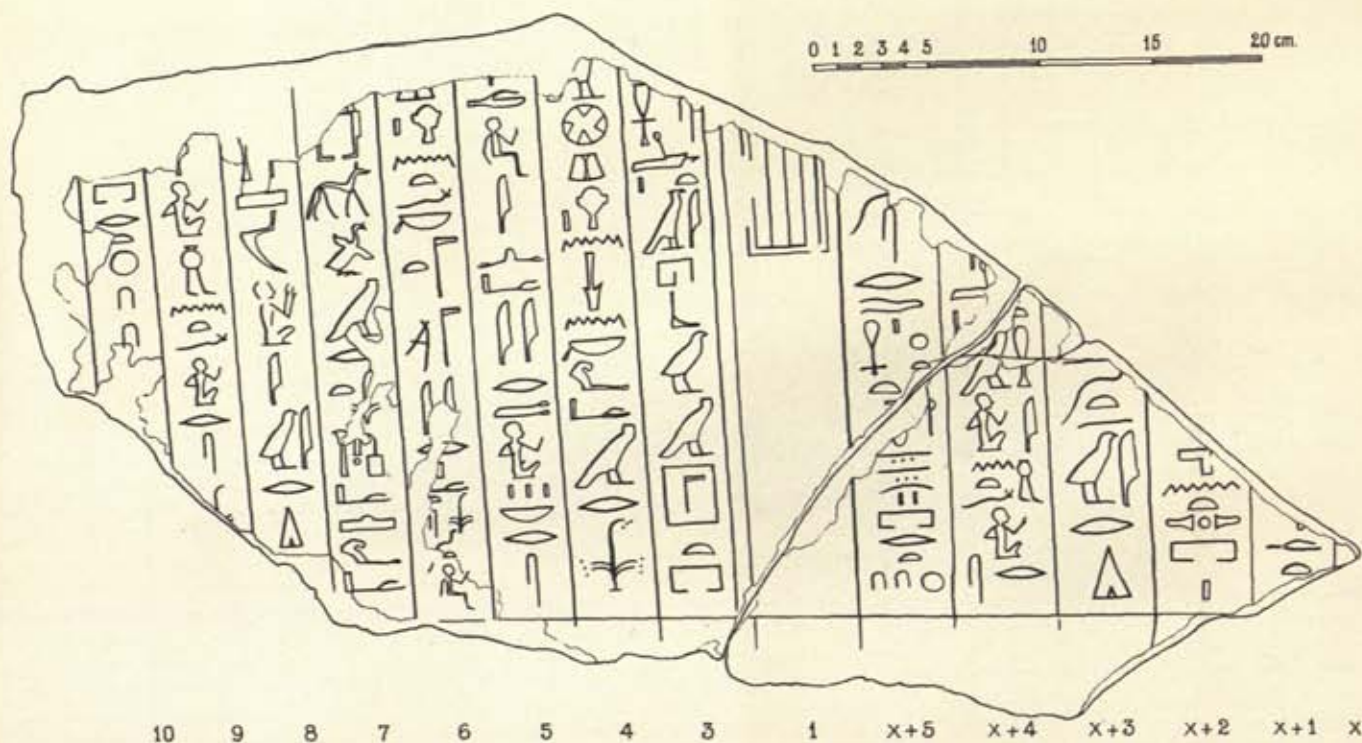
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 ART, NEW YORK



DECREE OF THE HORUS NETJERY-BAU FROM COPTUS
Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



DEGREE OF THE HORUS NETJERY-BAU FROM COPTUS
Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



STELA WITH PARTS OF TWO DECREES FROM COPTUS ISSUED IN
YEAR I OF KING NEFERKAUHOR

Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

ROYAL DECREES FROM THE TEMPLE OF MIN AT COPTUS

By WILLIAM C. HAYES

BETWEEN January 17 and February 28, 1910, Adolphe Reinach and Raymond Weill, while conducting excavations in the 'Middle Temple'¹ at Coptus on behalf of the Société française des fouilles archéologiques, discovered under the ruins of a brick structure of Roman date seven inscribed slabs of limestone bearing royal decrees of the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period.² All rested on the original sandstone flooring of the ancient temple, beside the massive blocks of limestone which once formed the bases of its walls. All had been dismounted and stowed with care, and five were found stacked in a neat pile with their inscribed surfaces down, protected above and below by uninscribed slabs of limestone. In the following year (1911) an eighth slab and fragments of a ninth and tenth were found nearby in the same ruins.³ Of the complete and fragmentary stelae so recovered eight were retained by the Egyptian Museum in Cairo⁴ and one, composed of two pieces, was taken to France and exhibited in the Musée Guimet de Lyon.⁵ In 1912 the whole series, with the exception of the pieces in Lyons, was published by Weill in *Les décrets royaux de l'ancien empire égyptien*, a painstaking work valuable for the photographic plates, but marred by numerous errors in the line copies and translations of the texts. Many of these errors were corrected and new translations were given in two excellent reviews of Weill's book, published by Dr. Alan Gardiner⁶ and by Professor Kurt Sethe in November and December respectively of the same year. It was in Sethe's review, brought out in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*,⁷ that he suggested that the originators of several of the decrees, datable to the period following the Sixth Dynasty, were members of an Upper Egyptian dynasty of kings residing at Coptus itself. During the years 1912-17 seven of the stelae found by Reinach and Weill were re-studied by Alexandre Moret in a series of articles in the *Journal asiatique*⁸ and the *Comptes rendus . . . de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*;⁹ and in 1913 three of them were discussed by Henri Sottas in *La préservation de la propriété funéraire*.¹⁰ A brief but valuable commentary of more recent date is given by Hermann Kees in his *Beiträge zur altägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*;¹¹ and a detailed treatment and analysis appears in Jacques Pirenne's *Histoire des institutions et du droit privé*.¹²

¹ Porter & Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, v, 124 (25, 26), 126-7.

² Maspero, *Journ. des Débats*, Aug. 3, 1910; Reinach, *Bull. Soc. fr. des fouilles arch.*, III, 1 (1911), 19-22; Weill, *Ann. Serv.*, XI (1911), 121-5.

³ Weill, op. cit., 124; *Décrets*, 1-4, 90-1.

⁴ *Journ. d'entrée*, 41090-5, 43052-3.

⁵ Reinach, *Cat. ant. ég. recueillies dans les fouilles de Koptos*, 1, 68-9.

⁶ *PSBA*, xxxiv (1912), 257-65.

⁷ 174, Nr. 12 (1912), 705-26.

⁸ 10^e série, xx (1912), 73-113; 11^e série, vii (1916), 273-322, 329-41; x (1917), 359-87.

⁹ (1914), 565-74; (1916), 140, 318, 378.

¹⁰ 85, 88-109, 122-5.

¹¹ *Nachr. Göttingen* (1932), 85-119.

¹² II (1934), 238-67; III (1935), 133-6, 156, 214-16, 292-4, 300.

In the articles referred to Moret also published, with hand-copies, four out of five additional fragments of royal decrees from Coptus seen by him early in 1914 in the antiquities shop of Mohareb Todrous at Luxor and having come either from the French excavations of 1910-11 or from clandestine operations conducted in the same area by the townspeople of Kūft or El-'Awadāt.¹ In April 1914 the five slabs were purchased from Todrous by Albert M. Lythgoe on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York,² and in May were taken to Oxford for study by Norman de Garis Davies, who had been entrusted with their publication.³ Davies had the pieces photographed and made tracings of the inscriptions, but owing to pressure of other work was unable to complete the publication. A set of photographic prints, however, was sent to Berlin for use by the editors of the *Urkunden des alten Reichs*, and the tracings and a second set of photographs were subsequently sent to the Metropolitan Museum. On October 5, 1914, the stones were shipped to New York, where they were soaked, treated with paraffin, mounted, and added to the Museum's Egyptian collection under the accession numbers 14.7.10-14. In 1921, at the request of Prof. James Henry Breasted, new photographs were taken, and in 1934 hand-copies were made by Dr. Ludlow Bull, based on a close scrutiny of the stones themselves and on Davies's tracings and photographs. The hand-copies which in 1933 Sethe published in Heft 4 of the *Urkunden*⁴ are his own, made from Davies's photographs and apparently not collated against the originals.

Finally, there were in the possession of Mohareb Todrous before 1921 and as late as 1927 two more fragments of the stelae in Cairo and New York and three other fragmentary decrees from Coptus. These five pieces evidently were not seen either by Moret or Lythgoe in 1914, but were offered for sale (at a prohibitive price) in 1921.⁵ Sethe obtained photographs of them and they are included in the 1933 edition of the *Urkunden*,⁶ and are translated and discussed by Pirenne in the *Histoire des institutions*.⁷

All told, eighteen royal decrees from the temple of Min at Coptus are preserved complete, or represented by fragments, in Cairo, New York, Luxor, and Lyons:

(a) Charter of immunity issued by King Phiops I on behalf of the *ka*-chapel of the King's Mother, Ipwet. Cairo Museum, 41890. Porter & Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, v, 126; Sottas, *Préservation de la propriété funéraire*, 88-90; Pirenne, *Hist. institutions*, II, 256-7.

(b) Charter of immunity issued by King Phiops II on behalf of the temple of Min at Coptus. Cairo Museum, 41893. Porter & Moss, *ibid.*; Gardiner, *PSBA* (1912), 261-5; Sottas, *op. cit.* 122-5; Pirenne, *op. cit.*, II, 257-9.

(c) Second charter of immunity issued by King Phiops II on behalf of the temple of Min at Coptus. Cairo Museum, 41491. Porter & Moss, *ibid.*; Sottas, *ibid.*

¹ *J. as.* (1916), 272, 322-9; (1917), 360-6; *C.-R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L.* (1914), 572-3. See also Pirenne, *Hist. des institutions*, III, 213-16; *Rev. Ég. anc.*, III (1931), 97-109.

² With funds provided by Edward S. Harkness. The correspondence pertaining to the purchase and shipment of the stones is on file in the Metropolitan Museum.

³ Letters of N. de G. Davies and A. M. Lythgoe in the Museum's files.

⁴ I, 291-3, 297-8, 299-300, 303-4.

⁵ Correspondence between James Henry Breasted, Albert M. Lythgoe, and Herbert E. Winlock, on file in the Metropolitan Museum. They were not purchased by Prof. Breasted, and are presumably still in Todrous's house at Luxor.

⁶ I, 291, 293, 298-9, 300-3.

⁷ III (1935), 213-16.

(d) Charter of immunity issued by King Phiops II on behalf of the foundation, 'Min-makes-the-foundation-of-Neferkarē-to-flourish', in the temple of Min at Coptus. In four fragments (*Urk.* 1, 293): A. Cairo Museum, 43052; B. Luxor (?); C. Cairo Museum, 43052; D. New York, M.M.A. 14.7.10 (pls. II, IIa, and pp. 7 ff., below). Porter & Moss, op. cit. 126-7; Pirenne, op. cit., II, 261-2; III, 294.

(e) Two fragments of a decree issued by King Phiops (II?), dealing with the personnel and possessions of a temple at or near Aphroditopolis (Atfih) in the 22nd Nome of Upper Egypt. Musée Guimet de Lyon. Porter & Moss, op. cit. 127.

(f) Small fragment of a decree mentioning Upper Egypt, published by Weill, *Décrets*, 91, pl. XII, 1. Present whereabouts unknown. Dyn. VI in style.

(g) Decree addressed by a successor of King Phiops II to a Governor of Upper Egypt, possibly Shemay, regarding the upkeep of a statue of Phiops II and of the royal foundation 'Min-makes-the-foundation-of-Neferkarē-to-flourish', with reference to the Nomarch Idy (Shemay's son?) as the Overseer of the Depot. Cairo Museum, 41892. Porter & Moss, *ibid.*; Gardiner, op. cit. 260; Kees, *Nachr. Göttingen* (1932), 111; Pirenne, op. cit., II, 260-1; III, 292-4, 300.

(h) Two fragments of a decree addressed by the Horus Kha- . . . to the Governor of Upper Egypt, Shemay, regarding offerings and services in the temple of Min at Coptus. Fragment A: Cairo Museum (pl. IIIA, top right, and pp. 11 ff., below). Weill, *Décrets*, 90; Fragment B: New York, M.M.A. 14.7.14 (pl. III, top, IIIA, top left, and pp. *ibid.*, below). Porter & Moss, *ibid.*; Kees, op. cit. 110-11; Pirenne, op. cit., III, 215. Photographs of A taken by Burton many years ago appear to confirm the juxtaposition of the two fragments.

(i) Decree addressed by a king (name missing) to a Governor of Upper Egypt, possibly Shemay, placing him in charge of the twenty-two nomes of Upper Egypt, which are listed in order from south to north. Cairo Museum, 43053. Porter & Moss, *ibid.*; Kees, op. cit. 110; Pirenne, op. cit., II, 265-6; III, 214.

(j) Decree issued by King Neferkauhor to the Vizier Shemay regarding the titulary of the latter's wife, the King's Eldest Daughter Nebyet, and other matters. In two fragments (*Urk.* 1, 297-9): A. New York, M.M.A. 14.7.13 (pl. III, bottom, and pp. 13 ff., below); B. Luxor (?). Porter & Moss *ibid.*; Kees, op. cit. 113; Pirenne, op. cit., III, 214; B. Luxor (?) *Urk.* 1, 298-9.

(k) Decree addressed by King Neferkauhor to the Vizier Shemay, assigning companies of mortuary priests to the *ka*-chapels of Shemay and his wife, the King's Eldest Daughter Nebyet. Luxor (?). *Urk.* 1, 302-3; Pirenne, op. cit., III, 215.

(l) Decree issued by King Neferkauhor regarding an inventory to be made, under the supervision of the Vizier Shemay, of property belonging to the king's foundation 'Min-of-Coptus-makes-Neferkauhor-to-live'. Cairo Museum, 41895. Porter & Moss, *ibid.*; Kees, op. cit. 114; Pirenne, op. cit., II, 263-4.

(m) Decree addressed by King Neferkauhor to the Vizier Shemay, informing him of the appointment of his son Idy as governor of the seven southernmost nomes of Upper Egypt. Luxor (?). *Urk.* 1, 300-1; Pirenne, op. cit., III, 216.

(n) Decree addressed by King Neferkauhor to the Vizier Shemay, informing him of the appointment of another son, Idy's brother, to a post in the temple of Min at Coptus. Luxor (?). *Urk.* 1, 301-2; Pirenne, *ibid.*

(o) Decree addressed by King Neferkauhor to Shemay's son Idy, appointing him Governor of Upper Egypt, with jurisdiction over the seven southernmost nomes of Upper Egypt. New York, M.M.A. 14.7.11 (pls. IV, IVa, and pp. 16 f., below). Porter & Moss, *ibid.*; Kees, op. cit. 112-13; Pirenne, op. cit., II, 266; III, 133-6, 156, 215.

(p) Concluding phrases of a decree issued by King Neferkauhor, probably to the Governor of Upper Egypt, Idy, regarding the appointment of his brother to a post in the temple of Min at



Coptus. Inscribed on the same stela as (q). New York, M.M.A. 14.7.12 (pl. V, right, and pp. 17 ff., below). Porter & Moss, *ibid.*; Pirenne, *op. cit.*, II, 264; III, 157, 216.

(q) Decree addressed by King Neferkauhor to Idy's brother, appointing him to a post in the temple of Min at Coptus. Inscribed on the same stela as (q). New York, M.M.A. 14.7.12 (pl. V, left, and pp. 18 f., below). Porter & Moss, *ibid.*; Pirenne, *op. cit.*, II, 264-5; III, 157, 216.

[*Note:* Decrees (k) to (q), inclusive, were all issued on a single day (month 2 of Prōyet, day 20) in the first regnal year of King Neferkauhor].

(r) Decree addressed by the Horus Demedj-ib-towe to the Vizier Idy, forbidding anyone to damage Idy's funerary monuments or diminish his offerings. Cairo Museum, 41894. Porter & Moss, *ibid.*; Kees, *op. cit.* 112-13; Sottas, *op. cit.* 90-109; Pirenne, *op. cit.*, II, 248, 266.

[*Note:* For the sake of brevity the decrees will be referred to hereinafter simply by the letters (a), (b), etc., accompanied, when necessary, by the number of the particular line or column in question, e.g. '(k)5'. Lower-case letters are used to avoid confusion with the capitals, 'A', 'B', etc., variously employed by Weill and Sethe].

It is specifically directed in several of the inscriptions themselves that in each case a copy of the decree is to be placed on a stela () of limestone at the gateway () of the temple of Min at Coptus.¹ There is no reason to doubt that these instructions were carried out to the letter.

The decrees are carved in incised hieroglyphs on oblong rectangular slabs of limestone 7-20 cm. in thickness, 50-180 cm. in height, and, when complete, 100-220 cm. in length. The backs and edges of the slabs are rough dressed and apparently intended to be let into the masonry of a wall surface. That this surface was of brick rather than of stone is highly probable. There would be little reason for sinking panels of limestone into a wall already constructed of that material, and even the fronts of the slabs, though smoothed, in many cases show considerable errors in flatness—disturbing in a well-dressed wall of stone, but hardly noticeable in the undulating surface of a stuccoed wall of mud brick. That a provincial temple like that of Min at Coptus should have had a brick gateway or entrance corridor is altogether in keeping with what is known of the period covered by these decrees, when even at Memphis little monumental architecture in stone was being undertaken.

Though suffering from the action of salt and dampness, brought on unquestionably by their long sojourn in the basement of the temple, the stelae show few signs of 'weathering' in the ordinary sense, or of prolonged exposure to the direct rays of the sun. This suggests that they were mounted, not on the façade of the temple or on the outer jambs of a pylon, but rather on the reveals of the gateway² or on the side walls of a deep vestibule similar to that seen in contemporary pyramid temples.³ How the panels were arranged on these wall surfaces we have, of course, no way of knowing, but it is probable that they were mounted as near to eye level as possible, for the inscriptions, lightly incised and relatively small in scale, could not have been legible at any great distance.

¹ See below, pp. 8, 18.

² As was the case with the well-known decree of King Nubkheperre Inyotef from the same temple (Petrie, *Koptos*, p. 10).

³ Jéquier, *Ann. Serv.*, XXVIII, 57, pl. I.

In this connexion it may be significant to note that the panels are for the most part long and low, permitting several to be mounted one above the other without undue 'skying'.

It is reasonable to assume that, as the space available in the temple gateway became overcrowded with decrees, the older, obsolete examples were taken down and put away to make room for more up-to-date proclamations. This, indeed, was probably the case with the carefully 'cached' stelae found by Reinach and Weill.

The decrees, drawn up originally on papyrus—often no doubt at the request of the addressees or beneficiaries—follow a more or less set form. First there is the *heading*, consisting of the Horus name of the king, the authenticating words 'sealed in the presence of the king himself' (𓆎 𓆏 𓆑 𓆒 𓆓 𓆔 𓆕 𓆖 𓆗 𓆘 𓆙 𓆚 𓆛 𓆜 𓆝 𓆞 𓆟 𓆠 𓆡 𓆢 𓆣 𓆤 𓆥 𓆦 𓆧 𓆨 𓆩 𓆪 𓆫 𓆬 𓆭 𓆮 𓆯 𓆰 𓆱 𓆲 𓆳 𓆴 𓆵 𓆶 𓆷 𓆸 𓆹 𓆺 𓆻 𓆼 𓆽 𓆾 𓆿 𓇀 𓇁 𓇂 𓇃 𓇄 𓇅 𓇆 𓇇 𓇈 𓇉 𓇊 𓇋 𓇌 𓇍 𓇎 𓇏 𓇐 𓇑 𓇒 𓇓 𓇔 𓇕 𓇖 𓇗 𓇘 𓇙 𓇚 𓇛 𓇜 𓇝 𓇞 𓇟 𓇠 𓇡 𓇢 𓇣 𓇤 𓇥 𓇦 𓇧 𓇨 𓇩 𓇪 𓇫 𓇬 𓇭 𓇮 𓇯 𓇰 𓇱 𓇲 𓇳 𓇴 𓇵 𓇶 𓇷 𓇸 𓇹 𓇺 𓇻 𓇼 𓇽 𓇾 𓇿 𓈀 𓈁 𓈂 𓈃 𓈄 𓈅 𓈆 𓈇 𓈈 𓈉 𓈊 𓈋 𓈌 𓈍 𓈎 𓈏 𓈐 𓈑 𓈒 𓈓 𓈔 𓈕 𓈖 𓈗 𓈘 𓈙 𓈚 𓈛 𓈜 𓈝 𓈞 𓈟 𓈠 𓈡 𓈢 𓈣 𓈤 𓈥 𓈦 𓈧 𓈨 𓈩 𓈪 𓈫 𓈬 𓈭 𓈮 𓈯 𓈰 𓈱 𓈲 𓈳 𓈴 𓈵 𓈶 𓈷 𓈸 𓈹 𓈺 𓈻 𓈼 𓈽 𓈾 𓈿 𓉀 𓉁 𓉂 𓉃 𓉄 𓉅 𓉆 𓉇 𓉈 𓉉 𓉊 𓉋 𓉌 𓉍 𓉎 𓉏 𓉐 𓉑 𓉒 𓉓 𓉔 𓉕 𓉖 𓉗 𓉘 𓉙 𓉚 𓉛 𓉜 𓉝 𓉞 𓉟 𓉠 𓉡 𓉢 𓉣 𓉤 𓉥 𓉦 𓉧 𓉨 𓉩 𓉪 𓉫 𓉬 𓉭 𓉮 𓉯 𓉰 𓉱 𓉲 𓉳 𓉴 𓉵 𓉶 𓉷 𓉸 𓉹 𓉺 𓉻 𓉼 𓉽 𓉾 𓉿 𓊀 𓊁 𓊂 𓊃 𓊄 𓊅 𓊆 𓊇 𓊈 𓊉 𓊊 𓊋 𓊌 𓊍 𓊎 𓊏 𓊐 𓊑 𓊒 𓊓 𓊔 𓊕 𓊖 𓊗 𓊘 𓊙 𓊚 𓊛 𓊜 𓊝 𓊞 𓊟 𓊠 𓊡 𓊢 𓊣 𓊤 𓊥 𓊦 𓊧 𓊨 𓊩 𓊪 𓊫 𓊬 𓊭 𓊮 𓊯 𓊰 𓊱 𓊲 𓊳 𓊴 𓊵 𓊶 𓊷 𓊸 𓊹 𓊺 𓊻 𓊼 𓊽 𓊾 𓊿 𓋀 𓋁 𓋂 𓋃 𓋄 𓋅 𓋆 𓋇 𓋈 𓋉 𓋊 𓋋 𓋌 𓋍 𓋎 𓋏 𓋐 𓋑 𓋒 𓋓 𓋔 𓋕 𓋖 𓋗 𓋘 𓋙 𓋚 𓋛 𓋜 𓋝 𓋞 𓋟 𓋠 𓋡 𓋢 𓋣 𓋤 𓋥 𓋦 𓋧 𓋨 𓋩 𓋪 𓋫 𓋬 𓋭 𓋮 𓋯 𓋰 𓋱 𓋲 𓋳 𓋴 𓋵 𓋶 𓋷 𓋸 𓋹 𓋺 𓋻 𓋼 𓋽 𓋾 𓋿 𓌀 𓌁 𓌂 𓌃 𓌄 𓌅 𓌆 𓌇 𓌈 𓌉 𓌊 𓌋 𓌌 𓌍 𓌎 𓌏 𓌐 𓌑 𓌒 𓌓 𓌔 𓌕 𓌖 𓌗 𓌘 𓌙 𓌚 𓌛 𓌜 𓌝 𓌞 𓌟 𓌠 𓌡 𓌢 𓌣 𓌤 𓌥 𓌦 𓌧 𓌨 𓌩 𓌪 𓌫 𓌬 𓌭 𓌮 𓌯 𓌰 𓌱 𓌲 𓌳 𓌴 𓌵 𓌶 𓌷 𓌸 𓌹 𓌺 𓌻 𓌼 𓌽 𓌾 𓌿 𓍀 𓍁 𓍂 𓍃 𓍄 𓍅 𓍆 𓍇 𓍈 𓍉 𓍊 𓍋 𓍌 𓍍 𓍎 𓍏 𓍐 𓍑 𓍒 𓍓 𓍔 𓍕 𓍖 𓍗 𓍘 𓍙 𓍚 𓍛 𓍜 𓍝 𓍞 𓍟 𓍠 𓍡 𓍢 𓍣 𓍤 𓍥 𓍦 𓍧 𓍨 𓍩 𓍪 𓍫 𓍬 𓍭 𓍮 𓍯 𓍰 𓍱 𓍲 𓍳 𓍴 𓍵 𓍶 𓍷 𓍸 𓍹 𓍺 𓍻 𓍼 𓍽 𓍾 𓍿 𓎀 𓎁 𓎂 𓎃 𓎄 𓎅 𓎆 𓎇 𓎈 𓎉 𓎊 𓎋 𓎌 𓎍 𓎎 𓎏 𓎐 𓎑 𓎒 𓎓 𓎔 𓎕 𓎖 𓎗 𓎘 𓎙 𓎚 𓎛 𓎜 𓎝 𓎞 𓎟 𓎠 𓎡 𓎢 𓎣 𓎤 𓎥 𓎦 𓎧 𓎨 𓎩 𓎪 𓎫 𓎬 𓎭 𓎮 𓎯 𓎰 𓎱 𓎲 𓎳 𓎴 𓎵 𓎶 𓎷 𓎸 𓎹 𓎺 𓎻 𓎼 𓎽 𓎾 𓎿 𓏀 𓏁 𓏂 𓏃 𓏄 𓏅 𓏆 𓏇 𓏈 𓏉 𓏊 𓏋 𓏌 𓏍 𓏎 𓏏 𓏐 𓏑 𓏒 𓏓 𓏔 𓏕 𓏖 𓏗 𓏘 𓏙 𓏚 𓏛 𓏜 𓏝 𓏞 𓏟 𓏠 𓏡 𓏢 𓏣 𓏤 𓏥 𓏦 𓏧 𓏨 𓏩 𓏪 𓏫 𓏬 𓏭 𓏮 𓏯 𓏰 𓏱 𓏲 𓏳 𓏴 𓏵 𓏶 𓏷 𓏸 𓏹 𓏺 𓏻 𓏼 𓏽 𓏾 𓏿 𓐀 𓐁 𓐂 𓐃 𓐄 𓐅 𓐆 𓐇 𓐈 𓐉 𓐊 𓐋 𓐌 𓐍 𓐎 𓐏 𓐐 𓐑 𓐒 𓐓 𓐔 𓐕 𓐖 𓐗 𓐘 𓐙 𓐚 𓐛 𓐜 𓐝 𓐞 𓐟 𓐠 𓐡 𓐢 𓐣 𓐤 𓐥 𓐦 𓐧 𓐨 𓐩 𓐪 𓐫 𓐬 𓐭 𓐮 𓐯 𓐰 𓐱 𓐲 𓐳 𓐴 𓐵 𓐶 𓐷 𓐸 𓐹 𓐺 𓐻 𓐼 𓐽 𓐾 𓐿 𓑀 𓑁 𓑂 𓑃 𓑄 𓑅 𓑆 𓑇 𓑈 𓑉 𓑊 𓑋 𓑌 𓑍 𓑎 𓑏 𓑐 𓑑 𓑒 𓑓 𓑔 𓑕 𓑖 𓑗 𓑘 𓑙 𓑚 𓑛 𓑜 𓑝 𓑞 𓑟 𓑠 𓑡 𓑢 𓑣 𓑤 𓑥 𓑦 𓑧 𓑨 𓑩 𓑪 𓑫 𓑬 𓑭 𓑮 𓑯 𓑰 𓑱 𓑲 𓑳 𓑴 𓑵 𓑶 𓑷 𓑸 𓑹 𓑺 𓑻 𓑼 𓑽 𓑾 𓑿 𓒀 𓒁 𓒂 𓒃 𓒄 𓒅 𓒆 𓒇 𓒈 𓒉 𓒊 𓒋 𓒌 𓒍 𓒎 𓒏 𓒐 𓒑 𓒒 𓒓 𓒔 𓒕 𓒖 𓒗 𓒘 𓒙 𓒚 𓒛 𓒜 𓒝 𓒞 𓒟 𓒠 𓒡 𓒢 𓒣 𓒤 𓒥 𓒦 𓒧 𓒨 𓒩 𓒪 𓒫 𓒬 𓒭 𓒮 𓒯 𓒰 𓒱 𓒲 𓒳 𓒴 𓒵 𓒶 𓒷 𓒸 𓒹 𓒺 𓒻 𓒼 𓒽 𓒾 𓒿 𓓀 𓓁 𓓂 𓓃 𓓄 𓓅 𓓆 𓓇 𓓈 𓓉 𓓊 𓓋 𓓌 𓓍 𓓎 𓓏 𓓐 𓓑 𓓒 𓓓 𓓔 𓓕 𓓖 𓓗 𓓘 𓓙 𓓚 𓓛 𓓜 𓓝 𓓞 𓓟 𓓠 𓓡 𓓢 𓓣 𓓤 𓓥 𓓦 𓓧 𓓨 𓓩 𓓪 𓓫 𓓬 𓓭 𓓮 𓓯 𓓰 𓓱 𓓲 𓓳 𓓴 𓓵 𓓶 𓓷 𓓸 𓓹 𓓺 𓓻 𓓼 𓓽 𓓾 𓓿 𓔀 𓔁 𓔂 𓔃 𓔄 𓔅 𓔆 𓔇 𓔈 𓔉 𓔊 𓔋 𓔌 𓔍 𓔎 𓔏 𓔐 𓔑 𓔒 𓔓 𓔔 𓔕 𓔖 𓔗 𓔘 𓔙 𓔚 𓔛 𓔜 𓔝 𓔞 𓔟 𓔠 𓔡 𓔢 𓔣 𓔤 𓔥 𓔦 𓔧 𓔨 𓔩 𓔪 𓔫 𓔬 𓔭 𓔮 𓔯 𓔰 𓔱 𓔲 𓔳 𓔴 𓔵 𓔶 𓔷 𓔸 𓔹 𓔺 𓔻 𓔼 𓔽 𓔾 𓔿 𓕀 𓕁 𓕂 𓕃 𓕄 𓕅 𓕆 𓕇 𓕈 𓕉 𓕊 𓕋 𓕌 𓕍 𓕎 𓕏 𓕐 𓕑 𓕒 𓕓 𓕔 𓕕 𓕖 𓕗 𓕘 𓕙 𓕚 𓕛 𓕜 𓕝 𓕞 𓕟 𓕠 𓕡 𓕢 𓕣 𓕤 𓕥 𓕦 𓕧 𓕨 𓕩 𓕪 𓕫 𓕬 𓕭 𓕮 𓕯 𓕰 𓕱 𓕲 𓕳 𓕴 𓕵 𓕶 𓕷 𓕸 𓕹 𓕺 𓕻 𓕼 𓕽 𓕾 𓕿 𓖀 𓖁 𓖂 𓖃 𓖄 𓖅 𓖆 𓖇 𓖈 𓖉 𓖊 𓖋 𓖌 𓖍 𓖎 𓖏 𓖐 𓖑 𓖒 𓖓 𓖔 𓖕 𓖖 𓖗 𓖘 𓖙 𓖚 𓖛 𓖜 𓖝 𓖞 𓖟 𓖠 𓖡 𓖢 𓖣 𓖤 𓖥 𓖦 𓖧 𓖨 𓖩 𓖪 𓖫 𓖬 𓖭 𓖮 𓖯 𓖰 𓖱 𓖲 𓖳 𓖴 𓖵 𓖶 𓖷 𓖸 𓖹 𓖺 𓖻 𓖼 𓖽 𓖾 𓖿 𓗀 𓗁 𓗂 𓗃 𓗄 𓗅 𓗆 𓗇 𓗈 𓗉 𓗊 𓗋 𓗌 𓗍 𓗎 𓗏 𓗐 𓗑 𓗒 𓗓 𓗔 𓗕 𓗖 𓗗 𓗘 𓗙 𓗚 𓗛 𓗜 𓗝 𓗞 𓗟 𓗠 𓗡 𓗢 𓗣 𓗤 𓗥 𓗦 𓗧 𓗨 𓗩 𓗪 𓗫 𓗬 𓗭 𓗮 𓗯 𓗰 𓗱 𓗲 𓗳 𓗴 𓗵 𓗶 𓗷 𓗸 𓗹 𓗺 𓗻 𓗼 𓗽 𓗾 𓗿 𓘀 𓘁 𓘂 𓘃 𓘄 𓘅 𓘆 𓘇 𓘈 𓘉 𓘊 𓘋 𓘌 𓘍 𓘎 𓘏 𓘐 𓘑 𓘒 𓘓 𓘔 𓘕 𓘖 𓘗 𓘘 𓘙 𓘚 𓘛 𓘜 𓘝 𓘞 𓘟 𓘠 𓘡 𓘢 𓘣 𓘤 𓘥 𓘦 𓘧 𓘨 𓘩 𓘪 𓘫 𓘬 𓘭 𓘮 𓘯 𓘰 𓘱 𓘲 𓘳 𓘴 𓘵 𓘶 𓘷 𓘸 𓘹 𓘺 𓘻 𓘼 𓘽 𓘾 𓘿 𓙀 𓙁 𓙂 𓙃 𓙄 𓙅 𓙆 𓙇 𓙈 𓙉 𓙊 𓙋 𓙌 𓙍 𓙎 𓙏 𓙐 𓙑 𓙒 𓙓 𓙔 𓙕 𓙖 𓙗 𓙘 𓙙 𓙚 𓙛 𓙜 𓙝 𓙞 𓙟 𓙠 𓙡 𓙢 𓙣 𓙤 𓙥 𓙦 𓙧 𓙨 𓙩 𓙪 𓙫 𓙬 𓙭 𓙮 𓙯 𓙰 𓙱 𓙲 𓙳 𓙴 𓙵 𓙶 𓙷 𓙸 𓙹 𓙺 𓙻 𓙼 𓙽 𓙾 𓙿 𓚀 𓚁 𓚂 𓚃 𓚄 𓚅 𓚆 𓚇 𓚈 𓚉 𓚊 𓚋 𓚌 𓚍 𓚎 𓚏 𓚐 𓚑 𓚒 𓚓 𓚔 𓚕 𓚖 𓚗 𓚘 𓚙 𓚚 𓚛 𓚜 𓚝 𓚞 𓚟 𓚠 𓚡 𓚢 𓚣 𓚤 𓚥 𓚦 𓚧 𓚨 𓚩 𓚪 𓚫 𓚬 𓚭 𓚮 𓚯 𓚰 𓚱 𓚲 𓚳 𓚴 𓚵 𓚶 𓚷 𓚸 𓚹 𓚺 𓚻 𓚼 𓚽 𓚾 𓚿 𓛀 𓛁 𓛂 𓛃 𓛄 𓛅 𓛆 𓛇 𓛈 𓛉 𓛊 𓛋 𓛌 𓛍 𓛎 𓛏 𓛐 𓛑 𓛒 𓛓 𓛔 𓛕 𓛖 𓛗 𓛘 𓛙 𓛚 𓛛 𓛜 𓛝 𓛞 𓛟 𓛠 𓛡 𓛢 𓛣 𓛤 𓛥 𓛦 𓛧 𓛨 𓛩 𓛪 𓛫 𓛬 𓛭 𓛮 𓛯 𓛰 𓛱 𓛲 𓛳 𓛴 𓛵 𓛶 𓛷 𓛸 𓛹 𓛺 𓛻 𓛼 𓛽 𓛾 𓛿 𓜀 𓜁 𓜂 𓜃 𓜄 𓜅 𓜆 𓜇 𓜈 𓜉 𓜊 𓜋 𓜌 𓜍 𓜎 𓜏 𓜐 𓜑 𓜒 𓜓 𓜔 𓜕 𓜖 𓜗 𓜘 𓜙 𓜚 𓜛 𓜜 𓜝 𓜞 𓜟 𓜠 𓜡 𓜢 𓜣 𓜤 𓜥 𓜦 𓜧 𓜨 𓜩 𓜪 𓜫 𓜬 𓜭 𓜮 𓜯 𓜰 𓜱 𓜲 𓜳 𓜴 𓜵 𓜶 𓜷 𓜸 𓜹 𓜺 𓜻 𓜼 𓜽 𓜾 𓜿 𓝀 𓝁 𓝂 𓝃 𓝄 𓝅 𓝆 𓝇 𓝈 𓝉 𓝊 𓝋 𓝌 𓝍 𓝎 𓝏 𓝐 𓝑 𓝒 𓝓 𓝔 𓝕 𓝖 𓝗 𓝘 𓝙 𓝚 𓝛 𓝜 𓝝 𓝞 𓝟 𓝠 𓝡 𓝢 𓝣 𓝤 𓝥 𓝦 𓝧 𓝨 𓝩 𓝪 𓝫 𓝬 𓝭 𓝮 𓝯 𓝰 𓝱 𓝲 𓝳 𓝴 𓝵 𓝶 𓝷 𓝸 𓝹 𓝺 𓝻 𓝼 𓝽 𓝾 𓝿 𓞀 𓞁 𓞂 𓞃 𓞄 𓞅 𓞆 𓞇 𓞈 𓞉 𓞊 𓞋 𓞌 𓞍 𓞎 𓞏 𓞐 𓞑 𓞒 𓞓 𓞔 𓞕 𓞖 𓞗 𓞘 𓞙 𓞚 𓞛 𓞜 𓞝 𓞞 𓞟 𓞠 𓞡 𓞢 𓞣 𓞤 𓞥 𓞦 𓞧 𓞨 𓞩 𓞪 𓞫 𓞬 𓞭 𓞮 𓞯 𓞰 𓞱 𓞲 𓞳 𓞴 𓞵 𓞶 𓞷 𓞸 𓞹 𓞺 𓞻 𓞼 𓞽 𓞾 𓞿 𓟀 𓟁 𓟂 𓟃 𓟄 𓟅 𓟆 𓟇 𓟈 𓟉 𓟊 𓟋 𓟌 𓟍 𓟎 𓟏 𓟐 𓟑 𓟒 𓟓 𓟔 𓟕 𓟖 𓟗 𓟘 𓟙 𓟚 𓟛 𓟜 𓟝 𓟞 𓟟 𓟠 𓟡 𓟢 𓟣 𓟤 𓟥 𓟦 𓟧 𓟨 𓟩 𓟪 𓟫 𓟬 𓟭 𓟮 𓟯 𓟰 𓟱 𓟲 𓟳 𓟴 𓟵 𓟶 𓟷 𓟸 𓟹 𓟺 𓟻 𓟼 𓟽 𓟾 𓟿 𓠀 𓠁 𓠂 𓠃 𓠄 𓠅 𓠆 𓠇 𓠈 𓠉 𓠊 𓠋 𓠌 𓠍 𓠎 𓠏 𓠐 𓠑 𓠒 𓠓 𓠔 𓠕 𓠖 𓠗 𓠘 𓠙 𓠚 𓠛 𓠜 𓠝 𓠞 𓠟 𓠠 𓠡 𓠢 𓠣 𓠤 𓠥 𓠦 𓠧 𓠨 𓠩 𓠪 𓠫 𓠬 𓠭 𓠮 𓠯 𓠰 𓠱 𓠲 𓠳 𓠴 𓠵 𓠶 𓠷 𓠸 𓠹 𓠺 𓠻 𓠼 𓠽 𓠾 𓠿 𓡀 𓡁 𓡂 𓡃 𓡄 𓡅 𓡆 𓡇 𓡈 𓡉 𓡊 𓡋 𓡌 𓡍 𓡎 𓡏 𓡐 𓡑 𓡒 𓡓 𓡔 𓡕 𓡖 𓡗 𓡘 𓡙 𓡚 𓡛 𓡜 𓡝 𓡞 𓡟 𓡠 𓡡 𓡢 𓡣 𓡤 𓡥 𓡦 𓡧 𓡨 𓡩 𓡪 𓡫 𓡬 𓡭 𓡮 𓡯 𓡰 𓡱 𓡲 𓡳 𓡴 𓡵 𓡶 𓡷 𓡸 𓡹 𓡺 𓡻 𓡼 𓡽 𓡾 𓡿 𓢀 𓢁 𓢂 𓢃 𓢄 𓢅 𓢆 𓢇 𓢈 𓢉 𓢊 𓢋 𓢌 𓢍 𓢎 𓢏 𓢐 𓢑 𓢒 𓢓 𓢔 𓢕 𓢖 𓢗 𓢘 𓢙 𓢚 𓢛 𓢜 𓢝 𓢞 𓢟 𓢠 𓢡 𓢢 𓢣 𓢤 𓢥 𓢦 𓢧 𓢨 𓢩 𓢪 𓢫 𓢬 𓢭 𓢮 𓢯 𓢰 𓢱 𓢲 𓢳 𓢴 𓢵 𓢶 𓢷 𓢸 𓢹 𓢺 𓢻 𓢼 𓢽 𓢾 𓢿 𓣀 𓣁 𓣂 𓣃 𓣄 𓣅 𓣆 𓣇 𓣈 𓣉 𓣊 𓣋 𓣌 𓣍 𓣎 𓣏 𓣐 𓣑 𓣒 𓣓 𓣔 𓣕 𓣖 𓣗 𓣘 𓣙 𓣚 𓣛 𓣜 𓣝 𓣞 𓣟 𓣠 𓣡 𓣢 𓣣 𓣤 𓣥 𓣦 𓣧 𓣨 𓣩 𓣪 𓣫 𓣬 𓣭 𓣮 𓣯 𓣰 𓣱 𓣲 𓣳 𓣴 𓣵 𓣶 𓣷 𓣸 𓣹 𓣺 𓣻 𓣼 𓣽 𓣾 𓣿 𓤀 𓤁 𓤂 𓤃 𓤄 𓤅 𓤆 𓤇 𓤈 𓤉 𓤊 𓤋 𓤌 𓤍 𓤎 𓤏 𓤐 𓤑 𓤒 𓤓 𓤔 𓤕 𓤖 𓤗 𓤘 𓤙 𓤚 𓤛 𓤜 𓤝 𓤞 𓤟 𓤠 𓤡 𓤢 𓤣 𓤤 𓤥 𓤦 𓤧 𓤨 𓤩 𓤪 𓤫 𓤬 𓤭 𓤮 𓤯 𓤰 𓤱 𓤲 𓤳 𓤴 𓤵 𓤶 𓤷 𓤸 𓤹 𓤺 𓤻 𓤼 𓤽 𓤾 𓤿 𓥀 𓥁 𓥂 𓥃 𓥄 𓥅 𓥆 𓥇 𓥈 𓥉 𓥊 𓥋 𓥌 𓥍 𓥎 𓥏 𓥐 𓥑 𓥒 𓥓 𓥔 𓥕 𓥖 𓥗 𓥘 𓥙 𓥚 𓥛 𓥜 𓥝 𓥞 𓥟 𓥠 𓥡 𓥢 𓥣 𓥤 𓥥 𓥦 𓥧 𓥨 𓥩 𓥪 𓥫 𓥬 𓥭 𓥮 𓥯 𓥰 𓥱 𓥲 𓥳 𓥴 𓥵 𓥶 𓥷 𓥸 𓥹 𓥺 𓥻 𓥼 𓥽 𓥾 𓥿 𓦀 𓦁 𓦂 𓦃 𓦄 𓦅 𓦆 𓦇 𓦈 𓦉 𓦊 𓦋 𓦌 𓦍 𓦎 𓦏 𓦐 𓦑 𓦒 𓦓 𓦔 𓦕 𓦖 𓦗 𓦘 𓦙 𓦚 𓦛 𓦜 𓦝 𓦞 𓦟 𓦠 𓦡 𓦢 𓦣 𓦤 𓦥 𓦦 𓦧 𓦨 𓦩 𓦪 𓦫 𓦬 𓦭 𓦮 𓦯 𓦰 𓦱 𓦲 𓦳 𓦴 𓦵 𓦶 𓦷 𓦸 𓦹 𓦺 𓦻 𓦼 𓦽 𓦾 𓦿 𓧀 𓧁 𓧂 𓧃 𓧄 𓧅 𓧆 𓧇 𓧈 𓧉 𓧊 𓧋 𓧌 𓧍 𓧎 𓧏 𓧐 𓧑 𓧒 𓧓 𓧔 𓧕 𓧖 𓧗 𓧘 𓧙 𓧚 𓧛 𓧜 𓧝 𓧞 𓧟 𓧠 𓧡 𓧢 𓧣 𓧤 𓧥 𓧦 𓧧 𓧨 𓧩 𓧪 𓧫 𓧬 𓧭 𓧮 𓧯 𓧰 𓧱 𓧲 𓧳 𓧴 𓧵 𓧶 𓧷 𓧸 𓧹 𓧺 𓧻 𓧼 𓧽 𓧾 𓧿 𓨀 𓨁 𓨂 𓨃 𓨄 𓨅 𓨆 𓨇 𓨈 𓨉 𓨊 𓨋 𓨌 𓨍 𓨎 𓨏 𓨐 𓨑 𓨒 𓨓 𓨔 𓨕 𓨖 𓨗 𓨘 𓨙 𓨚 𓨛 𓨜 𓨝 𓨞 𓨟 𓨠 𓨡 𓨢 𓨣 𓨤 𓨥 𓨦 𓨧 𓨨 𓨩 𓨪 𓨫 𓨬 𓨭 𓨮 𓨯 𓨰 𓨱 𓨲 𓨳 𓨴 𓨵 𓨶 𓨷 𓨸 𓨹 𓨺 𓨻 𓨼 𓨽 𓨾 𓨿 𓩀 𓩁 𓩂 𓩃 𓩄 𓩅 𓩆 𓩇 𓩈 𓩉 𓩊 𓩋 𓩌 𓩍 𓩎 𓩏 𓩐 𓩑 𓩒 𓩓 𓩔 𓩕 𓩖 𓩗 𓩘 𓩙 𓩚 𓩛 𓩜 𓩝 𓩞 𓩟 𓩠 𓩡 𓩢 𓩣 𓩤 𓩥 𓩦 𓩧 𓩨 𓩩 𓩪 𓩫 𓩬 𓩭 𓩮 𓩯 𓩰 𓩱 𓩲 𓩳 𓩴 𓩵 𓩶 𓩷 𓩸 𓩹 𓩺 𓩻 𓩼 𓩽 𓩾 𓩿 𓪀 𓪁 𓪂 𓪃 𓪄 𓪅 𓪆 𓪇 𓪈 𓪉 𓪊 𓪋 𓪌 𓪍 𓪎 𓪏 𓪐 𓪑 𓪒 𓪓 𓪔 𓪕 𓪖 𓪗 𓪘 𓪙 𓪚 𓪛 𓪜 𓪝 𓪞 𓪟 𓪠 𓪡 𓪢 𓪣 𓪤 𓪥 𓪦 𓪧 𓪨 𓪩 𓪪 𓪫 𓪬 𓪭 𓪮 𓪯 𓪰 𓪱 𓪲 𓪳 𓪴 𓪵 𓪶 𓪷 𓪸 𓪹 𓪺 𓪻 𓪼 𓪽 𓪾 𓪿 𓫀 𓫁 𓫂 𓫃 𓫄 𓫅 𓫆 𓫇 𓫈 𓫉 𓫊 𓫋 𓫌 𓫍 𓫎 𓫏 𓫐 𓫑 𓫒 𓫓 𓫔 𓫕 𓫖 𓫗 𓫘 𓫙 𓫚 𓫛 𓫜 𓫝 𓫞 𓫟 𓫠 𓫡 𓫢 𓫣 𓫤 𓫥 𓫦 𓫧 𓫨 𓫩 𓫪 𓫫 𓫬 𓫭 𓫮 𓫯 𓫰 𓫱 𓫲 𓫳 𓫴 𓫵 𓫶 𓫷 𓫸 𓫹 𓫺 𓫻

Moreover, My Majesty forbids any agent⁴ (79) of any Governor of Upper Egypt (or) any (other) official to go up to the hill⁵ of Min-makes-the-foundation-of-Neferkarē-to-flourish,⁶ except to exempt it⁷ (80) and protect it for this temple.

