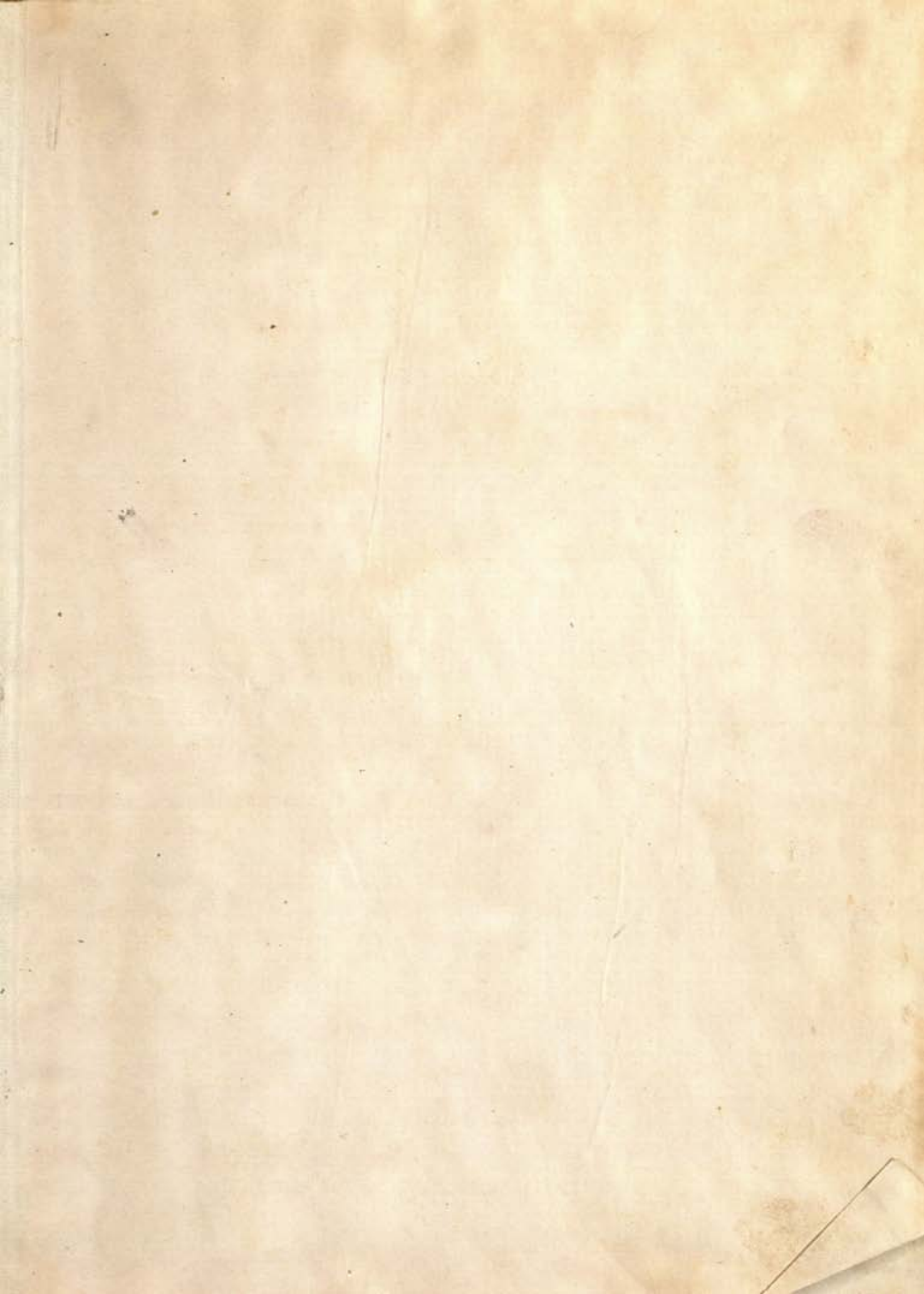


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THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED
TO
SIR ALAN HENDERSON GARDINER
D.Litt., F.B.A.