As for any Governor of Upper Egypt, any official, any agent, (or) any scribe (81) who [shall not]⁸ have acted in accordance with the wording of this decree, which has been taken into the Hall of Horus by the . . . (82) ,⁹ My Majesty forbids him to serve as wēb-priest in Men-ankh¹⁰ (or) in any town which shall be under [thy?] jurisdiction (83) [forever].¹¹

My Majesty has commanded a pole of wood of the South Country(?)¹² to be erected in this New Town;¹³ and My Majesty has (commanded)¹⁴ to be made (84) [(an example of) this decree], to be placed¹⁵ on a stela of limestone at the gateway of the temple of Min in (85) [Coptus],¹⁶ available to¹⁷ whoever shall be Overseer¹⁸ of the Fields of this town (and/or) Overseer of the Depot of this depot,¹⁹ and to the son(s) of all son(s) of [men].²⁰

(86) The Sole Companion, Idu, has been sent concerning it.²¹

NOTES

The decree of which the present fragment forms the conclusion is addressed by King Phiopts II to a monarch of Coptus or Governor of Upper Egypt (*Urk.* I, 289). The date is destroyed, as are also the name and the titles of the addressee, all except the first three. The decree proper starts with a general statement of the immunity from official burdens of the king's foundation called 'Min-makes-the-foundation-of-Neferkarē-to-flourish', including both the depot (𓏏𓏏) and the personnel attached thereto. Then follows an itemized list of the kinds of requisitions and corvées from which the establishment is exempted, and a specification of the classes of crown officials who are forbidden to exact such requirements from it under pain of extreme royal displeasure (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏). Officials and scribes are even forbidden to write or to receive a written order referring to any of the personnel or activities of the foundation. Reference is then made to decrees previously issued, rescinding the immunity once extended to certain Upper Egyptian towns, including presumably the town of Coptus itself and other localities in the same vicinity. A special exception is, however, made in the case of the king's new foundation at Coptus, and with this the concluding passages of the decree, preserved on our fragment, begin.

The decree is very similar in character and phraseology to two other examples, (b) and (c), issued by Phiopts II in the regnal years immediately following the 11th and 22nd occasions of taking the national census of cattle (*Urk.* I, 280-8).

1. 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏, 'any towns of exemption'. See (b) 39 and (c) 67. Here the expression, as noted, evidently refers to a series of Upper Egyptian settlements, formerly protected by exemptions, which were cancelled by the decrees mentioned in the preceding clause (Pirenne, *Hist. inst.*, III, 205).

2. 𓏏 (with the lower part of the stalk thickened), as often in this inscription for 𓏏. *Smrw.* See also Gard., *Egn. Gr.*, sign-list, M23, and references cited. The sign is centred in the column and there is neither space for, nor any trace of, the group 𓏏𓏏.

is less than two-thirds of the width of the column; taking $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ to be a writing of $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$, he reads 'pris pour la salle d'Horus de l'autorité, parmi les livres'. Sethe (*Urk.* I, 292, 5), misled by breaks in the stone which are very prominent in the photograph, gives after *shw-Hr* the impossible group $\text{—} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$. With the text as above revised, I had suggested taking $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ as 'cadaster', see *Wb.* III, 324, 14, and $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ with the meaning 'landed property', see *Wb.* IV, 420, 6; then, assuming the $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ to be the *m* of kind and understanding $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ as an unusual writing of the preposition — , I proposed the rendering 'for the register of landed property'. Gardiner, however, points out that *in* after the passive participle can hardly be other than the preposition meaning 'by', so that the following expression would have to be the title of some official. To interpret $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ as (*i*)*m*(*y*)-*ht mšr* 'lieutenant of the army' is, he goes on to point out, unlikely in the last degree, firstly because no such title is known, and secondly because the writing of both elements in the compound title would be unparalleled in Old Kingdom inscriptions; note, moreover, that the remains of the sign above $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ look more like — than — . In the circumstances, we appear to have no choice but to leave the words after *in* 'by' untranslated.







10. *Men-rankh-(Neferkarē)* 'Enduring-is-the-life-of-Neferkarē', the pyramid of King Phiops II and its adjoining structures at South Saqqārah. The penalty seems mild, but service as a priest in the pyramid temple of the king was apparently the treasured right of every royal official in good standing and one which we may suppose was as profitable as it was honourable, see Pirenne, *op. cit.*, III, 294.


11. Restoring $\text{—} \overline{\text{𓂏}} [\text{—} \overline{\text{𓂏}}]$. 'Thy' in this case would refer back to the high-ranking official to whom the decree is addressed (*Urk.* I, 289, 2), and who was perhaps the Vizier as well as the Governor of Upper Egypt, etc. $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ is restored from (b) 44 and (c) 77. The existing traces do not permit the restoration $\text{—} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$, given by Moret, *loc. cit.*

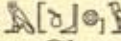


12. *Hst rsw* (?), cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, IV, 162. $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$, used for $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ in cols. 77, 79, 80, here appears to be substituted for $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (see Gard., *Egn. Gr.*, Sign-list, M23), but my interpretation is quite doubtful. Moret (*loc. cit.*) evidently takes $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ as a pronominal compound, subject of the succeeding adverbial clause ('et cela dans cette ville neuve' or 'à savoir dans cette ville neuve'). Against this there are the conflicting genders of *snt* and *sw*, the unnecessary awkwardness of such wording, and the fact that the construction with the pronominal compound does not appear to have been developed until the Seventeenth Dynasty (Gard., *Egn. Gr.*, § 124). On the pole ($\overline{\text{𓂏}}$) as an emblem of Min see Wainwright, *JEA* XXI, 163-4.


13. The term 'New Town' (*nīwt mīwt*) was apparently applied both to newly founded settlements and to already existing towns the status of which had recently been changed or renewed. Here it probably refers to the newly founded royal domain rather than to the ancient town of Coptus. Generally the expression seems to be used of settlements to which, because of their newness, special privileges were extended. In these decrees, as Moret has pointed out (*J.as.* (1916), 327-8; *C.R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L.* (1916), 329), a 'new town' and a 'town of immunity' (*nīwt nt hwt*) are one and the same. The existence of groups of 'New Towns' in Upper and Middle Egypt during the late Old Kingdom is indicated by such titles as 'Overseer of the New Towns', 'Ruler of the New Towns', etc., preserved in tombs at Elephantine, Sheikh Said, and elsewhere (*Wb.* II,



26, 10). On a 'special district of the New Towns' see Pirenne, *op. cit.*, III, 68, 86, 118.

14. Read ... The group  has been omitted by the inscription cutter, obviously to avoid what appeared to him a repetition of . Moret (*loc. cit.*) attempts to crowd  and  in on either side of —a course for which there is no ground whatsoever.

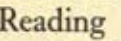


















15. Restoring =|| with Sethe, *Urk.*, I, 292, 8. Cf. (b) 33 and (c) 44.

16. Restoring  (cf. Sethe, *ibid.* 9), but with some doubt. The space available is $2\frac{1}{2}$ squares. *Gbtw* 'Coptus' in these decrees is normally written in two squares: . There is, on the other hand, no basis for Moret's restoration:  (op. cit., pl. ii).

17.  *hr*, literally 'under', 'in the possession of'. Here evidently in the sense that the decree shall be in a position where it may be easily referred to by the Overseer of the Depot when need arises. Compare the expression used in (b) 35 and (c) 45: 'so as to be seen by the functionaries of this nome', and (r) 41: 'so as to be seen by the sons of the sons of men'.

18.  *wnn imy-r cht* . . . , 'him who shall be Overseer of the Fields . . . ' *Wnn* is clearly imperfective active participle. The , centred over the two columns of titles, does double duty as the *m* of equivalence after *wnn* and as the initial sign of the title *imy-r cht*. The whole phrase—a stock expression in these decrees—is the object of the preposition *hr* (cf. (h) 9, p. 13, below).

19. The equivalent of the English 'and/or' is achieved by running the titles side by side in the width of the column—a device frequently employed in documents of this type (Weill, *Décrets*, pls. V, VI; *Urk.* I, 282–3, 287).

20. Reading                   

the single title $\overline{\text{Horus}}$, or of inserting in front of this the long series of titles borne by the addressee as Vizier. In making the choice we must be guided by several considerations. First, the title $\overline{\text{Horus}}$ does not occur anywhere in these decrees in the longer titulary of a vizier. Second, the titulary as presupposed in the first alternative and implied by the arrangement in pl. IIIA is exactly correct for a Governor of Upper Egypt, and is paralleled almost sign for sign in decree (m) 4. Third, the character and position of the line of breakage, down the centre of column 5, not only permits, but even suggests, an immediate juxtaposition of the two fragments. Fourth, the continuity of the text of the decree does not require the insertion of the five or six additional columns necessitated by the longer reconstruction of line 2.

TRANSLATION

- (1) *The Horus Khar-[bau(?)]*.¹
 (2) *Royal decree (to) [the Count], Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, Governor of Upper Egypt, Overseer of Priests, Officiant of Min,*² *Shemay:*
 (3) *My Majesty has decreed that there be furnished . . . (4) and that there be furnished this amount³ of offerings to the god . . . (5) in the charge of . . . (6) to the temple of Min of Coptus . . .*
 (7) *Now after⁴ the God is sated therewith . . . (8) after the God is sated therewith . . . (9) whoever shall be Overseer of the Depot shall make . . .⁵ (10) delivery of purified offerings⁶ . . .*
 (11) *There has been caused [to come . . . concerning it].*
 (12) *Year of the [Fourth] Time.*⁷

NOTES

The significance of the few phrases preserved on fragment B was clearly recognized by Moret, *J.as.* (1916) 324-5; the addition of fragment A serves to confirm this interpretation. By decree the king (the Horus Khar- . . .) assigns property to the temple of Min at Coptus, primarily to provide offerings in perpetuity for a statue(?) of himself set up in the temple. The offerings so provided are to be presented first to the god Min, and then, 'after the god is sated therewith', to the king's statue. This common arrangement, often confirmed by contract and accompanied by a list of the property assigned, finds numerous parallels in the records of Egyptian temple administration, e.g., *Urk.* iv, 768-9; Gardiner, ap. Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, 33-5, pl. LXXX. In this case the decree proper, written on an unusually small scale, may have been accompanied on the same stela by a list or specification of the 'amount' of the offerings referred to in column 4.

The person immediately responsible for the execution of the decree was, of course, the addressee Shemay, at this time Governor of Upper Egypt. As in decrees (g) and (l), the royal donation was placed permanently under the jurisdiction of the Overseer of the Depot, the administrator of all temple property, an office frequently held by the Nomarch of Coptus himself, see (g) 12.

1. The name clearly begins with the sign $\overline{\text{Horus}}$ centred at the top of the panel in a way which precludes the possibility of its being preceded by any other sign. This, therefore,

is not the Horus name of Phiops II (𓇨𓇳), nor of any other well-known king of the late Old Kingdom, but is perhaps to be associated with the King Wadjkarē referred to in decree (r) 42, or with one of the other kings of the First Intermediate Period whose throne-names are preserved in the lists of kings at Abydos (see below, pp. 20-1). The restoration 𓇨[𓇳], 'Shining-of-Spirits' or 'Shining-of-Might', is so probable as to be almost certain. This was not only a common royal name during the Old Kingdom, but was almost the only royal name of this period which was written with 𓇨 as the first sign, e.g. the Horus 𓇨𓇳 of Dyn. III, the pyramid 𓇨𓇳 of King Sahurē of Dyn. V, and, later, the *nebty*-name 𓇨𓇳 of King Wegaf of Dyn. XIII (Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, I, 42, 109; II, 2; *Bull. Inst. fr.*, xv, 77-9). The altogether similar Horus name 𓇨𓇳 is borne by King Neferkauhor, a successor—perhaps the immediate successor—of the originator of this decree. Cf. also the name 𓇨𓇳 of the pyramid of King Ity named in Couyat-Montet, *Hammâmât*, 168, 3.

2. —𓇨 *šmš Mnw*, 'officiant of Min', the distinctive title of the Chief Priest of Coptus. On the reading, etc., see the recent article by Grdseloff, *Ann. Serv.*, XLIII, 357 ff.

3. 𓇨𓇳𓇳 *prr rht pn*, 'there shall come forth this amount . . .' The use of the imperfective *šdm-f* form *prr* indicates that *rht* here refers to the fixed amount (of offerings) to be supplied at recurring intervals in the future, rather than to the written *list* (of these offerings) drawn up on the occasion of the donation. The known masculine gender of *rht* is borne out, as frequently, by the form of the demonstrative adjective *pn*.

4. 𓇨𓇳𓇳𓇳𓇳 *irr wnn m imy-r pr-šnc*, 'he who shall be Overseer of the Depot shall make . . .' *Irr* is taken to be an imperfective *šdm-f*, used, as frequently in contracts and the like, to refer to a prescribed act in the future (Gard., *Egn. Gr.*, § 440, 3). Its subject is the whole clause *wnn m imy-r pr-šnc*, introduced by the imperfective active participle *wnn*—a standard expression in these texts, used, for example, in decree (d) 85, as object of the preposition 𓇨 (p. 11). Moret (*J.as.*, 1916, 324) translates this passage, 'faisant que soit en qualité de directeur de la maison d'agriculture là . . .', without, however, explaining what grammatical construction is assumed.

5. 𓇨𓇳𓇳 *ir m-ht* (Gard., *Egn. Gr.*, § 178, p. 133). The first sign is clearly 𓇨, not 𓇳.

6. 𓇨𓇳[𓇳] or [𓇳] *wrbt*, 'purified offerings' or 'pure viands' (*Wb.* I. 284, 12 or 15—'Speisen, die verteilt werden'). This class of offering is listed in the well-known decree of Phiops I in behalf of the funerary foundation of Snofru at Dahshūr (*Urk.* I, 213). Both the top and the toe of the 𓇳 are visible at the edge of the fragment. 𓇳 *fi-* (Davies, *Ptahhetep*, I, pl. IV, 9; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, II, pl. VI, 4) is, as the comparison with 𓇳 shows, an ideographically significant combination of signs such as Sethe discussed in his *Pyramidentexte*, IV, pp. 106 ff.

7. Restored from the year date 𓇨𓇳 at the right edge of fragment A. Literally, 'Beginning of Time 4' (of numbering cattle), but some time after the close of the Sixth Dynasty this came to mean simply 'Regnal Year 4', see the discussion by Gardiner, *JEA* xxxi, 15 f. This, incidentally, is one of the highest year dates which we possess for a king of the Eighth Dynasty.

(j) Fragment A (*Urk.* I, 297-8). Pls. III, IIIA, bottom. Metropolitan Museum of

Art, accession no. 14.7.13. Dimensions 39.5 × 42 × 8 cm. Average width of column of inscription 4.3 cm. Preserved are parts of columns 1-13 of the decree.

Fragment B (*Urk.* 1, 298-9). Luxor(?). With parts of columns 13-21(?) of the decree.

TRANSLATION

- (1) [*The Horus Netjery*]-bau.¹
 (2) [*Royal decree to . . . the Father of the God*], beloved of the God, Hereditary Prince, [*Foster-Child of*] the King, . . . [*Shemay*].²
 (3) [*Seal*]ed [*in the presence of the king himself*].³
 (4) [*Thy wife*], the King's Eldest Daughter, . . . (5) Sole Favourite of the King, Nebyet—(6) She is⁴ (to be known as) the King's Eldest Daughter, Sole Favourite of the King, . . . (7) who takes precedence⁵ over the other women of the king's⁶ . . . [*without*] (8) her equal, through the desire of the Count(?),⁷ . . . (9) The Commandant of Soldiers Khrodny⁸ [*is to be her*] bodyguard . . .
 (10) The Sole Companion, Hemy's (son) In[yotef] has been sent [*concerning it*].
 (11) My Majesty has commanded thee to have made a barque of 'Two-Powers'⁹ of . . . cubits . . . (12) . . . the Court, which is in this nome¹⁰ under . . . (13) . . . in . . . (14) crew¹¹ . . . (15) . . . (chapel?) of the barque of 'Two-Powers' in it, annual fruits (?)¹² . . . (16) pure . . . On behalf of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkauhor, Ka(?)—pu-ib(i),¹³ may he live forever [*and ever*]!
 (17) The Sole Companion, Hemy's (son) In[yotef has been caused] to come [*concerning it*].
 (18) My Majesty [*has commanded*] thee to bestow rank and to take away . . . (19) . . . [*from*] anyone who shall [*do*]¹⁴ that which thou dost hate . . . (20) . . . to its end. S- . . . (21) . . .

NOTES

This text clearly consists of three separate edicts issued by the Horus Netjery-bau, King Neferkauhor of Dyn. VIII. All are addressed to the Vizier Shemay and delivered by the Sole Companion Inyotef, but deal with different and apparently unrelated subjects. The date of issue was almost certainly Neferkauhor's first regnal year and, like decrees (k) to (q) inclusive, was probably 'Month 2 of Prōyet, day 20', of that year, perhaps the date of the king's accession. The document can hardly have been issued earlier and bear Neferkauhor's name, and is probably not later in date than decree (k), which deals with the funerary foundations of the Vizier and his wife.

'Part I' (cols. 4-10) is more interesting than at first appears. The purpose of this section is to publish officially the titulary of the Vizier's wife, Nebyet, who, as the 'King's Eldest Daughter', is to have royal rank and precedence at Court and, in keeping therewith, is assigned a high-ranking army officer as a bodyguard. If col. 8 is correctly interpreted, the proclamation was made at the request of Shemay on behalf of his wife. The occasion, we may suppose, was not the marriage of Nebyet and Shemay (so Pirenne, *op. cit.*, III, 214), but either the elevation of the latter to the office of Vizier or the accession of Nebyet's father to the throne of Egypt—or both.

Columns 11-17, longer than 4-10, occupy a second 'panel' of the stela. In these Shemay is instructed to build and equip a ceremonial ship, or sacred barque of specified length, probably for the twin gods Min-Horus of Coptus (see below, note 9). This pious act, carried out at the king's expense, is not to go unrewarded, and the concluding phrases (col. 16) probably provide for services to be performed, not only for the barque, but also for its royal donor, whose prenomen and personal name are written out together.

The much damaged third section (cols. 18 ff.) is apparently a royal order extending to Shemay broad powers in conferring and revoking official appointments and honours at his own discretion.

1. [𓆎] *Ntry-brw*, 'Divine-of-Might': refer especially to decrees (*k*), (*l*); seen here (l. 16) and in decree (*l*) to have been the Horus name of King Neferkauhor of Dyn. VIII (Abydos List, no. 55).

2. The name of the king, the characteristic titles of the Vizier preserved in the address, and the prominent reference to the Princess Nebyet known from decree (*k*) to have been Shemay's wife, permit no doubt as to the identity of the addressee.

3. Sethe (*Urk.* I, 298, 1) restores [𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎] =. No part of the sign 𓆎 actually exists; and the restoration, though logical, is far from certain.

4. 𓆎 for later 𓆎 (Wb. I, 42; Erman, *Äg. Gr.*, § 338 A). Cf. 𓆎 (o)3.

5. 𓆎 *tpy-r*, 'one who is before . . .' Usually 'before' in time (Gard., *Egn. Gr.*, § 181); but also in rank and importance (Wb. v, 283).

6. The group is 𓆎 *nsw*, not 𓆎 —, as given by Sethe (*Urk.* I, 298, 4) and apparently intended to be read *Smr*, 'Upper Egypt'—so, at any rate, Pirenne, op. cit., III, 214. Sethe's 𓆎 is an accidental gouge in the surface of the stone, far out of position, as can be seen in the photograph. Two ticks at the top of an imaginary vertical sign before — are also unintentional scratches in the surface.

7. 𓆎 *hwy-r* (?). The 𓆎 is clear and certain (not 𓆎, as Sethe, *ibid.*). The estimated space at the end of the column permits the restoration 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 'Count, [Governor of Upper Egypt, Overseer of Priests, Shemay],' as elsewhere in these texts (*Urk.* I, 296, 300).

8. See Ranke, *Personennamen*, 277.

9. *Wsrwy*. The determinative 𓆎 indicates that this is the name of a divinity, or pair of divinities, worshipped as one, presumably at Coptus. We think immediately of 𓆎, *Hrwy* or *Ntrwy*, the nome standard of Coptus, which Wainwright suggests is an expression for the two closely associated gods Min and Horus, called collectively the 'Two Horuses' (*JEA* xvii, 190-1). Multiplicity of expressions for a pair of gods so associated is illustrated by the biune god 𓆎, 𓆎, 𓆎, and 𓆎, of the Xth Nome of Upper Egypt, see Gauthier, *Rec. trav.*, xxxv, 12-13, and Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 51.

10. These words are reminiscent of the recurring clause 'My Majesty forbids the creation of any corvée (or the like), of which registration is made for the Court, in this nome', (*d*)3. Cf. also (*a*)7. The antecedent of 𓆎, in any case, is not *hmrw*, but an activity of some sort in the nome of Coptus, reported to the Court or associated in some way with it.

11. Restoring 𓆎, *is(w)t*, see Wb. I, 127.

12. 𓆎 *mpwy*. This group occurs in decree (*g*), line 5, and is interpreted by Moret

(*J.as.* (1916), 311) as 'les fruits annuels et les vergers qui les produisent'. The present context, wherein we evidently have to do with the upkeep of a divine barque and with the funerary cult of the king, seems to support this rendering. Elsewhere $\overline{\text{f f}}$ appears as an epithet of the god Horus (*Pyr.* 767 a; Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar*, III, 414) and in the name of an Old Kingdom festival (*Leps.*, *Dkm.* III, 87).

13. $\overline{\text{K}}(?)\text{-pw-ib}(\cdot i)$, '(My)-heart-is-the-Bull(?)'. The personal name of King Neferkauhor. $\overline{\text{K}}$ is perhaps to be read simply *k*, 'the Bull', or can stand for any one of seven or more bull gods: Apis of Memphis, Mnevis of Heliopolis, Buchis of Hermopolis, Khasu of Xoïs, Kemwer of Athribis, Hesebu of Leontopolis, or Kamephis (Kamūtef), the bull of Min and of Amūn (Otto, *Unters.*, XIII; Wainwright, *JEA* XIX, 42-52; XXI, 158-62; *Ann. Serv.*, XXVIII, 180-4; *Sky Religion*, 19). Theophorous names constructed in this manner are rare, but a parallel exists in a Memphite name of the Middle Kingdom, *Pth-pw-wḥ* (Ranke, *Personennamen*, 139).

14. Restoring $[\overline{\text{c}}] \leftarrow \text{irt}(y)\text{fy}$. So Sethe, *Urk.* I, 298.

(o) Pls. IV, IVA. Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession no. 14.7.11. Dimensions 33 × 47 × 9 cm. Average width of column of inscription in text of decree 4.1 cm.

TRANSLATION

(1) *The Horus Netjery-bau. Sealed in the presence of the king himself¹ (in) Month 2 of Prō[yet], Day [20].²*

(2) *Royal decree (to) the Count, Over[seer of Priests, Idy]:³*


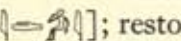


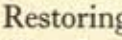
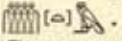



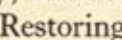


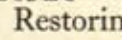
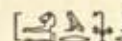
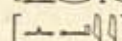
(3) *Thou art⁴ (appointed) Count, Governor of Upper Egypt, and Overseer of Priests in this same Upper Egypt, which is [under] (4) thy supervision⁵ southward to Nubia, northward to the Sistrum Nome,⁶ functioning as⁷ Count, Overseer of Priests, Chief of⁸ (5) the rulers of towns, who are there under thy supervision—in place of⁹ thy father, [the Father of the God], (6) [belov]ed of the God,¹⁰ Hereditary Prince, Mayor of the [Pyramid] City, [Chief Jus]tice, Vizier, Keeper of the Royal Archives, (7) [Count, Governor of Upper Egypt, Overseer of Priests, Shemay].¹¹*

No] one [shall have rightful claim (8) against it]¹² . . .

NOTES

This order, issued by King Neferkauhor on the same day as decrees (*k*), (*l*), (*m*), (*n*), (*p*), and (*q*), quite simply and clearly appoints the Nomarch of Coptus ($\overline{\text{c}} \overline{\text{a}} \overline{\text{t}}$) Idy to the post of 'Governor of Upper Egypt' ($\overline{\text{a}} \overline{\text{t}}$) with specified jurisdiction over the seven southernmost nomes from Elephantine to Diospolis Parva. Such specification was necessary, for the title $\overline{\text{a}} \overline{\text{t}}$ was often borne by many Upper Egyptian officials at the same time and did not in itself imply power in excess of that held by any first-class nomarch (Kees, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 86). Although it is true that two previous Governors of Upper Egypt—one of whom may have been Idy's own father Shemay—held sway over all twenty-two nomes from Nubia to the Fayyūm, such a concentration of power in one official seems to have been altogether exceptional (Kees, *op. cit.*, 112). Shemay's claim to the honour rests on Moret's reading of traces of his name and titles

in the battered address of decree (i) (*C.R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L.* (1914), 565 ff., but see Kees, *op. cit.*, 110); Gardiner tells me that a collation of this decree made for him by Černý and Fairman confirms Moret's reading. In any case Idy seems to have taken over a very large part of his father's duties in Upper Egypt, a circumstance which can only have resulted, directly or indirectly, from Shemay's own elevation to the office of Vizier, already shown by decree (j) to have been a recent occurrence (p. 14). In view of the fact that a few years later Idy succeeded his father as Vizier (see decree (r)), it is absurd to regard the alleged reduction in the number of nomes assigned to him as Governor as an attempt to curb his power or that of his family, either by an apprehensive Pharaoh or by a rival family of nomarchs (Moret, *op. cit.*, 572-3). It seems more logical to suppose that for a while jurisdiction over Nomes VIII to XXII was simply retained by the senior Governor of Upper Egypt, Idy's father, the Vizier Shemay.

1. Read *h̄tm r-gs nsw ds*. See, for example, *Urk.* I, 160.
2.  in the 'Year of Uniting the Two Lands', i.e. the year of the king's accession—the same date as decrees (k), (l), (m), (n), (p), and (q). See (p) x+5 (pl. V).
3. ; restored from (m)3. The titles are only those borne by Idy as nomarch of Coptus before this, the first of his two promotions.
4.  for later , see under (j), note 4.
5. Restoring , cf. col. 5.
6.  *h̄nt-m . . . m̄ht-m*, cf. *Urk.* I, 101, 11; Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, I, 147. Compound prepositions, evidently equivalents of *h̄nt-r . . . m̄ht-r* (Gard., *Egn. Gr.*, § 162, 1; 179). For  *Shm* (*Wb.* IV, 251-2), the VIIth nome of Upper Egypt, with its capital at Diospolis parva (, modern Hu, 37 miles downstream from Coptus, see Gauthier, *Dict. geog.*, IV, 129; v, 64, *Sstt.*
7.  *irr*, 'one who shall act as . . .' That *irr* is a participial form, not the imperative, is shown by its use in decree (m) 5 (*Urk.* I, 301, 1) in an exactly similar context, applied to Idy, who in that decree is referred to only in the third person.
8. Restoring , as in (m) 5 (*Urk.* I, 301, 1).
9.  *m whm . . .*, literally 'in repeating . . .' Pirenne (*Hist. inst.*, III, 135) would translate the expression 'as lieutenant of thy father'—a possible interpretation. Cf. , (m) 9 (*Urk.* I, 301, 5).
10. Restoring . See (l) 3 and (q) 6 (pl. V), and below, p. 19, note 4.
11. . So Sethe, *Urk.* I, 299, 10. Cf. (q) 7-8 (pl. V).
12. . So Sethe, *Urk.* I, 299, 11.

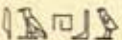
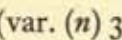
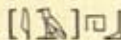
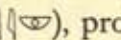
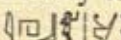

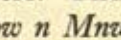
(p-q) Pl. V. Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession no. 14.7.12. Dimensions 60 × 30.5 × 8.5 cm. Fragment of a stela with parts of two royal decrees, evidently issued by King Neferkauhor in regnal year 1, month 2 of Prōyet, day 20, and delivered by the Sole Companion Inyotef, the son of Hemy. Cf. decrees (j), (k), (l), (m), and (o) for the name of the king, the date of issue, and the name of the delivering official.

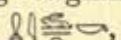
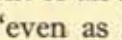
(p) Lower part of the last six columns of a decree of unknown length, occupying the

NOTES

The name of the addressee—Shemay's second son and Idy's younger (?) brother—is not preserved either here or in fragment (n) (*Urk.* I, 301-2). The loss of the first groups of both columns 3 and 6 (note 3) leaves us in some doubt as to whether this is an appointment to a new post or merely the confirmation of one previously held—a confirmation issued on the occasion of Idy's replacement of his father as local administrator for Upper Egypt (decrees (m) and (o)). Moret's restorations and interpretation of this text (*J.as.* (1917) 361-5) are highly improbable.

1. The restorations used in the translation follow Sethe, *Urk.* I, 300.

2.  (var. (n) 3, []), probably to be read *ih(w)bw*. It seems likely that this is one of a group of related words (, ) used of ceremonial dances and dancers, ritual acts, and recitations associated especially with the cult of the god Min of Coptus (see *Wb.* I, 118, 12-16; Budge, *Eg. Dict.*, I, 74A). In the well-known scene of the festival of Min on the second pylon of the Ramesseum (Leps., *Dkm.* III, 162, 164a = Medinet Habu, Chicago edition (IV), pl. 214) the word evidently refers to other actions beside dancing and to participants in the festival who are more than merely temple dancers. Thus, a hymn addressed to the god is headed by the words ..., *ihbw n Mnw*, 'Rituals(?) of Min . . .'; and, below, a priest reading from a papyrus is labelled , 'the Chief Lector-Priest reading aloud the *ihb(w)*'. A comparable priestly title is perhaps the  of the goddess Hathōr, see Blackman in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, x, 294.

3. Whether this decree is the confirmation of an existing assignment or an altogether new appointment depends on whether we restore here , 'even as *thou* wast formerly' (under the supervision of thy father), or , 'even as *he* (i.e. Idy) was formerly' (under the supervision of thy father). See Sethe, *Urk.* I, 300, 6.

4. *'It-ntr mry-ntr*. In these decrees this appears to have been no more than a standard priestly title of the Vizier. Gardiner tells me that he is dealing with the title at length in his *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Text, I, under No. 127 of the commentary on the Onomasticon of Amenopē. The title was one achieved by a man *only after he had become Vizier* and was borne, when occupying this office, by both Shemay and by his son Idy (decree (r) 2). Against the view formerly taken by Borchardt and followed by Pirenne, *Hist. inst.* III, 213-14 it may be said that in decrees (j) and (k) Shemay appears in the role of son-in-law, rather than father-in-law of the king. It is possible, but not probable, that he was both.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF DECREES (g) TO (r)

Before attempting to fit the material contained in decrees (g) to (r) into the meagrely documented historical scheme of the First Intermediate Period it will be well to clarify this material somewhat by establishing, first of all, what may be called the 'cast of characters' involved.

In these documents we are introduced to at least three kings of Egypt:

The Horus Netjery-bau, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkauhor, with the personal name Ka(?)—pu-ib(i)(?), was the originator of decrees (j) to (q), all of which

appear to have been issued on a single day in the first year of his reign, perhaps the day of his accession to the throne. He is unquestionably the same King Neferkauhor listed in the Table of Kings in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos (no. 55), fourteen places after Menkarē (Nitocris), the last ruler of Dyn. VI, and only two places ahead of Nebhepetrē (Mentuhotpe II) of Dyn. XI.¹ The Princess Nebyet, mentioned in decrees (j) and (k) as the wife of the Vizier and former Nomarch of Coptus Shemay, was probably Neferkauhor's eldest daughter, who achieved royal rank in consequence of her father's elevation to the kingship (decree (j)).²

The Horus Demedj-ib-towe was the originator of decree (r). In this document Shemay's son Idy, who served under Neferkauhor as Governor of Upper Egypt, is now addressed as Vizier, a fact which indicates clearly that Demedj-ib-towe was a successor, and probably the immediate successor, of Neferkauhor. The kingly prenomen Wadjkarē contained in col. 42 of the decree is not the name of the originator of the document, but that of a predecessor of both Demedj-ib-towe and Neferkauhor, in whose reign the official charged with the delivery of the decree was born and with whose prenomen his own name (Wadjkarē-[sonbe]?) was compounded.³ On the other hand, it seems only natural to equate the Horus Demedj-ib-towe with King Neferirkarē, no. 56 of the Abydos list, clearly the immediate successor of Neferkauhor and the last king named before Nebhepetrē of Dyn. XI.

Three decrees, (g), (h), and (i), were issued by a king or kings who preceded Neferkauhor. This is shown by the fact that all three documents were issued before Shemay's son Idy had been appointed Governor of Upper Egypt, an event which we know, from decrees (m), (o), and (q), took place in Neferkauhor's first year, probably on the date of his accession. It is not certain that all three decrees pre-date Shemay's appointment as Vizier, but this, too, seems highly probable.⁴ On the other hand, the facts that in decree (h) and possibly also in (i) Shemay already holds the office of Governor of Upper Egypt and that in decree (g) Idy already bears the titles of Nomarch of Coptus would indicate that these edicts were not far removed in date from the decrees of Neferkauhor, but were probably issued by his immediate predecessor. For this hypothetical king we have preserved in decree (h) the Horus name Kha-[bau?] and in decree (r) the throne-name Wadjkarē. Since the latter name, as written in decree (r), does not exist on any other extant monument or in any list of kings now known, I suggest that it is a scribal error for the exceedingly common prenomen Neferkarē,⁵ the contemporary hieratic forms of the signs 𓆎 and 𓆏 being easily susceptible of confusion one with another.⁶ In this case we may, without too great difficulty, identify the King

¹ Meyer, *Äg. Chron.*, pl. i; Lepsius, *ZÄS* II, plate opposite p. 84; Capart, *Memphis*, fig. 146.

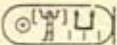
² See above, p. 14.

³ Sethe, *GGA* (1912), 719; *Urk.* I, 306, 13; Moret, *J. as.* (1917), 385. Meyer (*Geschichte*, I, 2, 238-9) and Sottas (*Préservation*, 108) follow Gardiner (*PSBA* (1912), 259) in the belief that Wadjkarē was the prenomen of the Horus Demedj-ib-towe himself, an interpretation of the text which seems both awkward and highly unlikely.

⁴ Moret's reading of the much-damaged titulary of the addressee of decree (i) (*C.R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L.* (1914), 565 ff., plate) seems highly questionable (cf. Weill, *Décrets*, pl. xii, 2).

⁵ Abydos list, nos. 42, 43, 45, 49, 51, 54; Turin Papyrus, col. IV a, 12.

⁶ See Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* I, nos. 280 and 180, columns 'Abusir' and 'Elephantine'.

Wadjkarē of decree (r) with the King Neferkaurē, who in the Abydos list is named as the immediate predecessor of Neferkauhor (no. 54). The cartouche (no. 53) which precedes that of Neferkaurē in the Abydos list is damaged, but is almost certainly to be restored ¹ and identified as the prenomen of King Iby of the Turin Papyrus,² the owner of a small pyramid discovered at South Saqqārah in 1929.³

Turning now to the addressees and beneficiaries of the twelve decrees, we find that these consisted almost exclusively of two prominent members of a local family of Coptus, Shemay and his son Idy. Each of these two men held in succession the offices of Nomarch of Coptus, Governor of Upper Egypt, and Vizier, the son in every instance of promotion stepping into the office just vacated by his father. Shemay, we may suppose, inherited the office of nomarch from his own father—perhaps one may assume an earlier Idy who lived during the latter years of the reign of Phiops II of Dynasty VI. Shemay appears, in any event, to have been nomarch prior to the issue of decrees (g), (h), and (i), for at this time he had already been appointed to the next higher office, Governor of Upper Egypt, and his son, Idy, had taken his place as Nomarch of Coptus (decree (g)). By the first year of the reign of King Neferkauhor Shemay had become Vizier and Idy was made Governor of Upper Egypt. Idy's elevation to the office of Vizier, which he held under Neferkauhor's successor, Demedj-ib-towe, must have been occasioned primarily by the death of his father. It is important to note that, although both Shemay and Idy retained in their titularies every title which they had ever borne,⁴ the offices themselves were held successively and not concurrently. For example, it is certain that when Shemay became Vizier he had long since ceded his post as Nomarch of Coptus to his son and had even turned over to the younger man most of the local administrative duties of Governor of Upper Egypt. In short, he was not, as Sethe believed,⁵ Nomarch of Coptus and Vizier of Egypt at one and the same time.

The results suggested by the foregoing discussion may be incorporated in tabular form as follows:

KINGS				OFFICIALS			DECREES
<i>Abydos list</i>	<i>Horus name</i>	<i>Prenomen</i>	<i>Personal name</i>	<i>Nomarch of Coptus</i>	<i>Governor of Upper Egypt</i>	<i>Vizier</i>	<i>(Refer to pp. 5f.)</i>
53 ⁶	?	Kakarē	Iby	Shemay	?	?	—
54	Kha-[bau ?]	Wadjkarē (= Neferkaurē?)	?	Idy	Shemay (22 nomes)	?	(g), (h), (i)
55	Netjery-bau	Neferkauhor	Ka(?) - pu-ib(i)	Idy(?)	Idy (7 nomes)	Shemay	(j), (k), (l), (m), (n), (o) (p), (q), (r)
56	Demedj-ib-towe	Neferirkarē(?)	?	?	?	Idy	

Like the royal decrees of the Sixth Dynasty (a-f), those of the First Intermediate Period (g-r) were clearly issued by kings residing at Memphis and were sent up-river by royal messenger for delivery and posting at Coptus only because their subject-

¹ See especially the copy by Lepsius, *ZAS*, II, plate opposite p. 84.

² Col. IV a, 14.

³ Jéquier, *La Pyramide d'Aba* (Fouilles à Saqqarah, 1935).

⁴ The usual practice. See Weil, *Veziers des Pharaonenreiches*, 4-33, *passim*.

⁵ *GGA* (1912), 718.

⁶ Turin Papyrus, col. IV a, 14.

matter directly or indirectly concerned the administration of the temple or nome of Coptus. Far from creating the impression felt by Sethe¹ that they were promulgated by kings ruling from Coptus itself, these documents give every evidence of being despatch orders issued by the central government at Memphis to, or for the information of, its representatives in the provinces. If, as Sethe would have it, the entire domain ruled by these kings consisted of 'only a small kingdom in Upper Egypt with the middle point at Coptus', it is difficult to understand why it was necessary to entrust the administration of precisely this region to an official called the 'Governor of Upper Egypt', or what possible function a Governor of Upper Egypt could have had in an area presumably occupied and governed, not only by the Vizier, but also by the king himself. It is equally difficult to see why, if the decrees were drawn up in Coptus itself, eight of them at once (*j-q*) were formally designated for delivery by a high-ranking Court official—in exactly the same manner as the decrees previously issued from Memphis by King Phiops II (*b-d*). One also wonders why no reference, direct or indirect, to a 'Dynasty of Coptus' occurs in Manetho or in any other historical source or kings' list which has come down to us, or why no scrap of evidence of royal occupancy is preserved at Coptus or in its vicinity.

Sethe's theory²—as with all the historical treatises of that great scholar—is interesting and ingeniously constructed, but it lacks the ring of truth. We are asked to believe, first, that Shemay held the posts of Vizier and Nomarch of Coptus concurrently (*zugleich*) and that, because of this, we must of necessity assume that the office of the Vizier, i.e. the Residence City, was at Coptus itself. We know from our examination of decrees (*g*), (*m*), (*o*), and (*q*) that the first premiss is false (*p. 27*). Furthermore, reference to Kees, *Provinzialverwaltung*, and Weil's *Veziere* immediately establishes the fact that during the late Old Kingdom the appointment of an Upper Egyptian nomarch or governor to the office of Vizier, far from being exceptional, was a policy generally adhered to by most of the Memphite Pharaohs. The relations of Phiops I, Meryenrē I, and Phiops II with the family of nomarchs of This will suffice as an illustration, but there are many other examples.³ Decree (*l*) arranges for an inspection of Crown property to be made in the neighbourhood of Coptus under the supervision of the Vizier—a fact which in no way indicates, as Sethe suggests, that the central government itself was located in Upper Egypt. In an era as scantily documented anywhere as is the First Intermediate Period the *absence* of the name of King Neferkauhor elsewhere

¹ Sethe, loc. cit.

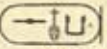

² Not shared by Petrie (*History*, I (11th ed., 1924), 119–29), by Meyer (*Geschichte*, I, 2 (1926), 234–9), by Moret (*J. as.* (1912–17); *C.R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L.* (1914–16)), or by Pirenne (*Hist. inst.*, II–III (1934–5)); and disregarded by Ranke (German edition of Breasted's *History* (1936)), by Erman and Ranke (*Ägypten* (1923)), by Steindorff (in Baedeker's *Egypt and the Sudan* (1929), CIII, 232), and by Sottas (*Préservation de la propriété funéraire* (1913)); but accepted without scepticism by Kees (*Provinzialverwaltung* (1932), 113–14), by Scharff (*Sitzungsb. Bayer. Ak.* (1936), Heft 8, 39–41, 54), by Drioton and Vandier (*L'Égypte* (1938), 214–15), and by W. S. Smith (*Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston, 1942), 24–5; *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (1946), 223–4).

³ Kees, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 92–8. Nomarchs of provinces of Upper Egypt who became viziers during Dyn. VI were Idy, Pepynakhte, Pepy'onkh, Pery, and Djo'w. Viziers who were also Governors of Upper Egypt include Shepsesrē, Akhethotep, Kay, and Gemnikai. (See also Pirenne, *Hist. inst.*, III, 60–1.)

than at Coptus and Abydus is surely an argument which carries no weight whatsoever. The fact that two kings of this period (Abydus list, nos. 47 and 52) may have been named in honour of the god Min¹ does not show that the Residence City at this time was at Coptus, any more than do the royal names Ammenemes and Sesostriis prove that during the Twelfth Dynasty the capital was at Thebes. The reverence in which Min of Coptus was held at Thebes and the close association of the Theban god Amūn with his prototype at Coptus is, of course, freely admitted, but is not proof that the Theban monarchy of the Eleventh Dynasty was derived from a similar kingship at Coptus.² Finally, Sethe's conclusion that all fifteen successors of the Sixth Dynasty listed at Abydus were purely local Upper Egyptian kings is not only fantastic from many points of view, but is flatly disproved by the discovery at Memphis of funerary monuments of at least two of these kings.³

Freed, then, from any delusion regarding a 'Dynasty of Coptus', we recognize in the Horus Khaṯ-[bau?], the Horus Netjery-bau, and the Horus Demedj-ib-towe the last three kings of Manetho's Eighth Dynasty of Memphis.

At the same time, one cannot fail, in these decrees from Coptus, to see clearly the now almost abject dependence of the Pharaohs at Memphis upon the loyalty of the powerful landed nobility of Upper Egypt. Previously it was the great lords of the Hare Nome, the princes of Elephantine, or the feudal barons of This on whom the kings at Memphis relied for the maintenance of their sovereignty over the Southland. Now the last rulers of a moribund Memphite line, with Lower Egypt a prey to marauding bands of Asiatics and the middle nomes already forming in revolt behind the warlike standard of Heracleopolis, turn to Coptus for support and in one royal edict after another lavish upon its puissant nomarchs the highest honours at their disposal and privileges of types formerly enjoyed only by the kings themselves. Decree (r), which deals not at all with the interests of the Pharaoh, but only with the extensive funerary foundations of his Coptite vizier, is, as Gardiner has already remarked,⁴ an astounding document. That such an edict could be wrung from a successor of Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus tells us in unmistakable fashion that, with the Horus Demedj-ib-towe, the Old Kingdom had run its course to the very end.

¹ Sethe (ibid.) is probably correct in reading the name  as 'Nefer-ka-Min', taking — as a scribal error for —. In the list of kings from the temple of Ramesses II at Abydus and on several other monuments the name, however, is written  (Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, I, 186), and the equation $\text{||} = \overline{\text{||}}$ seems less certain.

² The comparison is not a just one, for at Thebes the nomarchs themselves became kings, while in the decrees from Coptus they are clearly seen to exist as powerful Upper Egyptian contemporaries of the kings.

³ Jéquier, *Pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit*, 52-4; *Pyramide d'Aba*.

⁴ *PSBA* (1912), 258-60.

STUDIES IN THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY

By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

THE sensational discoveries made of recent years at Tanis by Professor Montet have attracted fresh attention to the history of the Twenty-first Dynasty, and have awakened hopes that, when the excavations are terminated, they will prove to have yielded important new testimony towards the better understanding of that most interesting, but still extremely obscure, period. For not only is little known of the political history of this dynasty, but even the number and the order of its kings are matters of much uncertainty. There had already been one moment in the past when the Twenty-first Dynasty stood in the forefront of Egyptological interest. That was shortly after the finding at Dēr el-Baḥrī of the cache where the mummies of a large number of famous New Kingdom kings had been hidden. We owe it to the piety of the High-priests of Amūn who lived under the Twenty-first Dynasty that such solicitude was shown for the remains of these ancestral royalties, their mummies being collected and refurbished, and, after other hiding-places had been tried, being eventually consigned to this particular place to await modern discovery.

These pious actions had their reward. It is the unpretentious jottings left upon the wrappings and coffins of the royal mummies which, more than anything else, have contributed to the reconstruction of the Dynasty's history and chronology, a task brilliantly performed by Maspero.¹ In the light of Maspero's researches what had previously been known seems a hopeless chaos, and the evidence that has since emerged from other sites has tended rather to confuse than to clarify the picture already won. The inscriptions from the Dēr el-Baḥrī cache being thus our principal source of information, little wonder that scholars have studied them very carefully in order to extract from them all that they could possibly yield, so much so that the present writer long believed that the benefit to be derived from this source was exhausted. Reconsideration has, however, shown that a few more drops of information can be squeezed out of this material, together with whatever else of the kind is available. Mere drops they are indeed, but in the dearth of better evidence they are not without their value, and are here presented in the hope that they may be found of use pending a more plentiful flow of information from Tanis or elsewhere.

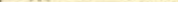
I. Contributions to the History of the Royal Cache

The events connected with the cache of Dēr el-Baḥrī can be established in part from the hieratic graffiti written in black ink upon its walls, and in part from the hieratic

¹ In *Les momies royales de Dér el-Bahari* (*Mémoires . . . de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, vol. 1, fasc. 4), 1889.

inscriptions on the coffins of Ramesses I, Sethos I, and Ramesses II recording the transfer of their mummies. All these inscriptions have been published by Maspero, to whom also their first transcription is due. The inscriptions on the walls are given by him in hand-facsimiles, while those on the coffins have been made accessible partly in facsimile and partly in photograph. The use of the publication and verification thereof are not very easy, some of the originals being extremely faint and their writing rather cursive. In addition to these disadvantages, closer examination has shown Maspero's publication to be somewhat unreliable. His facsimiles have clearly not been traced on the originals themselves, but on photographs,¹ whence they reveal in places misunderstandings such as would naturally arise with a draughtsman not wholly conversant with the hieratic of the period. Furthermore, the published photographs of the inscriptions have not been left untouched, but as Peet stated with regard to one of them,² have been 'doctored', while indistinct signs have been redrawn in black without any warning to the reader. For these reasons it is by no means easy to establish absolutely correct transcriptions. Happily none such are required for this article, since the dates and the general trend of the texts are all that really matters for the chronological purposes here in view. Moreover, Maspero's facsimiles and readings can to some extent be checked from photographs published by Daressy,³ since these have not been tampered with; Daressy's readings, however, are mainly based on those of Maspero, and whenever he has ventured to be independent, he has gone astray. The inscriptions have been translated by Breasted in various parts of volume IV of his *Ancient Records*, but his only source was Maspero, and his readings, so far as they transpire through his renderings, have no independent value.

Two other burials besides those of the older Pharaohs took place in the cache; these were the burials of Neskhons and of her husband Pinūdjem, the High-priest of Amūn. The names of those personages are recorded in three hieratic inscriptions at the bottom of the tomb-shaft, that of Neskhons on the right side, at the beginning of the horizontal passage leading to the burial-chamber, and that of Pinūdjem on the left side. Desiring to re-examine the originals, the present writer addressed himself to MM. Jouguet and Bruyère, and through their kind offices the shaft of the cache was emptied early in 1938 at the expense of the French Institute in Cairo. It was then found that the inscription of Neskhons had perished completely, as had also Pinūdjem's shorter text; however, the High-priest's longer text, though damaged, could still be copied, and a few photographs of it were taken by Mlle G. Jourdain, then engaged upon work in the excavations of the Institute at Dēr el-Medinah.

For the inscription of Neskhons our sole remaining authority is, accordingly, Maspero's imperfect facsimile.⁴ Fortunately the date  must have been

¹ Maspero, *Les momies royales*, 559, n. 1, states that this was the procedure adopted for two of his facsimiles, but it is true of other facsimiles as well.

² *JEA* XIV, 65, n. 4.

¹ Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (Cat. gén.), pls. xvi, xviii-xx, xxii, xxiii.

⁴ *Les momies royales*, 520, with transcription on p. 521; translation in Breasted, *Ancient Records* IV, § 689. It is possible that some scholar is in possession of an old photograph of this graffito; a careful study of such a photograph might settle the uncertainties of the reading.

very clear in the original and there is no ground for doubting the correctness of Maspero's facsimile and readings at this point. The entire inscription reads as follows:¹

Year 5, fourth month of the Summer season, day 21, day of the burial of the Chief of the ladies, Neskhnons,

by the divine father of Amūn, the overseer of the Treasury, Djekhonsefonkh, the son of ;

the prophet of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, Enkhefenamūn;

the [Elder(?)] of the Hall,² Nespay ;

the divine father of Amūn, the chief of the Army,³ Nespeķeshuty.

The seals⁴ which are upon⁵ this place:

the seal of the overseer of the Treasury, Djekhonsefonkh;

the seal of the scribe of the Treasury, Nes

Of the two inscriptions relating to the burial of Pinūdjem the first, that which is now lost, consisted of two lines only.⁶ The scribe had written the date and a few words when he became aware that the space available was insufficient for an inscription of the length which he had in mind; he therefore stopped here and began again a little lower, on this occasion writing five lines. This second inscription⁷ is still extant except for the first line opening with a date, which has been broken away, the rock being very brittle. The number of the month is not clear in Maspero's facsimile, but can be supplied with certainty from the first inscription. The year-date is made 4 in the first and 4 in the second inscription. This has been transcribed as '16' by Maspero, and his interpretation has been followed by all scholars who have concerned themselves with Pinūdjem's burial. The reading in question is, however, indubitably wrong; the signs can only be read 16, the feminine ending *t* agreeing with the preceding feminine word *ḥt-sp*. The custom of adding the feminine ending to the numeral is very common from the Twenty-first Dynasty onward,⁸ the earliest example known to the present writer being in 'Year 5' of the tablets known respectively as Tablet Rogers and Tablet McCullum, both containing a decree in the name of the god Amen-Rē relating to the ushebtis of that same Neskhnons who is recorded in the cache.⁹

The inscription which narrates the burial of Pinūdjem reads thus:

Year 10, fourth month of the Winter season, day 20, day of the burial of the Osiris, the High-priest of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, the great chief of the Army,¹⁰ the leader, Pinūdjem,

¹ Breasted's translations have been taken as a basis throughout the present article.

² Reading [𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏]𓂏𓂏𓂏.

³ The sign 𓂏 is in a form very similar to somewhat earlier cursive forms discussed by Gardiner, *PSBA* xxxi, 7; to be cancelled as equivalent of 𓂏 in Möller's *Hierat. Pal.* II, no. 423, last column.

⁴ The writing 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 with *tit* seems to show that the word *ḥt* (*Wb.* III, 348, 14), not *ḥtm* (*Wb.* III, 350, 3), is meant. This is confirmed by the next two lines, where, as Gardiner points out, the feminine article 𓂏 is to be read, contrast 𓂏 in the present line; Pleyte-Rossi, *Pap. Turin* 51, 4 proves *ḥt* to be a feminine word.

⁵ The preposition *hr* in its frequent late writing 𓂏.

⁶ *Les momies royales*, 522.

⁷ Loc. cit., 523, with transcription on p. 522; Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* IV, § 668. The copy made from the original by the writer had to be left in Egypt in 1943 and is not yet available.

⁸ Compare the examples quoted by Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, 91-2.

⁹ For Tablet Rogers see Maspero, *Rec. trav.*, II, 13-18 with 2 pls.; for Tablet McCullum, Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus*, pl. opposite p. xvi.

¹⁰ See above, n. 3.

by the divine father of Amūn, the chief of the Treasury, Djekhonsefonkh;
 the divine father of Amūn, the scribe of the Army,¹ the chief inspector, Nespekeshty;
 the prophet of Amūn, enamūn;
 the divine father of Amūn, Wennūfe;
 by the king's scribe of the Place of Truth, Bekenmut;
 the chief workman, Pediamūn;
 the chief workman, Amenmose;
 the divine father of Amūn, the chief of secrets, Pediamūn, the son of Enkhefenkhons.

Neskhons, therefore, died and was buried in a Year 5, her husband, the High-priest of Amūn, Pinūdjem in a Year 10; in neither case is the name of the king given, but there is no reason why these two dates should not belong to the same reign. That Neskhons died before her husband and that the Year 5 possibly refers to the same king as the Year 10 was actually postulated by Maspero, though he read the second date as Year 16, and Maspero's opinion was corroborated by additional evidence adduced by Winlock.² It was Breasted who without cogent reason reversed the order of the two events.

In order to discover who was the king to whose reign the two year-dates belong (the Year 10 certainly, and the Year 5 probably), we must now turn to the docket inscribed upon the coffins of Ramesses I, Sethos I, and Ramesses II. The earliest docket records a burial at the time of the High-priest Hrihor towards the very beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty. This docket does not interest us in the present connexion since it throws no light on the history of the cache; let it only be stated that it is found on the coffin of Sethos I³ on the chest immediately beneath and partly covered by the large cartouches of that king, whence it follows that the cartouches are posterior to the docket and were added at the subsequent reburial. On the coffin of Ramesses II a like docket of the time of Hrihor has been later washed off and replaced by another; traces of the original text can be seen in Daressy's photograph,⁴ and Maspero has given a facsimile of the beginning.⁵ Daressy transcribes as much as he could see of the eight lines, but his transcription is mostly unintelligible.⁶ It is probable that a counterpart of this docket stood also on the coffin of Ramesses I, but of that coffin only fragments have survived, and the text in question is either entirely lost or else the traces of it have not been noticed by those who examined the fragments.

The three coffins acquaint us with two further dockets. Each of these offers practically the same text except for the name of the royal owner of the coffin and for minor orthographic differences. Hence, we can speak of them as Dockets A and B respectively, adding the numeral 1 to indicate Ramesses I, 2 to indicate Sethos I, and 3 to indicate Ramesses II. The two dockets are arranged on the coffins in the following ways:

A1 on the chest	A2 on the chest just below the docket of Hrihor	A3 on the chest
B1 lost	B2 on the chest, just below A2	B3 at the top of the head

¹ See p. 26, n. 3.

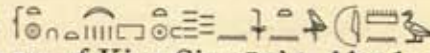



² *JEA* xvii, 108.

³ *Les momies royales*, pl. x, B; transcription on p. 553; Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, pl. xvi (right); Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* iv, § 593. Cf. also Peet, *JEA* xiv, 65, n. 4.

⁴ Daressy, *op. cit.*, pl. xxii.

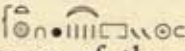
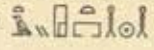
⁵ Maspero, *op. cit.*, 557; translated Breasted, *op. cit.*, iv, § 594.

⁶ Daressy, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

A is dated  'Year 10, fourth month of the Winter season, day 17, of King Siamūn'.¹ Also here Maspero has read the year-number as 16 and herein has been followed by all other scholars, but the sign which follows  is made like  alike in A2 and A3, and this cannot be interpreted as  that numeral never having such a form in New Kingdom hieratic even in its most cursive form.² The docket³ relates that on this date the mummies were removed from the tomb of Sethos I and transferred to that of Queen Inḥapi. The officials present at the transfer were

the prophet of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, Enkhefenamūn, the son of Beki;

the divine father of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, the third prophet of Khons-in-Thebes-Neferḥōtep, the scribe of the commissions of the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, *setem*-priest of the Mansion of Usimarē-setpenrē in the House of Amūn, chief of the Army⁴ of the Seat-beloved-of-Thoth,⁵ the scribe and chief inspector Nespeḫeshuty, son of Bekenkhons.

Docket B⁶ is dated simply  'Year 10, fourth month of the Winter season, day 20', without the name of the reigning Pharaoh. The feminine ending after the year-number is in B2 abbreviated to a mere dot and in B3 omitted altogether. On the day here mentioned the mummies were transferred to  'this eternal house' of Amenophis (I) by

the divine father of Amūn, the chief of the Treasury, Djekhonsefonkh;



the divine father of Amūn, Wennūfe, the son of Mentemwēse;

the divine father of Amūn, the third prophet of Mut, Efnamūn, the son of Nespeḫeshuty;

the divine father of Amūn,

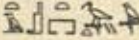
The importance of the change of reading from Year 16 to Year 10 in the *graffito* of Pinūdjem and in Docket A is obvious. On the one hand the date of the *graffito* of Pinūdjem on day 20 of the fourth month of Winter in Year 10 becomes identical with that of Docket B, or in other words the transfer of the three mummies to the 'eternal house of Amenophis (I)' took place on the same day as the burial of Pinūdjem. On the other hand, the date of Docket A moves into close proximity with the date of Docket B, the former in fact turning out to be only three days earlier than the latter. For there is now no ground whatsoever for attributing the dates of A and B to different reigns, as it was necessary to do as long as the date of A was supposed to be in Year 16 of Siamūn. On the latter supposition Year 10 of B was necessarily attributed to a different and later king, who was believed to be Psusennes II, since from the relative position of the

¹ The King's name only in A1 and A2, omitted in A3.

² Compare the forms listed in Möller, *Hierat. Pal.*, II, no. 619. It is only in the abnormal hieratic of the Twenty-fifth Dyn. that  has a form resembling a hieratic , but even then the oblique upper stroke is much longer (Pap. Louvre 3168, 1) or slightly curved (Pap. Louvre 3228 C, I, 1).

³ A1: Maspero, pl. x, 1; Daressy, pl. xxiii; Breasted, op. cit., IV, § 667. A2: Maspero, pl. xii; Daressy, pl. xix; Breasted, op. cit. IV, § 666. A3: Maspero, op. cit., 558; Daressy, pl. xxii; Breasted, op. cit. IV, § 665.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 26, n. 3.

⁵ For this locality, cf. Legrain, *Ann. Serv.*, VIII, 254-6; Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 59, 15. It was somehow connected with the Army. There was also a locality  mentioned Pap. Mayer A, 4, 9, and not recognized as such by Peet.

⁶ B2: Maspero, pl. xii; Daressy, pl. xix; Breasted, op. cit., IV, § 691. B3: Maspero, p. 559; Daressy, pl. xxiii (bottom); Breasted, § 692.

two dockets on the coffin of Sethos I no unprejudiced person could fail to conclude that A2 was anterior to B2.

The true sequence of events is now clear. On day 17 (Docket A) the mummies of the three kings were removed from the tomb of Sethos I in the presence of the two officials Enkhefenamūn and Nespeketshuty. Three days later, on day 20 (Docket B), these mummies were deposited in 'the eternal house of Amenophis (I)' by another group consisting of four divine fathers, while on the same day (Pinudjem's graffito) Pinudjem was buried in his tomb by yet a third body of men, among them Nespeketshuty, who had also attended the removal of the mummies three days earlier. We shall probably never know which of the two events occurred first, the burial of Pinudjem or the transfer of the three mummies to the same final resting-place, nor doubtless shall we ever elicit where the three royal mummies were kept during the three days that elapsed between their removal from the tomb of Sethos I and their subsequent re-burial. If Docket A states that on day 17 the three mummies were removed from the tomb of Sethos I and 'entered' (𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒𓂓𓂔𓂕𓂖𓂗𓂘𓂙𓂚𓂛𓂜𓂝𓂞𓂟𓂠𓂡𓂢𓂣𓂤𓂥𓂦𓂧𓂨𓂩𓂪𓂫𓂬𓂭𓂮𓂯𓂰𓂱𓂲𓂳𓂴𓂵𓂶𓂷𓂸𓂹𓂺𓂻𓂼𓂽𓂾𓂿𓃀𓃁𓃂𓃃𓃄𓃅𓃆𓃇𓃈𓃉𓃊𓃋𓃌𓃍𓃎𓃏𓃐𓃑𓃒𓃓𓃔𓃕𓃖𓃗𓃘𓃙𓃚𓃛𓃜𓃝𓃞𓃟𓃠𓃡𓃢𓃣𓃤𓃥𓃦𓃧𓃨𓃩𓃪𓃫𓃬𓃭𓃮𓃯𓃰𓃱𓃲𓃳𓃴𓃵𓃶𓃷𓃸𓃹𓃺𓃻𓃼𓃽𓃾𓃿𓄀𓄁𓄂𓄃𓄄𓄅𓄆𓄇𓄈𓄉𓄊𓄋𓄌𓄍𓄎𓄏𓄐𓄑𓄒𓄓𓄔𓄕𓄖𓄗𓄘𓄙𓄚𓄛𓄜𓄝𓄞𓄟𓄠𓄡𓄢𓄣𓄤𓄥𓄦𓄧𓄨𓄩𓄪𓄫𓄬𓄭𓄮𓄯𓄰𓄱𓄲𓄳𓄴𓄵𓄶𓄷𓄸𓄹𓄺𓄻𓄼𓄽𓄾𓄿𓅀𓅁𓅂𓅃𓅄𓅅𓅆𓅇𓅈𓅉𓅊𓅋𓅌𓅍𓅎𓅏𓅐𓅑𓅒𓅓𓅔𓅕𓅖𓅗𓅘𓅙𓅚𓅛𓅜𓅝𓅞𓅟𓅠𓅡𓅢𓅣𓅤𓅥𓅦𓅧𓅨𓅩𓅪𓅫𓅬𓅭𓅮𓅯𓅰𓅱𓅲𓅳𓅴𓅵𓅶𓅷𓅸𓅹𓅺𓅻𓅼𓅽𓅾𓅿𓆀𓆁𓆂𓆃𓆄𓆅𓆆𓆇𓆈𓆉𓆊𓆋𓆌𓆍𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏

The above interpretation fully confirms the results reached by Winlock in JEA xvii, 107 ff., namely that the cache is nothing more or less than the ‘crag’ (Δ $\overline{\text{B}}$ $\Pi\Pi\square$) of Inḥapi, and that these two identified places are furthermore the place where the body of King Amenophis I was already lying when the mummies of the three Nineteenth Dynasty kings were brought to bear it company. As regards the expression X $\overline{\text{B}}$ $\omega\Delta$ $\overline{\text{B}}$ $\Pi\Pi\square$ (\square \rightarrow \equiv $\overline{\text{N}}$ ω $\overline{\text{I}}$ \square \rightarrow ω \square \rightarrow \equiv \pm \square \rightarrow $\overline{\text{A}}$ Π $\overline{\text{B}}$ \pm \square \rightarrow $\overline{\text{E}}$ \rightarrow) at the end of Docket A the present writer would like again to point out the firmly established rule of Late-Egyptian grammar that *nty* can refer only to a defined antecedent, so that while the first *nty* refers, as expected, to *pꜣy kꜣy*, the second *nty* cannot refer to *st rst*, which has no article, but must likewise refer to *pꜣy kꜣy*. The only possible rendering of the expression in question is, accordingly, ‘this crag of Inḥapi which is (serving as) a great place (i.e. as a Royal tomb)¹ and in which (King) Amenophis rests’. Docket B calls the cache ‘the eternal house of Amenophis’. Whether this is the same as the ‘eternal horizon’ of Amenophis (I), the name given to that king’s tomb in the Abbott papyrus, is a difficult question that has hardly any bearing upon the chronology of the Twenty-first Dynasty.

In the course of our investigations we have not felt the need of getting rid of 'that troublesome Year 10 of Pesibkhenno II', as Winlock called the year-date of Docket B. Instead of this we have discarded Year 16 of Siamūn, which now becomes his Year 10 and has to be equated with the Year 10 of the said docket. There is thus no need to reverse the order of Dockets A and B on the coffin of Sethos I, which was a rather drastic method of obtaining the chronological sequence that seemed to Winlock demanded by the logic of the situation. That logic, as he viewed it, had in it a tiny flaw: according to Docket A the royal mummies to be transported to the tomb of Inhapi

¹ It is piquant to note that the absence of *m* after *nty* suggested to Winlock the right view that *st nty* should be rendered 'great place' in the well authenticated sense of 'royal tomb' (Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, p. 9). Of course the preposition must be here understood—the omission in Late-Egyptian texts is quite common—but it must be taken as the *m* of equivalence, not with the local meaning 'in'.

were removed from the tomb of Sethos I (*pꜣy-f hr* in A2 and *pꜣy hr n nswt Mnmsꜣtr* *Sty* in A3) and not from the tomb of Amenophis I, as according to Winlock's interpretation of Docket B they should have been. When would the transfer to the tomb of Sethos I have taken place?

The history of the cache is now seen to have been far simpler than has ever been suspected. It may be summarized as follows:

1. Neskhons, the wife of the High-priest Pinūdjem, died in a Year 5 (probably of Siamūn) and was buried in an ancient tomb belonging to queen Inḥapi.
2. Pinūdjem himself died in Year 10 of Siamūn (presumably five years later than Neskhons) and was buried in the same place as his wife.
3. Three days before Pinūdjem's burial the mummies of Ramesses I, Sethos I and Ramesses II were removed out of the tomb of Sethos I, where they had been lying.
4. On the same day that Pinūdjem was buried the three mummies were finally deposited in the same tomb as himself.
5. We have no means of knowing at what date the other royal mummies were buried in Inḥapi's tomb; all we know is that the mummy of Amenophis I was already there on the day of Pinūdjem's burial.
6. Year 10 of Psusennes II disappears from the history of the cache, as indeed it does altogether from the chronology of the Twenty-first Dynasty.
7. Year 16 of Siamūn likewise disappears from the history of the cache, though not from the chronology of the Dynasty, since that year is attested by a donation stela formerly in the College Saint-Joseph in Cairo, but now in the Cairo Museum.¹

¹ Published by Munier in *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de J.-F. Champollion*, 361-6.

(To be continued)

ZEBERGED: THE SHIPWRECKED SAILOR'S ISLAND

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

THOSE details of the story are set out here which identify the island of the Shipwrecked Sailor with a certain island in the Red Sea: that of St. John as we often call it, or Zeberged as it is called in Arabic. It lies off the promontory of Rās Benās, behind which lay the ancient port of Berenice.

The information provided by the story is taken from Erman's translation¹ and is as follows. The hero had started on a journey to 'the mines of the Sovereign', and these are generally accepted as being those of Sinai. However, 'A storm burst while we were yet at sea, before we had reached land. We flew before the wind . . .', so that they were blown out of their course. A great wave or waterspout² wrecked the ship and another wave cast the Sailor on to the island. On the island he heard 'the sound of thunder and thought it was a wave of the sea'. However, it heralded the approach of the Prince of Pwēnet in the form of a gigantic serpent, who proved to be a beneficent being. The great serpent told how the island had once been inhabited by others, but that they had all been destroyed and only himself remained. They had been burned up by the fall of a meteorite, and we hear of burning again when the Serpent King threatened (?)³ to make the Sailor know himself 'to be but ashes'. Finally the Sailor was told that he would never find the island again; 'never shalt thou behold this island more, for it will become water'. The island clearly lay to the south of a course from Egypt to Sinai, for it has to do with Pwēnet, the coast at the southern end of the Red Sea; the journey back to Egypt (Thebes?) was made by travelling northwards (*hdy*), and was to take two months. The story was told at Bigah near Aswān at the end of a return journey via the northern end of Wawat.⁴

The chain of evidence for the identification of the island begins with certain accounts given by the classical authors. Strabo (xvi, iv, § 6) says that after the bay where is situated Berenice the traveller comes to 'the island Ophiodes (Snaky) so called from the fact in the case; but it was freed from the serpents by the king, both because of their destruction of the people who landed there and on account of the topazes found there'. He then gives an account of how the topazes were found.⁵

A 'snaky' island in the Red Sea on which the snakes had been destroyed is already suggestive of the island of the Shipwrecked Sailor, but there is more information supporting this identification. It is provided by Pliny, who in Bk. vi, 29 (34, 169) mentions

¹ Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (trans. Blackman), pp. 29 ff.

² Vikentiev, *Voyage vers l'île lointaine* (Cairo, 1941), pp. 6-19.

³ See *ibid.*, pp. 36, 37, for the possibility that this may not have been a threat.

⁴ Sethe in *ZAS*, XLIV, 81.

⁵ Diodorus Siculus (III, 39) has the same story about the island, which he also calls Ophiodes, and adds further details which will be treated in their proper places. He is more specific in calling the king 'the kings at Alexandria'.

the island of 'Topazos which has given its name to the precious stone'. Further on (xxxvii, 8 [32, 107, 108]) he tells how the island came by its name, saying: 'Juba says that there is an island in the Red Sea called Topazos at a distance of three hundred stadia from the mainland; that it is misty (*nebulosam*) and is often sought by mariners in consequence; and that owing to this it received its present name, the word *topazin* meaning "to seek" in the language of the Troglodytes.'¹ His information that the island of Topazos 'is misty and is often sought by mariners in consequence' reminds one that the Shipwrecked Sailor was told that he would never find the island again.

The story can be carried farther. Pliny begins by telling how (xxxvii, 8 [32, 107]) 'some Troglodyte pirates, suffering from tempest and hunger landed upon an island off the coast of Arabia known as Cytis'² and there discovered the precious stones, the topazes. Thus like the Shipwrecked Sailor they also were driven on to the island by storm. In fact the whole neighbourhood had a great reputation for storms. Thus, in working down the coast Strabo says (xvi, iv, § 5), 'Next is Myos Hormos. Then follows the Bay of Acathartus (or Foul Bay) which, like Myos Hormos, is in the latitude of the Thebais. The bay is really foul, for it is very dangerous from rocks (some of which are covered by the sea, others rise to the surface), as also from almost constant and furious tempests. At the bottom of the bay is situated the city of Berenice',³ and then continues with the account of the island of Ophiodes which has been given above.

Surprisingly enough, it is possible to identify the very island round which these stories cluster. It is the information that topazes were found on the island of Ophiodes which identifies it, and therefore the island of the Shipwrecked Sailor, with Zeberged or St. John's Island, for topazes or, as we call this quality stone to-day, peridots are indeed found there and scarcely anywhere else.⁴ The island takes its name in Arabic from that of this precious stone زَبَرْجَدُ *zeberged*.⁵ Hence it is clear that as late as classical

¹ The name originates in the Nubian verb *tabe*, which does mean 'to seek' (Schäfer in *ZÄS*, xxxiii (1895), 100), which with the ending *-sun* added gives *tabe-sun* 'thou soughtest' (Brugsch, *Die biblischen Sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth*, p. 105 note, reprinted by Schäfer in *ZÄS*, xxxiv (1896), 92). Mr. G. W. Murray (*An English-Nubian Comparative Dictionary*, p. xxxix) shows that in Old Nubian the form was not *-sun* but *-sin*, which is still nearer to *topazin* and represents not only the 2nd person singular but the 1st person also and the 1st person plural as well. Hence *tabe-sin* meant 'I, thou, or we sought'. These Troglodytes, at any rate, are thus shown to have been Nubians. Curiously enough, the Greek word *τοπάζειν* means something similar, i.e. 'to aim at, guess, divine'.

² In this passage and again in vi, 29 (34, 170) Pliny calls the island Cytis, saying in the second instance: 'Here is the island of Citis [*sic*] which produces topaz.' This is what interests us here, but he is confused in this passage. Not only does he spell the name differently, but he seems to think of the island as being near the Straits of Bāb el-Mandeb. If Cytis be the Greek word *κύτις* it would mean 'a small chest or trunk'.

³ 'Foul Bay' is a name still in use by us. It is given to the bay on which Berenice was situated, of which the *Red Sea and Gulf of Aden Pilot* (Admiralty, 9th ed., 1944) says on p. 176: 'southward of this anchorage the bay is encumbered with reefs and sunken rocks; the whole coast is foul. . . .'

⁴ G. F. Herbert Smith, *Gemstones* (4th ed., 1923), pp. 198, 199, 227.

⁵ E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, i, 1212, s.v. One of the Arabic authors quoted here says that the stone had become very rare, as the mine was worked out in his time, A.H. 640 = A.D. 1242-3. It was this scarcity of peridots in the Middle Ages that caused the name 'topaz' to pass to the stone which is now known by that name, for at that time it became the more common of the two (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 199). However, the mine was not worked out, for it still produces splendid stones, and belonged to the Khedive (*ibid.*, p. 227), who let it to a French syndicate. The excavations had probably become too deep, for when Wellsted visited them about 1829 they were still derelict, and he picked up pieces of the green crystals. He describes the

days there centred on the island of Zeberged or St. John a belief that it had at one time been inhabited by serpents which had since been destroyed; that the sea in its neighbourhood was tempestuous; that mariners were liable to be cast ashore on it; and that

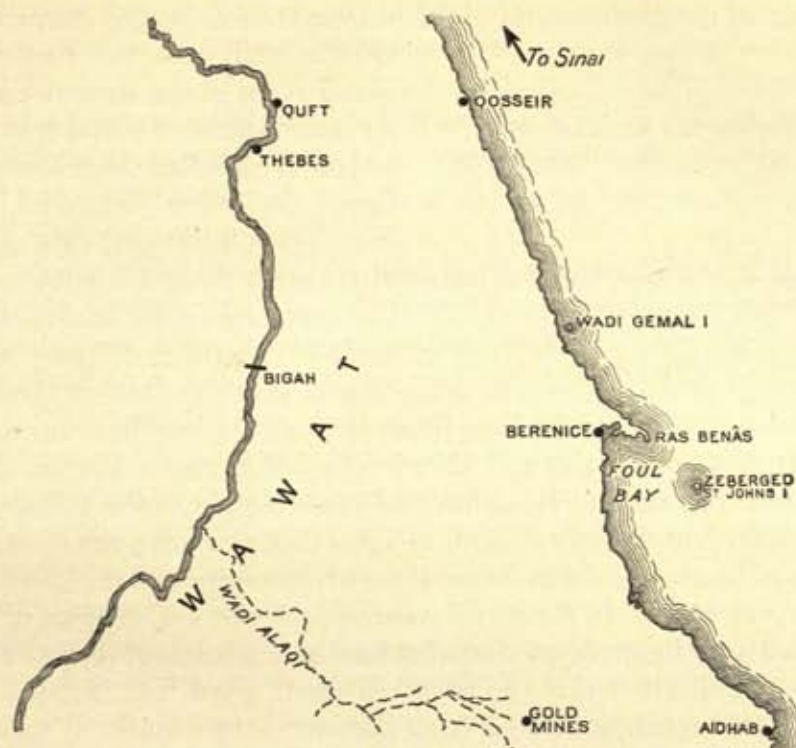


FIG. 1

the island needed much seeking. It needs no emphasis that the ancient Egyptian ideas concerning the Shipwrecked Sailor's island not only were still held in classical days, but also that they were applied to the island of Zeberged or St. John.

Attention having been called to this island as that to which the classical authors attached these ideas, we seem to be led to yet another clue. The Serpent King of the island was good, and Ptolemy¹ records an 'island of Agathon' in the Red Sea which he places in latitude $23^{\circ} 40'$. As Mr. Murray notes,² this is almost correctly that of Zeberged or St. John's Island, the true latitude of which is $23^{\circ} 36'$. Agathon is of course well known as a man's name, but nothing is known of such a man who had to do with the island. Hence it may be asked whether the application of such a term to Zeberged does not imply that an aura of goodness was still lingering about it as late as the second century A.D.

The distance which Pliny gives as that of the island of Topazos from the mainland agrees with that of Zeberged. He says (xxxvii, 8 [32, 108]) that "Topazos [lies] at a workings as pits of which he says: 'Many of them are thirty yards broad and fifty deep' (J. R. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, II, 311).

¹ C. Müller, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, IV, 5, 35, p. 728.

² *JEA*, XI, 140. Müller's edition of Ptolemy gives $23^{\circ} 40'$, not the $23^{\circ} 20'$ of Mr. Murray, which makes the agreement still more precise.

distance of 300 stadia from the mainland'. Three hundred stadia is $34\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and the *Red Sea Pilot* (p. 176) says that Zeberged is 'about 30 miles south eastward of the south eastern extreme of Rās Banās'.

Consideration of the position and physical aspects of Zeberged shows that it corresponds well with the particulars of the island given in the ancient Egyptian story. As already pointed out, this latter lay somewhere in the Red Sea southwards from Egypt, for it was connected with Pwēnet. Now it is only an eight days' journey by the direct route from Berenice to Bigah.¹ If, however, the Sailor landed at Aidhab instead of Berenice, we may note that M. Couyat says the journey thence to Aswān

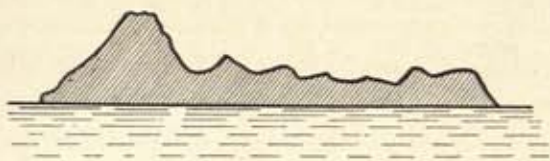


FIG. 2

Geziret Zeberged, bearing 235° , distant 26 miles
(original dated 1935)
after *Red Sea & Gulf of Aden Pilot*
(Admiralty, 9th ed., 1944) p. 177

would take twelve days. He also says there is another possible route thence via the Wādi Alāqi.² His map makes this appear to be of much the same length. Therefore the two months which the Serpent King foretold cannot apply to the actual journey from Zeberged to Bigah. On the other hand, as Prof. Golénischeff points out, two months is the time named by Herodotus in connexion with Memphis and the Incense Countries, i.e. Pwēnet.³ As already seen, the island was the demesne of the Prince of Pwēnet, and now the distance from Egypt being that of at least one estimate of the journey to Pwēnet provides another indication that the island lay southward from Egypt. It is also in consonance with the return journey having been made in a northerly direction.

This position to the south of Egypt shows that another and quite unexpected detail of the story is in accord with actualities. It is that the sea voyage from Egypt (Kosseir?) to Sinai where the Sailor was going must be difficult, for it is in a northerly direction whereas the prevailing winds blow from the north.⁴ These would be likely to blow mariners out of their course, that is southwards. This is evidently what happened to our traveller, for, as has been seen, it was to the south that he was cast away on his island.

¹ Golénischeff in *Rec. trav.* XIII, 89-93. He went by a short road.

² *Bull. Inst. fr.* VIII, 138.

³ Golénischeff in *Rec. trav.* XXVIII, 110, referring to Hdt. II, 8, who says of the mountains of Memphis, 'their greatest breadth from east to west, as I learned, is a two months' journey, and their easternmost boundaries yield frankincense'. Unfortunately other authors do not agree with this. Speaking of the sea voyage from Berenice, Pliny (VI, 23 [26, 104]) says: 'travelling by sea begins at midsummer before the Dog-star rises or immediately after its rising, and it takes about thirty days to reach the Arabian port of Cella or Cane in the frankincense-producing country.' On Meyer's calculation (*Aeg. Chron.*, p. 17) the Dog-star would rise at Berenice on the 13th of July, Berenice being 6 degrees south of Memphis where it rose on the 19th of the month. Elsewhere (VI, 28 [33, 163]) Pliny says that 'Timosthenes estimated the length of the whole gulf (i.e. the Red Sea) at four days' sail', which must be an error for forty days. No doubt the ships set sail at the beginning of July in order to take advantage of the currents, for the *Red Sea Pilot* states on p. 143 that from June to September the water runs out of the Red Sea, and from November to April it runs in. Köster has much of interest about sailing in the Red Sea in *ZÄS*, LVIII, 125 ff. The loan to the merchant-adventurers to the Incense Land was made probably for one year, but the passage is much damaged (Wilcken in *ZÄS* LX, 93, 94), and in any case this would only provide us with a period beyond which the double voyage should not extend.

⁴ *Red Sea and Gulf of Aden Pilot*, pp. 14, 33, 34, 37.

Another characteristic feature of the Red Sea is the storms and rough seas, and this duly appears in the story. Thus on p. 179 the *Red Sea Pilot* states that 'owing to the strong northerly winds, so prevalent during the day, there is often a troublesome sea here for boats'. A few lines farther on mention is made of a 'good anchorage, sheltered from northerly winds'. Both these statements refer to Berenice, off which lies the island of Zeberged. Of this island itself the *Pilot* says (p. 177): 'Geziret Zeberged is bordered by steep-to coral reefs, from a half to 4 cables wide, which render the island inaccessible, except for a small boat passage through the reef on the north-eastern side of the island.'¹ It is no wonder that in being driven by storm towards the island the Shipwrecked Sailor's 'ship perished'.²

On the island the Sailor 'heard the sound of thunder and thought it was a wave of the sea', bringing thunder and waves into connexion with each other. This again is a thing which happens in the Red Sea, for Bruce reports (p. 215) 'then followed a most violent clap of thunder, but no lightning' as part of the prelude to the storm.

Zeberged is thus difficult to reach owing to reefs and troublesome seas, but there is a further reason why it is liable not even to be seen by passing ships. This is because in the Red Sea 'Sand or dust haze is widespread in June, July, and August throughout the day. From a large number of ships' observations taken at Greenwich noon, haze is present on one occasion in 10 in the northern part of the Red Sea.'³ Pliny, therefore, is quite correct when he makes the statement, which seems so astonishing at first sight, that the island of Topazos 'is misty'. It really proves to be the case, though not through the wet fogs which the European reader would naturally suppose, and which no doubt Pliny himself thought, his passage to mean.⁴ He is thus also perfectly justified in his remark that the island was 'often sought by mariners in consequence', and hence that it was named Topazos from a verb meaning 'to seek'. It is to the difficulty of finding the island that the Serpent King refers when he tells the Sailor 'never shalt thou behold this island more, for it will become water'. We get a curious echo of the inaccessibility of the island in Diodorus, though his explanation as to why the sailors passed it by is a different one. He says (III, 39) 'furthermore, any who sail by pass along it at a distance because of their fear of the king', who, to safeguard his topazes, put to death any unauthorized person who landed there.

Though no doubt the rough sea would be enough to wreck a ship, Mr. Vikentiev points out⁵ that the size, i.e. 8 cubits, given for the 'wave' which did the damage seems

¹ All these pages are full of statements that the sea is encumbered with reefs.

² Apropos of this it is well worth reading Bruce's experiences in the native boat when he was caught by a storm to the south of Kosseir. While he got through in safety three other boats perished with all on board. Just as the Sailor says, 'We flew before the wind', so does Bruce several times speak of the 'prodigious rate' at which the vessel was going (J. Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (4°, 1790), I, 215-17).

³ *Red Sea and Gulf of Aden Pilot*, p. 37. The statement continues that haze is present 'on one occasion in 4 in the section between Port Sudan and Bāb-al-Mandab'. Of the whole area it is stated: 'In September visibility improves, and in the months of September to November haze occurs on about one occasion in 20. From December to February haze is not usual, but from March onwards visibility decreases until summer conditions are established.'

⁴ However, the *Pilot* states (pp. 36, 37): 'Fog, i.e. visibility less than 1,100 yards, is rare in the area covered by this volume. . . . Mist is also not very common.' From this statement it is clear that fog does occur from time to time in the Red Sea.

⁵ Vikentiev, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 15.

hardly enough to wreck one fifteen times as long and five times as broad as itself. He says that a waterspout of this diameter would do so. It should be noted, therefore, that on p. 37 the *Pilot* states that waterspouts are 'fairly frequent in the Southern part of the Red Sea in association with thunder squalls'. Though this does not refer to the neighbourhood of Zeberged, it may well be that waterspouts form there also, and certainly *haboobs* or dust devils, which also are caused by whirlwinds, are common enough on land in the latitude of the island. But still, all the same, Bruce speaks more than once of the fearful waves which threatened to sink the ship, especially mentioning that 'what was the most terrible of all [their dangers], a large wave followed higher than our stern, curling over it, and seemed to be the instrument destined by Providence to bury us in the abyss'. If such waves had not actually broken the Sailor's ship themselves, they might easily have dashed it against one of the reefs with which the sea about here is encumbered, and indeed Bruce speaks of the way in which the boat was continually crunching its way over some of them. In any case 8 cubits is something like $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet if the royal cubit be used, or nearly 18 feet if the cubit referred to was the long one in use in the Twelfth Dynasty.¹ This would tower over a boat that lay low in the water, and like Bruce's wave would be a fearful danger and a terrifying sight.

On pp. 176, 177 the *Pilot* says of Zeberged that 'the hill in its centre is a sharp conical peak of volcanic origin'.² In keeping with this is the mineralogical fact that 'except in basaltic lavas, it (the peridot) occurs in grains and rarely in well-shaped crystals. Stones that are large and transparent enough for cutting purposes come almost entirely from the island of Zebirget. . .'.³ Now, from a study of the other stories of the cycle Mr. Vikentiev distinguishes volcanic features in that of the Sailor.⁴ Hence, if his deductions be finally accepted as justified, they will form yet another detail which connects the island with Zeberged. *Per contra*, the fact that the Sailor's island, i.e. Zeberged, proves to be a volcanic one lends powerful support to Mr. Vikentiev's views.

To-day Zeberged is described (*Pilot*, p. 176) as 'a barren waterless island',⁵ just as Diodorus' description (III, 39) of the life of the guards shows the island of Topazos to have been in classical days. He says: 'and the provisions which are brought to it are quickly exhausted and there are absolutely no other provisions in the land. Consequently, whenever only a little food is left, all the inhabitants of the village sit down and await the arrival of the ship of those who are bringing the provisions, and when these are delayed they are reduced to their last hopes.' The Shipwrecked Sailor has evidently had many successors in his look-out for a ship.

¹ Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, p. 40.

² Zeberged is not the only island in the Red Sea that is of volcanic origin, though the others lie far away to the south. Of Jabal at-Tair the *Pilot* states (p. 120): 'The island is of recent volcanic origin and composed chiefly of lava; sulphurous jets exist at the summit but for many years no smoke has been seen issuing.' The not far distant South-West rocks 'comprise a rock 22 feet high, formed of tufa' (p. 128), and on p. 129 we read of Three Foot rock that it 'is small, 3 feet high, steep-to, and formed of lava'.

³ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

⁴ Vikentiev, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-45.

⁵ In spite of the *Pilot* there is water of some sort on the island, for Wellsted says (II, 310): 'We visited with lights a singular excavation on the eastern side of the island. After descending through numerous windings over a broad slippery rock, we arrived at some water, which, although of a very indifferent quality, is drunk (*sic*) by the Arabs, who are left here to catch turtle.'

In view of this, the fruits and vegetables which the Sailor says he found on the island would be embellishments of his own, unless of course in early days the island did happen to be fruitful. It may have been so, for still in classical days Diodorus (III, 39) says of three islands to the north of Topazos, 'two of which abound in olive trees and are thickly shaded, while one falls short of the other two in respect of the number of these trees but contains a multitude of the birds called *meleagrides* (guinea fowl)'. Strabo does not mention these trees, but farther south than Ophiodes he speaks (XVI, iv, § 7) of 'an island planted with olive trees'. Actually they were false mangroves which still grow on some of these islands and produce a fruit not unlike an olive to look at.¹ Anyhow, whether the fruits and vegetables were embellishments or not, such trees as these, if they were growing on Zeberged in the Sailor's time, would have enabled him to say truthfully: 'I slept under the shelter of a tree (?) and embraced the shade.'

Besides the trees the serpents have also disappeared from Zeberged, and from the statements of the classical authors there were evidently none in their time on the island of Ophiodes or Topazos. But still the legend of their having infested the island in earlier ages is so strong that it must be given credence. This is the more so since the next island to the north, that of Wādi Gemāl, 'does harbour some quite large ones, and the native sailors still romance about them'.²

It is clear that the Egyptians had trade relations with Zeberged at least in the Eighteenth Dynasty, for it is from that time that there comes the only example of a peridot reported in Pharaonic jewellery.³ It may possibly be significant that this is also the period at which orpiment was used as a yellow pigment.⁴ The point is that orpiment is usually found in association with realgar,⁵ which is Pliny's *sandaraca*.⁶ As he says (xxxv, 39 [22]) that *sandaraca* is 'found on Topazos, an island of the Red Sea', it may be that orpiment was also.⁷ At any rate, the single peridot, if not the orpiment, indicates that the island of Zeberged was already known to the Egyptians not later than the Eighteenth Dynasty. No doubt it had been known to them from a very much earlier date than that.

The story of the Shipwrecked Sailor is of course a romance, not a report of an exploring or even a trading expedition, hence embellishments and latitude in the telling of the story are legitimate. But all the same, it has become evident that it adheres closely in many details to actual conditions in the Red Sea. More than this, it is also clear

¹ Murray in *JEA*, XI, 141.

² *Ibid.*, p. 143.

³ Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, p. 8.

⁴ Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (2nd ed.), pp. 291, 292.

⁵ *Encyclop. Brit.* (11th ed.) s.v. *Realgar*.

⁶ K. C. Bailey, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on Chemical Subjects*, II, 205.

⁷ Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 292, says orpiment does not occur in Egypt and has to be imported. He suggests Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor as places whence it might have come. Pliny, *loc. cit.*, goes on to say of the *sandaraca* 'but our supplies are not derived from that source'. He has this in his favour that realgar is sometimes found in volcanoes (*Encyclop. Brit.*, *loc. cit.*), and Topazos proves to be of volcanic origin. A number of the classical authors recognize the relationship between realgar and orpiment (Bailey, *loc. cit.*).

that the narrator definitely had in mind the island of Zeberged or St. John off the promontory of Rās Benās. In view of this accuracy it may be asked whether the detail of the destruction of the serpents may not be the romanticized record of an actual event. Although there are no snakes there to-day, their presence on the neighbouring island, supported by such strong tradition that they had once been on Zeberged, makes it seem certain that they must have been there at one time. How and when they were cleared from the island is another matter, and one which will probably never be elucidated. It may have been by the fall of a meteorite as the Sailor recounts or, seeing that the island is of volcanic origin, it may have been by an eruption. If their destruction be not a mere figment of the imagination, the catastrophe would have taken place not later than the Twelfth Dynasty. The whole thing may have already passed into legend among the Troglodytes up and down the coast long before the Sailor came to hear of it. Whatever the facts may have been, the story had a firm hold among the seafaring population of those latitudes, and versions of it were still to be heard in classical days some eighteen hundred years after the Shipwrecked Sailor had told it in Egypt.

THE EUPHRATES CAMPAIGN OF TUTHMOSIS III

By R. O. FAULKNER

EGYPTIAN history, like all other branches of Egyptology, is in no way static; the discovery of new monuments or the reinterpretation of existing evidence may at any time shed further light, even upon episodes already well-known in outline. In the case of the famous eighth campaign of Tuthmosis III, that in which he crossed the Euphrates with his army, both these influences have come into play. The new discovery is the Gebel Barkal stela of Tuthmosis edited by the Reisners in *ZÄS* LXIX, 24 ff., which contains a number of most interesting details which have not yet been woven into a general account of the campaign, to which must be added the reference, brief and not very informative, in the Armant stela published in Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armant*, pl. 103, while for reinterpretations of existing evidence we are indebted to Dr. Gardiner's *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, soon to be published. In the first place he has made it highly probable (I, 171* ff.) that in the Eighteenth Dynasty the land of Nahrin lay entirely, or almost entirely, to the east of the Euphrates, and that it was either identical with, or formed the western province of, the kingdom of Mitanni. Secondly, he has shown (I, 153* ff.) that the well-known narrative of the soldier Amenemḥab (*Urk.* iv, 890 ff.) almost certainly deals with the events of this one campaign in chronological order, the only possible exception being the second assault on Ḳadesh, which is the last battle in which Amenemḥab fought. For the arguments on which Gardiner bases this view the reader is referred to his forthcoming book; here it will suffice to say (1) that according to him the trouble in the Negeb mentioned by Amenemḥab was an event unconnected with the North Syrian war, but broke out either just before or simultaneously with the commencement of the northern campaign, since after the disturbance in the south was quelled Amenemḥab seems to have travelled through Palestine and Syria to join Tuthmosis in the north; and (2) that to me it seems not merely possible but probable that the second attack on Ḳadesh recorded by Amenemḥab is indeed to be separated from the preceding narrative and allotted to a later war—perhaps that of the final conquest of the city in year 42—for the reason that it is unlikely that Ḳadesh would have to be subdued twice in a single campaign, though perhaps it might not be impossible for such an event to occur. Gardiner's explanation of this inscription is more convincing than any other which has hitherto been put forward, and if it be accepted it is possible, with the aid of the new evidence already mentioned and the other sources already well known (the relevant portion of the Annals, *Urk.* iv, 697 ff.; a fragmentary mention on Pylon VII at Karnak, 188 f.), to reconstruct the course of this campaign with more detail than has hitherto been done.

In the 33rd year of his reign Tuthmosis III embarked on his eighth campaign, in which he attained the summit of his military career by crossing the Euphrates and

invading Nahrin-Mitanni. His first move was to invade the territory of 𐎕𐎗𐎒𐎗,¹ modern El-Mishrifah, 18 km. north-east of Homs.² More or less simultaneously trouble broke out in the Negeb in southern Palestine, and a force was despatched to suppress it. Amenemḥab, a member of the *corps d'élite* called 'the Braves' and one of the personal bodyguard of the Pharaoh, served in this Negeb campaign and himself took three prisoners.³ That Tuthmosis was not present in person on this expedition is shown by the facts (1) the Annals make no mention of it; (2) he is stated to have opened his campaign at 𐎕𐎗𐎒𐎗 in Syria; and (3) Amenemḥab seems to have travelled north to join his master in Syria in time to take part in a battle near Aleppo, taking his three captives with him to present them to the Pharaoh.⁴

From 𐎕𐎗𐎒𐎗 the Egyptian army marched northward and fought a battle at '*the Height of Wran to the west of Aleppo*', where Amenemḥab records that he took 13 prisoners, 70 donkeys, and a number of bronze weapons.⁵ The next event was a battle in the territory of Carchemish,⁶ the capture of this town opening up to Tuthmosis the best available crossing of the Euphrates. He achieved this crossing by means of boats which he had had built near Byblus with timber from the Lebanon forests and which were transported overland to Carchemish on wagons drawn by oxen;⁷ it is to be presumed that the boats were loaded on the wagons in sections which were assembled at Carchemish, since it is hardly possible that entire boats of the necessary size could have been transported such a considerable distance overland on the rough tracks which served for roads. This is the first recorded use by the Egyptians of wheeled transport as distinct from the light two-wheeled chariot, and the innovation is a further example of Tuthmosis' military genius; in fact, these wagons were such a novelty to the Egyptians that they had no special name for them, but called them 'chariots' (*wrryt*), the latter being the only wheeled vehicle with which they had hitherto been familiar. This is also the first instance known to history of the use of boats to transport an invading army across a river.

Of the engagement which followed the forcing of the Euphrates we know but little beyond the fact that it ended in the usual Egyptian victory. A broken passage in the Annals⁸ gives the only details: '*. . . [he pursued?]⁹ after them for an iter¹⁰ of sailing, and not one looked behind him, but fled headlong like herds of game, for the horses bolted (??). . .*' From this it would appear that having crossed the river the Egyptian army followed its course downstream (?)¹¹ for some distance in order to make contact with an enemy who refused to stand and fight; it is significant that only 80 fighting men were taken prisoner,

¹ *Urk.* iv, 188.

² Gard., *Onomast.* i, 166*.

³ *Urk.* iv, 890.

⁴ Cf. Gard., op. cit. i, 155* ff., where the relevant passage is translated and studied afresh.

⁵ *Urk.* iv, 891.

⁶ Loc. cit.

⁷ Gebel Barkal stela, 11 f.

⁸ *Urk.* iv, 697 f.

⁹ Sethe's restoration *hd* has nothing to support it except the passage *Urk.* iv, 697, 6, which probably refers merely to the general direction of the campaign.

¹⁰ An uncertain distance; estimates of its length have varied between 2 km. and 10.5 km.