HONORARY FELLOW OF THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD;
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY;
HON. MEMBER OF THE DANISH AND BAVARIAN ACADEMIES OF SCIENCE;
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE BERLIN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, THE AMERICAN
PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, AND L'ACADÉMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS ET BELLES-LETTRES;
MEMBRE ASSOCIÉ DE L'INSTITUT D'ÉGYPTE

TO MARK HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY
AS A TOKEN OF AFFECTION AND REGARD
FROM HIS FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES
AT HOME AND ABROAD

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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

IN March 1949 our Vice-President, Sir Alan Gardiner, attained the age of seventy years. In view of his unrivalled services to scholarship in general, and to this Society in particular, Egyptologists everywhere were anxious to pay him tribute by offering contributions to the science to which Sir Alan has devoted his whole life, and it seemed appropriate that this *Journal*, of which he has been Editor on several occasions and for many years, should be the medium for publishing those tributes. As will be seen from the Table of Contents, scholars of many nations have collaborated to produce this volume, and it has been only the ineluctable restrictions imposed by post-war conditions which have prevented the list of contributors from being almost as long again. That is why many names we should have wished to see are not represented; two others, those of Professor Glanville and M. Charles Kuentz, are absent through circumstances beyond their own control. But whether their names appear in this present volume or not, all Egyptologists throughout the world unite in wishing Sir Alan all happiness for many years to come.

The new season of 1949-50 marks a change in the Society's policy of field-work. The cost of excavation is now so high, and the Society's obligations in the matter of publications so heavy that, despite the Treasury grant-in-aid, the financial burden of digging has become uneconomical, especially in view of the facts that no foreign contributions towards the cost of our excavations were available in 1948-9, and that our work at Amarah West has produced no movable objects of the kind which would attract financial support from museums. The Committee has therefore come to the conclusion that greater benefits to science would be obtained for less outlay by a revival of the work of the Archaeological Survey in recording monuments above ground; the urgency of this work is great, owing to the ever-growing losses from weather and the hands of vandals. As a result, it has been decided that further work at Amarah West shall be confined to the clearance of a small area left incompletely explored, and that the site shall then be given up. This work will be under the direction of Mr. P. L. Shinnie, and we acknowledge gratefully grants towards meeting the cost from the Griffith Institute and from the Sudan Government. Our principal task in the field this season is the completion of the recording of the rock tombs at Meir, where Professor Blackman hopes to round off the work so successfully carried out by him at this site in years past, to which four volumes of the Archaeological Survey publications bear witness. Mr. M. Apted will first join Mr. Shinnie in the Sudan and will later assist Professor Blackman at Meir.

For some time past the Society has endeavoured to obtain the right to accept covenanted subscriptions from members, so as to obtain some measure of tax relief, but this proved impossible without alteration of the Articles of Association. Accordingly an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Society was held at No. 2 Hinde

Street on September 21, 1949, and a Special Resolution was passed to the effect that the Articles be altered as follows:

(a) By inserting at the end of the existing Article 7 the words following:

'Provided always that notwithstanding anything in this Clause contained the Committee shall have and shall be deemed as from the Incorporation of the Society to have had power (i) to suspend or waive for such period and in such manner as they shall in their absolute discretion think fit the payment of any entrance fee or annual subscription payable under the provisions of this Clause and (ii) to accept covenanted subscriptions for not less than seven years at the rate of any annual subscription fixed under the provisions of this Clause.'

(b) By inserting at the end of the existing Article 9 the words following:

'The provisions of this Clause shall have effect subject always to any exercise by the Committee of the powers referred to in the proviso to Clause 7 hereof to suspend or waive the payment of any entrance fee or annual subscription payable under that Clause or to accept covenanted subscriptions as therein provided.'

(c) By deleting from the existing Article 14 the words from 'Every member shall be entitled' to the end of that Article. It is thus now possible for the Society to accept subscriptions covenanted for a term of not less than seven years, and it is hoped that as many members as possible will take advantage of this facility and thus obtain for the Society remission of Income Tax on their annual payments. At the same meeting a new Article 36a was added in order to prevent the disqualification in respect of service on the Committee of members reaching the age of seventy.

Not a year goes by but the death of one more of the little band of Egyptologists has sadly to be recorded. We have now suffered the grievous loss of Professor Percy E. Newberry, whose association with the Egypt Exploration Fund goes back into the last century; it is fifty-five years since there appeared that work on the tombs at Beni Hasan with which he inaugurated the publications of the Archaeological Survey and thus started the series of tomb-records later carried on by Griffith, Davies, and Blackman. It is impossible to cite all Professor Newberry's writings here; suffice it to name *Beni Hasan* I and II, *El Bersheh* I and II, *Rekhmara*, *Scarabs*, and his contributions to the Cairo Catalogue, all of which have long been indispensable to the student. In the period 1906-19 he occupied the chair of Egyptology at Liverpool University; from 1929 to 1933 he was Professor of Archaeology at Cairo University; in 1926-7 he served as Vice-President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, while only shortly before his death he was invited to accept a Vice-Presidency of our own Society. He will be mourned alike as a scholar and as a friend, and we can only assure Mrs. Newberry of the heartfelt sympathy of all who knew him.