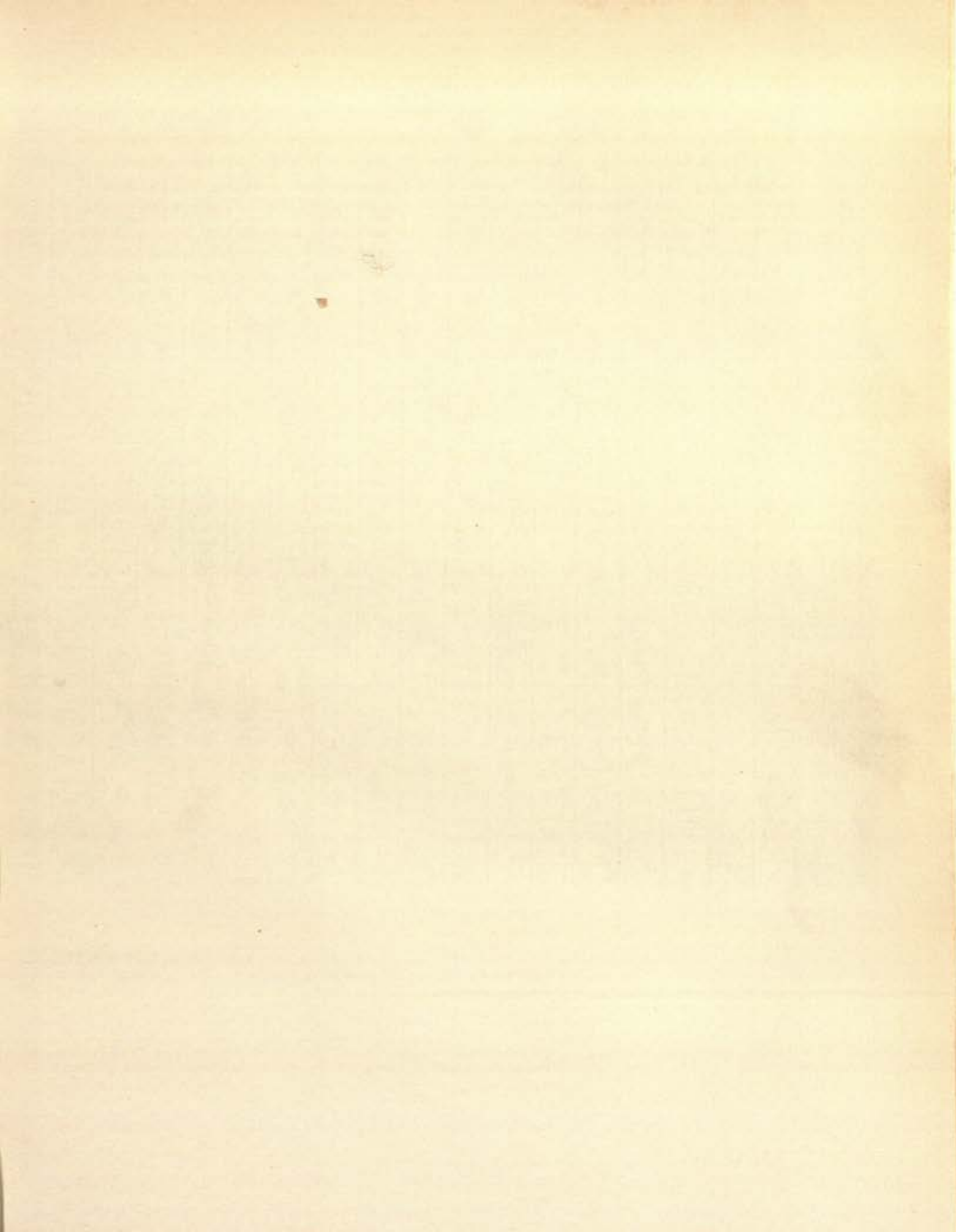
¹¹ *Škdw* here perhaps means 'as boats travel' and implies simply that the Egyptians after crossing the river followed its course along the bank; the comparatively small distance involved would not have made it worth Tuthmosis' while to have kept to his boats for the pursuit. Since according to Meyer (*Geschichte*², II, 1, 127, n. 3, *apud* Gard., op. cit. i, 160*) the Euphrates is navigable only downstream, it seems likely that the pursuit took a southerly direction.

the remaining captives being 3 princes with their women, children, and slaves, numbering 636 in all. The King of Mitanni '*fled in fear from before His Majesty to another land, a far place*',¹ his country being described as '*that land of Nahrin which its lord abandoned through fear*',² while Tuthmosis ravaged at leisure the lands immediately east of the Euphrates³ before returning to set up his commemorative stela on the east bank of the river⁴ beside that of Tuthmosis I. Apparently Tuthmosis III did not penetrate deeply into the interior of Mitanni and did not reach its capital Washshuganni, for he surely would not have failed to record such a feat in his commemorative inscriptions. Probably the '*other land*' to which the King of Mitanni fled was but a distant province of his kingdom, for, as Gardiner points out,⁵ Mitanni was regarded by the Egyptians as a confederation of lands, and it is possible that Nahrin was only the Euphratean province of that realm. Although, by erecting his stela on Mitannian territory, Tuthmosis proclaimed his view that Mitanni was now a client state subject to Egypt, in actual practice its national sovereignty was not materially affected and it continued to rank as one of the Great Powers; in fact, two reigns later, Tuthmosis IV married the daughter of the Mitannian king then reigning. Indeed, it was beyond the power of Egypt to maintain effective control over trans-Euphratean territory, and no doubt even Tuthmosis III privately recognized that fact. One result of this victorious campaign was that the King of the Hittites ('*Great Khatti*') for the first time sent to the Pharaoh an embassy bearing rich gifts;⁶ he evidently thought it advisable to propitiate a conquering power which was coming within range of his own borders. Babylonia did likewise;⁷ Assyria had acted thus in Tuthmosis' year 24,⁸ and now possibly did so again.⁹

Having achieved his great ambition, the invasion of Nahrin, Tuthmosis began his homeward march, but his journey was not uneventful. Syrian forces attempted to oppose his return, and according to Amenemḥab battles were fought at Sindjar¹⁰ (probably Ka'lat Sējar on the Orontes below Ḥamath),¹¹ at Qadesh,¹² and in the land of Takhsy not far from Qadesh, where one Minmosē states that thirty towns were plundered.¹³ Having pacified Takhsy, Tuthmosis seems to have marched northward again, apparently being doubtful about the loyalty of the petty states he had left behind him, but no further fighting is recorded. The Pharaoh therefore felt himself free to indulge in a little recreation, and, following the example of his grandfather, halted at Niy (possibly Ka'lat el-Mūdīk about 40 km. north-west of Ḥamath)¹⁴ to hunt elephants.¹⁵ It was on this occasion that Amenemḥab distinguished himself by his famous exploit of cutting off the trunk of an elephant which had turned on his master. After the hunt Tuthmosis resumed his homeward march without further incident, unless the second assault on Qadesh mentioned by Amenemḥab¹⁶ is to be placed here, which, for the reason already given, seems improbable. So ended Tuthmosis' last and most far-reaching war of conquest, his subsequent campaigns being devoted solely

¹ Gebel Barkal, 13.² Ibid. 9.³ Ibid. 9 f.; Armant, 8; *Urk.* iv, 697 f.⁴ Cf. Gard., op. cit. i, 175* with n. 1.⁵ Op. cit. i, 178*.⁶ *Urk.* iv, 701.⁷ *Urk.* iv, 700 f.⁸ *Urk.* iv, 671.⁹ *Urk.* iv, 701.¹⁰ *Urk.* iv, 891.¹¹ Gard., op. cit. i, 157*.¹² *Urk.* iv, 892.¹³ Gard., op. cit. i, 150* f.; 157* f.¹⁴ Op. cit. i, 158* ff.¹⁵ *Urk.* iv, 698, 893 f.; Gebel Barkal, 17; Armant, 7.¹⁶ *Urk.* iv, 894.

to the consolidation and settlement of the empire he had already won. In it he again showed his military genius, not only in successfully attaining so distant an objective, but even more strikingly in his building landing-craft on the Mediterranean coast and transporting them overland to the scene of operations on wheeled vehicles, a feat the more remarkable when it is realized that his army must have been several thousands strong, and that horses and chariots had to be transported across the Euphrates as well as infantry. Comparing small things with great, this feat of arms cannot but remind us of Field-Marshal Montgomery's crossing of the Rhine on landing-craft brought overland from the coast.



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







By ALAN H. GARDINER





















DURING the last months of N. de G. Davies's life considerable time was devoted by him to preparing for this *Journal* an edition of the famous inscription that Queen Hashepsowe caused to be carved high up on the façade of her temple at Speos Artemidos. First copied *in extenso* and published by Golénischeff,¹ the text was included, with a few new readings contributed by Möller, in Sethe's *Urkunden der 18ten Dynastie* (IV, 383 ff.). Golénischeff's *editio princeps* was an outstanding achievement for 1880, but the frequent comments made by visitors on the inaccessibility of the inscription, combined with the difficulties it presents to the translator, led Egyptologists to suspect that the text could be considerably improved. This doubtless was the reason why Davies, camping at Beni Hasan in 1931, decided to make a fresh attempt. Concerning this attempt he wrote: 'I devoted a day to the revision of the text, but having much under-estimated its height above the ground, I was not able to get level with the top of the lines and copied them in great discomfort, although I obtained the longest ladder the village could produce and lashed it to the top of my own. After this delay the day proved scarcely sufficient for the task. I returned another day and tried to revise certain passages with the help of field-glasses, but found this method quite unsatisfactory.' When Davies submitted his article to me as Editor, I could not but feel that the last word had not yet been said, and so we agreed that the essay should be shelved for the moment. A couple of years ago I was fortunately able to induce H. W. Fairman to visit Speos Artemidos for the express purpose of settling a number of dubious points, and he devoted several days to the job. His valuable results have been incorporated in Plate VI,² and at last it has become possible to present scholars with a text that has good claim to be thought definitive.








It was plain alike from comparison with the earlier publications and by examining through a magnifying glass a small and indistinct photograph given me by Golénischeff himself that Davies had made important advances in his readings. On the other hand, I was able to point out several slips, comprehensible enough considering the conditions under which Davies made his copy and the small amount of time he was able to devote to this work. Fairman's leisurely and extremely painstaking collation has brought to light many details of interest, and has proved that my scepticism was often unjustified. Various readings that seemed unintelligible in Davies's copy actually stand in the original, so that the suspicions I was inclined to direct against my friend's accuracy must now be diverted to the ancient scribe or engraver. Even so the true source of our

¹ *Rec. trav.* VI, plate opposite p. 20; a few extracts only in his previous article, *op. cit.* III, 1 ff. Brugsch had earlier copied at least a small part of the text, see his *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 143.

² I have to thank Mrs. Davies for much work in connexion with this.

troubles has perhaps not yet been diagnosed, and later research will very likely reveal the fact that the defects of the translation to follow have been mainly due to our imperfect knowledge of the Egyptian language and of the way in which the mind of the Egyptian author worked. But a *prima facie* probability that the scribe or engraver was the principal culprit is afforded by various carelessnesses about which there can be no mistake. Fairman reports that the stone surface is in perfect condition and without flints. It is difficult, therefore, to assign any cause except carelessness to the unequal lengths of some of the 42 vertical columns, particularly ll. 12-14, 18, and 25-6; though Davies's copy as now revised is not an absolute facsimile, it faithfully reproduces Fairman's indications in this respect. Similarly, as will be observed, some of the dividing lines have not been prolonged to the bottom level. Where the sculptor has been so thoughtless about externals, it is not unlikely that his shortcomings may have extended also to the text itself. Reserving for the footnotes to the translation and to the longer notes at the end of this article those difficulties which one may suspect to be due to textual corruption, one or two orthographic peculiarities may here be pointed out. In l. 13 | has been substituted for) and the determinative  of *shwt* omitted. In l. 15 one would expect *špsw* to have  as det., and after *hsw* in l. 16 we need . In l. 17 *nwd* should be determined with  and in l. 24 *dbh* is incomplete without a determinative. We need not be surprised to find the name of Amūn undetermined in ll. 8, 35, since this writing is common in the Eighteenth Dynasty, e.g. *Urk.* iv, 266, 17; 286, 13; 328, 4; 335, 1. 13; a third example in l. 41 of our inscription was doubted by Gunn because here the initial  stands above  instead of beside it; however, there seems no other way of interpreting the group. It is quite unusual to find the name of Rē without determinative, but so it occurs in ll. 11, 24, 38, 39, where the writing is ; apparently also  in l. 41 is the name of the same god.

In general Plate VI may be left to speak for itself, but the following observations based on Fairman's notes may serve to answer queries that might arise in some minds. L. 1. Deliberately erased from top to bottom, and nothing is certain from the beginning of the cartouches onward; even the enclosing lines of the cartouches are doubtful; below [] F. thought there might be , i.e., I suppose, . 2. In *smnt* the *s* and *t* are certain, the latter small and squeezed in; *smnh's* certain. 3.  certain, but the following  doubtful;  in *mrw* suits well. 5. Of the first eleven signs,  alone is really doubtful; this might be a small ; the first sign in *hntš* is a hole with circular cutting to left, suiting . 7. *ts's* certain. 8. In *hmt* the first sign is much flattened and small. 10. In *ink*  is certain and  almost so; before  only one horizontal sign. 11. At top Sethe's  is impossible; before *Hpri* either  or a big . After *dš* perhaps a bird, but not  *dšr*; nevertheless, *Dšrt* must be meant. At end  is certain; restore  in the lacuna. 15. In  the *t* is hardly doubtful. 18.  clear, doubtless by mistake for . 24. In the midst of the lacuna there is a blank space to the right of the uncertain . 26. The trace before suits . 28. The sign before is certainly not ; more like and occupied full width of the column. 29. Exactly room for [] in the lacuna. 32. Of only a tiny trace, and the sign was very small; all the neighbouring

signs are certain. 33. F. states that in  the first sign suits \dagger admirably, and *tyw* is certain. 34. After \cup room for  and the following space exactly fits . 35. F. found difficulty in reading, but believes  to be correct; the traces do not suit . In  F. says that \circ is not a flint nor yet an accidental hole. 38. The \cup after \cup has no pupil. 41. F. has no doubt of the reading , though the top of \dagger is damaged. 42. In *nhbt* \bullet is clearly, but crudely, cross-lined and the only \bullet in this text to be so treated.

In studying the following translation the reader should bear in mind that the ancient writer was deliberately attempting a piece of fine writing, and never expressed the gist of his thought with simplicity when tortuous and allusive phraseology suggested itself. The inscription owes its celebrity to the passage describing the sacrilegious behaviour of the Hyksos invaders (ll. 36 ff.), strongly reminding us of the account recorded a thousand years later by the historian Manetho. Hashepsowe had already (ll. 15 ff.) expatiated upon the ruin that had befallen the temples of Middle Egypt from El-Ḳūṣīyah northwards, and the whole purpose of the text was evidently to display her as the predestined saviour of the country, the restorer of law and order, and the pious descendant of the sun-god Amen-Rē. Considering the power and ability of the great queen's immediate predecessors one cannot but feel her claim to have been a little exaggerated, though she may in fact have displayed more building activity in this part of the country than had been exerted by the successors of Amosis I. The composition is formless in the extreme, and it is useless to divide it into paragraphs as was done by Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 297 ff. The first line consisted of Hashepsowe's titulary, and the last line returns to a characterization of her kingly might. At the start she is referred to in the third person, but in l. 5 the narrative passes without warning into the first. Meanwhile, the suffix of the third person masculine has unexpectedly put in an appearance (ll. 3-4), a first premonition of the *leitmotif* that Hashepsowe was only the instrument of her father the sun-god. The nexus between the successive sentences is often hard to seize, and indeed it is sometimes doubtful if there was any. When, however, we concentrate attention on the individual clauses, it is only lacunae or unknown words that bar the way to interpretation and reduce the context to complete unintelligibility.

The passage concerning the Hyksos has been often used by historians,¹ but no attempt to translate the whole inscription has found its way into print except that by Breasted (see above). Davies's first draft improved considerably upon this, but criticisms by Gunn and myself led Davies to express the wish that I would take that part of the task off his hands. I cannot feel I have fulfilled his wish very successfully, but in so far as I have failed it has not been for lack of trying, and I have given due consideration to all the suggestions offered by Breasted, Gunn,² and Davies himself.

TRANSLATION

- ¹ [Life to³ the Horus 'Powerful of Attributes', the Two Goddesses 'Flourishing of] Years', the Horus of Gold 'Divine of Appearances', the Good God[dess] Lady of the [Two] Land[s] Ma'kerē,

¹ E.g. in R. Weill, *La fin du Moyen Empire Égyptien*, I, pp. 37 ff., revised p. 217 f.

² Gunn has also read my manuscript and favoured me with many valuable comments.

³ See *JEA* xxx, 51.

- 2 the daughter of] Rē^c [Hashepsowe]¹ [She made this (?)] lasting [monument (?)] for (?)^b
 the establishment of her great name (firm) like the sky, that she might deftly carve the annals
 3 of her supremacy over the region² of Her that is upon the Mountain,³ (even) unto whatsoever
 [the Sun] above the desert illumines (?),^c his flames (falling) upon the back of the Two Ranges,
 4 braziers being set and there being extended the sanctuaries, the delight of all the gods, each at
 the fane which he desires, His spirit resting upon his thrones.^d
 5 I opened up and the took pleasure at their colonnades.^e I made the
 Hidden Chamber, the inner part of the House, to vie with the Place of Removing the Foot,^f
 6 every [god] being sculptured in his bodily form out of gold of 'Amu,⁴ their festivals being (made)
 7 permanent in (men's) mouths, the entire festal cycle⁵ (occurring) at its (due) season, by holding
 fast to the rule⁶ of my making. The rites of its⁷ ordering, (even) what He⁸ made in the primal
 8 by-gone (days ?),⁹ were made to flourish, my divine heart making search for the future;¹⁰ the
 heart of the King of Lower Egypt took thought for eternity at¹¹ the utterance of Him who
 9 inaugurated the Ished-tree,⁸ (namely) Amūn, the lord of millions. I magnified the Truth
 which he loves, for I know that he lives on it.^h It is my bread, and I swallow down its savour.
 10 I am one flesh with him;¹² he bred me up to cause his fame to be powerful in this land.
 11 I am the of Atum, the of Khopri,ⁱ the maker of what is, whom Rē^c predestined
 when he founded the lands, they being conjoined in my charge, the Black land and the Red
 12 land being subject to the dread of me, and my might causing the foreign countries to bow down,
 for the uraeus that is upon my brow tranquillizes for me all lands.
 13 Roshawet and Iuu¹³ have not remained hidden from my august person,¹⁴ and Pwēnet over-
 14 flows¹⁵ for me on the fields, its trees bearing fresh myrrh. The roads that were blocked on both
 15 sides are (now) trodden. My army,¹⁶ which was unequipped, has become possessed of riches
 since I arose as king.
 16 The temple of the Lady of Cusae,^j which was fallen into dissolution, the earth had swallowed
 17 up its noble sanctuary, and children danced upon its roof. The tutelary serpent-goddess¹⁷

¹ Hashepsowe's *nomen* does not contain ☉, so that this sign, which Davies thought he saw at the top of a second cartouche, cannot have been present.

² *Wdrt* is unknown and not in *Wb.*; if *wrt* be emended, we should expect the determinative *ḫ*.

³ Probably a reference to the local goddess Pakhet, cf. l. 19.

⁴ Somewhere in Africa, see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, I, 143, where the two modes of writing are unnecessarily separated.

⁵ Lit. perhaps 'the festal totality'.

⁶ *Ndr tp-rd*, so too *Urk.* IV, 489, 4.

⁷ Referring probably to *dmḏyt*, since the Queen here used the 1st person.

⁸ Again apparently referring to the Sun-god.

⁹ A sheer guess; no such construction appears to be known. Davies has rightly recognized that the expression here used must stand in some relation to the common *ḫꜥꜣꜣꜣ* discussed by Sethe (*Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, in *Abh. Berlin*, 1929, p. 46); Sethe rendered *die erste Urzeit*.

¹⁰ The sense is doubtless the same as in *ḫꜥꜣꜣꜣ* — *ḫꜥꜣꜣꜣ* 'I sought (good) for those of the future', *Urk.* IV, 57, 15.

¹¹ I.e. 'in obedience to'.

¹² For similar phrases describing humans as part of the divine body see my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Text, I, p. 109*, n. 1.

¹³ Roshawet is a well-known foreign region, perhaps part of Sinai, since turquoise (*mfkt*) came from there, Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* III, 127. It is expressly said, *Urk.* IV, 373, 2, that Hashepsowe obtained turquoise thence. *Iuw* is apparently unknown, Gauthier, op. cit. I, 51.

¹⁴ Lit. 'My Majesty'.

¹⁵ Sethe restored *ḫꜥꜣꜣꜣ* very plausibly, though this writing seems without parallel.

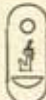

¹⁶ Perhaps here to be read *mnḏyt*, since the pronoun *st* shows it to be a feminine.

¹⁷ *Krht*, see *Admonitions*, 55 f.; Anthes, *Hatnub*, 44. Well authenticated both as the *numen loci* and as an epithet of princes of ancient family.

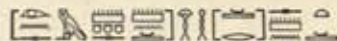



38 were in Avaris of the North Land, (with) roving hordes in the midst of them overthrowing what
 had been made; they ruled without¹ Rē^c, and he acted not by divine command (?) down to my
 39 august self,² I being firm established on the thrones of Rē^c. I was foretold for a (future) period
 of years³ as a born conqueror.³ (And now) I am come as the Sole one³ of Horus darting fire
 40 against my enemies. I have banished the abomination of the gods, and the earth has removed
 41 their foot(-prints). Such has been the guiding rule of the father of [my fathers], who came at
 his (appointed) times, even Rē^c; and there shall never be the destruction of what Amūn has com-
 42 manded.³ My command stands firm like the mountains and the sun's disk shines and spreads
 rays over the titulary of my august person, and my falcon rises high above the kingly banner
 unto all eternity.

LONGER NOTES

a. Sethe (*Das Hatschepsut-Problem*, pp. 22-3, in *Abh. Berlin*, 1932) rejected the commonly accepted reading *Mṣṣt-kṣ-Rṣ* in favour of *Kṣ-Mṣṣt-Rṣ*, pronounced Kumuria or the like. This innovation is credited to Naville, who had quoted the pronomina of

Amenophis III and Sethos I, which in vertical writing appear as  and , whereas

the Babylonian equivalents show the order of the component elements in these names to have been *Nb-Mṣṣt-Rṣ* and *Mn-Mṣṣt-Rṣ* respectively. But this argument, in the absence of a hieratic writing or a Babylonian version, could at best prove that the reading *Kṣ-Mṣṣt-Rṣ* is a possibility. To my mind the meaning of the name speaks decisively in favour of the old view. Sethe interprets his *Kṣ-Mṣṣt-Rṣ* as 'The Ka (i.e. divine lord) of the Goddess of Truth is Rē^c', but I know no warrant for giving the word *kṣ* the sense of 'divine lord'; the meaning assigned by Sethe to the entire name is in itself not objectionable, being approximately that of *Nb-Mṣṣt-Rṣ* above quoted. I regard *kṣ* as here possessing the not unusual meaning 'attribute', see my article *Proc. SBA* xxxvii, 257 ff.; Rē^c is often spoken of as having had 14 kas or attributes, among them Magic, Perception, and Power. Though Mā^cet 'Truth' does not occur in the stereotyped list of the sun-god's attributes, the meaning 'Truth is the (essential) attribute of Rē^c' agrees with all we know of the relations of *Mṣṣt* and *Rṣ*; but this meaning presupposes the word-order *Mṣṣt-kṣ-Rṣ*, which we vocalize conventionally as Ma^ckerē^c. The reading *Kṣ-Mṣṣt-Rṣ* of course presupposes that the figure of Mā^cet, like the ideogram for Rē^c, has been placed first *honoris causa*.



b. Davies proposed to restore  etc., but in this formula no epithet is ever appended to *mntw*, see *Wb.* II, 70, 11. The proposal may, however, have been upon the right lines, since the 'annals' (*gmwt*) further on in l. 2 possibly refer to the very inscription with which we are here dealing. Cf., moreover,  *Urk.* IV, 358, 4; 359, 16. At the top of l. 2 *wḥ* probably had the determinative , cf. l. 29; as the next sign Fairman gave — with hatching, but we urgently need  'in order to






¹ *M-hmt* cannot mean 'in ignorance of' as Breasted translated it.




² *Rḥnty rnpwt* (see *Wb.* III, 106, 5) is used to translate εἰς τὸν ἑπειτα χρόνον on the Rosetta stone, see *Urk.* II, 192, 1.

³ *Wṯt* as the uraeus-snake on the forehead of the king see *Urk.* IV, 160, 3, where *m* [*wṯt*·]i should perhaps be restored rather than *m* [*ḥt*·]i. Hatshepsowe seems to have liked the use of the word *wṯt* in reference to herself, see *Urk.* IV, 276, 9; 361, 7.


establish'. Another possibility is to divide as *wḥ·n·s mnt rn·s wr* 'she set the firmness of her great name', but a feminine noun *mnt* 'firmness' is unknown.

c. My translation presupposes *r wbnw nb [itn]* or the like; the following 'his flames' demands a reference to the sun-god in the lacuna, *wbnw* looks like an abstract noun, and the entire expression recalls the frequent  *šnw nb n itn* 'all the circuit of the sun'; just as this serves as a paraphrase of  *šnnt nbt itn* 'all that the sun encircles', so here *r wbnw nb [itn]* may signify 'as far as all that upon which the sun shines', 'as far as the sun's shining extends', though it must be admitted that the preposition *r* seems too weak to mean 'as far as'. Also *hr mrw* 'above the desert' comes in very awkwardly at the end.





d. For *sš ḥw* Gunn compares, on a statue set up in the temple of Mut (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, p. 354), the words '. . . . [in] excellent [work ?] of eternity,    her altars being enlarged, her braziers set, and her house being made festal with all (manner of) things'. However, the exact meaning of *sš* is not certain; at first I thought it meant 'being spread abroad', i.e. in various temples, but since in the passage above quoted only one temple, that of Mut, is envisaged, perhaps the use of *sš* here is analogous to that in *sš ḥnkyt* 'spread a bed', see my *Notes on the Story of Simuhe*, p. 73. In any case *sš* and *swsh* are here passive *šdm·f*, like *sr*, *sš*, and *shb* in the same passage; Breasted and Davies alike took them as such, but translated them as main verbs, whereas I prefer to regard them as subordinate, cf. my *Eg. Gr.* § 423. Further, I believe that the suffix *·f* in *k·f* and *nswt·f* refers, not to *wr nb* 'each one (of the gods)' but to Amen-Rē, since the plural *nswt* seems a clear reminder of that deity's frequent epithet  *ḥw* 'lord of the thrones of the two lands', cf. also  'the thrones of Rē' below, l. 39. Thus, as already noted (p. 45), the reference to Hashepsowe's construction of the Speos here merges into a description of the way in which the sun-god, her ancestral prototype, had created temples throughout the length and breadth of the land. In *mr·n·f* the suffix *·f* might likewise refer to Amen-Rē, but it is perhaps more natural to take it as referring to *wr nb* 'each one'.

e. Hashepsowe here uses the pronoun 'I' for the first time, and since the suffix *·sn* in *ḥwnywt·sn* refers back to *ntrw* in l. 4, where Rē was described as attending to the gods' re-establishment in their temples, Hashepsowe is implicitly introduced as merely fulfilling the will of Rē. The passage clearly refers to her rebuilding and reorganization of the temples, but the object of *nḥb·n·i* is utterly obscure. *Ḥntš* is well known with the meaning 'rejoice at', 'take pleasure in', mostly with prepositions, but apparently also, according to *Wb.* III, 311, 14, with direct object. This last construction, of which I know no instance, would suit here, but what is the subject? The monogram , which Fairman states to be certain, occurs only in a limited number of words, e.g.  *ḥmaww* 'craftsman',  *dww* 'mountains'. To neither of these do the traces recorded by Fairman agree.

f. I take this to mean that the innermost sanctuary was as carefully constructed and decorated as the rooms near the exit. The expression *st int rd* has obvious reference to the well-known *rite de sortie* discussed in Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, pp. 93 ff.


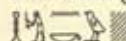






g. This phrase refers to a legend according to which the Sun-god, or Thoth, or the Goddess of Writing on his behalf, inscribed the name of the king on the countless leaves of the  *īšd špsy* 'noble *īšd*-tree' which was in the 'Phoenix-Mansion' (*Hwt-blnw*) at Heliopolis, thereby assuring to him millions of Jubilee festivals. Doubtless it was supposed that in the beginning this had been done for Rē himself, who therefore might fairly be said to have 'inaugurated' or 'opened' (*wṗ*) the tree; however, the epithet *wṗ īšd* is once in late times given to a uraeus-goddess equated with Bast, Rochemonteix, *Edfou* [I] 548, iii. Another conception represented the king kneeling and himself pushing his name onto the leaves, see the interesting statues of Ramesses II cited by M. Matthieu in *JEA* xvi, 31. This is hardly the place to discuss the variations in scenes and texts relating to the topic. Much material will be found in the literature quoted by Professor Matthieu. A few references may be useful. Mentions in texts: *Urk.* iv, 358, 14, as here from the reign of Ḥashepsowe; at Medīnet Habu, *temp.* Tuthmosis III, op. cit. 597, 2, with the scene Leps., *Denkm.* III, 37, a; further explicit references, *Urk.* iv, 591, 16-17; 597, 14; also the impressive scene at Abydos, N. M. Davies, *Ancient Eg. Paintings*, pl. 86, and another in the Ramesseum, Leps. op. cit. III, 169 = Moret, *Royauté Pharaonique*, p. 103, fig. 19. In the article by Jéquier, *Bull. inst. fr.* xix, 221 ff., are set forth the various identifications proposed for the tree; the most plausible and the most commonly accepted is that with *Balanites aegyptiaca*, see too Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten*, I, 36 f.; Keimer disagrees, however, with Jéquier and denies that *Balanites aegyptiaca* is the tree called *labakh* by the older Arabic writers; according to Keimer this *labakh* was the persea of the Ancients, correct botanical name, *Mimusops schimper*, the Old Egyptian *šwṣb*.¹




h. The epithet *ṛnh m mṛt* 'living on truth' is common alike of gods and king, see *Wb.* II, 20, 5. 6; and the imaging of truth as actual food, very explicit here, is found also elsewhere, e.g. Budge, *Book of the Dead*, 260, 9; Berlin Ritual of Amūn, 22, 3.



i. Both the damaged words left untranslated are highly problematic. For the first of them we expect some meaning like 'heir', but no writing  is known; the entire trend of the inscription insists on identity with, or descent from, the sun-god, so that  'beloved of' would barely meet the requirements of the case. The second damaged word is even more of a riddle. The determinative  in  shows that *ntt* here means 'that which exists' and is not to be joined to what follows. Sethe took *š·n Rṛ* etc. to be beginning of a new paragraph, but surely *š·n* must be a relative form qualifying the predicate of *ink*.

j. *Kī*s or *Ksy*, the modern El-Ḳūšīyah, on the left bank of the Nile some 60 km. south of Speos Artemidos, Gauthier, op. cit. v, 164 f. The goddess of this important town, the capital of the XIVth Upper Egyptian nome, was Ḥathōr. Here, according to the Carnarvon Tablet, ll. 5-6 (*JEA* III, 103), was the limit of the Hyksos dominion, and the town may have been destroyed in the course of the subsequent civil war. Very few antiquities have been found there, see Porter and Moss, iv, 258.

¹ *Mimusops schimper* had become extinct in Egypt, but was re-introduced there by Schweinfurth. The old Arabic name *labakh* has been transferred to *Albizzia lebbek*, one of the commonest shade-trees of modern Egypt, an import from the foothills of the Himalayas; the word is now frequently written 'lebbakh'.

k. *Hr tp dꜥꜥ m nwd* is untranslatable with our present resources. The crucial word is , which *Wb.* v, 541, 5-6 knows from Dyn. XVIII and Greek times; no meaning is given, but in one use the verb is said to stand in opposition to 'be firm' (*fest sein*). The only other examples I have found are in scenes where the king or officials armed with maces knock at a pylon-door: at Soleb (Leps., *Denkm.* III, 83; so too at Denderah, according to Brugsch, *Wb.* [IV], 1677) the legend reads: ('Said by King Nibmurē',)  and since the knocking is referred to by *hw-n-k*, it is impossible to be sure that a like meaning belongs to *dꜥꜥ*. For the stem *nwd* the meaning 'shake', 'totter' (*wanken*), is given by *Wb.* II, 225, among others, but since this verb, when used of the measuring-cord (*hy*), is contrasted with *ꜥk* 'be straight', we may take the general sense to be 'lie crookedly' or 'slackly'.—In the following clause *ms* is presumably the particle (*Eg. Gr.* § 251), and , a writing of , though this latter spelling is found in l. 41. The variant , seems to have been overlooked in *Wb.*, as also in Erman's article *ZÄS* XLVIII, 35, but Gunn has pointed out an example in a very similar context, Petrie, *Denderah*, 15, 14 (Dyn. XI), and a third occurs in Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armant*, pl. 103, l. 10,  every (conquest?) according to its dates'. If *ms* is really the particle,  must be the old perfective, but the plural strokes  would be quite abnormal. However the sentence is to be explained grammatically, the meaning seems clear.

l. *Wb.* v, 609 ff. displays unwonted scepticism as regards the meaning of the word  *dsr*, which as adjective is usually and adequately rendered as 'holy'. I take this opportunity of recording my conviction that the predominating meaning is 'set apart', particularly with the added nuance of 'keeping aloof' from vulgar intrusion; the English 'segregate' perhaps comes nearest to this sense. The clearest examples are those quoted *Wb.* v, 610, 6. 7 of the 'separation' of earth from heaven, where *Wb.* has an unnecessary note of interrogation. So too the abstract *dsrw* may fitly be rendered 'seclusion', at all events in the expression 'in the seclusion of the palace', for examples see Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, p. 74, where the colourless translation *Pracht* is adopted. Not far removed is the sense of inviolability attaching to the verb, and this makes it comparable to the Arabic *ḥarama*, the source of our English *harem*. Here where the desecration of the temple of Cusae has been dwelt on at length, the use of the causative *sdsr* 'sanctify', 'consecrate', 'hallow' is particularly appropriate, cf.  'I consecrated their fanes for hereafter', *Urk.* IV, 102, 1. The outstanding difficulty is to explain the sign  which characterizes the stem. The object held in the hand is known as the *nhbt*-wand or sceptre, see *Wb.* II, 293, 17, and unless this is a cudgel or a purely magical instrument for 'warding off' people, it might be a sort of brush for 'uniting' (*nhb*) things that belong together, and so for keeping them apart from other things.

m. The lacuna at the end of l. 19 makes it uncertain in what way the words *wꜥꜥꜥt snm* were introduced, but it is a reasonable suggestion to find here a reference to the torrential rains, in Arabic سيل *sayl*, which periodically swept down the wādys of the Eastern desert and would naturally invade, and possibly even endanger, the rock-temple of Pakhet. For *snm* (*Wb.* IV, 165, 11-12) the only other example known to me is ,  'their gore (= *tr*, *Wb.* v, 386, 13) is like torrents of rain',

Tombos stela, 8 = *Urk.* iv, 84, 9; despite the extraordinary writing of the first word with the determinative at the beginning I cannot believe in Sethe's explanation *ihre Münders sind bemalt (blutig)*.—The following sentence I render in accordance with Gunn's proposal to emend 𓂏 for 𓂏 ; it seems less probable that we should take 𓂏 from the determinative of *ibh* (for this priest see *Wb.* I, 64, 9) and read 𓂏 'whom I could set' (prospective relative). In either case the point is very obscure; was it meant that the place was half inundated by the rains, so that no libationer was required in the temple to pour water?

n. Of these three places the last, the name of which is damaged, appears to be unknown, unless it is the 𓂏 'Great Lake' or 'Garden' several times mentioned in the Tomb of Petosiris, see Lefebvre's edition, Index III, 50. Unu, originally distinct from El-Eshmūnēn, was later fused with it and had Thoth as its principal deity. *Hr-wr*, Coptic ⲭⲟⲩⲱⲣ , the present-day Hūr, is situated a little less than 10 km. away to the north-west, likewise on the left bank of the river. For further information about these towns see my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, on Nos. 377, 379, of On. Am.

o. After the brief reference to the re-dedication of the temples in three different places the inscription appears to deal more elaborately with that of Khmūn (El-Eshmūnēn), though in l. 33 the scope of the passage seems widened so as to include *Hbnw*, i.e. Kōm el-Aḥmar on the E. bank not far south of El-Minyah. So far as I can see, only one single block with the erased name of Ḥashepsowe has thus far been discovered at El-Eshmūnēn, *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Kairo* III, 23. It is not quite certain whether in l. 24 Thoth is already named as the god of Khmūn, or whether he is here simply the god of learning. The epithet 'who came forth from Rē' has as parallel 𓂏 at Denderah (Brugsch, *Thes.*, 760). The parentage of Thoth is discussed by Erman, *Beiträge zur äg. Religion*, in *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1916, 1142 ff. In the more usual 𓂏 'who came forth from the forehead', the parent envisaged appears to have been Min (Erman, loc. cit.), but since Min and Amen-Rē were identified, the two epithets are not irreconcilable. See further the notes in my edition of P. Chester Beatty I, p. 23.

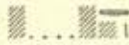
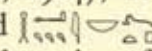
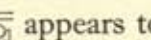
p. From here to the middle of l. 27 is one of the most cryptic passages in our text, and I have translated merely mechanically. The expression 𓂏 , lit. perhaps 'entering eye (to) eye', occurs twice in the Theban tomb of Neferhōtep, as I pointed out *Proc. SBA* xxxv, 169 f.: once in the clause 𓂏 'forasmuch as thou art one righteous in the Mansion of Ptaḥ, one entering in face to face at the Great Seat', and once in the sentence, 'Every god whom thou hast followed since thou hast existed 𓂏 thou enterest in unto them face to face.' The following words are less easily explicable. Gunn reminds me that on a stela of Taracos found at Medīnet Habu (*Ann. Serv.* iv, 180), as well as on an almost exact duplicate bought by me at Sotheby's and presented to the Ashmolean Museum, we find 𓂏 'he made it as his monument to his fathers the six gods lords of Tjēme'; Gunn was disposed to regard the sixfold 𓂏 as a substitute for 𓂏 'gods and goddesses', but in that case, as he noted, we might have expected 'his fathers and his mothers'; I do not regard this objection as fatal and believe, on the contrary, that the writing of the place-name Tjēme confirms Gunn's view, punningly hinting that the

deities of that place consisted of 'males' and 'mothers'. Perhaps 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 in our text is to be interpreted likewise, though the writing here is unsupported by any pun; at all events an 'Ennead of six gods' would be an intolerable contradiction. The following word *tm* is a further difficulty; it cannot well be the usual old perfective 'complete', since *psdt tmti* 'the complete Ennead' demands the feminine ending. Since the names of various gods in this inscription are written without determinative, 𓂏 might here well be the name of Atum. But the presence of Atum at Khmūn does not seem to be attested elsewhere. I must confess myself absolutely at a loss.—The remaining expressions of l. 26 have each its own problem or ambiguity. For 'there was none well-acquainted with his house' an equally possible translation is 'there was no skilled (person) in his house'. Further on, if we restore 𓂏𓂏𓂏[𓂏] , this must be interpreted as an abstract of like formation to 𓂏𓂏 , where, however, *tp* at least sometimes has the literal meaning 'beginning'. It would be intelligible to understand this clause to mean something like 'the god's fathers (i.e. the leading priests) starting anew bereft [of teaching] from (their) father(s)', but the signs before *m-r* appear to need completing into 𓂏𓂏 , which does not yield the required sense. At the beginning of l. 27 𓂏 perhaps signifies 'insight', 'attention', and 'the bearers of the god' is a pretty clear periphrasis for *wrbw* 'the lower priests'. At least we may be sure that the entire passage refers to the re-organization of the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis, this followed by a description of its rebuilding, and finally of the restoration of its festivals.

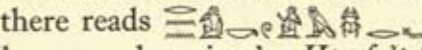
q. The analogy of 𓂏𓂏 'by the gift of' (*Eg. Gr.* § 444, 3) suggests that 𓂏𓂏 here means 'by my making', in which case apparently the doubling of Thoth's offerings just mentioned will have been effected (in part at least) by supplementary offerings to various subsidiary divinities. Of those named in the next two lines several are known to have belonged to the Hare (XV) or Oryx (XVI) nomes, i.e. to the neighbourhood on the one hand of El-Eshmūnēn (Hermopolis) and on the other hand of Speos Artemidos. *Hmnyw* 'the Eight' refers, of course, to the four pairs of primeval deities at the root of the cosmogony of *Hmnw* 'Eight-town', i.e. Hermopolis, see Sethe, *Amun*, etc., §§ 81 ff.; Sethe, let it be incidentally noted, held that the form *Hmnyw* which we have here, though referring to the eight deities, was actually a derivative of the name of the town, i.e. 'those of Eight-town'. The ram-god Chnum and the frog-goddess Hehet were worshipped in Hwōr (Hūr, above n. n), see Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, p. 20, n. 2. We have no reason to think that the goddesses Renenet and Meskhenet enjoyed special favour in this particular part of the country, but both are associated with Chnum in passages dealing with birth in its mythological aspect, Meskhenet ('the place of settling down') being a personification of the bricks between which, according to Egyptian custom, babies were born, and Renenet, sometimes coupled with Shay 'Fate', being apparently the patroness of suckling and nursing—I see no reason for assuming the meaning *Glück, Reichtum*, attributed by *Wb.* II, 437, 3–5 to *rnnt* when coupled with Shay, the more so since that meaning is contradicted by the determinative 𓂏 . For the evidence of the texts in connexion with these two goddesses see *Wb.* II, 148, 6 ff. (*mshtnt*); 436, 17 ff. (*rnnt*), and it is particularly relevant to note that Meskhenet, her head surmounted with 𓂏 , the sign of the bicornate uterus (Griffith in *Kémi*, II, 83), is

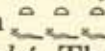

depicted in company with Chnum and Hehet at Dēr el-Baḥri (ed. Naville, II, pls. 49, 51) at the birth of Ḥashepsowe herself; cf. also P. Westcar, 9, 23. Enough has been said to show how apposite in the mouth of the queen, as applied to the first four deities, is the epithet 'united to fashion my body'; the word for 'fashion', Eg. *ḳd*, is the *mot juste*, since this verb means not only 'build', but also 'fashion pots', and Chnum was always represented as fashioning mankind on the potter's wheel (e.g. Naville, op. cit. II, pl. 48). To proceed: Naḥmet-ṯaway ('she who rescues the plundered') is well-known as the companion of Thoth at Khmūn, and at least in one passage of the Pyramid Texts (229, see Sethe's commentary, I, pp. 188 ff.) the masculine counterpart of the serpent-goddess Naḥbet-ka(u), for whom see Shorter in *JEA* XXI, 40 ff., is brought into connexion with the same city. The last two divinities to be named are less easily explicable. No mention, so far as I know, is elsewhere made of the first of them, a goddess, whose name Davies rendered '(of whom) men say, "Heaven and earth are hers"'; it seems more probable, however, that *iddt* is active, 'who says' or 'speaks', and in answer to the objection that in that case one would expect 'mine' instead of 'hers' I hesitatingly suggest the rendering 'who speaks, and heaven and earth are hers'. *Wb.* I, 380, 4 quotes from Griffith, *Siut*, pl. 17, l. 37, the variant $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$ *imy wt(yw)*, i.e. 'he who is among the embalmers' for the old epithet *imy wt* of Anubis, but a cult of Anubis at Hebnu, which is Kōm el-Aḥmar, S. of Zāwiyet el-Amwat on the East bank, is not attested elsewhere.

r. If this translation is right, it will mean that the festivals in the cities implicitly bear witness to Ḥashepsowe's restoration work; *mtr* 'bear witness to' usually takes a direct object, but the construction with *n* is apparently found also *Urk.* IV, 973, 8. For *m n rh* (*sp sn*), lit. 'as (something that) is not known, not known' *Wb.* II, 444, 6, quotes two obscure Graeco-Roman examples but, as Gunn points out, strangely omits the important $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗} \text{𓆘} \text{𓆙} \text{𓆚} \text{𓆛} \text{𓆜} \text{𓆝} \text{𓆞} \text{𓆟} \text{𓆠} \text{𓆡} \text{𓆢} \text{𓆣} \text{𓆤} \text{𓆥} \text{𓆦} \text{𓆧} \text{𓆨} \text{𓆩} \text{𓆪} \text{𓆫} \text{𓆬} \text{𓆭} \text{𓆮} \text{𓆯} \text{𓆰} \text{𓆱} \text{𓆲} \text{𓆳} \text{𓆴} \text{𓆵} \text{𓆶} \text{𓆷} \text{𓆸} \text{𓆹} \text{𓆺} \text{𓆻} \text{𓆼} \text{𓆽} \text{𓆾} \text{𓆿} \text{𓇀} \text{𓇁} \text{𓇂} \text{𓇃} \text{𓇄} \text{𓇅} \text{𓇆} \text{𓇇} \text{𓇈} \text{𓇉} \text{𓇊} \text{𓇋} \text{𓇌} \text{𓇍} \text{𓇎} \text{𓇏} \text{𓇐} \text{𓇑} \text{𓇒} \text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗} \text{𓇘} \text{𓇙} \text{𓇚} \text{𓇛} \text{𓇜} \text{𓇝} \text{𓇞} \text{𓇟} \text{𓇠} \text{𓇡} \text{𓇢} \text{𓇣} \text{𓇤} \text{𓇥} \text{𓇦} \text{𓇧} \text{𓇨} \text{𓇩} \text{𓇪} 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pl. 5, l. 19, inscriptions of Mentemhêt; cf. in a somewhat different context  '... earth, and ruin had been done in his chapel', Cairo 20741 = Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, II, p. 372. Without determinative as here in two passages of the Sphinx stela (*Sitzb. Berlin*, 1904); in l. 11 the Sphinx declares, 'behold, my condition was like being in a net, and  all my flesh was in dissolution'; in l. 6  appears to mean 'near the ruins of Harmachis'.

u. Concerning the suffix *f* in *n ir f* Breasted's note says: 'A sudden change of number; the individual ruler of the Hyksos is meant.' Such a use of the singular suffix is incredibly harsh, and the only point I find in favour of this interpretation is that it gives to *irt m* its common meaning 'act according to'. I now agree with Gunn that the suffix-pronoun must refer to Rē, which involves taking *irt m* as 'act by means of'. To conceive of Rē 'acting by means of god's command' seems an odd mode of expression, but is comprehensible when we remember that the king ascribed all his official acts to obedience to orders given him by the deity. Gunn takes 'by god's command' to mean 'by oracle', but this was only one method by which the divine will could be conveyed. Sometimes that will was revealed in a dream, as in the great Karnak inscription of Meneptah. Direct inspiration may also have been a way in which the divinity made known his behests. One other mode of interpretation seems just possible; perhaps the writer inserted 'by god's (or "divine") command' in the consciousness that otherwise he might be taken to mean that under the Hyksos the sun ceased to shine, whereas all that can have been intended is that he ceased to be the sublime director of human affairs.

v. De Buck's pupil Leeuwenburg aptly recognized the words *hpr-s-it(s)* here as the same expression as is found in the Berlin Leather Roll, I, 12, see *Studia Aegyptiaca*, I, p. 55, n. 22; the passage there reads  'I was bred up as a born conqueror', lit. as 'he-grows-he-seizes'. *Hpr-f-it-f* with the corresponding feminine in our text is clearly one of those substantivized verbal expressions so much to the taste of the Egyptians, see *Eg. Gram.*, § 194; here at Speos Artemidos we have already encountered another such in *pr-hr-f*, l. 23.

w. This pair of sentences has completely defeated my predecessors, and though I cannot guarantee the accuracy of my interpretation, at least it makes good sense and offends against no rule of grammar. The first sentence I take to mean that throughout all history the banishment of wrongdoing, 'the abomination of the gods', had been the guiding principle of Rē, who, as I have recently had occasion to explain (*JEA* xxx, 49 ff.), was not merely the father of the Pharaoh's fathers, but also was to some extent identified with every king, and consequently could be said to have come 'at his appointed times' in order to carry out, or cause to be carried out, that all-important task. The next sentence goes on to say that so too it shall be in the future. Past and future being thus disposed of, Hatshepsowe ends by declaring that her own command endures like mountains, ensuring the present, the sun shining down beneficently on the titulary inscribed upon all her monuments. As regards points of detail, the restoration  [] is of course as questionable as must be every restoration that is no mere *cliché*. The abnormal writings of the names of Rē and Amūn in l. 41 were the subject of comment

above, p. 44. The rendering of 𐀓𐀕𐀗 as a future is according to rule. For 𐀓𐀕𐀗 we should expect 𐀓𐀕𐀗, but similar exceptional irregularities in concord of gender are quoted *Eg. Gram.*, § 511, 4.

Looking back upon the foregoing pages, I cannot refrain from once more stressing the highly speculative nature of my results. I still hold, however, to the principle enounced by me in this *Journal* over thirty years ago (I, 21). Scholars should not shrink from translating difficult texts. At the best they may be lucky enough to hit upon the right renderings. At the worst they will have given the critics a target to tilt at.

GLEANINGS FROM THE BANKES MSS.

By M. F. LAMING MACADAM

THE Griffith Institute at Oxford has recently been very fortunate in acquiring on temporary loan a large number of pencil, ink, and water-colour drawings of ancient monuments in Egypt, Nubia, and the Sudan, made so long ago as the years 1815-22. Records of this kind, made many years before the scientific recording and conservation of monuments in the Nile Valley became general, are, one need hardly say, of the greatest interest, for they not infrequently preserve for modern eyes fragments of inscriptions and temple reliefs, even whole buildings, which have since vanished. The farther the inquirer goes up the Nile the smaller is the number of resources of this sort to which he may turn; it is therefore a matter of particular importance when a large collection of records like the present one, which numbers well over twelve hundred, becomes available for study, even if only for a time. The writer wishes to express his indebtedness to the present owner, Mr. Ralph Bankes, for his kind permission to publish.

Before the advent of the camera had made it possible to reduce essential recording of a site to the immediate action of pressing a trigger and thereafter doing the rest at home, the services of skilled draughtsmen were in great demand. At the time when these records were made M. Adolphe (sometimes called Auguste) Linant, described by the contemporary travellers Waddington and Hanbury simply as 'a French Artist then [that is to say about the year 1820] resident in Cairo', seems to have been such. To Egyptologists he came to be better known as Linant de Bellefonds Bey, for he became Minister of Public Works and the holder of other government posts, and wrote geological studies of the Etbai and the White Nile districts, as well as a *Mémoire sur le lac Moeris*. In various capacities—for he was at once an architect, an engineer, a geologist, and a surveyor, as well as an artist—he joined several expeditions and visited many places, including the New World, Palestine, Syria, Greece, the Nile Valley, the Eastern Desert, and the Oasis of Siwah.

Linant was engaged by Mr. W. J. Bankes, a distinguished traveller of those days, whose name will be remembered in connexion with the English Egyptologist Young, to command an expedition up the Nile into the little-known districts of Upper Nubia and the Sudan, the purpose of which was to discover the site of Meroe. Already in 1815 or thereabouts Bankes had visited Nubia, and, himself an artist, had studied the Nubian sites and temples as far south as Wādi Ḥalfa, recording what he saw to the best of his ability. Throughout most of his journeys in the Near East he was accompanied by his own interpreter, a native of Ferrara, who used the assumed name of Hajji Muhammad, and whose own account of his travels was published in 1830 by his patron under the title *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Giovanni Finati*.

This entertaining narrative, for the loan of a copy of which I am much indebted to Professor P. Newberry, is one of the chief sources of information about the events which were taking place at the time when the drawings which form the bulk of the collection were made.

On June 15, 1821, after Bankes had left Egypt, Linant set out from Cairo on his expedition to locate the city of Meroe, accompanied by Finati and another Italian named Dr. Ricci, whose services as a draughtsman Bankes had some time previously enlisted to record the tomb reliefs at Beni Ḥasan, and who had also accompanied Linant on an earlier journey to Sīwah. The party penetrated as far south as Sennār, following in the wake of the notorious military expedition sent by Muhammad Ali under his son Ibrahim Pasha to reduce the territories of the Upper Nile and to raise a negro army from the Sudan. Linant's unpublished diary of his journey, the other chief source of information, is a lively document of great interest and is preserved in the present collection of manuscripts, together with drawings by Ricci and Bankes himself, as well as those by Linant, which he brought to England in 1823.

One does not expect to find here anything approaching the accuracy obtained by the modern draughtsman equipped with the camera and other scientific means of reproduction, and with a library of already recorded temple and tomb scenes to which he can if necessary refer. It is well known that there is a latent quality in Egyptian reliefs which is lacking when they are reproduced by the hand of an artist without the requisite sympathy. Of such work we say at once that it is un-Egyptian, and it is evident that much pioneer enterprise must inevitably be of this kind. Most of us have probably observed with dismay how easily hieroglyphs are mistaken for one another when the artist cannot read them. Yet considering that in these years the serious study of Egyptian language and art had barely begun, it is astonishing with what accuracy many of these drawings were executed. No doubt Bankes's own skill in reproduction could not compete with that of Ricci and of Linant, but it redounds to his credit that instead he was willing to obtain and pay for the services of two such skilled artists. These draughtsmen's copies of hieroglyphs and figures in relief are far more like their originals than those, for example, of Cailliaud, and Linant's architectural views and landscapes are greatly superior to anything published up to that time and to much that came later.

The writer of the present article has had the advantage of studying the manuscripts by the light of a list of their contents compiled by Miss R. L. B. Moss, of the *Topographical Bibliography*, and tenders her his thanks for having called his attention to them in connexion with his own work on Nubia. Most of the unpublished material contained in the Bankes MSS. is from Nubian sites, hence the points selected for mention here are all concerned with Nubia. These, however, do not exhaust the references to Nubia, for apart from these items the Bankes MSS. contain some unpublished material, however small, from Bīḡah, Philae, Gerf Ḥusein, Dakkah, Wādi Sebū', 'Amadah, Kubbān, Elleisiyah, Ḳaṣr Ibrīm, Abu Simbel, Gebel 'Addah, Gebel Esh-Shams, Abahūda, Semnah, Gebel Barkal, Wādi el-Banāt, and Muṣawwarāt eṣ-Ṣufrah, at which last place the expedition believed it had located the ancient Meroe.



THE DESTROYED CHAPEL OF AMENOPHIS III AT ELEPHANTINE

It should be pointed out that the drawings reproduced here must not be taken as representative of the collection as a whole; they merely illustrate the points raised.

A. The Chapel of Amenophis III at Elephantine

(Bankes MS. No. IV C 6)

The water-colour painting reproduced in Pl. VII, which apart from its architectural competency admirably captures the bright sun and clear atmosphere of Upper Egypt, would doubtless have been of great interest to the late Professor Ludwig Borchardt, for it reproduces the subject of one of his reconstructions. It represents the chapel of Amenophis III as it once stood on the Island of Elephantine, with many remnants of colour still adhering to the reliefs, just before it was, alas, pulled down in November 1822, probably to provide stone for a barracks at Aswan to house the Black army lately raised by Muhammad Ali.¹

The painting agrees fairly well with that of Nestor l'Hôte, reproduced in fig. 28 of Borchardt's *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang*, and clearly substantiates Borchardt's contention, in contradiction of the restoration shown in the *Description de l'Égypte*, that at least along the south-east wall (the right-hand wall in the painting) the intervals between the pillars were filled with curtain walls whose cornices did not pass in front of the bases of the pillars. The arrangement of the lower blocks and their difference in colour further reveal that the lower courses were foundation courses, as Borchardt also supposed. At the west corner of the building, however, the Nestor l'Hôte drawing represents the cornice as stopping short at the pillar, while the *Description* again makes it pass in front. Another contemporary drawing, in Cooper's *Egyptian Scenery*, also seems to make it pass in front. The painting shown here displays how the ambiguity arose; although the cornice does appear to stop short at the pillar the traces strongly suggested that it continued.

It is strange that Nestor l'Hôte is believed not to have visited the site until 1828, when the temple had already been dismantled, yet he contrived to make a painting of it, and the Bankes MS. confirms most of what he drew. The inscription recording the 'renewal of the monument' is there, the few traces of the architrave inscription agree, and beyond the ramp of the stair can be seen the tops of the plumes which the Nestor l'Hôte painting shows as surmounting cartouches of Ramesses II. More cartouches of this king appear along the south-east wall. The pillar at the west corner of the building, upon which Nestor l'Hôte represented a relief, is shown in the Bankes painting as being partly ruined and having in reality lost its surface so that no relief was visible. It would appear, therefore, that Nestor l'Hôte restored the pillar out of

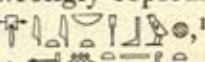
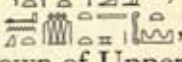
¹ On this subject Linant says in his journal: 'ce monument a été détruit depuis par Mahomet Bey qui était à Assouan pour former l'armée du Bacha il ne l'a pas fait par ignorance bien au contraire car c'était par méchanceté et plusieurs personnes lui ayant représenté l'abomination qu'il faisait lorsque le temple a été commencé à détruire il répondit qu'il le faisait pour que les européens ne vinssent plus l'ennuyer à Assouan et que lorsque tous ces monuments n'existeraient plus personne ne viendrait. il a détruit les deux temples d'Elephantine celui d'Assouan de manière à ce qu'on ne puisse pas même voir l'emplacement de ces édifices et il ne faut pas douter qu'il en eut fait autant de l'île de Philae et de la porte de granit qui reste à Elephantine si l'un avait été plus à sa portée et qu'il eut eu des forces suffisantes pour l'autre' (in a later note to 21. 7. 1821). No attempt has been made either to improve on Linant's French or to add any of the missing accents.

his imagination or used some still earlier copy. His stairway is clearly drawn by conjecture, yet enough of the ramp can be seen here to show that there was something left to suggest it.

B. King Sebkhotpe III at Sihēl

(Banks MS. No. IV C 6)

On the island of Sihēl, dedicated to the goddess Anukis, a single and a double scene were recorded by Banks of which no other copy or description is known. They represent King Sekhemrē-Sewadjtawi Sebkhotpe III making offering to the Cataract deities Satis and Anukis and being blessed by two ram-headed gods, probably both Khnum (Pl. VIII). The source of the scenes may have been a granite stand or altar, of which there is a not readily intelligible sketch on another sheet (IV D 3) labelled 'granite tabernacle Seehale'. From the dimensions given this would appear to have been some 6 feet high by about the same width.



The hieroglyphs are for the most part easily interpreted even when wrongly copied. The legend of Satis on the left side of the double scene is presumably ¹, 'Satis, lady of Elephantine', while that of Anukis on the right may be , 'Anukis, prominent in To-Sti'. In the single scene the king wears the crown of Upper Egypt, and one supposes that this would have been counter-balanced by a similar scene on the opposite side of the stand with the king wearing the crown of Lower Egypt.




C. The second stela of

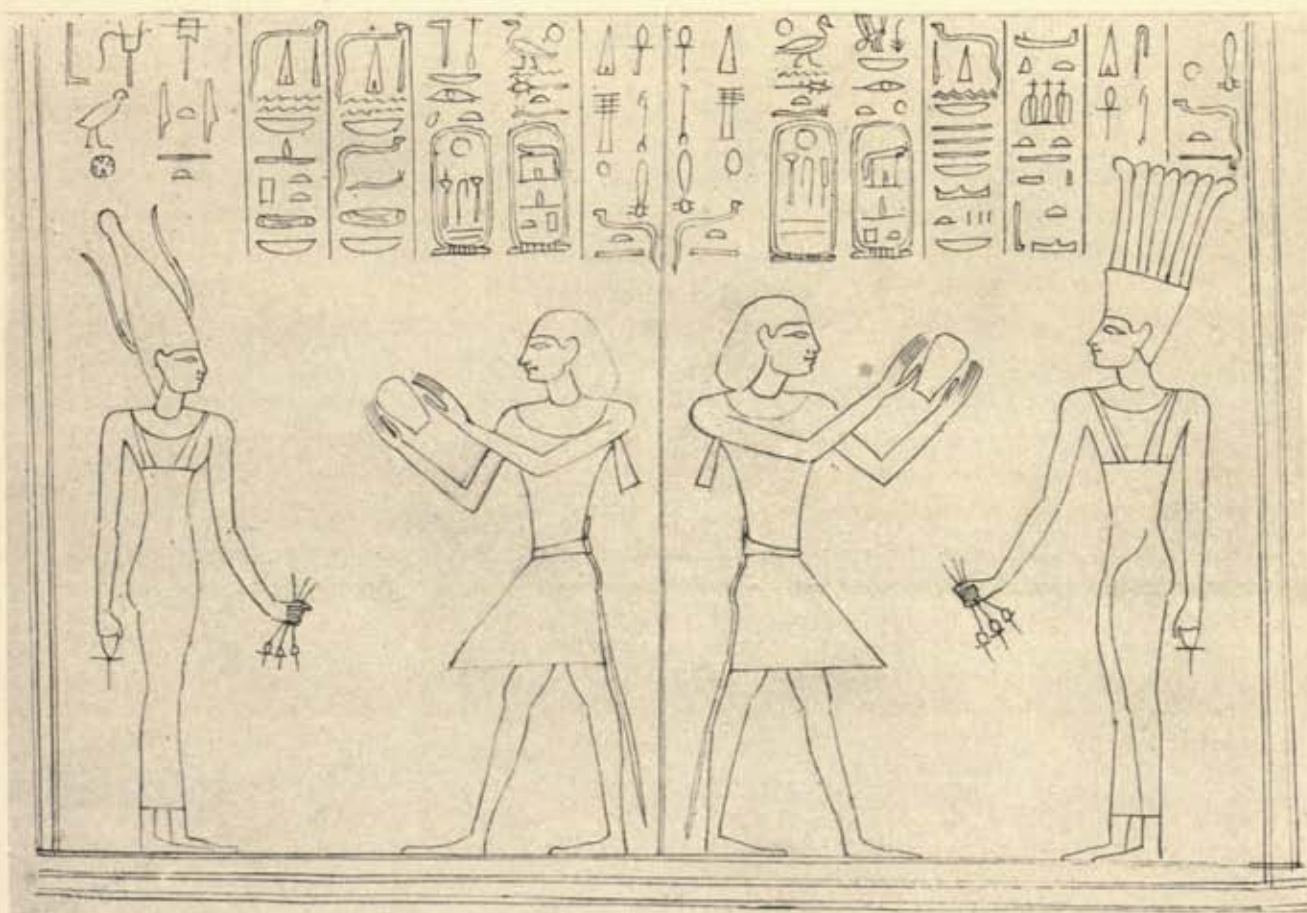
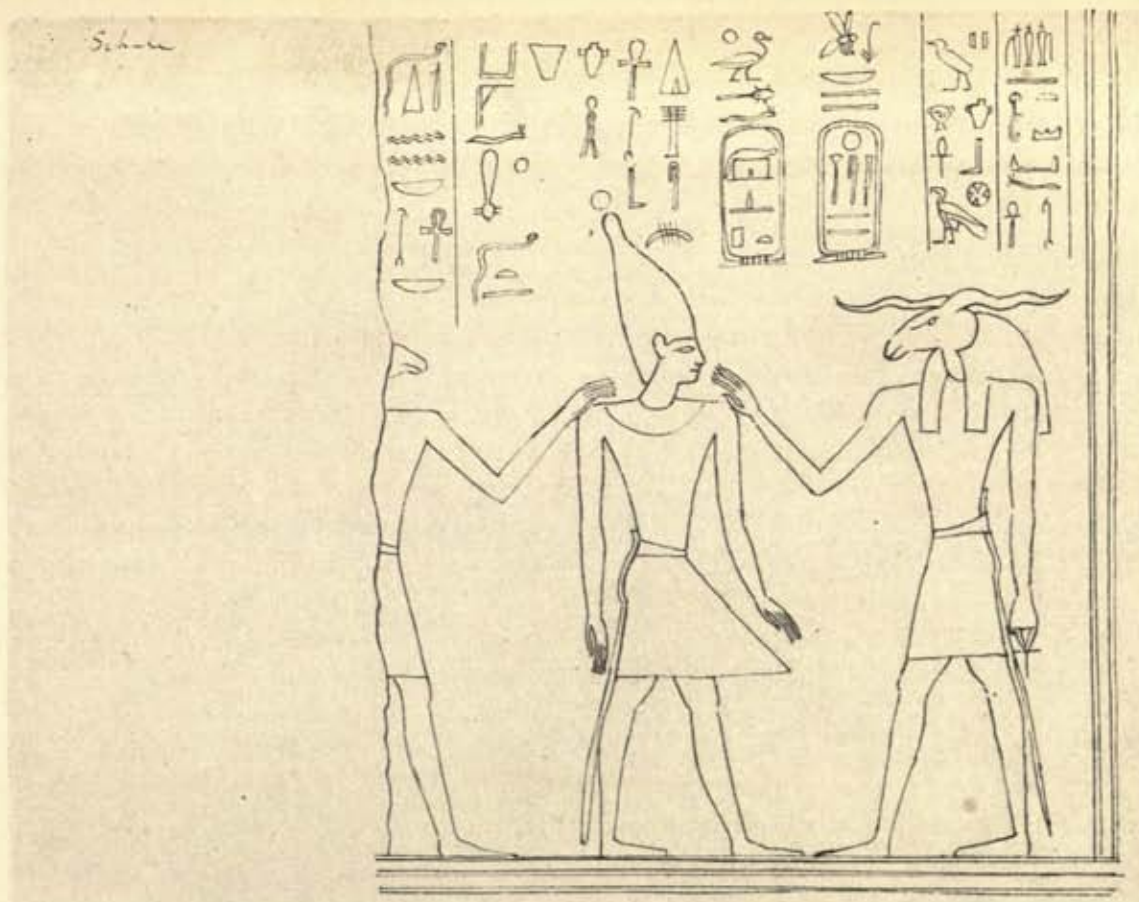
(Banks MS. No. XII C 4)

In 1892 Sir Henry Lyons (at that time Captain Lyons, R.E.) noted in the sanctuary of the northern temple at Wādī Ḥalfa the existence of two M.K. stelae bearing the names of Sesostri I, erected by an official named Deduantef. Of these one was complete; of the other only about a sixth part remained. In a letter to Professor Schiaparelli published by him in *Bessarione*, IX (1901), 428, Captain Lyons stated that he had sent both the stelae to the British Museum. The complete stela has received mention in the *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries*, and a hand-copy of its text appears in *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egn. Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, part IV, pls. 2 and 3, under the number 196 [1177]. The other stela, however, which is the one marked *a* in the sketch in *Bessarione*, loc. cit., has never been published, presumably because not enough of it remained to be worth reproduction.

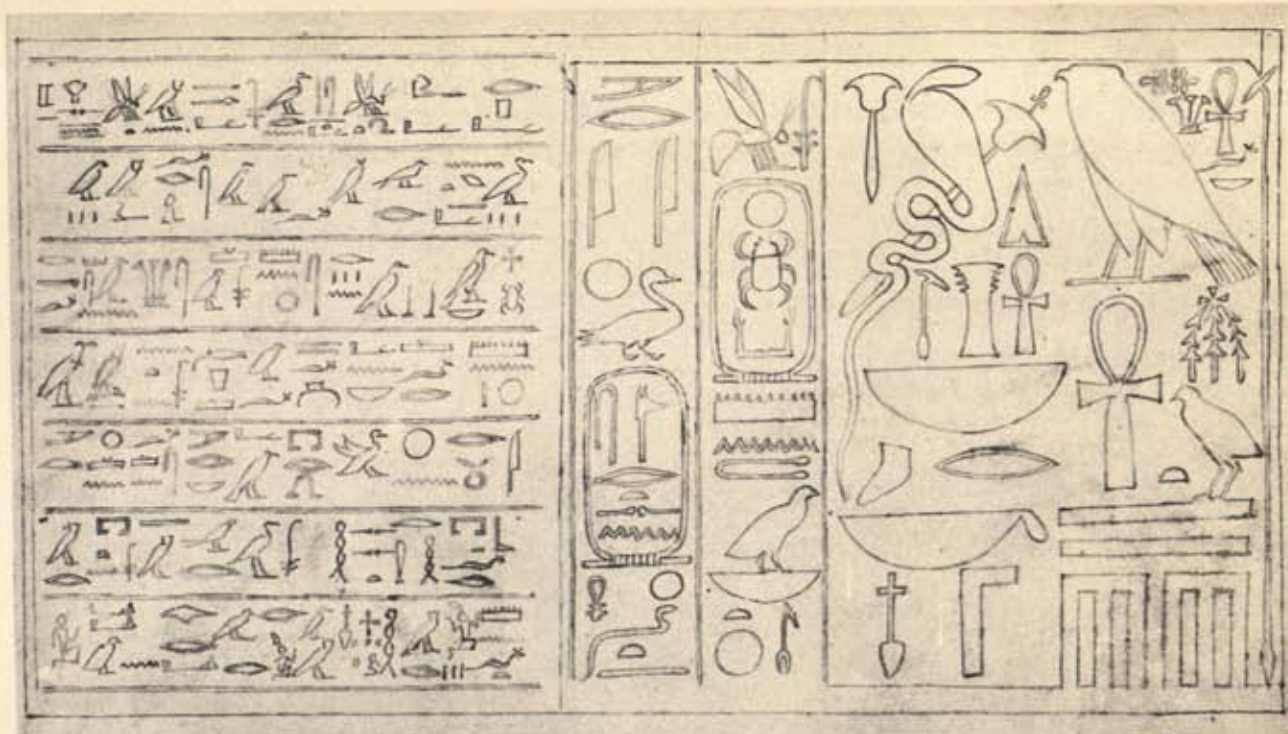
Both these stelae, complete and in position, were seen and drawn by Banks some seventy-five years before Sir Henry Lyons found them. It is pleasant therefore to be able to reproduce his drawing of the broken stela in its original form (Pl. IX, top).

The right side of the stela is bounded at the top by  and at the sides by . Above the palace façade are the royal falcon, with protective formula at its back, and the Horus-name of Sesostri I. The uraeus of Edjō, coiled upon a papyrus stem, presents

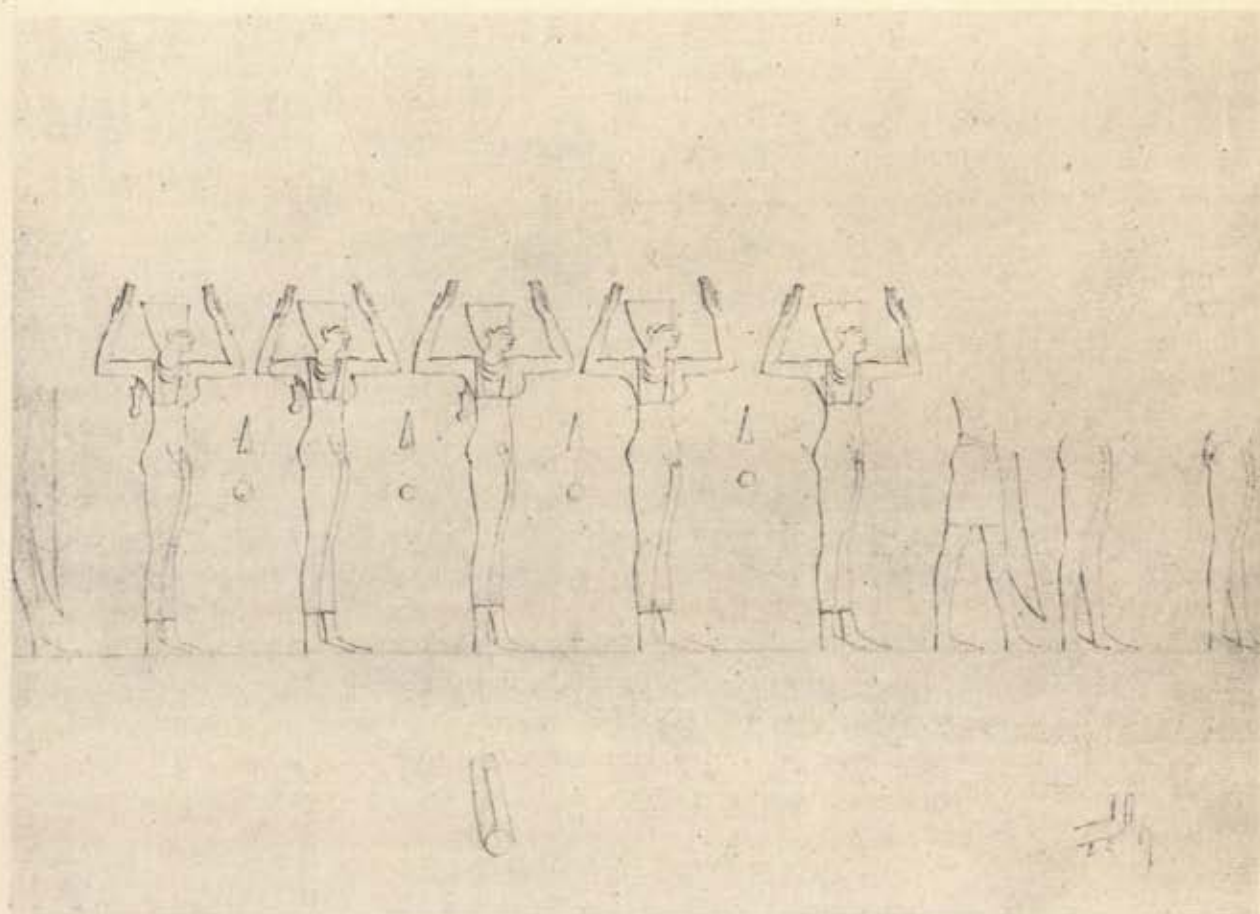
¹ The first sign in the name *3btw* is copied as though the original had been  by confusion with *3bdw* 'Abydos'. In the single scene, however, the copyist has put . As it is unlikely that the same name would have been spelt in two different ways on the same monument I conclude that the original was  in both instances.



RELIEFS OF SEBKHOTPE III ON A GRANITE ALTAR AT SIHEL



STELA OF DEDUANTEF FROM WĀDI ḤALFA



DESTROYED RELIEF IN TEMPLE B 500, NAPATA

☩ to the falcon. Below this point, except for a certain indecision as to the direction in which the signs should face, the scene ceases to be a figurative representation and becomes normal writing, being completed by two columns of signs. The whole reads:

'Horus, Living-of-Births, may Edjō give life, stability and welfare to thy nose, O good god, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkerē, beloved of Mōnth Lord of Thebes, son of Rē, Sesostriś, <given life> like Rē, for ever.'

The text, as Lyons was aware, is almost a duplicate of the published one, after comparison with which it will be seen to have run as follows:

(1) Try-pct, hty-ε, sdwti bity, smr wty, wr n nswt, ε n bity, hry sst(2)w n sdmt wr, wr m iswt-f, ε m sh-f, sr m ht rhyt, (3) imy ib Hr nb ch, mdd wst n smnh sw, sh-n r-ε-f (duplicate stela r-εwy-f) (4) mnh-f, rdi-n nb twy fwt-f, mh ib n nswt m d(5)ir hn, pr-ε m mrwt nb-f, smnh-n mrwt-f (6) st-f, irr hst hs sw, wr ε m pr nswt, imy-r (7) mnft, imy-r hwnw nfrw, imy-r msc wr (?), Rdi . . . Ddw-Intf.

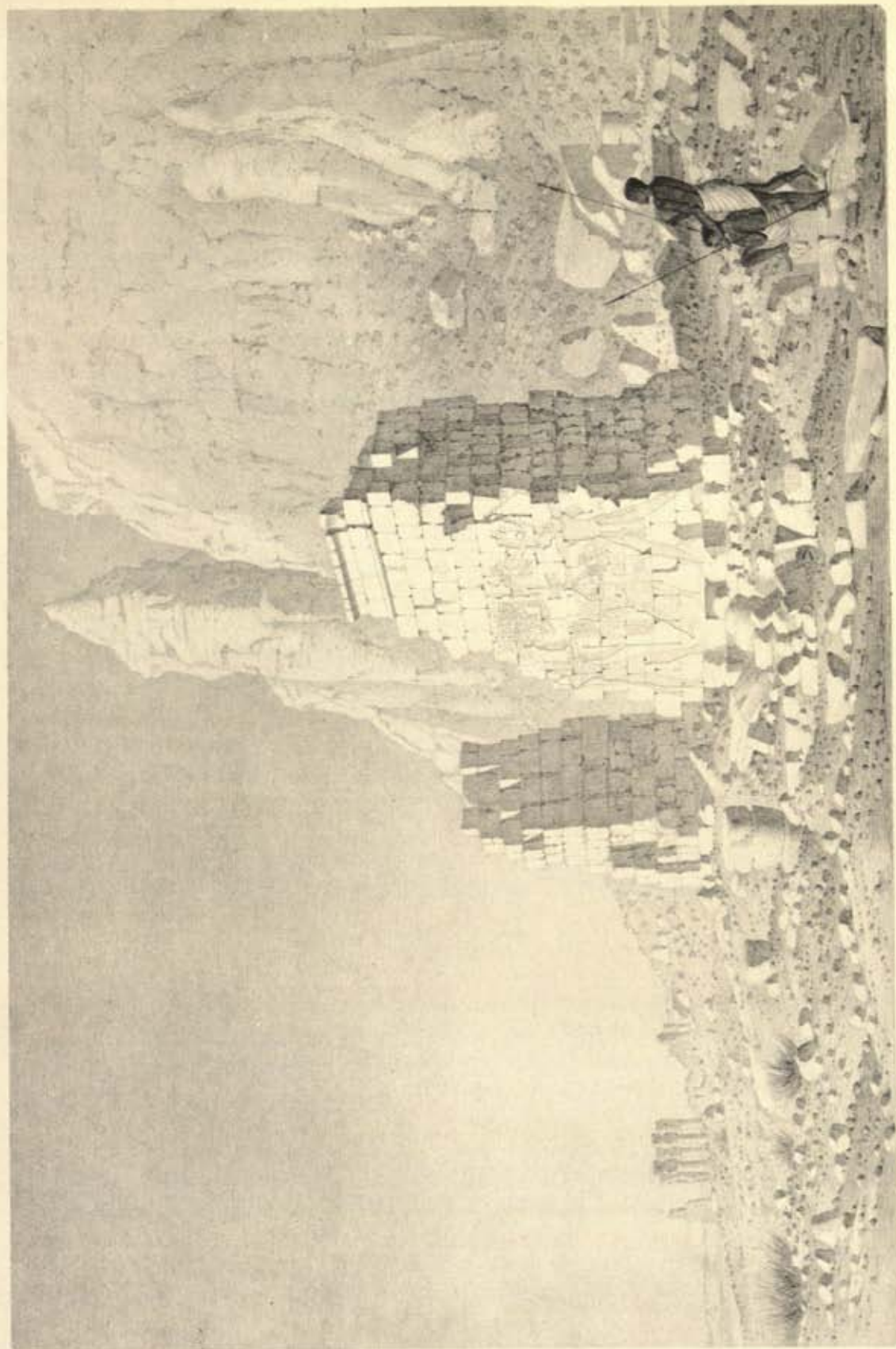
'The Prince, the Governor, the Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, the Sole Companion, the great one of the King of Upper Egypt, the mighty one of the King of Lower Egypt, hierophant of the secrets which only one hears, great in his office, mighty in his dignity, a magistrate at the forefront of the people, the confidant of Horus Lord of the Palace, who adhered to the path of him that made him excellent, whose efficiency his activity laid bare, whose eminence the Lord of the Two Lands granted, the trusted one of the king in quelling the rebellious, a champion in the love of his master, the love of whom made good his position, who always performed the behest of him that favoured him, a very great one in the palace, the commander of the infantry, the commander of the picked troops, the general Redi . . . (?) Deduantef.'

Here most of the mistakes in copying the text (and there are unusually many) are obvious after comparison with the first stela. Unfortunately the identity of the title or name before Deduantef is not elucidated.

D. Reliefs in the Great Temple (B 500) at Napata

(Bankes MSS. Nos. XV A 32 and 36)

In the sanctuary C (Reisner 506) of the Great Temple at Napata there stood a grey granite stand or altar having on the front and back a 'union scene' and on the sides representations of King Taharqa holding up the sky. Schäfer long ago pointed out (*ZAS*, xxxv, 98 ff.) that from the wording of the texts accompanying the reliefs the figures of the king were to be understood as holding up not so much the sky as the shrine and statue of the god that must have stood on the top of the stand. The Bankes papers contain copies made by both Linant and Ricci, as well as a drawing of identical appearance which Bankes, however, annotates as having come from the west wall of the chamber in which the stand was placed. It would seem, therefore, that there was extant at that time a relief on the wall representing the stand. Reisner presumed that the reconstruction of the temple when this chamber was built had been the work of Taharqa (*JEA*, iv, 218, 224), since Taharqa's names appeared on the stand. The discovery that the stand was also represented on the wall indicates that the reconstruction was in fact Taharqa's, and is a useful piece of corroborative evidence.



THE DESTROYED PYLON OF ATLANERSA AND SENKAMANISKÉN AT
NAPATA

from the heads of three small goddesses, Nephthys, Isis, and Tfēnet (?), who stand on the fillet that binds the queen's head. The presence of the last-named goddess seems to render untenable the suggestion that the relationships of the goddesses to Horus denoted the relationships of the wearer to kings. Even if the goddesses in this instance had no particular significance, however, it may be worth suggesting that the plumes, each of which usually springs from an object like a flower calyx, were originally †-signs, and that the number worn on the head corresponded to the number of times that this sign occurred in the titles of the queen.

The upper register, indicated but faintly in the Prudhoe MS., is here drawn in detail. It shows seven priests advancing to the right with ▢-vessels and wearing loin-cloths reaching to a little above the ankles.

Linant's drawing of the pylon, showing the outer face, is reproduced in Pl. X.

F. The broken cartouche and inscription in pyramid Barkal VI

(Bankes MS. No. XV A 10)

The chapel of one of the pyramids at Napata, No. VI according to Reisner's numbering, is the only one of its group to have been plastered and painted in colours and the only one to have preserved the name of its owner. It is unfortunate that by the time the cartouche came to be recorded by Lepsius a portion of its centre part had disappeared, leaving the letters *N. d: mk*, as shown in Pl. iv (No. 77a) of Griffith's *Meroitic Inscriptions*, II, in the preparation of which plate Lepsius's squeeze was used. In the gap Griffith wished to restore the letters *pt*, thus making the name to contain the word 'Napata', though it was doubtful whether the space was in fact large enough to admit two letters.

The scene in which this cartouche occurs¹ was copied in colours by Linant before the cartouche was damaged. He painted the Egyptian-red background of the cartouche but omitted the hieroglyphs, which, however, he pencilled in above the painting. The missing sign and the damaged sign below I have copied and enlarged to the best of my ability (the original is very small), as shown in the accompanying figure.



Evidently the upper sign cannot be the hand \Rightarrow , as at first sight appears, for the hand is not a regular member of the Meroite hieroglyphic alphabet. There seems no alternative but \Rightarrow , which has been copied similarly in other reliefs where its identity is certain. The lower sign has already been satisfactorily identified as \Rightarrow . This gives the complete name as \Rightarrow , for which a satisfactory 'pronounceable' form would be Nalardamak, the sound of \Rightarrow being now recognized as that known to phoneticians as 'flapped r'. Little can be said as to the meaning of the name, except that it contains the word 'god'.

Before the seated Queen Nalardamak on both the south-west and the north-east wall of the chapel stands Prince Yetaretey offering incense. Both walls have had the same

¹ Leps. *Dkm.* v, 19a.

cursive inscription giving his name and titles. That on the south-west wall is numbered 78 in Griffith's edition of the inscriptions, that on the north-east wall 77*b*. In Linant's coloured painting of the north-east wall he has accidentally inserted 78 in the place where actually is 77*b*, but there is an independent copy by Linant of both of these (XV A 43), in which 77*b* is slightly more complete than as shown by Griffith, the large patch on the right having only just begun to fall away. Inscr. 77*b*, after collation with Linant's version drawn in the year 1821, reads:

3 2 1 1 3 // [1 4 5] W 4 5
 3 4 3 : 1 4 5 2 4 8 [: 4] W 4 [W]
 // 2 W 1 1 3 : 1 4 // 2
 : 1 4 // 1 1 3 2 2 : 1 4

G. The Lower Pyramid Field at Barkal

(Bankes MS. No. XV C 5)

No view of this little group of pyramids has ever been published in either drawing or photograph, probably because most of them were early reduced to mounds of rubble. The Bankes MS. drawing (Pl. XI, top), evidently of Linant as it is annotated in French on the back, is of interest because it shows the two small pyramids IX and X almost intact. The largest pyramid, XI, is represented on the left, with the remains of XII beyond. In the centre is IX and on the right X. IX has no visible sign of a chapel remaining, while the mound of rubbish on the south-east side of X, beneath which must have lain the remnants of the chapel indicated by Hoskins on his plan, is in process of being removed by three natives armed with mattocks. 'J'ai fait vider toutes ces chambres', says Linant in his diary, 'pour voir si l'entrée de la pyramide s'y trouvait et pour voir toutes les sculptures, mais je n'ai rien trouvé qui indiqua un passage dans l'intérieur.' The entrances, of course, are in the ground anything up to 50 yards from the faces of the pyramids, and it is doubtless fortunate that they were not discovered until the art of scientific archaeological recording had been developed.

H. The Rock Face at Gebel Barkal

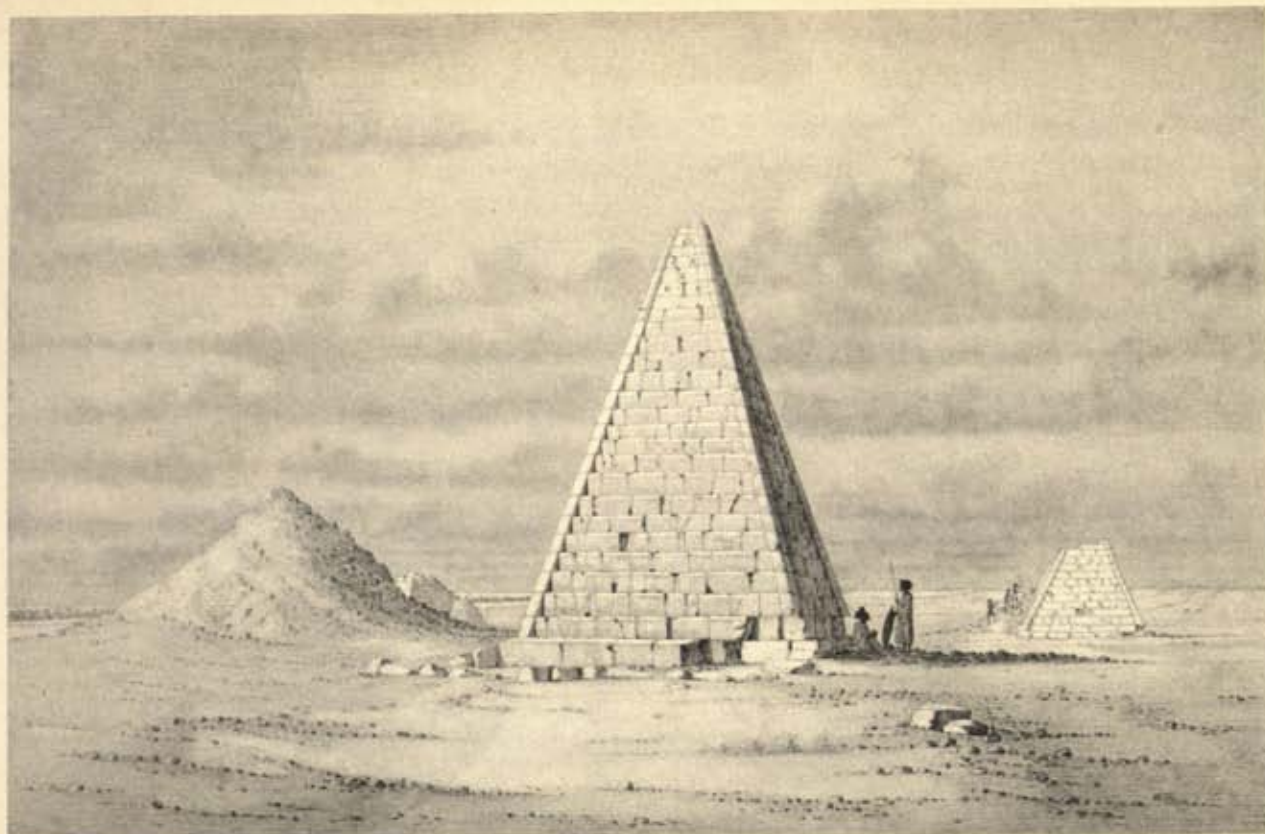
(Bankes MS. No. XV C 10)

An old theory, mentioned by Cailliaud¹ as having had currency in his time, but dismissed somewhat indignantly by him, namely, that the south-east face of Gebel Barkal was once sculptured into colossal figures in the Abu Simbel manner, has recently been revived.² An excellent view of the rock face made by Linant in 1821 (Pl. XI, bottom) is therefore of topical interest. The four pillar-like projections can be clearly seen, but their resemblance to figures is no more marked than in the photograph made by the University of Chicago Egyptian Expedition some eighty-five years later.³

¹ *Voyage à Meroé*, text, III, 200.

² By Major G. Titherington and Mr. A. J. Arkell, see the article by the latter in *The Illustrated London News* for Feb. 15, 1947.

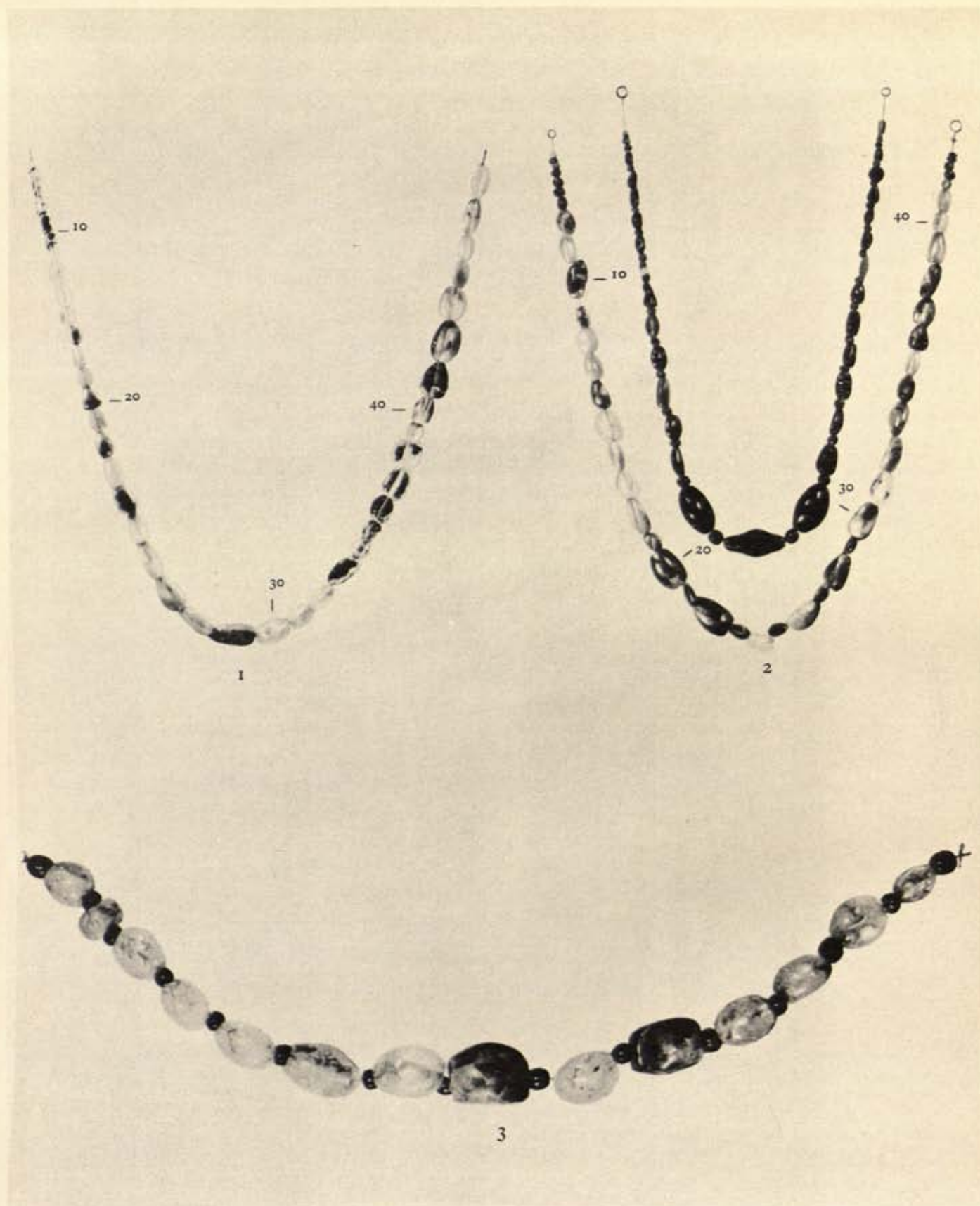
³ *AJSL*, XXV, 31.



PYRAMIDS IN LOWER CEMETERY AT GEBEL BARKAL



THE SOUTHERN FACE OF GEBEL BARKAL



GLAZED QUARTZ BEADS OF THE ROMANO-ARAB PERIOD

GLAZED QUARTZ BEADS OF THE ROMANO-ARAB PERIOD

By EVE DRAY and OLIVER H. MYERS

SIR ROBERT MOND and Oliver H. Myers published in *Temples of Armant*, pp. 129, 133, pl. xxxiii/3, a glazed quartz bead, B. 10/32, which they excavated in the immediate neighbourhood of an old Muslim cemetery at Armant, and attributed to the Islamic period. They admitted the possibility of it being a re-used bead, conceivably of the Late Predynastic period. Glazed crystal is well known in the Archaic periods and continued into the Second Intermediate Period, but no later examples other than this appear to have been recorded. The string of forty-seven beads of the Roman period published here, which includes five examples of glazed quartz, one in imitation of amethyst, was bought at a small dealer's in Cairo in 1941 and is now in the Egyptian collection of University College, London.

The beads are mainly of semi-precious stones and nine are very similar in their shape and crude workmanship to beads which are known to be of Late Roman or Early Byzantine date, mostly the well-known pear-shaped amethyst beads of that time (see Guy Brunton, *Qau and Badari III*, pl. xlvi, beads from tombs 201, 208, 4701, 4707, 5302, &c.). It seems, therefore, reasonable to assume, at least as far as the larger beads are concerned, that they represent a necklace of that period. Even among the smaller beads there seems to be none that would be anachronistic in such a string. Because glazed quartz of this date has never before been noted, and as the string is probably homogeneous, it is worthy of full publication. The individual numbers of the beads refer to Pl. XII, fig. 1, counting from the left, where the necklace is shown by transmitted light. Fig. 2 in the same plate (outer string) shows by reflected light the necklace in the order in which it was bought; for comparison the equivalent numbers are given in the last column of the register. The inner string in this figure is a necklace of Islamic date, also purchased in Cairo, which includes several beads resembling in shape the pear-shaped ones in the outer necklace. It is of an intense deep blue colour.

The method of description used here is that employed by Mond and Myers in *Temples of Armant* and *Cemeteries of Armant I*, where full descriptions of the system employed are given. The colour is classified by the UNESMA colour chart (Messrs. Winsor and Newton), which is a simplification of Prof. Ostwald's colour solid. For the shapes and perforations use has been made of H. Beck, *Classification and Nomenclature of Beads and Pendants*, in *Archaeologia*, LXXVII, 1928, but to the two measurements given by Beck it has been found necessary to add a third, namely, thickness, to differentiate between 'fat' and 'thin' beads. The thickness is the maximum width of the transverse section at right angles to the diameter. The majority of the beads are

irregular in shape and have been typed to the group they most nearly resemble; only the most irregular ones have been mentioned as such in the register.¹

A large number of the typical pear-shaped beads present a transverse section which is not given in Beck's classification; it falls between Divisions I and II and has been given the following Group No. and definition: CVIII, 'Rounded Triangle':—Beads

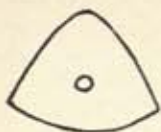


FIG. 1

in which the perimeter is a triangle with convex sides and rounded apex. The 'angles' at the base are usually sharp but may be rounded, see the accompanying fig. 1. The triangle is usually scalene, although the figure shows it isosceles, to conform to the regular shapes in Beck's scheme. There are many variations within this shape which have not been mentioned in the register, e.g. the convexity of the sides is more pronounced in some beads than in others, and the relative height varies with each bead.

It has been found necessary to add one other type which, like CVIII, is a cross

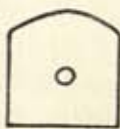


FIG. 2

between the Rounded and Faceted beads, Group CIX, 'Domed Square':—Beads in which the perimeter is three sides of a square surmounted by the arc of a circle (see fig. 2 in text). There is only one example of this type in the string (No. 30). The bottom is flat, while the upright sides are slightly convex.

The longitudinal sections of many beads also show slight variations from Beck's standard forms, notably among the pear-shaped class, 1 g. Most of these variations may be attributed to careless workmanship, but one, found in beads Nos. 27, 28, 29, 37, and 45, seems to be intentional; here the 'shoulder' or widest part of the bead is higher, that is, nearer the centre of the longitudinal section, than in Beck's form. Several of the beads have grooves at one or both ends, made to facilitate centring the drill to perforate the bead. Mr. N. Shiah is of the opinion that this technique is confined between the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and the Byzantine period, though others have placed its beginnings earlier and Myers thinks it continues after the Arab conquest.

Dr. A. F. Hallimond of the Geological Survey and Museum very kindly identified the materials of the beads and examined the glazed and some other specimens under the microscope. We are indebted to him for the information contained in the following notes on individual beads.

No. 7 shows radial bubbles under the microscope showing that the bead was wire-wound.

No. 9 appears under the microscope as an opaque, red-glass bead with patches of olive-green glaze.

No. 34 is glazed to imitate amethyst. The glaze, unevenly distributed in the first place, has also partly worn off and the pitted surface of the quartz is visible under the lens.

No. 35. The glazing of this bead is similar in appearance to No. 34, but blue. When seen under the microscope it is clearly glass on a quartz core.

No. 36 appears to the naked eye to be aquamarine, but under the microscope it is seen to be quartz evenly coated with glass.

¹ The following abbreviations are used in the register:—Gr. = groove at one end, Grs. = groove at each end, P = polished, S = smooth, D = dull, R = rough, Ch. = chipped, Gl. = glazed, M = moulded, Rd. = rubbed down, T = turned, GG = groove ground, † = by transmitted light, * = by reflected light, v. T. = see text. (Almost all stone beads were first chipped to the shape required; in those marked Ch. here the traces of chipping have not been entirely smoothed away by the later processes of manufacture.)

No. 37. The entire surface of the specimen is pitted. The quartz was almost certainly originally glazed, but the glaze has worn off and no trace of colour remains.

No. 39. Some small dark specks are just visible on the surface of the quartz. Seen under the microscope these show as the remains of glaze, possibly of amethyst colour.