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By R. O. FAULKNER

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




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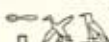
¹ For the abbreviations used for periodicals, etc., see this *Journal*, 25, 231.


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BIRDS AND BATS AT BENI HASAN

By NINA M. DAVIES

THESE well-known pictures of birds and bats are in the tomb of Baḳt III (no. 15), at Beni Hasan and can be seen in their context in Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. 4. They were traced by Norman de G. Davies during the season 1931-2 when some months were spent on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of New York painting and studying details which the small-scale reproductions in the Newberry publications could not show.¹

Some of the tracings and paintings were published in the *Egyptian Supplement of the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum* (Section II, *Bull. MMA*, April 1933). A number of the tracings, however, were never prepared for publication and I have tried to interpret these two plates (as well as others) into line-drawings so as to preserve the records.

Being within easy reach of visitors, these lower scenes have suffered much, especially as regards colour. The outlines, except where breaks occur, are still perceptible and these outlines are extremely well drawn and show great familiarity with bird-forms. If the names above them could be equated with the species in all cases we would know a good deal about the birds of Ancient Egypt, but so far it has not been possible to do this with certainty except in a few instances. Considerable traces of colour are still preserved but the prevailing film of salty coating now covering the walls makes it difficult to decide on the tints even when they exist.

The early copyists of these named birds have left records which show that all are still extant. Wilkinson, who visited the tomb in 1824 (or previously),² made the most valuable contribution in his manuscripts now on loan in the Griffith Institute, Oxford. He drew the birds twice—once in pencil accompanied by notes of colour, and again in red ink with washes of colour. They are about one-sixth scale and he apparently found the colours quite perfect in several cases. Some are shown in red outlines only, the outlines including details of feathering. Whether these had once been coloured is not certain. It is evident that he carefully compared Rosellini's copies with his own, for there are many notes beneath the birds calling attention to differences of colour or the addition of a non-existent spur on a bird's foot. His reproductions of the birds in *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (ed. Birch, II, 112-13), lack the delicacy of the originals

¹ If the notes of colour in the Wilkinson MSS. had been available when the tracings were made it is possible that extant fragments could have been interpreted with more certainty.

² Wilkinson has dated his pages of drawings in pencil as follows: Folio ii, p. 24, 1824, (verso) 1825. In a little booklet of notes attached to p. 26 a note at the bottom says '3rd visit to Beni Hasan' and a date, 1824, is written at the top of the page. On p. 28 at the bottom of the sheet where some of the birds are pictured, is the date 1825. These dates must imply that he preceded Rosellini and Champollion at Beni Hasan, for they went to Egypt in 1828. His carefully written notes in ink commenting on Rosellini's copies were evidently made later at home from the latter's publication of *Mon. Civ.* in 1834. It seems as if he were here checking his own manuscripts with Rosellini's plates before his *M. and C.* appeared in 1836.

and have no notes of colour. The coloured copies of Rosellini and Champollion (almost identical with one another) are very garish, but the colours correspond generally with those noted by Wilkinson and marked on N. de G. Davies's tracings.

Of the two birds (Nos. 14 and 15 on pl. II) painted by Howard Carter (*Beni Hasan*, iv, pl. 13), No. 14 differs very considerably from Wilkinson's coloured drawing. The bird was probably much better preserved in his day and Carter had only faded traces to guide him. He thought the red (now a pink) extended over parts of the bird where Wilkinson saw yellow, white, and white flecked with red below the wing-covert. Carter's painting of No. 15 approximates closely to Wilkinson's except for the substitution of pink for red and a more yellowish-green.

M. Gaillard, discussing the plover (No. 6), in *Mél. Masp.* (1, 2, pp. 465-78), suggests a theory, which he shares with M. Loret, that birds whose plumage has changing tints according to the angle from which the light catches it were painted by the Egyptians in these reflected lights showing red, green, or blue gleams as the sun revealed them. This might perhaps be the case with glossy iridescent plumage but can scarcely apply to the non-glossy greys and browns of the falcon and vulture shown respectively bright green, and red, blue, green, and black. It seems rather that birds were painted brightly to achieve a decorative effect on the walls where even the colours of men, women, and gods added to the vivid whole.