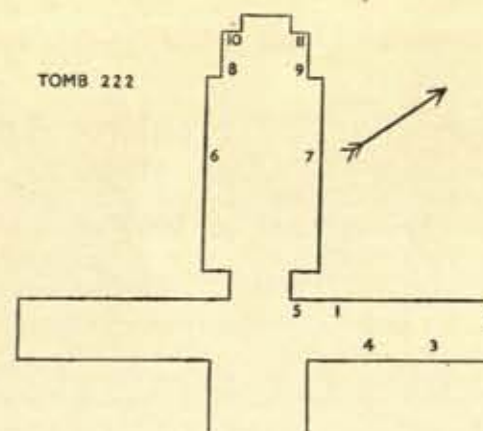
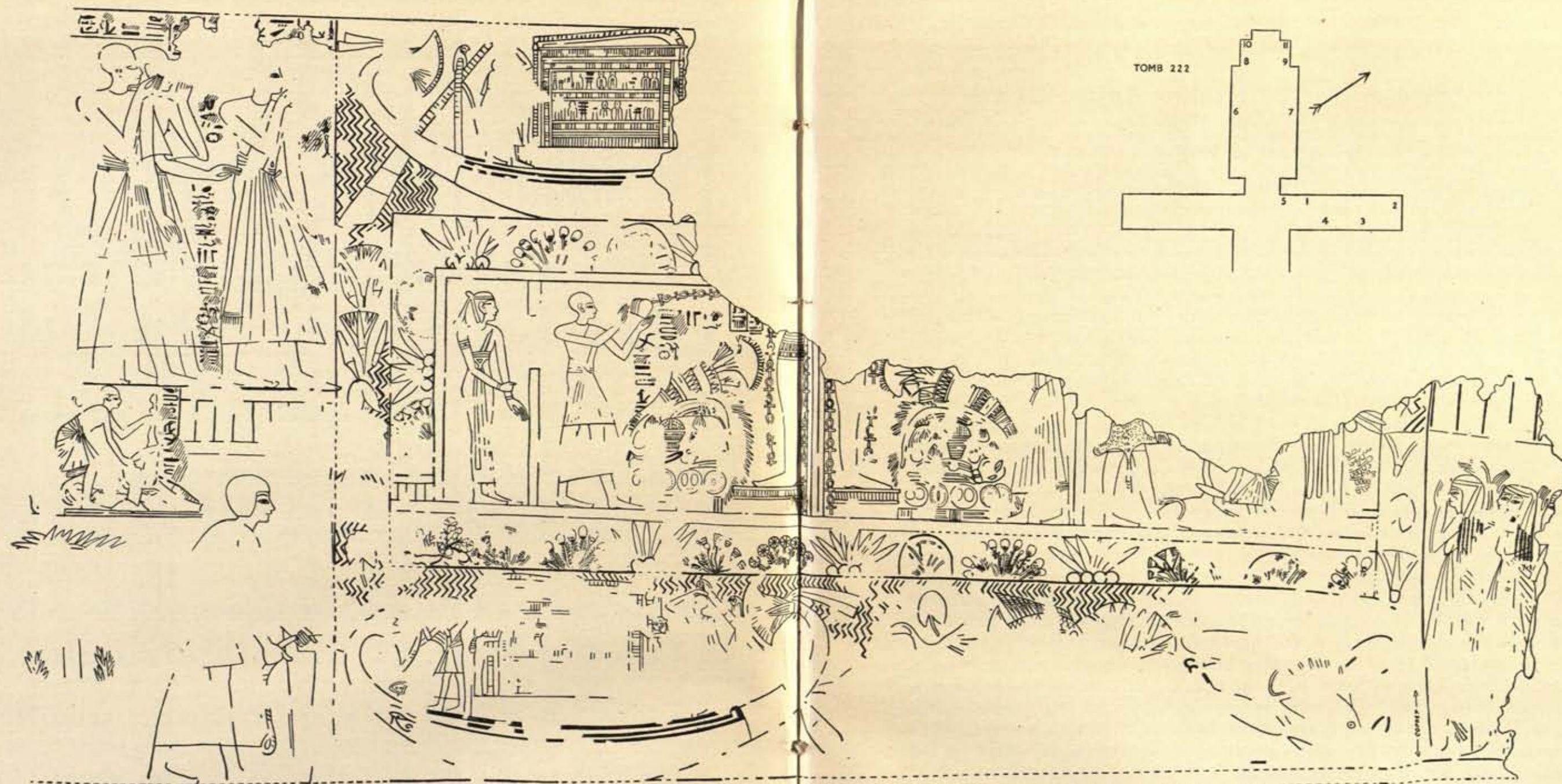
There is a string of glazed quartz beads of the same date in the Gayer-Anderson collection and we are grateful to Mr. F. W. Green and the authorities of the Fitzwilliam Museum for permission to publish this and for kindly supplying the photograph of the string reproduced in Pl. XII, fig. 3. Mr. Green has also kindly sent the following colour description of the quartz beads (omitting the small stone beads altogether), for which he has used Winsor and Newton's specimen washes (published in *Cemeteries of Armant I*, pl. vii); we have added in brackets the Ostwald equivalents:

No. 1 Cobalt green (20 l a) with blue, Nos. 2-4 Terre Verte (24 l g), No. 5 as No. 1, No. 6 Terre Verte, No. 7 Veridian (20.5 l a) but bluer (perhaps 19 l a?), No. 8 Terre Verte, No. 9 Veridian, No. 10 Terre Verte, No. 11 Terre Verte but light, No. 12 Clear quartz, No. 13 Veridian, light, No. 14 Terre Verte.

The Fitzwilliam beads are all of a very green blue, whereas those in the University College string are on the purple side of true blue. It will be seen from the photograph that the beads are on the whole better shaped and finished than those in Pl. XII, fig. 2, and that, with the possible exception of No. 6, the pear shape is missing. Nos. 8 and 10 appear to resemble closely in shape No. 30 of the U.C.L. necklace and almost certainly belong to Group CIX.

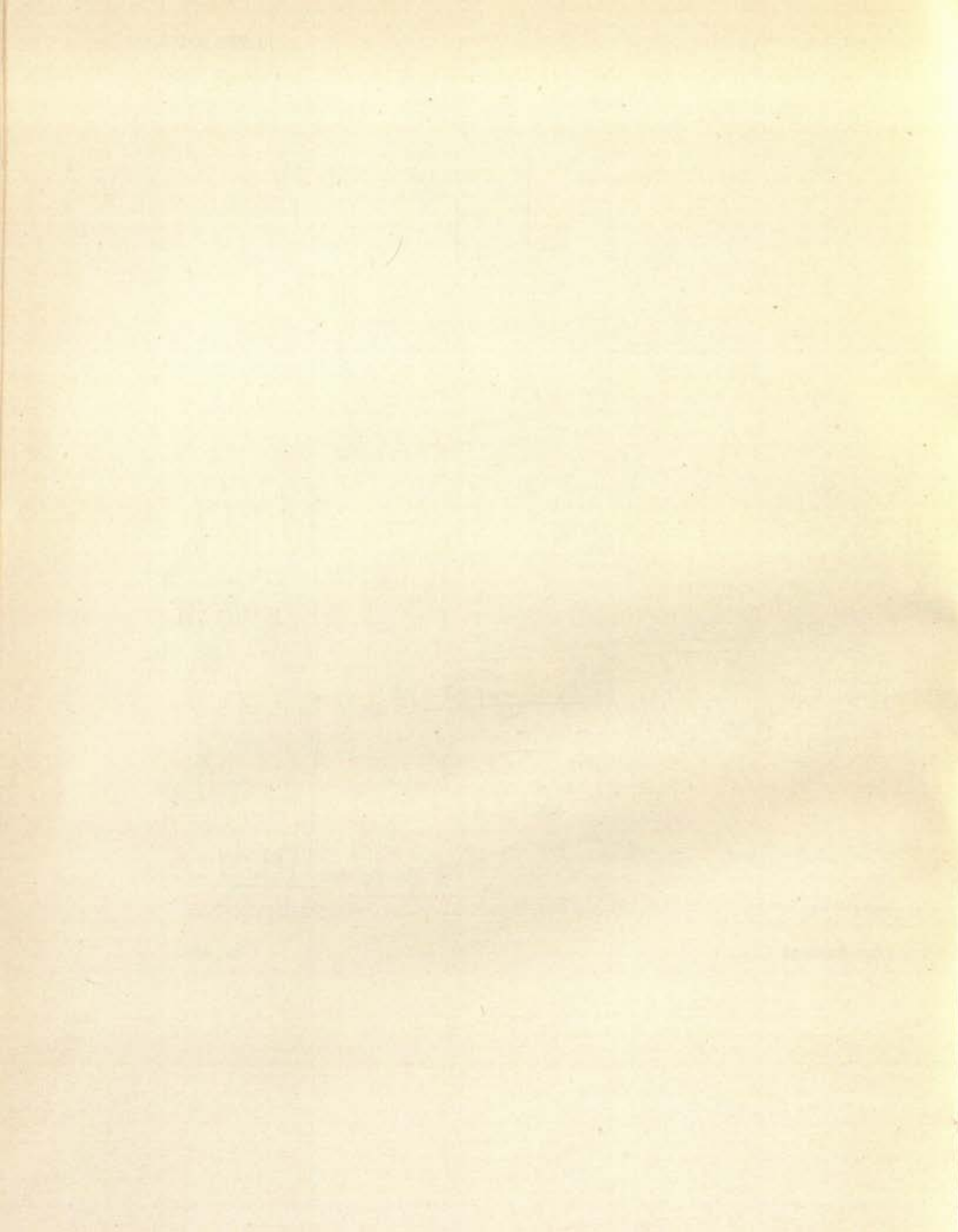
A tentative hypothesis may now be put forward with regard to this curious reappearance in bead manufacture of the technique of glazing quartz. During the Late Roman or Early Byzantine period the process was rediscovered, perhaps as the result of an old glazed bead from tomb robberies coming into the hands of an enterprising craftsman. It was employed to imitate amethyst which may have run short just when the discovery was made. The amethyst glaze did not, however, give very brilliant results and the blue glaze, resembling aquamarine, became more popular and continued into the Early Islamic period. Later in this period the manufacture of clear glass beads reached its peak, some lovely work being known, and these replaced the expensive glazed quartz, the pear shape being retained for some beads. The hypothesis needs further evidence for its confirmation (or denial), and possibly there are other examples of these beads in collections which have remained unpublished and to which it is hoped this note may draw attention. Such revivals of a dead craft are known, in Egypt particularly in the Saite period, but they are sufficiently rare to be of considerable interest to those concerned with the subject and unless recorded may sometimes lead to serious misdating, especially of unstratified material.

Bead No. (Pl. XII, fig. 1)	Shape	Dimensions		Perforation		Finish		Manufacture	Material	Colour	Notes on Shape	Pl. XII fig. 2 No.
		Length	Diameter	Thickness	Beck	Note	Surface	Ends				
1	IB1b	0.3	0.425	0.4	VIb	..	G l.	..	Faience	3 p c	..	1
2	IB2b	0.15	0.35	0.35	VII	..	Worn	..	"	5 p n	..	47
3	IB4fb	0.3	0.55	0.55	V	..	Shiny	..	Glass	6 p g	..	45
4	IC1a	0.55	0.6	0.6	IV	..	Shiny	..	"	101c	Regular	5
5	IC1a	0.5	0.5	0.5	..	..	..	..	"	10nc	"	44
6	IB2b	0.3	0.4	0.4	IV	..	..	..	"	181c	..	3
7	IB4fb	0.5	0.6	0.6	IV	..	Striated	..	"	81c	..	6
8	IB1a	0.275	0.5	0.45	VIa	..	Pitted	..	"	9nc	..	2
9	IB1b	0.7	0.55	0.5	IV	..	..	..	"	23plon	..	7
10	IB1e	0.2	0.5	0.45	III	Gr.	Ch.	S	Garnet	8pe	Very irregular	46
11	IB1a	0.45	0.65	0.6	III	Gr.	S	S	"	6nc	..	43
12	IB1a	0.45	0.55	0.55	III	Gr.	S	D	"	7pc	..	4
13	IC1e	0.55	0.6	0.6	IV	..	S	D	Amethyst	"	1a intended?	42
14	CVIII D1b	1.15	0.9	0.45	II	..	P	D	"	11gc	Edges of base bevelled	21
15	IV D1b	1.2	0.95	0.6	II	..	D. pitted	D	"	111c	Sharp edged	41
16	III C1a	1.125	0.95	0.6	II	..	S	S	"	111c	"	19
17	CVIII D1g	0.975	0.8	0.525	II	..	P. Ch.	D	"	11nc	..	29
18	CVIII D1g	1.125	0.9	0.475	II	..	S. Ch.	D	"	11gc	..	27
19	CVIII D1g	1.075	0.95	0.7	II	..	S	D	"	111c	..	25
20	IV C1g	1.075	1.1	0.75	II	..	S. Ch.	D	"	111c	Sharp edged	23
21	IV D1g	1.275	1.125	0.75	II	..	S. Ch.	D	"	111c	"	36
22	CVIII D1g	1.45	1.1	0.925	II	..	S. Ch.	D	"	111c	..	34
23	CVIII D1b	1.6	1.15	0.825	II	..	S. Ch.	R	"	11gc	..	16
24	IV D1g	1.65	1.25	0.95	II	Gr.	S. Ch.	D	"	111c	Sharp edged	14
25	IV D1g	1.625	1.125	0.7	II	..	S. Ch.	D	"	10ec	Sharp edged	39
26	CVIII D1g	2.05	1.3	0.95	II	..	P	R	"	Cloudy to	..	30
27	CVIII D1g	1.95	1.575	1.05	II	..	S. Ch.	D	"	111c	Rounded 'angles'	26
28	CVIII D1g	2.075	1.3	0.9	II	..	S	D	"	11ca	..	18
29	IV D1g	2.35	1.55	1.1	II	..	S	D	"	11gc	..	22
30	CIX D1b	1.95	1.2	0.95	I	Gr.	P	S	"	11ne	Sharp edged (One dead end perforation)	32
31	XIII D1b	1.4	1.175	1.1	II	Gr.	S	S. Ch.	"	101e	Sides irregular in size	12
32	ID1b	1.6	1.0	1.0	II	..	D	R	"	11gc	..	9
33	LA 2	1.675	1.15	0.8	II	..	Highly P uneven	P	"	11pa	(Perforations barely connect)	10
34	XIII D1a	1.2	1.0	0.95	II	..	GL	GL	Gl. Quartz	101c	Blunt	8
35	IX D1a	1.15	0.875	0.825	II	Gr.	uneven	GL	"	141a on	Blunt edged	11
36	CVIII D1a	1.5	1.2	0.775	II	..	GL	GL	"	141a	Very irregular. Rounded	37
37	CVIII D1g	1.9	1.4	0.975	II	Gr.	decayed P	decayed P	Quartz	Clear	'angles'	31
38	III B1b	1.4	1.6	0.8	III	..	..	..	"	"	Rounded 'angles'	24
39	XD1b	1.075	0.875	0.5	III	Gr.	S. Ch.	D	Gl. Quartz	"	Sides flattened. (One dead end perforation)	40
40	CVIII D1g	1.55	1.25	0.85	II	..	S	D	Quartz	"	Edges rounded	17
41	CVIII D1g	1.875	1.55	0.725	V	..	P	D	"	3ea	..	28
42	IV D1a	2.25	1.525	1.0	II	..	S	S. Ch.	Calcedony	4na	Very irregular	20
43	CVIII D1a	1.75	1.55	0.95	II	..	S	S	Agate	4ga to	Sharp edged	15
44	CVIII D1g	1.45	1.0	0.8	II	..	S	S	Calcedony	14ec	..	13
45	CVIII D1g	1.425	1.125	0.75	II	Gr.	S	S	"	3pcf	..	35
46	ID1b	1.9	0.95	0.875	II	Gr.	P. Ch.	Ch.	Agate	14ca to	Slightly flattened	38
47	CVIII D1a	1.7	1.2	0.875	I	..	P. Ch.	Ch.	Calcedony	3ea	Very irregular, Rounded 'angles'	33



Scale 1:5

FUNERARY RITES FROM TOMB NO. 222 AT THEBES



AN UNUSUAL DEPICTION OF RAMESSIDE FUNERARY RITES

By NINA M. DAVIES¹

THE wall-painting reproduced in Pl. XIII, whilst wholly conventional in its subjects, displays certain details and peculiarities of treatment that are, so far as my knowledge goes, unique.

The centre is occupied by three separate scenes of which that in the middle and that on the left are nearly identical, though facing in opposite directions; here the mummy of the deceased, who is described as *the overseer of prophets Turo*, receives libations and elaborate offerings from a man identified on the left by the words *his son, the first prophet of Mont, lord of Thebes, Pnebmont*, and in this case, though not in the middle, a female figure simulating the goddess Isis stands behind holding her left arm with her right hand; an unusual feature is the stream of *ankh* signs² symbolizing at once the water with which the mummy is being sprinkled and also directly representing the life-restoring properties thereof. The third scene shows an attendant cutting up a sacrificial ox in front of the *setem*-priest, and is bounded, like the scene on the left, by a female figure who this time was possibly conceived of as Nephthys, the second of the two sisters constantly attendant upon the dead Osiris as mourners.

All these incidents—and this is the principal peculiarity of the composition—take place within a building which is approached by steps and which appears to have been on an island, since water filled with lotuses and other water-plants surrounds it on every side. Upon the water floats a boat bearing the elaborate catafalque which contained the coffin; at bottom this boat is in the act of being fastened to the mooring-post ¶ by an attendant, so that we must probably interpret the similar representation at the top as the same boat at the moment of setting forth to the island from the river-bank. Here are portrayed for our benefit the principal male mourners in the funeral procession. At their head is *his brother To*, perhaps a member of the priesthood of Medinet Habu.³ Behind To are two other dignitaries, one of them doubtless a prophet of Mont at Tōd (*Drty*) and the other, *his son of his body beloved of him, the first prophet of Mont, [lord of] Thebes Pnebmont*, whose acquaintance we have already made. Mentioned also, but not depicted, is a servant named Shed, and there is a second representation of the slaughtering of an ox, the butcher here bearing the same name as his dead master's son, the high-priest of the Theban Mont just mentioned. To the right of

¹ The scene was traced by Norman de G. Davies and notes on other parts of the tomb were made by him. I have prepared the tracing and notes for publication with the aid of Dr. A. H. Gardiner.

² A man (not a mummy), over whom six rows of *ankhs* flow from above is shown in a usurped Middle Kingdom pillared tomb lying open high up on the hill of Sheikh 'Abd el-Kurnah. It is, I believe, unnumbered. The scenes are late Ramesside in style.

³ The lost title ends with the word *[n]ḥ*, perhaps the last element in the name of Ramesses III's funerary temple *Hnmt-[n]ḥ* 'United with Eternity'.

the entire picture are the remains of a group of mourning women similar to that of which the tomb of the Vizier Ramose provides one of the earliest examples.¹

The picture above described is the only one of interest in the much-damaged and burnt tomb of Ḥekma'rē'nakhte surnamed Turo at Kurnet Murrai (No. 222), and occupied the north wall of the passage. The owner must, from his name, have lived under or been born in the reign of Ramesses IV, and he, like his son, was a first prophet of Mont, presumably the Theban deity of that name.

The tomb appears to have been usurped by Ḥekma'rē'nakhte, since parts of the burial scenes on the north wall of the passage are in the style of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The plan (see the Plate) is that of a vaulted chamber the ceiling of which has a recessed axis and a raised bay to north and south. This opens into a passage leading up to the shrine, at the back of which is a niche. A brief summary of the scenes (cut about by thieves and much blackened by fires) is as follows:

At 1 Ramesses III (with both his cartouches) is seated → in a kiosk; a fan-bearer and other officials approach him.

At 2, in the upper register are sacred barks in shrines. The deceased offers to a king ← accompanied by his two cartouches, probably those of Ramesses IV.

At 3-4, upper register: four scenes of deceased offering to divinities in shrines; a priest is in front of him. Lower register: a son, Userhēt,² offers to his parents.

The south bay is practically destroyed. A fragment of painted ceiling, now on the ground, shows a fine design similar to that of tomb No. 68 (see *Anct. Egypt. Paintings*, pl. civ).

At 5, on the outer jamb of the entrance to the passage, is a dressed *dad*.

At 6, in the passage, the top and second registers show the 'Book of Gates'. In the third register is a funeral procession showing one naos drawn by men and another drawn by oxen. A priest of Sokar wears a dress decorated with red spots. Close to the ground is another register of mourners.

At 7 the two upper registers depict burial rites ← (some clearly of Eighteenth Dynasty origin), culminating in a goddess ←, false doors, and 'Fields of Yalu'—all very much destroyed. In the third register is the scene here illustrated which is better preserved and bears traces of colour. To the left of it a man and woman → offer a libation on either side of a bed under a canopy; beneath the bed are canopic jars; a goddess sits to right and left outside the canopy. On the right of this, men facing → carry a naos on their shoulders which may be that which appears on the boats. A gap follows and then come the male mourners in our picture. There is again a sub-scene where men are offering on either side of a canopied bed similar to that above.

In the shrine, at 8, the deceased and his wife → adore Osiris. The man wears a fine *setem*-priest's robe decorated with cartouches; a woman is seated →.

At 9 Ḥekma'rē'nakhte adores Ptah, and at 10 and 11 he worships on each side of a framed niche which probably once contained statues of the deceased pair.

¹ Rarely, however, such groups may be found in the Old Kingdom (tomb of Mereruka), and there is one at the beginning of Dyn. XVIII in the tomb of Menkheper (No. 79), see *Werbrouck, Les Pleureuses*, pls. i and iv.

² I am indebted to Miss Moss for this name.

THE INSTRUCTION ADDRESSED TO KAGEMNI AND HIS BRETHREN

By ALAN H. GARDINER

THE present article is inspired by one on the same subject published by A. Scharff in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* for 1941-2 (LXXVII, 13 ff.). This gives a new German version, accompanied by painstaking grammatical and exegetic notes, of the short and fragmentary composition which precedes the lengthier and better-known *Instruction of the Vizier Ptahhotpe* in the Prisse papyrus belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. My first impulse was to summarize Scharff's results for English readers, but nothing short of a full translation of his essay could have done it justice. For such an undertaking I had no authority, and also, the more I reflected upon the matter, the clearer it became to me that, however closely our opinions agree about the general sense of the text, in points of detail our interpretative preferences differ widely. For this reason I have decided to print a new rendering of my own, adding a transcription from the original hieratic¹ written out in the beautiful hieroglyphic handwriting which Egyptologists have learned to recognize as the work of Mrs. Smither (Pl. XIV).

If ever the relevant volume of the *Zeitschrift* becomes accessible to English students, they will find it interesting, though somewhat disconcerting, to compare Scharff's translation with mine. It will be seen that wherever a concrete situation is being described, as in the concluding narrative passage, our renderings are practically identical. On the other hand, in the moralizing opening lines, though there is but little divergence between us as regards the grammar, our conception of the sense shows considerable discrepancies. Whereas in my opinion the sage is preaching that a timid, retiring, taciturn nature finds the road open to free, unimpeded life, Scharff maintains that he is merely characterizing the truly virtuous man, whose chief merit is his ability to keep silence; hence he translates *sndw*, literally 'the fearing one', as *der Ehrfürchtige* ('the reverential'), and *mt(y)*, which appears to me always to contain a suggestion of balance, moderation, the middle road, as *der Zuverlässige* ('the trustworthy'); for Scharff 'opened is the tent of the silent one' signifies that such a man has to be coaxed into speech, after which, however, he finds himself contented (*hr*) and goes on talking without embarrassment.² In the foregoing paragraph I have used the phrase 'interpretative preferences', since although I have some confidence in the superiority of my own version, I have to

¹ A photographic facsimile will be found in G. Jéquier, *Le Papyrus Prisse*, pl. 1, but I have used direct photographs given me by Spiegelberg. The transcription by Griffith in *Proc. S.B.A.* XIII, 67 ff. is almost faultless, but having been published in 1890 does not conform to the conventions adopted by most recent scholars.

² 'Das Zelt (*hn*) des Schweigsamen muss erst geöffnet werden, d. h. sein Mund muss erst zum Reden gebracht werden, dann aber ergeht sich der Mund des Zufriedenen, d. h. etwa des in sich Gefestigten, frei in Reden.'


I

[illegible]

II

[illegible]

1.3* The scribe of *Prise* consistently assimilates the det. of *hms* to that of *msi*, cf. 1,8; 2,7; 5,2 for *hms*, 5,5,6; 19,1 for *msi*. 1.4^a Ligature in which the lower sign resembles α rather than \ominus . ^b For α as often in M.K. *hioratic*, Möller, I, No. 106. ^c So again 1,8; hardly a donkey as Möller I, No. 103, Wb. and Schaff.

1.5^a Marc., so must be emended into $\overline{\eta}$. 1.9^a Small like α , but presumably for ω . 1.10^a Emend into $\overline{\omega}$ as in Prisse 6.11. ^b Crowded in to keep the ends of the lines level;  certain, though not recognized hitherto.

1.11^a Unknown word; the phonetic det. $\frac{1}{2}$ demands the reading ftr. 1.12^a See Prisse 12, 8 and Müller I, No. 144 for similar forms.

2.7^a // seems certain. 2.9^a Long like mm, doubtless a mistake.

though very liable to error in detail, nevertheless at the worst give a roughly adequate idea of what the ancient author intended; we may not grasp his exact thought, indeed at times we may go seriously astray, but at least we shall have circumscribed the area within which his meaning lay, and with that achievement we must rest content.

Though this little essay of mine fails to provide those discussions of word-meaning that I recommend, and though I have been somewhat sparing in footnotes, it may help by stimulating others to a more profound investigation. In conclusion let me add that I have taken the opportunity of consulting the earlier translations by Griffith,¹ Gunn,² and Erman,³ occasionally with profit.

TRANSLATION

... the timid man prospers, praised is the moderate, open the tent of the silent, wide the place of the contented. Speak not (overmuch). Keen are knives against him whose path goes astray. There is no speedy advance except⁴ at its (proper) time.

If thou sit with a company, eschew the food thou lovest. Self-denial is (but for) a little moment. Base is gluttony and one points the finger at it. A cup of water quenches thirst, a mouthful of herbs fortifies the heart. (A single) good thing⁵ serves in place of good cheer, a mere trifle serves in place of much. Vile is he whose belly is voracious; time passes and he has forgotten those in whose house the belly comported itself over-freely.

If thou sit with a glutton, eat thou when his fever of appetite⁶ is past. If thou drink with a drunkard, partake thou, and his heart will be content.⁷ Be not bad-tempered concerning meat in company with one greedy,⁸ (but) take (what) he may give thee.⁹ Reject it not; then that will soothe. The man free from reproach (in the matter) of food,¹⁰ no word can prevail against him, (but) the face is powerless (?) over against one stolid (?).¹¹ Kind unto him is one who is harsh¹² (even) to his (own) mother. All mankind are his servants.

Let thy name go forth, while thou art silent with thy mouth,¹³ so that thou mayst be summoned.¹⁴

¹ In the article quoted above, p. 71, n. 1. Griffith published also a revised and better translation in *A Library of the World's best Literature* (New York, 1897), pp. 5327 ff.

The Instruction of Ptah-hotep and the Instruction of Ke'gemni, 2nd ed., 1912, pp. 62 ff.

² *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, translated by A. M. Blackman, pp. 66 f. Also there are some valuable notes, including a certain explanation of 1, 7 overlooked by his predecessors, in Sethe's *Erläuterungen zu den Ägyptischen Lesestücken*, pp. 59 ff.

³ Sæve-Soderbergh, in his otherwise admirable *Einige ägyptische Denkmäler in Schweden*, 12 ff. disputes, I am convinced wrongly, this meaning given to *n is* by Gunn and accepted in my *Egn. Gr.*, §§ 209, 216. See, too, Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, § 550, 4, b.

⁴ Scharff, following Lange as reported by Volten, *Studien zum Weisheitsbuch des Anii*, 122, connects *nfryt* here with *nfryt* 'end', and renders *Überreste*. In my opinion the earlier renderings by Gunn, Erman, and Sethe are vastly superior.

⁵ The ἀπαξ λεγόμενον *ihf* may well be connected with the likewise unique *ihfhf*, of the eye, parallel to *id* and determined with *ih* (Lacau, *Textes religieux*, LVII).

⁶ As I now believe, wrongly translated by me, *Egn. Gr.*, p. 248, top, since there is no strong contrast as there affirmed; *iw* properly 'is', not 'will be' (*wmm*), but the latter sense was probably intended.

⁷ *Skn*, see Vogelsang, op. cit., p. 146; another example probably Petrie, *Abydos III*, pl. 29.

⁸ Certainly to be emended into *dit-f*, as in Prisse 6, 11; Sethe and Scharff suggest this, but only as an alternative.

⁹ The reading $\overline{\text{0}}_{111}$ has not been recognized hitherto, but may be regarded as well-nigh certain. It does away with the necessity, felt by Scharff, of postulating a large lacuna in this neighbourhood.

¹⁰ *Htr* and *df* are unknown words and my suggested rendering is a sheer guess.

¹¹ *Khs*, see above in the text. ¹² *Egn. Gr.*, p. 388, n. 7. ¹³ I.e. perhaps, called to high office or to Court.

Vaunt not thyself on account of might in the midst of thy contemporaries. Beware lest thou set thyself in opposition. One knows not what may happen, or what God doeth when he punisheth.

Then the Vizier caused these his children to be summoned, after he had gained full knowledge of the manner of men, their character coming (clearly) before him.¹ In the end he said: All that is written in this book, hearken to it (even) as I have said it. Exceed² not beyond what has been ordained. Then they cast themselves upon their bellies, and they recited it aloud according to what was in writing, and it was beautiful in their hearts beyond everything that is in this entire land. So they proceeded to live accordingly.

Thereupon the King of Upper and Lower Egypt died, and the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Snofru was exalted as beneficent king in this entire land. And Kagemni was set as overseer of the (pyramid-)town and vizier.

FINIS

Scharff, like Griffith before him, has seen that the *Instruction addressed to Kagemni* must, when complete, have presented much the same structure as the *Instruction of Ptahhotpe*. But I cannot find any ground for the supposition that 1, 1-3 belong to the general introduction which in the latter composition precedes the maxims proper.³ That generalizations are contained in those lines is, of course, beyond all question, but they may quite well have formed the conclusion of a maxim concerning the specific sense of which we can make only worthless guesses. Scharff, following Jéquier, conjectures that in 1, 10 or 1, 11 there is a great omission on the part of the scribe; but if my new reading at the end of 1, 10 be correct, all the sentences down to *bw-nb* in 1, 12 will belong to the maxims concerning behaviour at meals, and the epilogue⁴ will begin with *imi pr rn-k* in that line.

At one point, namely in the epilogue just mentioned, Scharff has rightly observed that the author is inculcating that middle path which seems to have been the ideal of these earliest sages. But I find the call to suppression of self, to modesty, and to moderation permeating the book even more completely than Scharff has perceived. Note that the four words *snḏw*, *mt(y)*, *gr*, and *hr* in the first two lines all have a privative implication—lack of overboldness, of exceeding the norm, of talkativeness, and of discontent. In the two specific maxims the same thought prevails: the Vizier's children are charged to subordinate their own desires and inclinations to those with whom they eat and drink. The epilogue appears to begin with the counsel to let one's reputation reap its own reward without superfluous boasting or argument; and the last words hint that men are in the hand of God, who may well punish self-assertiveness.

¹ This sentence is discussed in my *Admonitions*, p. 107, n. 1. To what is said there I have only to add that the stem of *crk* suggests completion, and that the meaning 'gain full knowledge of' suits all the contexts known to me.

² For *sn* one would have expected the det. Δ .

³ Dévaud 42-50 = *Prisse*, 5, 6-8.

⁴ In the *Instruction of Ptahhotpe* this section is represented by Dévaud, 507-636 = *Prisse*, 15, 8-19, 6.

THE CONSECRATION OF AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE ACCORDING TO THE USE OF EDFU

By A. M. BLACKMAN and H. W. FAIRMAN

THE two texts which are the subject of this article form part of the frieze-decoration on the exterior of the east and west walls of the Outer Hypostyle Hall of the temple of Horus at Edfu, ^a Text I being on the west, and Text II on the east, wall. ^b Published as long ago as 1929 in Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, ^c IV, 330-1, they have never, so far as we are aware, been translated or commented upon. In fact, despite their interesting content, they seem to have entirely escaped the notice of scholars, apart from a reference by us ^d to the significant words $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\text{—}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\text{𓂏}$, 'Opening the Mouth of Throne-of-the-Protector-of-his-Father' (i.e. of Edfu temple), in Text II. Recognizing their important bearing on at least one Egyptian belief, we have long been anxious to remedy this neglect, and we hope that the following study of the two texts will be of some value, not only to students of the religious beliefs and practices of the ancient Egyptians, but to scholars working in the wider field of comparative religion.

It will be seen that we have made great use of the late Sir E. A. Wallis Budge's *The Book of Opening the Mouth*.^e This we have done not without good reason, for the work in question is not only, like all that scholar's publications, admirably written and full of useful references, but likely to be more accessible to many readers of the *Journal* than Schiaparelli's *Il Libro dei Funerali*.^f

In the translation and commentary contained in volume I of his work Budge divides the Rite of Opening the Mouth into twenty-nine Ceremonies,^g an arrangement we have found very convenient in dealing with the captions that form the main content of our two texts. But here we must warn the reader who is not an Egyptologist that Budge's translation is frequently inaccurate and misleading. However, since in this article we are more concerned with the designations and order of the ceremonies composing the rite than with the formulae which would have followed the captions in a full or fuller version of it, we felt that for convenience sake these disadvantages could be disregarded. Nevertheless, to save the Egyptologist, who may require them, undue trouble, we have inserted, wherever we have thought it expedient to do so, the appropriate references to Schiaparelli's above-mentioned work and also to Dümichen's *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap*,^h immediately after citing Budge's more popular publication.ⁱ It should here be stated that the Rite of Opening the Mouth is described

^a Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, VI, 156, (288)–(289); 157, (297)–(300).

^b See *ibid.*, 130, plan.

^c Hereafter referred to as *E.*; see *JEA* XXVIII, 32, n. 1.

^d In *JEA* XXVIII, 38, n. 2.

^e 2 vols., London, 1909.

^f 3 vols., Turin, 1882–90.

^g Regularly referred to hereafter as Ceremony I, II, III, etc., without mention of author or volume.

^h 3 vols., Leipzig, 1884–6.

ⁱ Note that the three works in question are hereafter referred to as Budge, I and II; Schiaparelli, I, etc.; Dümichen, I, etc. Furthermore Moret, *Rit.* = Moret, *Rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, and Mar., *Abyd.* I = Mariette, *Abydos*, I.

and discussed in some detail by Gardiner in Davies-Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, 57 ff., by Blackman, *JEA* x, 53 ff. (see also op. cit. v, 159 ff.), and by Baly, op. cit. xvi, 173 ff.

The captions in Text I are referred to as Caption I. 1, etc., those in Text II as Caption II. 1, etc. The notes indicated by numerals are those composing the Commentary. Footnotes are indicated by letters of the alphabet. The numerals in square brackets denote the pages and lines in Chassinat's publication.

TRANSLATION

TEXT I

[330, 12] (Long) live the Good God, who makes a memorial [in]¹ Behdet, constructs the Great Seat of Harakhti,² completes³ the Sanctuary of the Holy Winged Orb, and adorns [the Mansion]⁴ [330, 13] of Horus of the Horus-gods, (even he) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Heir-of-the-Beneficent-God-and-of-the-Goddess-who-loves-her-Mother-the-Saviour-Goddess-Chosen-of-Ptah-Justiciar-of-Rē-Living-Similitude-of-Amūn).⁵

[330, 14] The Great Seat of Rē is built to perfection,⁶ the temple is noble with girdle-wall on all four sides thereof,⁷ which He-who-is-South-of-his-Wall has fashioned [330, 15] and the Creator-gods have created.⁸

EXCERPTS FROM THE DIRECTORY⁹ OF A MASTER OF THE CEREMONIES:^a 1. Supervision of the rite by the Lord of Hermopolis.¹⁰ 2. Asperging¹¹ with the nmst-ewers and red pitchers.¹² 3. Substance of the god.¹³ 4. Incense on the fire.¹⁴ 5. Touching the mouth and eyes: arraying [331, 1] in the head-cloth.¹⁵ 6. Presenting oil.¹⁶ 7. Putting on the holy raiment.¹⁷ 8. Proffering the broad-collar.¹⁸ 9. Salutation with the nmst-ewer.¹⁹ 10. Chanting²⁰ beatifications.²¹ 11. Presenting the requirements of the offering-table.²² 12. Censing [331, 2] the Uraeus-goddess and the gods and goddesses.²³ 13. Adoring Rē.²⁴ 14. Summoning the gods.²⁵ 15. Rē shines forth having united with Maet and Maet having united with his brow.²⁶ 16. Reciting²⁷ [331, 3] the htp-di-nsw-formula.²⁸ 17. Setting the meal in order upon the altar.²⁹ 18. Purifying the sanctuary and cleansing the temple.³⁰ 19. Rewarding its craftsmen from the oblation³¹ and gladdening their hearts [331, 4] with largess (3wt-ε). 20. Ceding the Great Seat by His Majesty to its lord.³²

Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, may he show favour to his son, his beloved, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt [331, 5] (Heir-of-the-Beneficent-God-and-of-the-Goddess-who-loves-her-Mother-the-Saviour-Goddess-Chosen-of-Ptah-Justiciar-of-Rē-Living-Similitude-of-Amūn), for his handiwork and reward him with life, stability, and happiness upon the Throne of Horus at the head of the living for ever.

TEXT II

[331, 7] (Long) live the Good God, who fashions [a memorial] in Mesen,³³ brightens the Great Seat with his beauty, constructs [the Mansion-of-the-Falcon of]³⁴ the Falcon of Gold, and confers benefactions on the Lord of the Sky, [331, 8] (even he) the Son of Rē, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), given life.

^a See below, p. 85 f.

[331, 9] *To be spoken: Wetjset-Hor of the Falcon of Gold, the temple of Rē, it is complete with a girdle-wall,³⁵ the (very) spit of Shu,³⁶ fashioned by [331, 10] the Lusty Bull.³⁷*

EXCERPTS FROM THE DIRECTORY OF A MASTER OF THE CEREMONIES (*continued*): 1. *Purification by the Lords of Purification*.³⁸ 2. *Ptah takes his chisel to open the mouth and Seker uncloses the eyes*.³⁹ 3. *Taking the Sorcerer*.⁴⁰ 4. *Presenting the finger of fine gold*.⁴¹ 5. *Proffering [331, 11] the Copper Adze of Anubis*.⁴² 6. *Ushering in the Courtiers: opening the eyes with their adze and touching the mouth with the four slabs*.⁴³ 7. *Beheading a smn-goose and [331, 12] decapitating a goat*.⁴⁴ 8. *Pointing at*⁴⁵ *an Upper Egyptian male ox*.⁴⁶ 9. *Slaughtering long-horned cattle*⁴⁷ *and strangling geese*.⁴⁸ 10. *Presenting a great oblation of bread, flesh, and beer*.⁴⁹ [331, 13] 11. *Opening the Mouth of Throne-of-the-Protector-of-his-Father*.⁵⁰ 12. *Censing its cult-chambers and purifying its chapels*.⁵¹ 13. *Seker feeds*⁵² *the priesthood (wnwt)*⁵³ *from the oblation*:⁵⁴ *gladdening their heart(s) with [331, 14] their largess*. 14. *Ceding Wetjset-Hor to its lord by His Majesty*.⁵⁵

Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, may he show favour to his beloved son, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [331, 15] (Heir-of-the-Beneficent-God-and-of-the-Goddess-who-loves-her-Mother-the-Saviour-Goddess-Chosen-of-Ptah-Justiciar-of-Rē-Living-Similitude-of-Amūn), and reward him with life, stability, and happiness upon the Throne of Horus [331, 16] at the head of the living for ever.

COMMENTARY

1. Restoring $[\square]_{\infty}^{\infty}$, the n unquestionably representing the preposition m , as with variant writings \circ , \circ_1 , or \surd it frequently does at Edfu; see, e.g. *E.* VI, 67, 1; 351, 6; VII, 271, 15-16; VIII, 5, 11 (—); II, 47, 2; V, 296, 17; VI, 69, 7; VIII, 135, 20 (\circ); VI, 155, 9 (\circ_1); IV, 13, 4 (\surd); see also Fairman, *Bull. Inst. fr.* XLIII, 92, nn. 3 and 4.

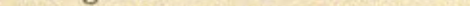
2. For *hws st wrt n Hr-shity* see *E.* II, 61, 10; III, 107, 14; cf. *hws Wtst*, *E.* VII, 299, 8; *hws ht-ntr*, VII, 49, 4; cf. also *db; nhbw m ns*

4. Restoring $\overline{[Hr]}$ $\overline{[Hr]}$ $\overline{[Hr]}$ $\overline{[Hr]}$ $\overline{[Hr]}$, *Hwt-Hr-Hrw* being a common name of Edfu temple, e.g. *E.* I, 541, 6; 562, 13; 568, 10-11; 571, 10; III, 87, 11; IV, 234, 8; 330, 5; V, 175, 18; VII, 37, 13; 42, 12-13; 107, 17.




5. Ptolemy VIII, Soter II, not as stated in Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* vi, 156, Ptolemy X. The Goddess-who-loves-her-Mother-the-Saviour-Goddess is Cleopatra III.


6. For *s(i)p-ti r-mnh* see also *E.* 1, 251, 2; VII, 49, 5; cf. IV, 7, 10; 13, 5; V, 4, 5; *D.* II, 200, 2.









7. In dealing with this difficult word *ifd* the important thing to realize is that in the 'building texts' it has several closely allied meanings originating in the common concept of four-sidedness, hence squareness, rectangularity.

A. *ifd* = 'girdle-wall', 'enclosure wall'. The best and most conclusive example of this is (1) , 'It is the (enclosure-)wall of the Balcony-of-the-Falcon which embraces the Nest-of-Him-with-the-Dappled-Plumage, the girdle-wall of Throne-of-the-Protector-of-his-Father', *E.* vi, 6, 7, from a description of the girdle-wall. We think that *Wb.* i, 71, 13, is quite wrong in






^a In the original the three chicks are replaced by three hawks and the nest has the shape of the sign \cup .

and whether we should not translate, 'a square (room), namely, of eight cubits'.^a Hence (13)   , *E.* IV, 6, 3, should perhaps be rendered 'each one is a square (room) likewise'.^b

D. The expression  appears to have two meanings: (a) 'on the four sides of', i.e. 'round about', examples *E.* VII, 19, 8-9; IV, 330, 14 = nos. 3 and 6 above.^c

(b) (14)   , *E.* III, 1, 14. (15)   , *E.* III, 86, 13-14.^d In neither of these two passages can *hr ifd*'s be translated in the same way as in those cited above in (a), and it is important to note that in *E.* III, 26, 9, the parallel to *E.* III, 1, 14,  is replaced by . Probably, therefore, what is meant is that the temple stands firmly on its basis or on its four corners (see *Wb.* I, 71, 2). So perhaps we should render *E.* III, 1, 14, 'This temple is nobly set upon its four corners', and *E.* III, 86, 13-14, '(he enters his city joyfully) having found his temple nobly set upon its four corners'.

8. For the participation of Ptaḥ in the construction of temples see *E.* I, 65, 18; 90, 3; II, 26, 15; 27, 8; IV, 7, 6; 14, 6; and cf. I, 231, 3; IV, 35, 2; *D.* I, 31, 6. For the similar role of the Creator-gods see *E.* IV, 7, 5; 14, 7; 352, 16; 353, 6; VI, 174, 8; 175, 1; 320, 11.

9. For  see *E.* I, 567, 19-568, 1; III, 276, 3-4; 347, 13; IV, 243, 4; V, 30, 7; 96, 17; 238, 15; VII, 326, 10; cf. *E.* I, 568, 1, where *šsm ḥs* is replaced by *šd ḥs* 'reading the rite', and I, 540, 4, where the *sm*-priest is said to have deft hands and pure fingers     'in the task of celebrating(?)^e the rite'. Cf. also III, 286, 9.


10. For Thoth as Master of the Ceremonies at the founding of a temple see *E.* VI, 7, 2; 174, 7-8; *D.* I, 31, 8; 32, 7; cf. *E.* IV, 57, 2, where it is said of the king that he 'directs the ceremonial like the Lord of the *hḏn*-plant (i.e., Thoth)'.

11. *Phr ḥs* means literally 'walking round', i.e., round the cultus-object, sprinkling it the while with water or fumigating it with burning incense. 'Asperging' is, perhaps, the best rendering of *phr ḥs* in this particular context.

12. = Ceremonies III-IV, Budge, I, 14-19; see also Moret, *Rit.* 171 ff.; Blackman, *JMEOS* 1918-19, 50; Hastings, *ERE* XII, 773², (2). For *phr ḥs sp 4 m 4t nmswt* at Edfu see *E.* I, 163, 14; II, 247, 10; III, 45, 5; 336, 3, and for *phr ḥs sp 4 m 4t dšrw*, see *E.* I, 170, 16; II, 264, 7; III, 22, 11; 338, 14. For what are clearly the same ceremonies, though with a slightly different heading to the formula, *swcb* 'purifying' being substituted for *phr ḥs*, see *E.* I, 36, 3; 45, 10; III, 122, 6; 173, 15; IV, 59, 14; 214, 10; VII, 52, 13; 53, 10. For the sacramental significance of these lustrations and of the purifications with natron and incense see Blackman in Hastings, *ERE* x, 479, v, 4; *Rec. trav.* XXXIX, 44 ff.; *Theology*, I, 134 ff.

13. *'Iht-ntr* is a term for both natron and incense, see *E.* II, 33, 2; 75, 10. 12; III, 109, 3; 110, 1; *Wb.* I, 124, 18. Here it is employed in both senses, and this caption epitomizes Ceremonies V-VII (Budge, I, 20-5; Schiaparelli, I, 30 ff.; see also Mar. *Abyd.* I, tabl. 33-5; Moret, *Rit.* 171 ff.; *JMEOS* 1918-19, 34), the purification of the mouth with ten pellets of natron and five of incense. For representations at Edfu of

^a Cf. no. 7 above.

^b Taking  as the *m* of equivalence and not as a writing of *im*.

^c *R ifd* seems to bear much the same meaning in *E.* VI, 351, 6 = A. no. 2, above.

^d N.B.—Both these texts were inscribed *before* the girdle-wall was built and refer specifically to the original nucleus of the Temple.

^e Or perhaps rather 'compiling'.

the ceremony with five pellets of Upper Egyptian natron see *E.* I, 48, 17; 427, 7; III, 336, 12, with five pellets of Lower Egyptian natron see *E.* I, 36, 10; III, 337, 15; IV, 60, 14; with five pellets of incense see *E.* I, 49, 6.

14. = Ceremony VIII, Budge, I, 25 f.; Schiaparelli, I, 48 f.; Mar. *Abyd.* I, tabl. 36; see also *E.* I, 49, 13; II, 266, 15.

15. = Ceremony XXVI, first episode, Budge, I, 94. The words *sk r irty: smcr m nms* almost certainly form not two captions but one, for according to the *Bw-th-imn* version of the Opening of the Mouth (Budge, II, 40; Schiaparelli, II, 10) the *sm*-priest, when presenting the statue with the head-cloth (*nms*), is bidden to touch its mouth and eyes (*sk r irty*) four times. The arraying of the cultus-image in the *nms* is also an episode in the daily temple-liturgy; see Mar. *Abyd.* I, tabl. 10; *JMEOS* 1918-19, 50; also *E.* I, 429, 12; II, 81, 6; III, 286, 14. Note that Budge includes in his Ceremony XXVI what really amount to eight Ceremonies, the arraying in the *nms*, the putting on of the various coloured cloths, and the proffering of the broad collar (*wsh*).

16. = Ceremony XXVII, first episode, Budge, I, 105; Schiaparelli, II, 42 ff.; see also Mar. *Abyd.* I, tabl. 12; Moret, *Rit.* 190 ff.; *JMEOS* 1918-19, 51; *E.* I, 45, 14; 77, 19; 133, 14; 171, 18; 239, 3; 263, 5; 276, 7; 431, 14; II, 43, 6; 186, 13; IV, 114, 4; V, 68, 5; 83, 7; 174, 6; 179, 6; 184, 11; 196, 2; 272, 13; 284, 5; VI, 100, 2; VII, 76, 4; VIII, 52, 8; 60, 12. This caption seems to be misplaced, for both in the Opening of the Mouth and in the daily temple-liturgy the correct place for this ceremony is *after* the proffering of the broad collar, see Budge, I, 102-5; *JMEOS* 1918-19, 39.

Probably the caption 'presenting oil' is meant to cover, not only the anointings with various unguents, but the applications of the green and black eye-pigments which are also included in Ceremony XXVII, Budge, I, 105-8.

17. In the one word *ntry* are probably summarized all the coloured cloths or wrappings, the offering of which forms part of Ceremony XXVI, Budge, I, 96-101; Schiaparelli, II, 14 ff.; Moret, *Rit.* 178 ff.; Mar. *Abyd.* I, tabl. 11 and 17-19; *JMEOS*, 1918-19, 39; 50.