Nevertheless, when shown in natural surroundings the artists certainly tended to paint them nearer to reality as, for example, the birds in the acacia trees in tomb 3 at Beni Hasan,¹ or the lifelike rendering of the pied kingfisher at El-'Amārnah.² It is hardly possible to draw precise conclusions from either form or colour in Ancient Egyptian representations, in spite of their keen observation of nature, and we ask too much of them if we try to do so.

The bats on pl. III have yielded more details than in *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. 4, although the lines are now confused and uncertain. They are recorded by Rosellini and Champollion, and Wilkinson evidently saw them in almost perfect preservation, including the bat drawn side-view. He shows their colour as a drab brownish-pink, and the one on the right with a darker brownish-red body.

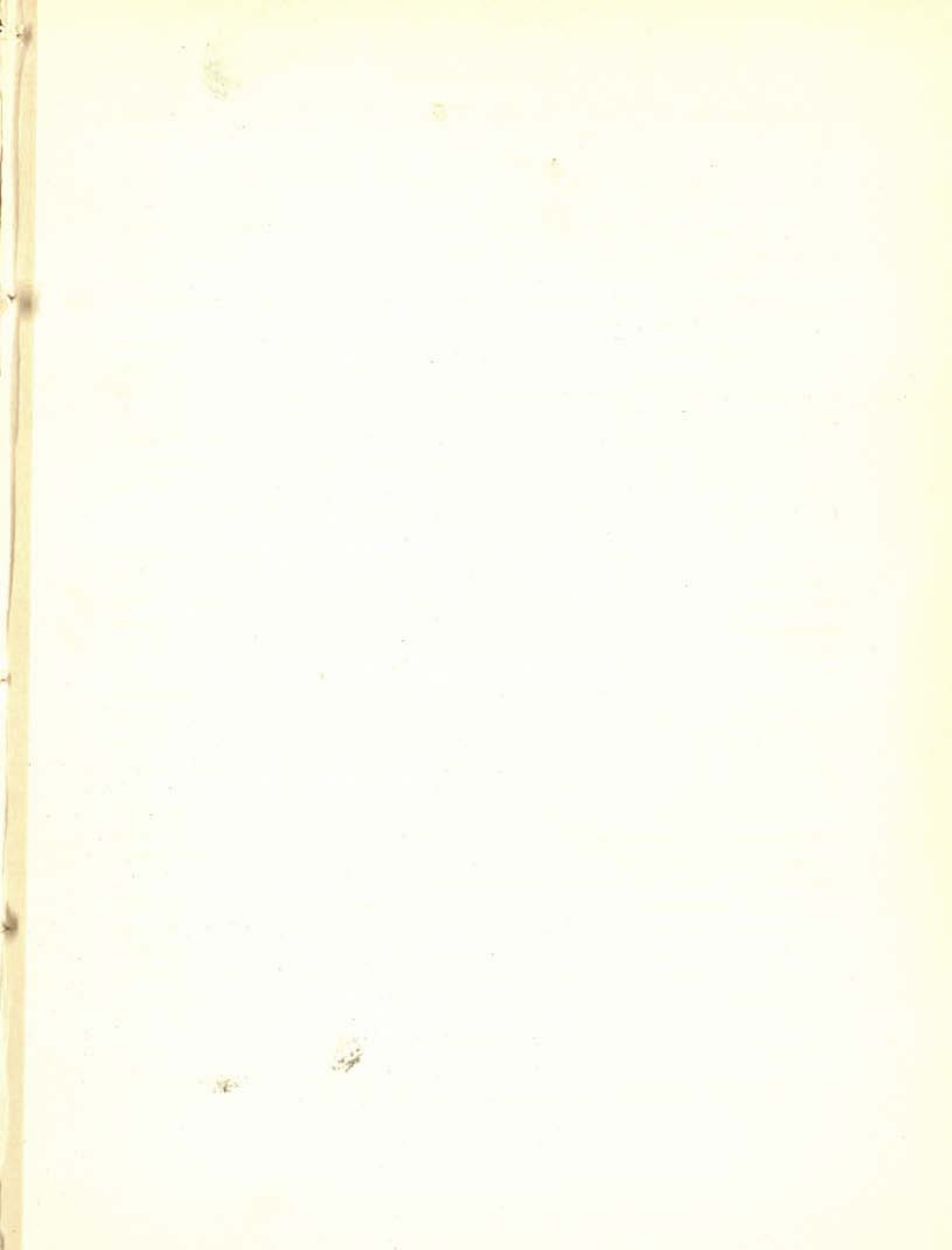
Two varieties are pictured, large and small, and both these are to be found haunting the tombs to-day and soiling the walls. Representations of bats are rare, in fact these at Beni Hasan seem almost unique. The artist has been at pains to draw two views of the animals as if he were making a study of them.