For *ntry* = *irtyw*, 'light-blue cloth', see *E.* I, 31, 4; = *mnht*, 'cloth', see *E.* I, 178, 5; III, 140, 17; VII, 306, 8. For other examples of *mnht* at Edfu see *E.* I, 46, 2; 98, 3; 177, 14; 164, 18; 177, 14; 187, 18; 237, 16; 273, 8; 279, 10; 376, 4; 421, 7; 422, 13; 428, 9; 430, 10; 480, 10; III, 140, 10; 191, 9 (adjacent to a scene depicting the offering of the *wsh*-collar); IV, 238, 17; 278, 11; V, 185, 17; 190, 2; 196, 2; 247, 10; VII, 99, 6; 157, 14; 260, 9; 306, 7; 318, 6. For *mnht hdt*, 'white cloth' (Budge, I, 96), see *E.* I, 44, 19; 45, 6; 124, 15; 244, 15; 296, 17; 423, 5; for *mnht wsd*, 'green cloth' (Budge, I, 99), see *E.* I, 121, 15; 296, 7; for *mnht insy*, 'red cloth' (Budge, I, 100): no corresponding relief at Edfu, though see *E.* VI, 83, 10; for *mnht idmi*, 'dark red cloth' (Budge, I, 101), see *E.* I, 31, 10; 126, 14; 432, 17; and for *mnht irtyw*, 'light blue cloth', see *E.* I, 31, 2; 126, 14; 289, 14; 432, 9.

18. = Ceremony XXVI, last episode, Budge, I, 102; Schiaparelli, II, 37 ff.; Mar. *Abyd.* I, tabl. 16. Perhaps this caption also covers the various episodes which Budge, I, 108 ff., includes in his Ceremony XXVIII, and that may account for the apparent misplacing of Caption I. 6.

19. See Budge, I, 121; Schiaparelli, II, 128 ff.; *E.* I, 37, 8; 77, 2; 163, 4; 431, 7; 470, 11; II, 140, 7; 142, 10; 266, 3; III, 246, 10; VI, 3, 10; VII, 202, 11; cf. II, 48, 6. Though this ceremony does not occur in the Karnak or Abydos temple-liturgy, its presence in this text and in so many Edfu reliefs suggests that it did occur in the Edfu temple-liturgy.

20. For this meaning of the verb *iri* see, e.g., *Pap. Bremner-Rhind*, 26, 6. 12.

21. See Budge, II, 199 = Dümichen, II, Pl. XII; Davies-Gardiner, op. cit. 78; Blackman, *Meir*, II, 20; III, 29, where it is pointed out that this ceremony, when funerary, is closely associated with the presentation of food-offerings; cf. *E.* v, 97, 1.

22. See Budge, II, 95; 99; Gunn, *Harageh*, 21, n. 1; *Simuhe*, B 195; Blackman, *Meir*, II, Pl. x; also *E.* IV, 242, 17-18, where this ceremony, along with others listed in Text II, is mentioned in an Opening of the Mouth formula. Cf. also Mariette, *Denderah*, I, 32, and Budge, II, 198 = Dümichen, II, Pl. XII, where the ceremonies *nīs dbḥt ḥtp* and *irt ḥtp di nsw* are closely associated.

23. See Budge, I, 112 f. and 115 ff.; II, 66 ff. = Schiaparelli, II, 87 ff.; 97 ff.; *JMEOS* 1918-19, 49; Mar. *Abyd.* I, tabl. 3.

24. Cf. Moret, *Rit.* 135 ff.; Budge, I, 140.

25. Cf. Hastings, *ERE* XII, 779¹; also *JEA* XXXI, 61, n. 3; *E.* III, 129, 8-9.

26. Evidently the opening words of a hymn, or an extract therefrom, chanted at the offering of Maet; cf. Budge, I, 140, l. 22; II, 85, l. 2; 105, ll. 2-3. For this ceremony see also Moret, *Rit.* 138 ff., especially noting 140, l. 5, *hnm ḥrw-k m Mst*, etc.

27. See above, n. 20.

28. See Budge, II, 102; 199 = Schiaparelli, II, 174; Dümichen, II, Pl. XII; see also Hastings, *ERE* XII, 779¹, with nn. 5 and 6; *E.* III, 75, 13; 247, 12; VI, 153, 6-7; VII, 271, 15-16.


29. See Schiaparelli, II, 174; *ERE* XII, loc. cit.; Mar. *Abyd.* I, pls. 38c; 40c; 50.




















30. Corresponds to Caption II. 12, see below, pp. 86; 90.







31. While the group $\overline{\text{𓄿}}\overline{\text{𓄿}}\overline{\text{𓄿}}$ in *E.* IV, 331, 12, is probably to be read *t twf ḥnkt*, in this instance it is almost certainly to be read *ḥbt*, being really parallel with $\overline{\text{𓄿}}\overline{\text{𓄿}}$, *E.* IV, 331, 13. For other examples of $\overline{\text{𓄿}}\overline{\text{𓄿}}\overline{\text{𓄿}}$ = *ḥbt* see *E.* VIII, 10, 3; 18, 11-12; cf. VII, 206, 4. Both here and in Caption II. 18 *m ḥbt* might possibly be rendered 'with a meal', for which meaning of *ḥbt* see *Wb.* I, 167, 12, but on the whole we prefer 'from the oblation'.

32. This caption, I. 20, finds a parallel in II. 14; see below, p. 86. For other citations of this ceremony in the Edfu reliefs, in which it is more frequently designated *rdi(t) pr n nb-f*, see *E.* I, 57, 11; 70, 11; III, 111, 7; IV, 73, 4; 229, 6; VI, 91, 11; VII, 40, 2; 56, 10. See also *rdi(t) St-wrt-n-Rc-dr-bḥ n 'py psd m ḥt*, *E.* II, 33, 10; *rdi(t) Wtst-nt-Nd-ḥt-f n Sḥ-ḥst*, *ibid.* 62, 13; and *swd St-wrt n Rc nb pt, rdt Wtst n Nd-ḥt-f*, *E.* IV, 346, 13-14. For earlier mention of the ceremony see F. Ll. Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 6, l. 278; *Wb.* I, Belegstellen, 513, 8; Bissing-Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures*, I, 12 f.; Bissing and Kees, op. cit. 13, produce evidence suggesting that the time for consecrating a temple and 'ceding' it to its lord was the night of the New Year and furthermore that at the beginning of every New Year a temple was rehallowed and handed over once more to its divine

occupant. Fairman has remarked to Blackman that though *rdit pr n nb:f* usually appears in the captions to the formulae in the reliefs concerned with this ceremony, in the 'building inscriptions' the ceremony is normally referred to as *swd kst n nb:s* or *swd pr n nb:f*, see, e.g., *E. IV*, 9, 1; an exception is *E. IV*, 20, 1.



33. Restoring ; cf. *E. IV*, 330, 12, and for $\overline{\text{m}}$ = *m* see n. 1.

34. Clearly a name for Edfu temple must be supplied. A likely restoration is                   

was a wavy rod or wand terminating in the head of a ram. For a good example see Dümichen, II, loc. cit. Note that the correct reading is *wr-hksw* not *wrt-hksw*, see *Wb.* I, 328, 4. The  is clearly a corrupt form employed not only here as an ideogram, but again in *E.* I, 207, 15 = XI, pl. CCXCIII. The ram-headed rod, in an almost vertical position, occurs as an ideogram in *E.* IV, 243, 1. The sign  is again incorrectly employed as determinative in   , *wr-hksw*, *E.* I, 207, 17 = XI, pl. CCXCIII; cf. also  as a spelling of *Wrt-hksw*, Mariette, *Dendérah*, I, 26.

41. Another episode in Ceremony XVI = Budge, I, 78 f.; 177 f.; II, 30; 154; Schiaparelli, I, 128; Dümichen, II, pl. IV; Davies-Gardiner, op. cit. 59.

42. An episode in both Ceremony XII and XXIV = Budge, I, 68; 92; 168 f.; 184; II, 23; 38; 140; 179; Schiaparelli, I, 104 f.; 59 f.; Dümichen, II, pl. II.

43. In other versions of the Opening of the Mouth no mention is made of an adze of the Courtiers nor of their opening the mouth of the statue with it. Furthermore, the four slabs (*cbwt*) are not manipulated by them but by the *sr-mry-f*, who 'wipes' or 'touches' the eyes and mouth of the statue therewith, and so opens them, an episode in Ceremony XXIII = Budge, I, 86 f.; 180 f.; II, 160 f.; 166-8; Schiaparelli, I, 144 ff.; Dümichen, II, pls. V and VI. Davies-Gardiner, op. cit. 59 f. It seems, therefore, not improbable that  , *smrw*, is a corruption of *sr-mry-f*.

44. A beheaded goose was also offered when the foundations of a temple were plotted with cord and poles, see Bissing-Kees, op. cit. 6; *E.* II, 31, 3; III, 105, 5; 114, 15; 167, 12; IV, 352, 3; VI, 168, 10. For the goat-victim see the n. 46 below.

45. See Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, 147, n. 41a.




46. The sacrifice of a bull, which precedes the offering of the beheaded goose and goat in the normal versions of this rite, constitutes along with that offering and the above-mentioned 'touching' of the mouth and eyes with the four *cbwt* the main part of Ceremony XXIII = Budge, I, 85-90; II, 17 f. with 167 f.; 176; Schiaparelli, I, 150 ff.; Dümichen, II, pl. I. The slaughter of a bull and the decapitating of a goat and goose also figure in Ceremony XI^a = Budge, I, 47 f.; II, 131 f.; Schiaparelli, I, 85 ff.; Dümichen, II, pl. VII. In the latter Ceremony the first-named victim is called 'an Upper-Egyptian ox', *ng šmcy*, Dümichen, II, pl. I; in the former 'a Lower-Egyptian male victim', *šsr txy mhy*, Dümichen, II, pl. V. In our version of the Rite the two Ceremonies seem to have been compressed into one.^b For another Edfu example of the caption (*r*)*dī(t)* *r* *ng šmcy* see *E.* IV, 242, 18-243, 1; see also Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, I 10, n. 8a.

47. Frequently mentioned as victims in the Edfu texts, e.g. *E.* I, 113, 5; 452, 4; 464, 15; 489, 16; 497, 13; 526, 10; 527, 10; III, 197, 1; IV, 284, 16, *et passim*.

48. For ro-geese as victims see, e.g., *E.* I, 58, 12; III, 4, 14-15; 306, 12, 15; 374, 10-11, 13; 464, 14; 476, 4, 6-7; 496, 6; 537, 11; 555, 16; 565, 8; II, 163, 12; III, 301, 6; IV, 311, 9; 392, 5; VI, 204, 4; 205, 1; VII, 101, 8; 125, 10-11.

^a According to the *Bw-th-inn* version two goats, not one, were beheaded in both ceremonies, Budge, I, 48; 88; II, 20; 35; Schiaparelli, I, 87; 152. Note also that both in that and in the Petamenōpe version, as well as in the much earlier *Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus* = Sethe, op. cit., 146; 153, the goat and the goose symbolize enemies, as so regularly do the victims, both birds and beasts, in Ptolemaic temple-texts; see Junker, *ZÄS.* XLVIII, 69 ff.; Blackman-Fairman, *JEA* xxx, 10 with n. i; Blackman, *JEA* xxxi, 72.

^b See below, p. 87 f.

49. See above, n. 31.
 50. See below, p. 85.
 51. Parallel with Caption I. 18; see below, p. 90. With this use of *swt* cf. *E.* III, 26, 10.
 52. Probably the officiant is meant who impersonated this god in the rite just concluded; see Caption II. 2.
 53.  is evidently a writing of  'priesthood', *Wb.* I, 317, 7-8, rather than of , *wntyw*, 'inhabitants', *Wb.* I, 310, 2.
 54. I.e., probably the 'great oblation' mentioned in Caption II. 10; see n. 31 above.
 55. Parallel with Caption I. 20; see above, n. 32.

CONCLUSIONS

The two texts translated and annotated above consist mainly of the captions or headings to a number of the formulae appointed to be recited during the performance of the ceremonies comprising the Rite of Opening the Mouth. It was not until our article in *Misc. Gregoriana*, 397 ff., was in print that these two texts attracted our notice, when we promptly realized the importance of their bearing on certain ideas expressed in the hymns and litanies with which that article is concerned, ideas discussed by us both in the Commentary, n. 9, and in the Conclusions, but not treated at such length or in such detail as they would have been had the material, with which we are now dealing, been known to us. However, we pointed out that in the above-mentioned litanies Horus the Behdetite and the co-templar divinities male and female, the various parts of Horus' body, the ornaments or emblems which he wore or carried, his temple with its halls, chapels, pillars and gates, its images, the figures in the reliefs carved upon its walls, the boat-shrine in the Holy of Holies, and all the other furnishings, 'are called upon to rouse themselves from slumber, being clearly regarded, one and all, as separate animate beings who sleep during the hours of darkness, but "awake in peace" as soon as the sun appears on the horizon and sheds its light upon them'. That the Egyptians believed that divinities could become immanent at will in the figures depicting them in the temple wall-reliefs, which thus became alive and active, was clearly demonstrated many years ago by Junker.^a Speaking of how far the temple-reliefs depicting the Osirian mysteries actually represent the carrying out of those rites, and of what relation the former bear to the latter, he says: 'From the representations showing them to us in progress we really learn nothing as to how they were actually performed, for the pictures have a purpose of their own. They not only serve to decorate or illustrate, but stand in a close relationship to the rite. In their own selves everything that they depict is carried out, seeing that the divine spirit (*der Geist*) of the god and of his retinue enters into the figures.' After illustrating and amplifying this statement by quoting from, and commenting on, a most significant inscription in the temple of Denderah,^b he goes on to say: 'Thus the same conception that we meet with in regard to the sculptures in the tombs is here transferred to the temple reliefs, or rather the same idea underlies them both. In the latter as in the former all

^a *Stundewachen*, 6 f.

^b Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 44a = Dümichen, *Hist. Inschr.* II, 35e.

the scenes are alive, in that the divine spirit (*der Geist*), enters the figures and really eats and drinks what is set before him, whether painted or named in writing. With the temple and its sculptures the king has fashioned for the god "a monument for his ka" which is not only to proclaim his deeds and his might and depict his cult, but is to carry on in itself, beside the service of the priests and other officiants, a continuous actual cult through the indwelling of the divine ka.'

Blackman in his article *The Stela of Nebipusenwosret*^a dealt at some length with this Egyptian belief that divinities and the dead could become immanent in the representations of them sculptured or painted on temple and tomb-chapel walls and naturally also in their statues. This belief, he maintained, accounted for the erection of cenotaphs and memorial stelae at Abydos. The dead person, it was supposed, could participate in the various ceremonies performed there in honour of Osiris by becoming immanent in his portrait carved on the stela, and so partake of the spiritual benefits that such participation would secure for him. As Blackman suggested in the same article,^b we can now understand why Neneferkaptah, speaking in his tomb-chapel in the Memphite necropolis, was able to say of his wife and child buried in far distant Coptus, 'they are in Coptus and are also here in this tomb by the craft of a good scribe'.^c As is well known, the Opening of the Mouth was regularly performed on behalf of the statues of divine and human beings, statuettes used for magical purposes, and even on behalf of the heart-scarab, to imbue them with life and identify them with the beings or creatures they represented.^d Our two texts, with the significant words $\text{𓂏} - \text{𓂏}$ etc., quoted at the beginning of this article, indicate that the Rite of Consecration of a temple employed at Edfu consisted partly, if not entirely, in a version of the Opening of the Mouth, the sequence and character of the ceremonies composing the rite suggesting that first of all it was performed on behalf of the cultus-statues (see below) and that then the 'Mouth of the Temple' itself was opened. The idea evidently was that not only the cultus-statues were enabled to become alive and active through the due performance of this rite, but the figures in the wall-reliefs also and the entire edifice with all its appurtenances.

We can in no wise claim that the archetype of our two texts was a copy of the service-book used at the Consecration of Edfu Temple, for it appears to have consisted almost entirely of the captions to the formulae appointed to be recited while the various ceremonies were being enacted. In fact it was probably but a brief résumé of the rite, and might be compared with what Drioton thinks the existing version of the Memphite *Creation Drama* must be regarded as being, 'le directoire d'un cérémoniaire pour la préparation et le célébration d'un mystère',^e though it was evidently far more compressed and curtailed than is that 'directory'. Probably the main requirement of the Master of the Ceremonies, for whom the archetype of the two Edfu texts was drawn up, was a list of the various ceremonies comprising the rite arranged in their proper sequence so that all might be performed in an orderly manner and the solemn progress of the ritual not marred by mistakes or hesitations. This requirement was supplied by the captions

^a *JEA* xxi, 1 ff.

^b *Ibid.* 6, with n. 6.

^c Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, 137.

^d Blackman, *JEA* v, 159 f.; x, 57.

^e *Le Théâtre égyptien*, Cairo, 1942, 21.

to the formulae appertaining to those ceremonies, with perhaps a few instructions included as to the role to be played by this or that officiant at a given moment, especially if the officiant in question had to impersonate a divinity (see Captions II. 2 and 13). In the complete service-book, of course, such instructions or rubrics inserted at intervals in the formulae would have been numerous, as, e.g., in the *Bw-th-ymn* version of the Opening of the Mouth.^a As we shall see, the captions to certain ceremonies have somewhat surprisingly found no place in our text. Such omissions are doubtless due to the fact that the allotted space on the walls was limited, and so the already brief 'directory' had to be even further curtailed to find room for it in the frieze.^b

On what principle did the scribe who drew up this abbreviated version of the 'directory' divide the captions between the two texts? Far from being haphazard, as might appear at first sight, he obviously had in mind a very definite plan. It has long been the accepted view that the Opening of the Mouth and the daily temple-liturgy are, apart from a number of ceremonies essentially peculiar to the former, practically identical rites. Both comprise an elaborate toilet followed by a meal, which, indeed, except for certain preliminary ceremonies, are the main features of the temple-liturgy.^c What the scribe has done is to place the captions common to both rites on the west wall (see above, p. 75) and those peculiar to the Opening of the Mouth on the east wall. Thus on one side of the Outer Hypostyle Hall we have an abbreviated version of the daily temple-liturgy and on the other side a rather more abbreviated version of the Opening of the Mouth, the former supplying, however, what is lacking in the latter. Taken this way, the two texts can represent both a single and two separate rites.

Judging from the fairly numerous reliefs at Edfu depicting the Opening of the Mouth of a divinity^d and from the fact that a shortened form thereof was included in the funerary liturgy,^e it is possible that a similar shortened version also found a place in the temple-liturgy despite the fact that there are no allusions to any such ceremonies either in the Abydos or Karnak versions of the rite.^f But if the Edfu temple-liturgy did comprise a shortened form of the Opening of the Mouth, then not only does Text I supplement Text II, but conversely the latter completes the former.

But while accepting the view expressed in the previous paragraphs, we must not overlook the fact that our scribe also planned to make either group of captions as complete a version of the rite it represents as the wall-space permitted. Thus Caption II. 1 seems to be a summarization of Captions I. 2-4, Captions II. 9 and 10 similarly appear to correspond to Captions I. 10-17, while Captions I. 18-20 find their parallel in Captions II. 12-14.^g In carrying out his plan the scribe was possibly prompted by a feeling for symmetry, but probably more by a desire to make the two texts as independent of one another as possible owing to their being so widely separated the one from the other, by the whole breadth, in fact, of the façade of the Outer Hypostyle Hall.

^a Budge, II, 1 ff.; Schiaparelli, I, 22 ff.

^b Cf. the somewhat similar observations made in *JEA* xxviii, 35.

^c Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, 60 f.; Blackman, *JMEOS* 1918-19, pp. 27 ff.; *JEA* x, 53 ff.; Hastings, *ERE* xii, 778 f.

^d See n. 39.

^e See, e.g., *Pyr.*, § 30; Davies-Gardiner, *op. cit.* 76; Blackman, *Meir*, II, pl. vi; III, pl. xxi.

^f Perhaps the Opening of the Mouth was included in the temple-liturgy only at stated intervals or on special occasions such as New Year's Day, see n. 32.

^g See the table on p. 91.

Now the current Egyptian belief being that the same magic power resided in the texts inscribed on their temple- and tomb-walls as in the similarly situated reliefs,^a it was naturally desired to make our two texts as magically efficacious as possible and so ensure that the ceremonies they embody should continue to be performed, either as one combined rite, or as two single rites celebrated simultaneously. Thus, it was felt, the mysterious life originally imparted to the whole temple and its occupants by the Rite of Consecration would perpetually be renewed,^b that is to say as long as the two texts remained intact.^c Nevertheless, it must also be borne in mind that the actual performance of such ceremonies and the recitation of the accompanying formulae were naturally regarded as more efficacious than sculptured representations and mere written words.^d

We should now, perhaps, present the reader with a brief but consecutive description^e of the Rite of Opening the Mouth as celebrated, or rather as we think it was celebrated, for the hallowing of Edfu temple. The description will be based on the content of our two texts themselves and on information derived from various sources, full references to which will be found in the Commentary. We hope that the table at the end of the article will make this account of the rite more intelligible to the reader and enable him to gain a clear picture of these somewhat complicated proceedings. First be it observed that we have no definite information as to where the main portion of the rite was performed, but, since our texts were placed on the exterior walls of the Outer Hypostyle Hall (see p. 75), it possibly took place in that part of the temple. Seeing that Caption I. 1 states that the rite was directed by Thoth,¹⁰ it is not unlikely that the Master of the Ceremonies, who may well have been the Chief Lector, impersonated that god.^f No mention is made of any cultus-statues, for the captions relating to Ceremonies I and II^g have been omitted, doubtless in the cutting-down process; but their presence is plainly implied by Captions I. 5-8 and II. 1-5.

Having asperged the statues of Horus and the co-templar divinities^h with holy water¹² and presented them with pellets of natron and incense for the purifying of their mouths,¹³ the officiants censed them¹⁴ (Captions I. 2-4 = Ceremonies III-VIII). There are no captions referring to Ceremonies IX and X,ⁱ while Ceremony XI^j is assimilated to Ceremony XXIII (= Captions II. 6-8).^k The latter is in parts practically

^a See Blackman, *Meir*, II, 16; *JEA* XXI, 8; Davies-Gardiner, *op. cit.* 92, § 9, end.

^b See Blackman, *JEA* V, 160, concluding sentence; see also above, n. 32.

^c See Blackman-Fairman, *JEA* XXVIII, 38 with n. 3.

^d See Blackman, *JEA* XX, 8.

^e The notes indicated here by numerals are, as stated on p. 76, those composing the Commentary.

^f Cf. the possible impersonation of Imhotep by the Reader, who was presumably the Chief Lector, during the performance of the Edfu Religious Drama (Myth C), *JEA* XXVIII, 36. § Budge, I, 9-13.

^h We are presuming that all the cultus-statues in the temple were grouped together for reconsecration in the Outer Hypostyle Hall, though the officiants may, of course, have gone from chapel to chapel 'opening the mouth' of each statue individually. We use the word 'reconsecration' because the mouths of the images in question had probably already been 'opened' in the *Hwt-nbw*, 'House of Gold' = the sculptor's workshop (see Davies-Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 57 f.; Blackman, *JEA* V, 159). But the Egyptian view would almost certainly have been that when it was necessary to hallow or rehallow (see n. 32) a temple, it was essential to reconsecrate the cultus-statues to make quite sure that they were fit for the divinities to become immanent therein (see Blackman, *JEA*, V, 160, end of last paragraph). Indeed, as already stated on p. 86, a form of the Opening of the Mouth may have been performed on their behalf daily.

ⁱ Budge, I, 26-46.

^j *Ibid.*, 47 ff.

^k See nn. 43, 44, and 46.

seem to have been amalgamated. But note that the editor, in effecting this amalgamation, substituted the Upper Egyptian bull proper to Ceremony XI for the Lower Egyptian victim proper to Ceremony XXIII, though, having regard to its position in the rite, Caption II. 8 is more closely related to the latter ceremony than to the former. We suggest that the editor deliberately chose the Upper Egyptian bull because he was the priest of an Upper Egyptian temple; cf. the use at Edfu of the sign 𓆎 for *m* instead of 𓆏 , to which Fairman draws attention in *Bull. Inst. fr.* XLIII, 86, n. 1. For the symbolic meaning ascribed to the victims see p. 83, n. a.

A further opening of the mouth and eyes with the *Dwꜣ-wr* and *Dwn-r(?)* adzes, of which the ritual act prescribed in the first part of Caption II. 6 may be the equivalent, forms the main feature of Ceremony XXIV.⁴² This, as we have already seen, would not be the only change in the usual sequence of Ceremonies occurring in our 'directory'. After a preliminary censuring (Ceremony XXV) not recorded in either of the texts, each of the statues was arrayed in the white head-cloth (*nms*), the officiant having first 'wiped' its mouth with it (Caption I. 5 = Ceremony XXVI, first episode).¹⁵ Then having anointed the statues (Caption I. 6 = Ceremony XXVII)¹⁶ and having placed upon them the prescribed wrappings of various coloured cloths (Caption I. 7 = Ceremony XXVI),¹⁷ the officiant hung round the neck of each a 'broad collar', composed, no doubt, of brightly coloured faience beads (Caption I. 8 = Ceremony XXVI, last episode).¹⁸ At first sight all reference to Ceremony XXVIII,^a which consisted in the presentation of certain insignia of sovereignty, seems to be lacking. But in the Edfu rite the presentation of all ornaments and insignia may have formed a single Ceremony, and our editor may have thought that mention of the 'broad collar' sufficiently represented the whole series of related episodes. The toilet-ceremonies ended with an officiant censuring the statues (Ceremony XXIX)^b of which there is no mention here, and holding up before their faces a *nmst*-ewer full of holy water (Caption I. 9).¹⁹

The next series of ceremonies is mainly concerned with the laying of a repast before the statues, with which the daily temple-liturgy and the Opening of the Mouth regularly terminated, and the preparations therefor. Perhaps we should point out here that in this 'directory' the order of ceremonies preliminary to the actual meal differs somewhat from that postulated by Blackman^c for the almost identical group of ceremonies forming part of the ordinary daily temple-liturgy. This order, however, may have been customary at Edfu and the divergence may not be due to a scribe's or draughtsman's carelessness. The preparations for the banquet began probably with the slaughter of oxen and geese (Caption II. 9). After the chanting of 'beatifications' (Caption I. 10) by an officiant or possibly a small choir of officiants,²¹ 'the requirements of the offering-table' were presented (Caption I. 11),²² these consisting, no doubt, of articles of food and drink and various table-vessels. No mention, it will be observed, is made of the washing of the altar,^d a somewhat surprising omission. Incense was now burned to the Uraeus-goddess and all the divinities of Egypt (Caption I. 12),²³ two acts of worship which normally seem to have preceded not only the preparations for the

^a Budge, I, 108 ff.

^b Ibid. 111.

^c See Hastings, *ERE* XII, 778 f.

^d Budge, I, 128; II, 90; Mar., *Abyd.* I, pl. XXI; E I, 471, 6-14; Hastings, *ERE* XII, 778² with n. 5.

banquet, but the 'salutation with the *nmst-ewer*'.^a After the chanting of a hymn of praise to Rē (Caption I. 13)²⁴ the gods were summoned to their repast (Caption I. 14)²⁵ and then the image of the goddess Ma'et was presented to the sun-god, as the words of Caption I. 15 clearly imply.²⁶ The presentation of Ma'et immediately after the gods are 'summoned' is by no means inappropriate, for Ma'et was regarded both as a substitute for food and drink and as the organ whereby they were transmitted to the belly and the breath of life was inhaled.^b The presentation of Ma'et and the offering of food and drink are accordingly closely associated in the *Bw-th-imn* version of the Opening of the Mouth.^c The recitation of the formula beginning with 'An offering which the King gives' (Caption I. 16), doubtless to the accompaniment of the usual gesture,²⁸ was followed by the ceremony known as 'Setting the meal in order upon the altar' (Caption I. 17),²⁹ a performance one would have expected to occur earlier in the proceedings.^d The rite, so far as the statues were concerned, then terminated in the offering of 'a great oblation' of bread, meat, and beer (Caption II. 10).

This ceremonial repast ended, the 'Opening of the Mouth' of the temple (Caption II. 11) was enacted, probably a much abbreviated form of the rite just concluded. Captions I. 18 and II. 12 suggest that the officiating priests visited each hall and chapel separately, censuring and asperging them, and, it may well be, making mimetic gestures with their ceremonial adzes and other implements. It was presumably by means of these performances that not only the temple as a whole, but all its individual parts and furnishings became alive and active. The divinities could now become immanent at will in their figures appearing in the reliefs, while the inanimate objects depicted therein became the actual equivalents of what they represented—food, vessels, floral offerings, and the like.

When the service of consecration was over and, so one would suppose, the statues of the divinities had been carried in solemn procession to their respective sanctuaries,^e the craftsmen who had participated in the building and decorating of the temple were given a meal consisting, it would seem, of bread, meat, and beer (Caption I. 19), and the members of the temple priesthood were similarly, but probably separately, entertained. Since Caption II. 13 states that Seker, doubtless the officiant who had impersonated that god in the rite just celebrated,⁵² feasted the priesthood, we may presume that the meal of which the priests partook was presided over by him. We know of no other Egyptian text which alludes to the custom of giving a meal to the craftsmen after they had finished constructing a temple. It is, however, not an uncommon practice in England to give the workmen a dinner on the completion of an important building, especially a church. Indeed, we are informed that in the latter case the providing of such a feast is regarded as a matter of course.

With the 'ceding' of the sacred edifice to its divine owner (Captions I. 20, II. 14),³² a proceeding in which the Pharaoh himself was supposed to take the leading part, the consecration solemnities came to an end.

^a Budge, I, 112 ff.

^b See Blackman-Fairman, *Misc. Gregoriana*, 420 f., n. 98. The significance of the offering of Ma'et will be discussed at length by us in a treatise now in preparation.

^c See Budge, II, 99 ff.

^d See Hastings, *ERE* XII, 778²-779¹.

^e Cf. Dümichen, II, pls. XII f.; Budge, II, 200 ff.; *E.* I, 538 ff.; pls. xxxviii ff.

TABLE


Caption	Text I	Caption	Text II	Ceremony	Budge, 1
1	Supervision of the rite by the Lord of Hermopolis	—	—	—	—
2	Asperging with the <i>nmst</i> -ewers and red pitchers	1	Purification by the Lords of Purification	III-IV V-VII VIII XVI	pp. 14-19
3	Substance of the god				pp. 20-5
4	Incense on the fire				p. 25 f.
—	—				p. 78 f.
—	—	2	Ptah takes his chisel to open the mouth and Seker uncloses the eyes		
—	—	3	Taking the Sorcerer	XII	p. 70
—	—	4	Presenting the finger of fine gold	XVI	p. 78 f.
—	—	5	Proffering the Copper Adze of Anubis	XII and XXIV	pp. 68; 92
—	—	6	Ushering in the Courtiers: opening the eyes with their adze and touching the mouth with the four slabs.	XXIII	p. 86 f.
—	—	7	Beheading a <i>smn</i> -goose and decapitating a goat	XXIII	pp. 87 ff.
—	—	8	Pointing at an Upper Egyptian male ox	XXIII	p. 85 f.
5	Touching the mouth and eyes: arraying in the head-cloth	—	—	XXVI	pp. 94 ff.
6	Presenting oil	—	—	XXVII	p. 105
7	Putting on the holy raiment	—	—	XXVI	pp. 96 ff.
8	Proffering the broad collar	—	—	XXVI	p. 102
9	Salutation with the <i>nmst</i> -ewer	—	—	'Supplementary Ceremony'	p. 121
—	—	9	Slaughtering long-horned cattle and strangling geese	—	—
10	Chanting beatifications	—	—	—	Budge, II, 199; 201
11	Presenting the requirements of the offering-table	—	—	—	Budge, II, 95, 99, 198.
12	Censing the Uraeus-goddess and the gods and goddesses	—	—	—	Budge, I, 112 ff., 115 ff.
13	Adoring Rē	—	—	—	Cf. Budge, I, 140
14	Summoning the Gods	—	—	—	—
15	Rē shines forth, etc.	—	—	—	Cf. Budge, I, 140, l. 22; II, 85, l. 2; 105, ll. 2-3
16	Reciting the <i>hṭp-di-nsw</i> -formula	—	—	—	Budge, II, 102, 199
17	Setting the meal in order upon the altar	—	—	—	Schiaparelli, II, 174
—	—	10	Presenting a great oblation of bread, flesh and beer	—	—
—	—	11	Opening the Mouth of Throne - of - the - Protector-of-his-Father	—	—
18	Purifying the sanctuary and cleansing the temple	12	Censing its cult-chambers and purifying its chapels	—	—
19	Rewarding its craftsmen from the oblation, etc.	13	Seker feeds the priesthood from the oblation, etc.	—	—
20	Ceding the Great Seat by His Majesty to its lord	14	Ceding Wetjset-Hor to its lord by His Majesty	—	—

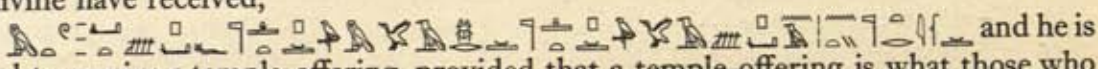
THE SPLIT DETERMINED INFINITIVE

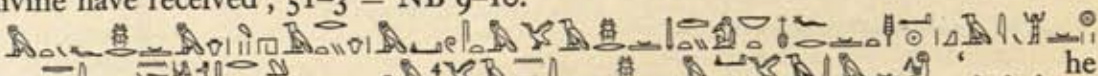
By BATTISCOMBE GUNN

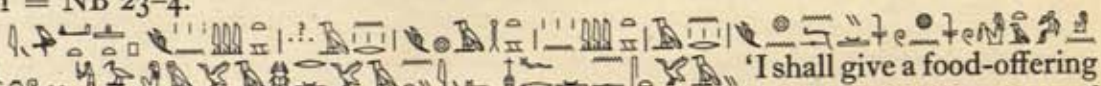
IN that very remarkable text, the Decree of Amonrasonthēr for Neskhn̄s, of which I intend to publish a new translation and a commentary shortly, there are some curious examples of a splitting of the 'determined infinitive' by the interposition of words between the definite article *p*¹ and the infinitive form, *p*² being always preceded by the preposition *m*. In all the three places in which *p*² is so separated from its infinitive, the latter is *hpr*.

I will first give the passages from this text,² five in number, in which a non-verbal sentence having a *pronominal* subject following a nominal or pronominal predicate is preceded by the words *m p*² *hpr*—an example of the determined infinitive which could be rendered literally by 'in the event (that)', but which I prefer to translate 'provided that'. Here the word-order is normal.³

1.  'And he is caused to receive his *pwt*-loaf, provided that a *pwt*-loaf is what those who are divine have received,

2.  and he is caused to receive a temple-offering, provided that a temple-offering is what those who are divine have received', 51-3 = NB 9-10.

3.  '... he shall be satisfied with her, provided that everything good, a very long life while he is upon earth, he being strong, powerful and mighty, is what shall befall Pinūdem', 79-81 = NB 23-4.

4.  'I shall give a food-offering of the Field of Yalu, and land of the Field of Yalu, to Neskhn̄s the daughter of Tehenedḥowt, provided that that is what will be good for her,

¹ The infinitive is of course always masculine in Late Egyptian.

² Note the following abbreviations (fuller bibliographical details in the main article):

NP = Decree for Neskhn̄s on a papyrus at Cairo: first published by Maspero, *Mom. roy.*, 594 ff.; the latest transcription by Golénischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques* (CCG), pp. 169 ff.

NB = Same decree on a large board at Cairo. Not published independently; its variants from NP noted by Maspero in *Mom. roy.*, and I have a good photograph. NP and NB are nearly identical except in the matter preliminary to the Decree proper.

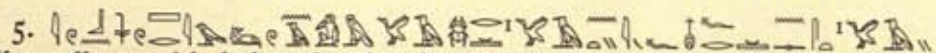
P = Decree for Pinūdem, husband of Neskhn̄s, on a papyrus at Cairo; the latest transcription by Golénischeff, *op. cit.*, 196 ff.

Mom. roy. = Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Dêr el-Baharî* in *Mém. Miss. fr.* 1, 511 ff.

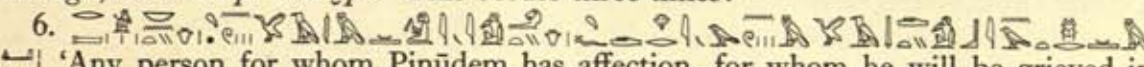
A line-number not introduced by any letter refers to a line or lines of NP, the MS. on which my study of the Decree is based.

³ No examples of any of the constructions dealt with in this article, with exx. 1-13, are found in P.

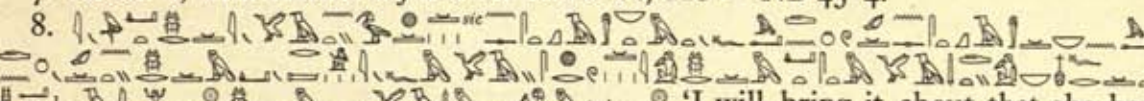
⁴ So in both manuscripts; but its correctness may be doubted in view of exx. 1, 2, 4, 5. Cf. the following n.

5.  it not being at all small, provided that that is what will be good for her', NB 39-40 = NP 108-111.

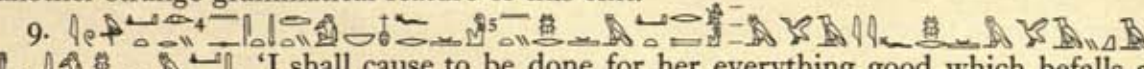
These examples have nothing grammatically abnormal, though I am unable to produce similar ones from other sources. But when *m p_i hpr*, with the same meaning, is connected with another kind of non-verbal sentence, namely one with *nominal* subject and *adverbial* predicate, the subject, no matter how long, is interposed, strangely enough, between *p_i* and *hpr*. This occurs three times:²

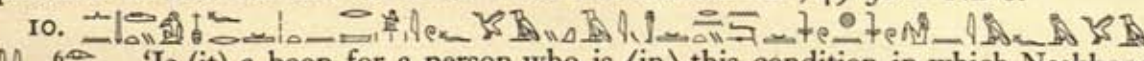
6.  'Any person for whom Pinudem has affection, for whom he will be grieved in the event that they have (*mdi-w*) anything evil', 74-5 = NB 20-1. Subject *mdt bint*, predicate *mdi-w*. The word-order one would expect, in view of exx. 1-5 above, is *m p_i hpr mdt bint mdi-w*.

7. As ex. 6, with variant *ib-f n-w* for *ib n-w* P., 118 = NB 43-4.

8.  'I will bring it about that she has what is beneficial (in) every manner, and that it shall give her comfort (in) every manner of comfort that befalls a person who is in this estate which has befallen her, provided that P. really and truly has everything good, and a very long life', 84-6 = NB 26-7. Subject *mdt nb nfrt*, *ch-w k_i sp 2*; predicate *mdi P. m sš sp 2*. The word-order one would expect is *m p_i hpr mdt nb nfrt, ch-w k_i sp 2 mdi P. m sš sp 2*.

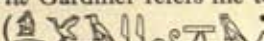
In order to attempt an explanation of this remarkable word-order I must first deal with another class of determined infinitive, that in which the determination is effected not by *p_i* but by the 'possessive adjective', *p_iy* etc. In our text, as elsewhere, the infinitive follows immediately on the 'possessive adjective'. In two examples out of the three the virtual subject of the infinitive is *tw* 'one', appended to *p_iy* like a suffix³—another strange grammatical feature of this text.


9.  'I shall cause to be done for her everything good which befalls a person if he falls into this condition which has befallen her', 49-50 = NB 8.


10.  'Is (it) a boon for a person who is (in) this condition in which Neskhons is, if one should do it?', 107-8 = NB 38.


¹ NP wrongly inserts *m* before *p_i*, *p_iy* here; the text of NB is clearly the correct one.

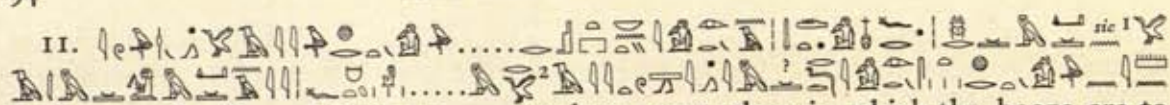
² I have to thank Gardiner for pointing out to me that in these three exx. *p_i* really belongs to *hpr*; I had interpreted *m p_i* in them on the lines set forth on p. 96 below, but without seeing that in each ex. a determined infinitive is really present.

³ For another ex. of *p_iy-tw* Gardiner refers me to P. Salt 124, vs. 1, 11 (JEA xv, pl. 45): 'Memorandum concerning people's going () to the funeral of Henwemirēt, and he (Penēb) stole a goose'. The grammatical nature of *tw* is curious: it can function quite independently, as in *tw r sdm*, and also as a suffix, as in Late Egyptian *tw-tw* 'one' (i.e. *tw* 'one' on the base *tw*, like *tw-i*, *tw-k* etc.), the conjunctive, and now *p_iy-tw*. In such contexts as *nty tw r gmt* 'he whom one shall find', *mk tw tw* 'see, one has come', it is syntactically equivalent to either a substantive or a dependent pronoun.

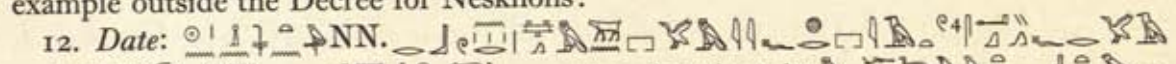
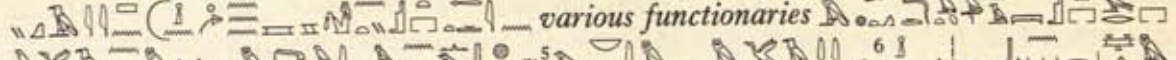
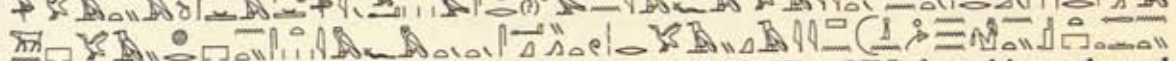
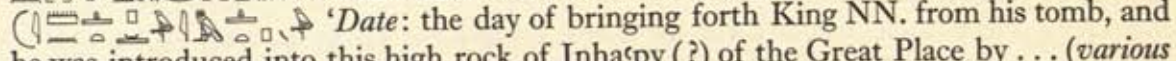
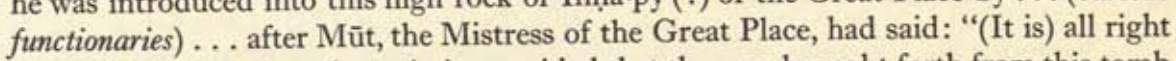
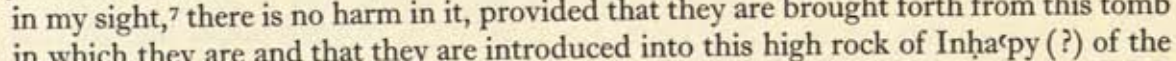
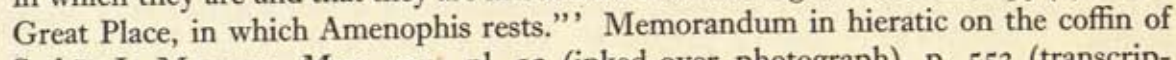
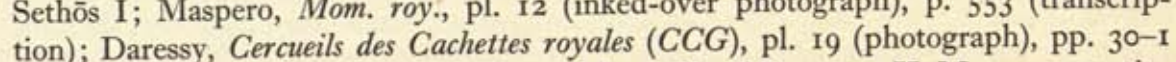
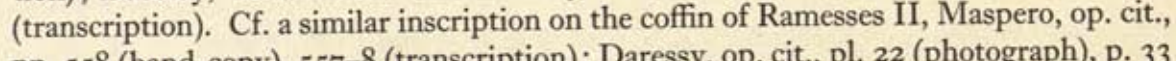
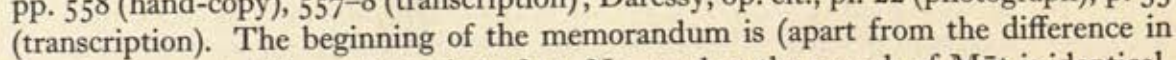
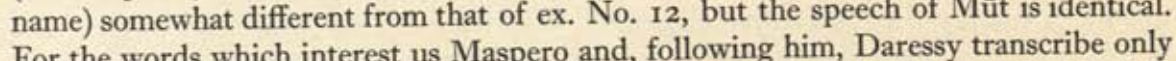
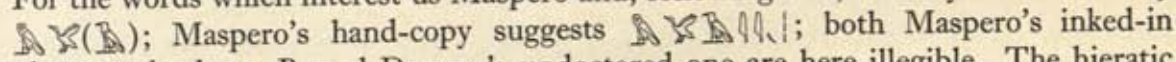
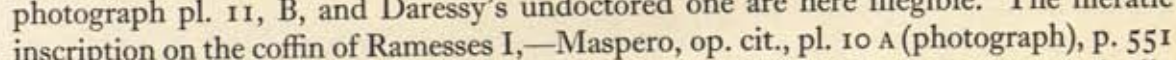
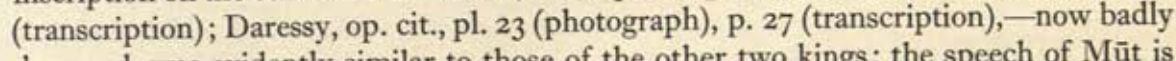
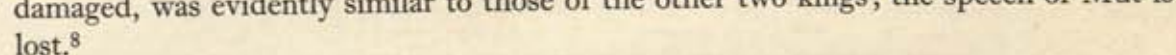
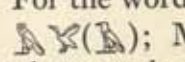
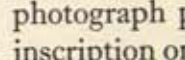
⁴ *Iry-tw* intended?—but NB has  here.

⁵ For , with superfluous tick.


⁶ Attempts to explain this queer-looking *m p_iy-tw* have already been made: Maspero stated, *Mom. roy.*, 612, n. 2, that it was a form of ; Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 777, suggested that it was a form of *btw-pwy*.

11.  etc. 'I will send forth my . . . oracle to every place in which the boons are to befall Pinūdem and his wives, etc., provided that one goes thither, saying, "An oracle of Amonrasonthēr, etc., has done them"', 118-21 = NB 44-5.³

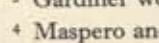
For the abnormal use of *tw* here, and the meaning 'provided that', I can quote another example outside the Decree for Neskhons:

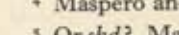
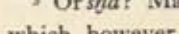
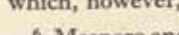
12. *Date:*  NN.  various functionaries              *'Date: the day of bringing forth King NN. from his tomb, and he was introduced into this high rock of Inḥapy (?) of the Great Place by . . . (various functionaries) . . . after Mūt, the Mistress of the Great Place, had said: "(It is) all right in my sight,⁷ there is no harm in it, provided that they are brought forth from this tomb in which they are and that they are introduced into this high rock of Inḥapy (?) of the Great Place, in which Amenophis rests."'* Memorandum in hieratic on the coffin of Sethōs I; Maspero, *Mom. roy.*, pl. 12 (inked-over photograph), p. 553 (transcription); Daressy, *Cercueils des Cachettes royales (CCG)*, pl. 19 (photograph), pp. 30-1 (transcription). Cf. a similar inscription on the coffin of Ramesses II, Maspero, *op. cit.*, pp. 558 (hand-copy), 557-8 (transcription); Daressy, *op. cit.*, pl. 22 (photograph), p. 33 (transcription). The beginning of the memorandum is (apart from the difference in name) somewhat different from that of ex. No. 12, but the speech of Mūt is identical. For the words which interest us Maspero and, following him, Daressy transcribe only ; Maspero's hand-copy suggests ; both Maspero's inked-in photograph pl. 11, B, and Daressy's undoctored one are here illegible. The hieratic inscription on the coffin of Ramesses I,—Maspero, *op. cit.*, pl. 10 A (photograph), p. 551 (transcription); Daressy, *op. cit.*, pl. 23 (photograph), p. 27 (transcription),—now badly damaged, was evidently similar to those of the other two kings; the speech of Mūt is lost.⁸

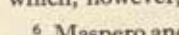
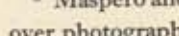
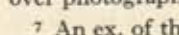
¹ NP, and apparently also NB, have this abusive — after *mdī*.

² This  is in NP only and is clearly abusive.

³ Gardiner would translate 'when' instead of 'if' or 'provided that' in exx. 9, 11 and perhaps 10.

⁴ Maspero and, following him, Daressy transcribe wrongly .


⁵ Or *shd*? Maspero and Daressy transcribe with ; the photographs are not decisive.  is not in *Wb.*, which, however, contains (IV, 267 (1), from other sources)  'tadeln o. ä. (neben *bt*)'.

⁶ Maspero and, following him, Daressy transcribe ; this is suggested by Maspero's inked-over photograph, but Daressy's undoctored one shows quite clearly , not .

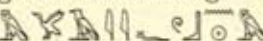
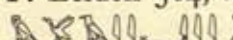
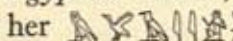

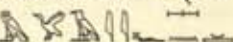
⁷ An ex. of the class of sentences without subject which I shall discuss elsewhere.

⁸ The true nature of these memoranda on the three coffins does not seem to have been understood. It is clear that at some time before the memoranda were made (those of Sethōs I and of Ramesses II are of the same date, and I have no doubt that theirs was also the date of the inscription of Ramesses I), the oracle of the goddess Mūt as the Mistress of the Great Place was consulted as to the propriety of removing the royal mummies from their then resting-places; the goddess replied that there was no objection provided that they were placed in Inḥapy's (?) tomb, to which the body of Amenophis I had been transferred at some time previously. This


For *m pꜣy:f* + infinitive with the meaning 'provided that he' there is the following example:

13.  etc. '... saying, "Save him, make him well, remove thoroughly every disease that is in him" before the god Penpaihai my lord, provided that he saves Mesehret and makes him well and gives him a long life, an advanced old age, and hearkens to the voice of Mesehret his child', etc., *ZAS* LIII, 13 with pl. 5, from a letter of the Twenty-first Dynasty; the preceding context is damaged.

Now, what is noteworthy about these examples (1-13) is that they all seem to have conditional force; and it should be noted that they are all of the same period, namely the Twenty-first Dynasty. Other examples of the determined infinitive with the possessive adjective governed by *m* that I have been able to find are all earlier, and all seem to be not conditional but temporal, e.g. 'in his coming' = 'when he comes (came)', thus:

(a) 'I pray to Prē-Ḥarakhti  at his rising and at his setting' (= 'when he rises and when he sets'),² e.g. P. Bologna 1086, 1, 2-3; P. Leiden 364, *rt.*, 3-4; 366, *rt.*, 3; (b) '(I pray) to Amenemope on every 10th day  at his coming (= when he comes) to offer water to the Great Living Souls', Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 66, 5; (c) 'they (the poles) were lying there outside your place *m pꜣy:i iyt* on my arrival (= when I came) from the South', *op. cit.*, 50, 11-12; (d) the elder brother stood behind the door 'to kill his younger brother *m pꜣy:f iyt* at his coming (= when he should come) in the evening', Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 14, 14; (e) 'if(?) <any of> my own brothers or sisters arise to confront her  at my death (= when I die) to-morrow or after to-morrow', *JEA*, xxvi, pl. 5 A, l. 6 of text; (f) 'I shall send you the boat  when I arrive', P. Cairo Cat. No. 58056 (unpublished), *rt.*, 6-7; (g) 'and hand them (the spears) to the coppersmith Tety, and (to) the coppersmith Hori  when he has finished (his present work), and to my own two coppersmiths', Černý, *op. cit.*, 51, 6-7.³

I suggest, as a not impossible explanation of exx. 6-8, where *pꜣ* is separated from its place was selected by the oracle perhaps partly because of its out-of-the-way situation and partly because of the great sanctity of Amenophis I, who had become a tutelary deity of the Necropolis and himself had an important oracle, and whose body had, as we learn, already been transferred to Inḥaṣpy's (?) tomb. The use of the plural ('provided that they are brought forth . . . and that they are introduced') shows that the oracle had been consulted about a number of bodies—including at least those of Ramesses I and II and Sethōs I—at the same time. The memoranda were intended, no doubt, to serve largely as a justification of the act of removal by recording that this had been carried out with the express approval of Mūt, the deity presiding over the district. The graffiti on the three kings' coffins, which are from the same hand, possess certain other features of interest—e.g. the reading of the date, their relation to the graffiti which follow them on the coffins—which this is not the place to discuss.

¹ Spiegelberg has here .

² Cf. *m wbn:f m ḥtp:f*, Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 29, 2; 31, 6; 44, 9, where *wbn*, *ḥtp* are doubtless in *šgm:f*; also *iw:f* (<*hr*>) *wbn ḥtp*, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

³ With these exx. compare Coptic ⲉⲁⲛⲧⲣⲉⲩⲱⲧⲁⲓ (S), ⲉⲛⲡⲁⲛⲟⲣⲉⲩⲱⲧⲁⲓ (B), 'when he hear-s, -d', Stern, *Kopt. Gr.*, §§ 469, 472.

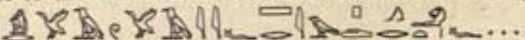
noun (infinitive), that at a certain point in time (perhaps at the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty), such phrases as *m pꜣy:f iyt* 'on his arrival', *m pꜣy:i mwt* 'at my death', because they were fully equivalent to 'when he comes', 'when I die' were re-interpreted, *m pꜣy:f* (·i, etc.) being felt as an auxiliary verb with subject-suffixes 'when he (I, etc.)', a kind of *šdm:f* followed by the infinitive, analogous to such auxiliaries as the conjunctive¹ and *bw-ptw*. This misunderstanding would be made possible by the fact that since all Late-Egyptian infinitives are masculine the 'possessive adjectives' governing them have always the base *pꜣy*. Once this error had gained ground it would be an easy and natural step, indeed one might say a necessary one, to make the back-formation from e.g. *m pꜣy:f hꜣpr* 'when it happens' with pronominal 'subject', to e.g. *m-pꜣ mdt hꜣpr* 'when something happens' with nominal 'subject'; *m-pꜣy*, with *ꜣꜣ*, bearing the same relation to *m-pꜣ* without it, that in this respect the 'possessive adjective' does to the definite article *pꜣ*.^{2,3} The belief that an auxiliary was in question would then have made it very easy to attach *tw* to *m-pꜣy*.

At about the same time the meaning will have been given the relatively slight shift from 'when' to 'if', 'provided that', 'in the event that' that we find in the above examples. The temporal and the conditional are never far apart in Egyptian; cf., in Old Egyptian, the use of *ir* for 'when' in *Urk.* 1, 130, 6, 10; in Late Egyptian *hr ir* 'if', 'when'; in Coptic *εἰωνε*, *εἰωαν*, each with both meanings; and at all times the use of circumstantial clauses for both purposes.⁴

¹ The history of the conjunctive, brilliantly recovered by Gardiner in *JEA* xiv, 86 ff., shows what the Egyptians were capable of in disrupting a construction containing the infinitive; see especially his remarks on p. 95 about the nominal subject.

² Cf. also the negative auxiliary *bw-ptw* with nominal, *bw-ptwy* with pronominal subject.

³ Possibly *m pꜣ* in *m pꜣ hꜣpr*, exx. 1-5 above, was also felt to be a kind of auxiliary: 'provided that (so and so) happen', *hꜣpr* being taken as subject of *m-pꜣ*.

⁴ Gardiner points out to me what he considers to be another example of a split determined infinitive, namely in the passage  P. Salt 124, rt., 2, 1 (*JEA* xv, pl. 43), which he translates 'Memorandum concerning that—his son's—flight before him . . . and he (the son) took an oath . . .' Černý had translated (*JEA* xv, 245), agreeing with the interpretation of Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 120, 'Charge concerning this: His son fled before him . . . and took an oath', to which Gardiner objects (by letter) that to pull up short at 'this' seems to him very un-Egyptian, and that he knows of no Late-Egyptian example of noun + infinitive (*hr* omitted) or Old Perfective conveying such a sense as 'his son fled', an independent past statement.

REGINALD ENGELBACH

By S. R. K. GLANVILLE¹

THE death of Reginald Engelbach on February 26, 1946, at the age of 57 had an ominous significance for Egyptology and for our Society in particular which the last few months have emphasized. It was not only the premature end of a very full and fruitful career entirely occupied (except during the war years 1914-19) with the subject. It came at a time of great change in Egypt, and we may well ask to-day whether the position he held for so many years in the Cairo Museum with such great benefit to Egypt and Egyptology, and which he had already had to relinquish in name though not in effect, will be available to any other scholar of his calibre in the next critical years.

His death marks with an unhappy definition the end of a phase in the exploration of Ancient Egypt; a period of not altogether unbalanced international co-operation: French and British sharing the practical control of the Antiquities Service with increasing Egyptian assistance and responsibility; and America leading quantitatively and perhaps qualitatively in the field among expeditions sponsored by Egypt, France, Belgium, Italy, Germany, and this country. As Chief Keeper of the Cairo Museum, on which all the expeditions converged at the beginning and end of their season's work, and with perhaps the main responsibility for allocating to excavators the antiquities from their finds which the Museum did not require, Engelbach constituted a focus for all archaeologists visiting Egypt, and performed a special service by the good relations he maintained with excavators of all nationalities. (It is not surprising that this personal contribution to Egyptology was recognized by decorations from three foreign Governments.²) At this moment when the Egypt Exploration Society is attempting to return to full activity after the barren war years, and in the face of increasingly crippling financial difficulties at home, the almost coincident disappearance from Cairo of Rex Engelbach means something more than the loss of that perennial welcome to all our excavators.

Engelbach was born on July 9, 1888, at Moreton Hampstead in Devonshire, of a family of Alsatian origin settled in England since the seventeenth century. His father, a doctor, volunteered for service in the R.A.M.C. in the South African War and was killed in the campaign. It was to his stepfather, Major Stevens, that Rex Engelbach owed his first visit to Egypt in the winter of 1909-10, where he was taken to convalesce from a badly strained heart. The enforced leisure which prevented him from completing his engineering course at the London Technical College gave him an opportunity for taking up the study of Egyptian and Coptic, to which after his arrival in Egypt he soon added a useful knowledge of colloquial Arabic. It required only an introduction

¹ I wish to thank Mr. Guy Brunton for supplying much of the material for this notice.

² He had also been an Hon. Member of the French Institute since 1935. In 1946 he was elected a Fellow of University College, London, but died before the title could be confirmed by the University.

to Flinders Petrie, who quickly recognized his qualities, to decide his career; by 1914, with excavations (and a large share in their publication) at Heliopolis, Shurāfa, Kafr Ammar, Riqqeh, and Harageh to his credit, he was an established Egyptologist.

In August 1914 he joined the Artists' Rifles; and in the following year he married Miss Nancy Lambert. He fought in France and later in Gallipoli, whence he was sent home suffering from shell-shock, but continued to serve in charge of anti-aircraft defence at Newhaven and elsewhere. After the conquest of Palestine he was commissioned by Lord Allenby to report on the antiquity sites in that country and in Syria jointly with the French. It was his French colleagues who subsequently recommended him for a post with the Department of Antiquities in Egypt. He returned to excavate with Petrie at Lahun and Gurob (1919-20), and in 1920 went to Luxor as Chief Inspector of Upper Egypt. In 1924 he was transferred to the Museum at Cairo, first as Assistant Keeper and later (1931) as Chief Keeper. Five years ago he was retired from this post to make way for an Egyptian, but was retained at the Museum as Technical Adviser.

Engelbach's main contribution to Egyptology was his work at the Cairo Museum of those last twenty years. Its value was recognized by his colleagues (if not by a much larger public who benefited from its results) and will last long after his responsibility for it is forgotten by all save antiquarians of Egyptology. Enough has been said above about his importance as a liaison between the Antiquities Service and excavators from abroad. His care of the collections and his untiring preoccupation with their display were of even greater, as well as more general, value. And in addition to this major duty of a museum official he was continually devoting himself to tasks of more scientific interest, such as could be properly undertaken only by someone having access to the Museum's collections and their records.¹

Engelbach's scientific work during this period was not confined to museological research. Though his keepership required of him too great an expenditure of time on administration and practical work in the galleries to allow him to specialize in any one field, he not only achieved and maintained a reputation as an authority on the whole of Egyptian archaeology, but pursued his early linguistic interests in more than one direction, and was continuously concerned with historical problems, notably of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The main witness to these interests is the number of articles above his signature in the *Annales du Service*.

His special contribution, however, to Egyptological literature was influenced by his early engineering training and is comprised in two monographs, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry* (1930), of which he was joint author with Somers Clarke, and *The Aswan Obelisk* (1922), an official account for the *Service* which formed the basis of his more popular *Problems of the Obelisks* published in 1923. In these he broke new ground, and both books became the standard works on their respective subjects. Behind them lay half a dozen memoirs on the excavations of the British School of Archaeology, of which he was whole or part author, and which displayed his general competence as an archaeologist as well as an improved system of recording, first devised by him and since adopted by the School and other excavators.

¹ e.g. His *Index of Egyptian and Sudanese Sites from which the Cairo Museum contains Antiquities* (1931).

This brief account of what Rex Engelbach did will, I hope, have given a hint of that outstanding characteristic which must have immediately struck all who met him: his irrepressible energy. Short, but erect and athletic-looking, with an alert head, rather high complexion, and hurried, jerky speech, he gave the impression of being determined to get twenty-four hours' work out of every day. But though this habit of demanding more of himself than time would allow might result in an apparent gruffness at first meeting, he was, in fact, always ready to put himself at other people's disposal, and he was particularly accessible to the younger archaeologists, many of whom will not forget the debt they owe him. *Experto crede*: that was in 1923; and better acquaintance confirmed the kind-heartedness and willingness to help in any Egyptological matter however far from his own interest at the moment. There were, of course, leisure moments divided between billiards at the Turf Club and dispensing hospitality with his wife at their flat. His friends will not wish to be forgotten the bilingual parrot—Arabic and English—which provided entertainment and sometimes embarrassment on these occasions.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

The Accession Day of Sesostri I

IN his admirable new edition of the Berlin Leather Roll (*Studia Aegyptiaca*, 1, 48 ff.) De Buck has overlooked an interesting, but perplexing, problem that arises from its dating in the 3rd year, 3rd month of the Inundation season, day 8,¹ of the reign of Sesostri I. The manuscript, as is well known, records a session of that monarch's counsellors in which he unfolded his plan of building a great temple to Harakhti in Heliopolis; it has often been thought that the text is a copy, not without corruptions, of an actual historical inscription, and our experience with the Carnarvon Tablet and of its original later discovered at Karnak² goes far to confirm this view. Now an attentive reading renders it practically certain that the aforementioned session of the Court took place on the king's accession day or else on its anniversary, the recurrence of the expression $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'Arising of the King'³ in I, 2; II, 2, 13 being unique in its insistence, and the adjuncts 'with the double crown', 'at the union of the two lands', and 'with the band and plumes' all enhancing this impression; indeed, the second⁴ and third⁵ of these adjuncts might seem even to point to the 1st year of Sesostri I, were it not that the hieratic unambiguously states that the event took place in the 3rd year. A common-sense consideration speaks decisively against the 1st year: we know that Ammenemes I associated Sesostri I as king in his 21st year, and it seems hardly likely that he would have allowed his son and younger partner on the throne at once to embark on so important a building project, and still less to proclaim it to the world without any reference whatever to himself. But the same argument applies to every year of Sesostri I until his 10th, the year in which Ammenemes I died. Consequently, unless we emend 'year 3' into 'year 13' or into some year after the 9th we seem faced with the fact that on his father's death Sesostri I in certain inscriptions began counting his years afresh, so that 'year 3' would here be the third year of his sole rule. A further complication now comes into view. The accession day of the Berlin Roll is placed on the calendar day following the death of Ammenemes I, which the Story of Sinuhe records as having taken place in the 30th year, 3rd month of the Inundation season, day 7; but the session of the Court cannot have been on the day immediately following the old king's decease, since not only, as the same historically trustworthy tale tells us, was the court then plunged into mourning, but also Sesostri I was far away from Egypt on a Libyan campaign. Thus we seem driven to the conclusions, if the text of the Leather Roll is correct, (1) that the 2nd anniversary of Sesostri I's accession as sole king was meant, and (2) that when an associated king spoke of his 'King's Arising' he meant thereby not the date of his association but the date when he first presented himself as sole king.

ALAN H. GARDINER

¹ The figure is only partly preserved, but De Buck regarded the reading as probable. I take this opportunity of noting that in I, 7 $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ should be read 'I acquired what he decreed (that I should) know', and that in II, 17, as Erman correctly saw, $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (Wb. III, 275, 11) should be emended.






















² For the Tablet see *JEA* III, 95 ff. and *ibid.*, p. 109 for my surmise that it was the copy of a real stela; for the Karnak stela see *Ann. Serv.* XXXIX, 245 ff.

³ *JEA* XXX, 24.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, 12, with n. 2.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.* 'Festival of the Band' in connexion with the accession day of Shepseskaf, Palermo Stone, *vs.* 2, see *loc. cit.*, 12, Fig. 1, c.

Second Thoughts on the Origin of Coptic eye-

In *JEA* xvi, 220 ff. I produced a substantial body of evidence tending, as I thought, to prove 'that the (or at least a) Late-Egyptian form of  before nominal subject is  ()  "so-and-so shall hear", and that this contention is clinched by the fact that to Coptic  corresponds with nominal subject  or .' The first of these two propositions is hardly open to doubt, but for some years past I have felt a growing scepticism with regard to the second. Since the earliest of my examples (Nos. 18 and 19, both from the *Nauri Decree*) showed  in place of , and since the same substitution appeared also at the opposite end of the period envisaged (No. 32 from the *Wisdom of Amenemope*), scholars were implicitly asked to believe in the existence of Late-Egyptian passages where , notoriously by this time pronounced *ē* or *ā*, would have possessed the value *-ērē*. When I wrote my article the writing with  loomed so large in my thoughts that I ignored the difficulty offered by the rarer variant , or rather considered that difficulty outweighed by what then seemed the obvious correspondence of  and . If I now reject that view, it is partly because I have come to realize that  cannot possibly have had any other pronunciation than *ē* or *ā*, and partly because there is ground for thinking that  was at least in some cases similarly pronounced. The latter point is too complex to be dealt with in a short note like this, for if followed up it would involve the difficult problem of the Late-Egyptian and Coptic Imperatives. Consequently I will only note that unless  had sometimes such a pronunciation, it is unlikely that we should have found such a corruption as  *P. Ch. Beatty V*, 7, 7-8 for  *Anast. V*, 10, 8, and that rare as are instances of our future construction with  instead of  before nominal subject, such instances exist, see p. 223 of my article, at bottom, and also in the *Will of Naunakhte*, 5, 11 (*JEA* xxxi, 36, n. ii).

If then \ominus and \triangleleft in the Late-Egyptian construction are to be taken as mere equivalents of ⲓⲛ , though perhaps so specialized as to convey future meaning to the reader's eye without exercising his mind, it is incumbent upon me to attempt a new explanation of the element -pe- in the Coptic epe- . Let it first be observed that this element is by no means confined to the Coptic Third Future, but occurs before nominal subject (e.g.) in epe- of the Second Present, in epe- na of the Second Future, in nepe- of the Imperfect, and so forth. It is possible, of course, that the element -pe- may have originated in only one of these, and have been extended by analogy and without memory of its origin to the rest. Without dwelling on this indisputable possibility I will here merely say that I see no objection to supposing that the element -pe- , in whatever tense-form it first presented itself, was a shortened form of the infinitive eipe 'to make', 'do'. That there was a tendency to place such an infinitive before, instead of after, a nominal subject was illustrated on p. 226 of my article by ⲧⲁⲓ in $\text{ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲧⲁⲓ-ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲱⲧⲁⲓ}$, and Gunn has now cited to me the same phenomenon with ⲉⲣⲱ , Egn. rh 'be able', e.g. $\text{ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲱ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ ⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲑⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕⲓ}$ and the corresponding negative $\text{ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲱ ⲉⲗⲓ ⲉⲟⲗⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲩⲓⲁ}$, both quoted by Stern, § 455; so too in demotic, Griffith, *Rylands Catalogue*, p. 203, n. 21, and p. 236, n. 6.

To any expert who may feel that the difficult problem of Coptic **epe-** has here been handled in far too cavalier a fashion, I reply that my principal object has been to retract what I now consider to have been an erroneous hypothesis, and that my new suggestion that the **-pe-** of Coptic **epe-** is the remains of the infinitive 'to do' is intended merely as a possibility to be weighed, not as an assertion made with any degree of confidence.

Opportunity is here taken of alluding to the cognate problem of the Coptic Second Tenses. The function of these is brilliantly treated in Polotsky's recent *Études de Syntaxe Copte* (Cairo 1944). The great importance of the discovery there set forth is clear, but I reserve for another place some serious criticisms of the way in which Polotsky has developed his theme.

ALAN H. GARDINER

Some Notes on P. Ryl. III

SOME minor points relating to the *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, Volume III, *Theological and Literary Texts* (Nos. 457-551), edited by C. H. Roberts, M.A., may not be without interest.

463. A leaf from a papyrus codex (early iii/A.D.), identified as a fragment of the Gospel of Mary.

24 f. παντως γαρ εκεινος ειδως αυτην ας

φ[αλ]ω[s] ηγαπησεν μαλλ[ο]ν αισχυ[ν]θω[με]ν κ.τ.λ.

The editor writes: 'αςφ[αλ]ω[s] which according to S (Professor Carl Schmidt's translation of the Coptic Version) should belong to ειδως must be taken with ηγαπησεν; this slightly improves the sense.' But is not ασφαως more fitly taken (as in S) with ειδως? 'To love surely' seems a rather unusual phrase, whereas 'to know surely' is familiar. Cf. Wisd. xviii, 6, Acts ii, 36 (γινώσκω. Cf. xxi, 34, xxii, 30. Also Luke i, 4 and the ασφαλή γνώσκω of 1 Clem. i, 2.) This would leave ηγαπησεν without an object expressed, for which cf. Jer. v, 31, Luke vii, 47. If μαλλον could be taken with ηγαπησεν (cf. πολύ in Luke vii, 47) this would yield an excellent sense: 'yea indeed (παντως γαρ), though he had sure knowledge of her, he loved her the more'. But even if μαλλον goes with αισχυνηθωμεν, the connexion of ασφαως with ειδως suggested above seems preferable.

465⁴ cf. 29 (vi/A.D.): κα[ι] σωτηρ και παμβασιλευς ημων Ι[η]σους ο Χ[ριστος]. The title παμβασιλεύς is interesting in view of Sirach i, 15 (17): δσμὴν εὐωδίας ὑψίστῳ παμβασιλεῖ. Have we here another imperial designation (it is used of Hadrian. Cf. the Aristotelian παμβασιλεία) appropriated to religious usage?

467¹³ (vi/A.D.): ἐλεῖσον ἡμᾶς κ[α]

τα το μεγα σου ἐλ[ε]

ος. ναι κ(υρι)ε.

The editor points out that ναι, κ(υρι)ε occurs three times in St. John's Gospel, in each case as a prostration, e.g. xxi, 15. For a similar use in an invocation as here cf. Judith ix, 12, Rev. xvi, 7.

468³ (vi/A.D.):]. φο κ(υρι)ς ανεστ[...]. εκ

νεκρων]ν κ(αι) του θανατ[ου] το κρα

τος]. κατηρτησαντα ^ο

1. κατάρτισαντα (ed.). Could we read κατηρτησαντα (= καταργησαντα) here for κατηρτησαντα (γ for τ)? This would lend a good sense, 'crippled the power of death' (cf. 1 Cor. xv, 26; 2 Tim. i, 10, and especially Heb. ii, 14).

468⁷:]δρομον τον καλο(ν). For the collocation see the citation given in Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary* 171 b: Kaibel 618³⁰: καλὸς δρόμος — ἐπλετο δυσμή. Jer. xxiii, 10 has δρόμος πονηρός (B, however, reads δρυμός).

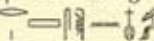

470^{5f}. (iv/A.D.): μη παρειδης ἐμ περιστασει, 'suffer us not (to be) in adversity'. περιστασει: 'not Biblical in this sense, but common in later Greek' (ed.). See, however, 2 Macc. iv, 16: χαλεπή περίστασις, where the probable neutral sense ('circumstances') is coloured by the addition of the adjective.


H. G. MEECHAM

REVIEWS








Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, vol. lxxvii, edited by WALTHER WOLF. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, 1941-2.

Through the courtesy of M. Capart the above-mentioned volume has been loaned me by the Fondation Reine Élisabeth, and as it is unlikely to be obtainable in England for a long time to come, some of our readers may welcome a résumé of the contents. Lack of space, as well as of time, renders a full account impossible, and in some cases I shall give little more than the title, in others I shall add a few criticisms. The volume opens with a tribute to the late Karl Dyroff by A. Scharff; Dyroff was a greatly esteemed Arabist and Egyptologist who, however, published very little.

Next follows an article by H. Junker entitled *‘Handlung’ als Präfix in Zusammensetzungen* (pp. 3-7). The starting-point is a brief descriptive legend  accompanying scenes in which a body of youths escort from the shore the king's state-barge or the like, Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-Rer*, II, pls. 9, 17, 52. Sethe had suggested as the meaning 'Action of giving escort (on the part) of the youths', but only to reject it. Junker has realized that this is the correct rendering, and argues that  possessed the meaning 'action' also in a number of passages of the Pyramid Texts (921, 1245, 1251, 1694) already quoted by Sethe. Junker then mentions several compounds (e.g. *r-dw*, *Wb.* II, 397, 7) where *r* has the same force, an extended form being *r-r*, literally 'action of the arm', which in turn gives rise to other compounds, the best-known being *r-r-kt* and *r-r-ht* (*Wb.* II, 394, 11. 12).


Next (pp. 7-12) K. H. Dittmann deals with the Old Kingdom title , adding a fourth example from the tomb of *Spss-Pth* at Abūṣīr to those already known. The writer rejects the translation 'priest of the double axe' proposed by Newberry in *Ann. Serv.* XXVIII, 138 ff. and makes it probable that the title referred to some constructive craft.




Scharff follows (pp. 13-21) with a new rendering of *Die Lehre für Kagemni*, with grammatical and explanatory commentary. I refer to this article in one of my own on the same subject in the present volume of the *Journal*.

Grapow's short paper *Zu zwei Stellen des Westcar* (pp. 21-3) starts with two remarks on the reading. That *whi* 'hall' is determined with  and not with  need not have been noted, as it has been common knowledge since Griffith pointed it out in *OLZ* III, 186. The attempt to correct  8, 17 into , though proposed earlier by Thausig, as Grapow acknowledges in an additional note, p. 112, is definitely wrong. The form of the sign under debate does not really resemble , as may be verified from several examples of the latter in the adjacent lines; it is true that the form is strange for , which only rarely (e.g. in 8, 12) receives a rightward turn at the bottom; but there is one instance at least which approximates closely to our extreme case, namely the last  of *ity* in 8, 16. The rest of the article discusses *nd hrt imhy* (or *si-nsw*) *ptw* after the elaborate greetings in 7, 19-20; 7, 26-8, 1, these words being plausibly explained as comments made by the story-teller to his unlettered audience—'that is how a revered man (or 'a king's son') is greeted'.

In *‘Iks und Hpi, zwei Königsinsignien als Gottheiten* (pp. 24-7) Kees deals with the same two minor deities as my note *JEA* xxx, 29, n. 4, see too De Buck's determination of the reading of the former as *ḫks*, op. cit. xxxi, 116. The conclusions reached by Kees and myself are similar,¹ but his treatment is fuller and better documented.

Roeder next (pp. 27-44) discusses with wearisome over-elaboration *Athen 132, eine ägyptische Bronze-gruppe mit sieben Figuren*, incorporating notes by Dr. N. Bufidis, who appears as joint-author. The dedicatory, one Bekenranef, kneels before seven deities, holding a basket of loaves on his head. The main figures are Osiris and a protecting Isis with sheltering wings; at the sides are Rer and Sachmis, Neith and yet another

¹ Kees, like Jéquier, took *ḫks* to be the name of a garment, while I imagined it to be that of a handkerchief or the like. There is little to choose between these possibilities, but the determinative  is found also with the words *kn* and *šnp* believed to be the names of garments.

implicitly contain *iw twn* 'there is', so that the appropriate translation is *If there be*; these cases contradict Grapow's formulation, since clearly in them the speaker expressed no belief in the actual presence of a suppliant or an investigator, but merely put forward that presence as a condition antecedent to the application of the apodosis. It is a mere coincidence that Grapow's explanation holds of *ir twnn ihw hr ih*, since the underlying *iw X hr sdm* (§ 323) is a common mode of affirmation; on the other hand, to explain *ir twnn ih-tw* as implying the speaker's belief of *ih-tw* as a fact does not do full justice to the construction, since the underlying *iw sdm-tw* is a form frequent in generalizations or statements of prevalent conditions (§ 462). So far as I can see, Grapow nowhere indicates the real intention of the authors of the passages which he has thus interestingly assembled. That intention was to affirm that if it be a true generalization that one obtains beatitude by behaving in such and such a manner (e.g.  = *through doing right*,  *through praising god*), then the deceased will obtain beatitude; what is true generally will be true in his case. In the rarer form we may render *If the blessed ones (really) obtain beatitude*,  *my soul shall follow Onnophris*, the implications being 'I too am a blessed one' and 'to follow Onnophris is one variety of beatitude'.

The article *Die beiden vogelgestaltigen Seelenvorstellungen der Ägypter* by E. Otto (pp. 78-91) discusses the conceptions of the *bai* and the *akh*. No hieroglyphs are given, so that examination of the author's translations would involve looking up all his references. The Coffin Texts are here used for the first time, and there can be no doubt that this elaborate paper would reward the most careful study. However, its writer himself ignores earlier work on the same topic, a reprehensible omission; our science cannot progress if every fresh treatment pays no attention to those that have preceded.

In *Ein demotischer Prozessvertrag* (pp. 92-9) W. Erichsen makes a careful study of P. Berlin 3113, well known already as one of the documents concerned with the famous Lawsuit of Hermias. The letterpress is accompanied by seven admirable autographed plates giving the demotic text with interlinear transliteration.

The volume closes with *Koptische Kleinliteratur* 1-4 by W. Till (pp. 101-11). In the introductory paragraphs it is pointed out that various small Coptic MSS. exist which their more rapid writing proclaims not to have been regarded as of genuine literary character. The author intends to publish those documents of this nature which exist in the Vienna collection, and makes a start with a spell against fever, a love-charm, and a prayer.

ALAN H. GARDINER

A History of the Giza Necropolis, vol. I. By G. A. REISNER. Pp. xlvii+532, 75 pls., 6 maps, and numerous text-figs. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1942; Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, London. £7. 7s.

In this mighty tome the late Prof. Reisner gives to the world the first instalment of the long-awaited publication of his lengthy and fruitful excavations in the necropolis of Gīzah. He begins with discussions of the history and topography of the site. As is, of course, well known, the vast majority of the O.K. mastabas at Gīzah lie on two sides of the pyramid of Cheops; these groups the author designates the Western and Eastern Fields respectively, and it is with them that he is mainly concerned in the present book. He subdivides these two main cemeteries into what he calls 'nucleus cemeteries', i.e. separate groups of mastabas arranged in orderly blocks and erected by the order of Cheops for his relatives and the most important personages of his Court; upon this regular arrangement were imposed in the course of time secondary mastabas belonging either to descendants of the original occupants or to the *ka*-priests attached to the tombs, so that to-day the original systematic grouping has been to some extent obscured.

The bulk of this book is devoted to the discussion of the tombs themselves in almost every conceivable architectural and archaeological aspect; materials employed and plans and methods of construction, whether of the cores and casings of the mastabas themselves, of the tomb-shafts and burial chambers, of the chapels for the funerary rites and their decoration; and records of the objects found. No detail is left undescribed, so that the author can classify each main architectural member of the finished tomb-complex into types and sub-types, and discuss their relationship to tombs on other sites. Inevitably this style of treatment entails much enumeration of measurements and the like, so that the book makes somewhat heavy reading, but all the facts are there, even if at times one finds it difficult to see the wood for the trees.

Apart from the purely archaeological aspect of their place in the development of the decorations of the tomb-chapels, there is no discussion of the reliefs and inscriptions—their significance for the understanding of ritual, &c., may perhaps be reserved for a later volume—but the author utters a timely word of warning regarding the use of proper names, whether personal or topographical, compounded with royal names as a means of dating a tomb, since such compound names are not an infallible guide; see his remarks pp. 33 ff.

The original interments, where such have survived, exist but as skeletons in the vast majority of cases, the posture of burial varying from the fully crouching to the fully extended, but evidence of the beginnings of the more general practice of embalming, originally apparently confined to royalty, are to be found in the provision of 'canopic' pits or recesses to receive the internal organs preserved in natron. Remains of a mummy were found, however, in tomb G4340 (see pl. 48, f) and the intact mummy of a woman in G2220 (see pl. 42 and p. 452); Reisner dates this burial to Dyn. V. It was not wrapped from head to foot in the usual manner, but was designed to imitate the living woman in the costume of the day, the long sleeveless tunic, with her feet and ankles projecting below it and her arms lying free along her sides. Over all was laid a linen shroud.

The numerous plans, sections, and line-drawings illustrating the text are well executed, and the photographic plates are excellent. At the end of the book are maps of the Gīzah necropolis as a whole, of the Western and Eastern Fields, and, on a larger scale, of the 'nucleus cemeteries'. In short, this work, like the author's other books, is a mine of information on its subject, and as such will have to lie ready to the scholar's hand for consultation, even though few will perhaps care to peruse it from cover to cover. The fact that this is Vol. I holds out an implicit promise of a successor or successors to round off the publication of Reisner's work, and it is hoped that they will not be long delayed.

R. O. FAULKNER

The Jews in Egypt in the Hellenistic-Roman Age in the Light of the Papyri. By V. TSCHERIKOWER. The Hebrew University Press Association. Jerusalem, 1945. xii+272 pp. in Hebrew, 32 pp. in English.

This papyrological monograph of the distinguished ancient historian of Jerusalem is in Hebrew, but has an ample résumé in English, which states the main conclusions reached. As most papyrologists have at least some Hebrew, the detailed reasoning of the author is not so difficult of access as may appear at the first glance. The work consists of Prolegomena to a *Corpus Papyrorum Iudaicarum* which Dr. Tscherikower was prevented from completing by the War. The Introduction treats of such texts as would naturally be included in the author's *Corpus*, and of the criteria according to which a personal name may be considered as Jewish. As far as uncertain names are concerned, the author is a little too optimistic. The next chapters are sound and valuable: they deal with the settlement of the Jews in Egypt, with their economic life in the Nile country, with the taxes which they had to pay, and with the Jewish and Hellenistic laws in force for them. The chapter on the civic status of Egyptian Jews in the Roman period is, of necessity, more controversial, since here many much-discussed documents, like the literary and papyrus letters of the Emperor Claudius and the Acts of Alexandrian Martyrs, have to be used. The Jewish revolt under Trajan is well surveyed, but has, in the reviewer's opinion, its origin less in internal Jewish affairs than the author and many modern scholars have suggested. It was probably encouraged rather by one of the leading Parthian commanders opposing Trajan, namely, the king of Adiabene, scion of a family with well-known Jewish contacts, who knew, in order to save his throne and life, how to use Jewish discontent and Messianic hopes effectively to menace Trajan's supply lines. The last chapter is concerned with the names of the Jews of Egypt, and is competent and careful. A brief survey of the development of Egyptian Jewry concludes this useful monograph. Some literature of recent date was not accessible to the author during the War, e.g. Prof. A. Segrè's article *The Status of the Jews in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* in *Jewish Social Studies*, vi (1944), pp. 374 ff., which he would probably have corrected and refuted, and Prof. A. Wilhelm, *Zu dem Jüdenertasse des Ptolemaios Philadelphos* in *Archiv f. Pap.* xiv (1941), pp. 30 ff. Let us hope that peace conditions will soon allow Dr. Tscherikower to proceed with his projected *Corpus*.

F. M. HEICHELHEIM

Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava, ed. Institutum Papyrologicum Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae, vols. I-III, Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1941-2. Vol. I: *The Warren Papyri*, pp. x+74, with seven plates. Vol. II: *Einige Wiener Papyri*, edited by E. BOSWINKEL. Pp. xii+76, with six plates. Vol. IIIA: *Some Oxford Papyri* edited by E. P. WEGENER. Pp. xii+93.

A reviewer may be excused if his first reaction to these handsome fascicles is one of plain astonishment as, bearing in mind the years in which they appeared, he observes the excellent paper on which they are printed, the format generous even for a peace-time production, the elaborate indices and admirable plates, the absence of any suggestion of restrictions such as we have suffered (and still suffer) here; but astonishment will soon give place to admiration as he reflects that the creation of a new series in a field of such limited appeal as papyrology is a credit not only to Dutch scholarship (which these volumes certainly are) but also to Dutch morale in the most difficult years of Holland's history. Our congratulations are due to all concerned in the production of the first three volumes of this series to which we wish a long and equally successful future.

In volume I (P. Warren) are published twenty-one papyri which, originally the property of the late E. P. Warren, passed into the hands of H. Asa Thomas, who presented them to the Leyden Papyrological Institute. They have been here carefully and thoroughly edited by eight students of Leyden University under the supervision of Professors David, van Groningen, and van Oven. Nine of them (on the whole the more interesting texts of the collection) had already been published by Hunt and on some of these, not unnaturally, the editors have little or nothing to add; but in the editing of the magical and astrological text, the most important in the whole collection (no. 21), a definite advance has been made. Thus in l. 1 Hunt read $\sigma\delta$ (); as an abbreviation for $\sigma\delta(\epsilon)$ it is not very probable nor is it easy to fit $\sigma\delta(\epsilon)$ into the text; the editors' suggestion that it is a symbol for $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\chi\nu\sigma$ is to my mind indubitably right; more doubtful but attractive is their reading $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ in l. 32 where Hunt read $\kappa\alpha\mu\beta\gamma\omega\nu$ (tentatively correcting it to $\kappa\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\upsilon}\omega\nu$). Of the texts published here for the first time two private letters (nos. 13 and 20) deserve comment. The former refers to the offering of incense to the god Harpebekis, who (unless the prognostication of the long life of his worshipper was determined by the way in which the incense burnt) seems to have been an oracular deity; the latter is a specimen, though incomplete, of a surprisingly rare class, the private letter expressed in educated, if not literary language (note the use of $\epsilon\omicron\rho\tau\acute{\eta}$ meaning 'occasion of rejoicing').

A few points of detail may be noticed. No. 4 a receipt for work on the embankment, contains a phrase for which the editors offer no explanation $\Sigma\nu. \lambda\pi\lambda. . \eta$; for the first word ($\Sigma\upsilon\rho(\omega\nu)$ seems barely possible) I have nothing to offer, but the last two may well be $\lambda(\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta) \pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$ (the nickname of the particular part of the dike). In no. 7 the editors are unnecessarily puzzled by the payment of $1\frac{2}{3}$ *sticharia*; references to the *sticharion* not as a garment but as a unit of value are not uncommon in the fourth century (e.g. P. Oxy. XVI. 1905). In no. 12, to judge from the plate, the reading of the papyrus is $\Pi\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\iota$, not $\Pi\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\iota$. In the same text $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\omega\nu\omicron\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ is by a slip translated *palm garden*. In no. 13 I should punctuate the opening lines somewhat differently, by removing the full stop in l. 3, replacing the question mark in l. 5 by a stop and treating the $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ clause as being in apposition to $[\alpha\upsilon]\tau\acute{o}$ of l. 2. In their note on l. 13 the editors are mistaken in saying that $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$ is elsewhere found only in an inscription, as a glance at Liddell-Scott-Jones will show. In l. 29 of no. 15 occurs the puzzling expression $\beta\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu \omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\varsigma \gamma$; the editors rightly reject the idea that it is a transliteration of *vellus*, but it is clearly a latinism and most probably the acc. plur. of *villus*, though the exact sense is obscure.

The English in which introductions, translations, and notes are written is generally clear and few of the small slips I have noticed are likely to mislead. In the indices to this and to the other two volumes words not to be found in the *Wörterbuch* are usefully indicated by an asterisk, and in the final index to each volume is a list of additions to Gradenwitz's *Konträrindex*; but words that are altogether new to Greek (in this volume $\omicron\mu\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\lambda\upsilon\chi\nu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$) are not specially picked out.

In volume II E. Boswinkel has edited seventeen texts, all post-Ptolemaic and largely of the fourth century, from the Vienna collection. The outbreak of war prevented the editor from making a final check of his transcripts against the originals and limited the number of plates, but his work shows few signs of incompleteness. A high proportion of the texts (and these are, as so often, the more interesting) are fragmentary, and the editor has acquitted himself well on material that is anything but easy to handle. On one of the most interesting texts in the volume, no. 14, I have already commented in *JEA* xxxi, p. 113; of the rest,

attention may be drawn to no. 1, a petition of A.D. 87 in which six priests of Socnopaei Nesus claim that their office is heritable and so not subject to auction, to no. 2, a birth certificate of the son of a councillor of Heracleopolis and an Antinoite woman which proves that the child of such a marriage was entitled to Antinoite citizenship and also introduces a new deme, Aristios, and to no. 5. This last is a marriage contract of A.D. 315, exceptional both in its reference to the Lex Papia Poppaea and because the bride is described as consenting (εὐδοκοῦσαν) to the marriage. The editor's commentary on this difficult and unique text is admirable, and he is no doubt right in drawing attention to the markedly Roman features of the contract as evidence of Diocletian's Romanizing policy. In l. 5 of no. 4 the editor prints ἀπανθ]ρώπην a singular instance (if the reading is correct) of a feminine termination to this adjective. In no. 11, a receipt for rent, the editor prints the first three lines as Διόδωρος Διοσκόρου / Σαραπίωνι γεωργ(ῶ) / Δίον υἱοῦ πλ(εῖστ)α χαίρειν where δι(ὰ) followed by τ(οῦ) υἱοῦ or a proper name would seem more likely. No. 13, an account of the fourth century, had already been published by Wessely in *Ein Altersindizium im Philogelos*, but the present text is a great advance. In col. 1, l. 8, however, I cannot think that the editor's reading, παρελκ[ο](με)να is correct (Wessely read *πάρελκον α'*). παρελκ[ο](με)να would be conceivable, but the plate shows very plainly *ν'α* and a curved stroke of abbreviation after the κ. We should, I think, read παρελκ(όμενα) ν(ομισματίου) α i.e. the arrears of one solidus amounting to 20 talents.

It is in no way a disparagement of the first two volumes in the series to say that Dr. Wegener's volume for its philological commentary, knowledge of the administrative and (in spite of her disclaimer) legal background, and sheer thoroughness is in a class by itself. Five of the texts are the property of the Ashmolean Museum, the remainder belong to the Bodleian; in view of the many different connexions of Oxford with papyrology, P. Oxford Wegener might be a better title than P. Oxford and less liable to confusion with the Oxyrhynchus series. Many of the introductions and notes are essays in themselves—a practice which can be a doubtful blessing when candidates for doctoral theses feel themselves obliged to recount all the views of all their predecessors, but it is only fair to say that in every case Dr. Wegener really advances the solution of the problem discussed. Here we may cite the discussion of the financial administration of the metropoleis in the pre-Severan epoch with a re-edition of P. Oxy. 1117 (introduction to 2), that on the meaning of *Κυριακά κτήματα* (note to l. 4 of no. 3), and that on the nationality of the farmer Lucius Bellenus Gemellus, this last in connexion with one of the few complete documents in the collection. Of the documents themselves may be mentioned no. 7, a request for registration of inheritance *κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη* which should be of considerable interest to jurists and no. 4, a petition to the prefect involving a three-cornered dispute between camel-owners, hunters, and a soldier. In l. 7 of this text I have checked the reading suggested by the editor against the original and find it acceptable except for the *ώ[s]* which cannot be reconciled with the traces (*ἐπί* = *ἐπεί* is just possible); in l. 4 *συνηγόρων* may be proposed in place of the improbable *συνηγόρεω* and in l. 13 *ἔσται* should probably be corrected to *ἔστί*. Room may be found for one small criticism; apropos of no. 12, it is rash to add a new word to the lexicon (and it appears without a query in the index) on the strength of one letter and a calculation of space, particularly as *προσελθεῖν* gives excellent sense and the space may be accounted for by a correction or miswriting or a word such as *ἦδη*.

Dr. Wegener's English is remarkably good and never seriously misleads, though 'a basket of ears' among the *douceurs* to be paid by a lessee is a little startling unless one has looked at the Greek first. But what is really impressive about this volume is the way in which the last drop of meaning is wrung from every word or fragment of a word, a quality which compensates for, though it also makes one regret, the fact that the texts themselves are not always worth the care lavished on them. A volume of facsimiles of all the texts edited here is to be published shortly.

C. H. ROBERTS

NOTICE

We have been requested to insert the following.—ED.

Under the title *Un' impresa archaeologica Milanese ai margini orientali del deserto libico* Professor A. Vogliano published (1942) an account of his excavations at Medinet Madi beginning in 1934. It is only within the past two months that copies of this publication have reached Ann Arbor. At the outset (p. 8) he makes certain incorrect statements which impugn the probity and good faith of the University of Michigan. The Research Committee of the Museum of Archaeology of the University, which is charged with the supervision of its archaeological undertakings, finds it necessary to take notice of Professor Vogliano's assertions and issue the following statement.

It is true that the University of Michigan applied for the right to excavate at Medinet Madi, unaware that application had been made by Italian archaeologists. The decision of the Service of Antiquities to grant the site to an Italian expedition was accepted by the University of Michigan's representatives regretfully but with good grace. The other statements made by Professor Vogliano in connexion with this matter are incorrect. When the concession was assigned to an Italian expedition no representative of the University of Michigan 'attempted to impugn the legality' of the Italian request; nor did any representative of the University propose, or lend countenance to a proposal, 'to divide the zone into two parts'.

(Signed) A. E. R. BOAK, *Chairman*

FRANK E. ROBBINS, *Executive Secretary*

For the Research Committee of the Museum of Archaeology,
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
July 1946.



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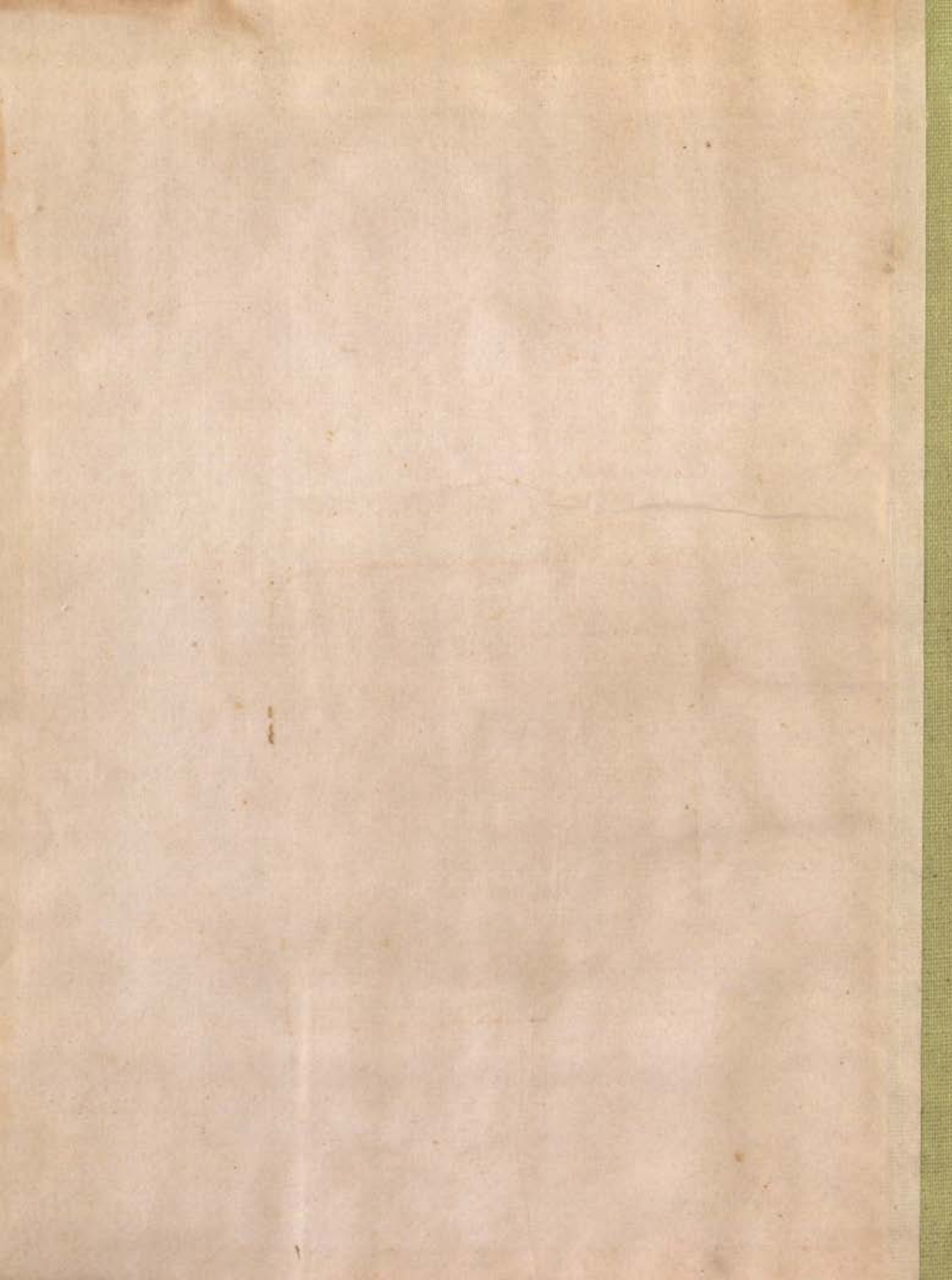
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