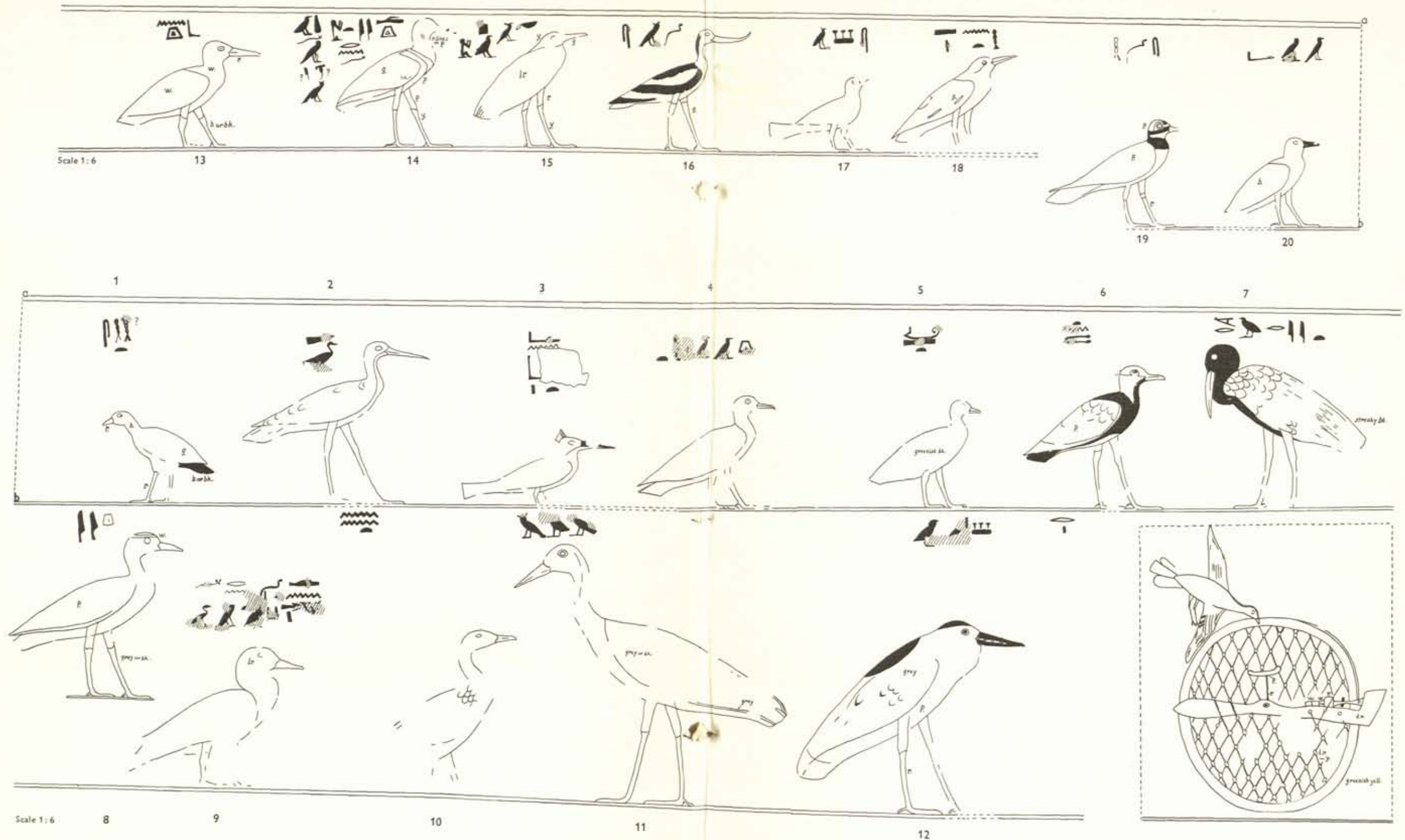
The bird-trap, inset on pl. II, is to be found in *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. 6, where only traces of the netting appear. Wilkinson (*M. and C.* II, 103, fig. 4) shows the netting covering the trap as also noted by N. de G. Davies. It is in reality very coarsely painted, especially the bird, which has uncertain outlines. There were painters of different abilities at Beni Hasan; some whose work has much artistic merit and others, like the one employed here, producing the crudest results which are more apparent on the walls than on the reduced scale and precise outlines of the plates.³

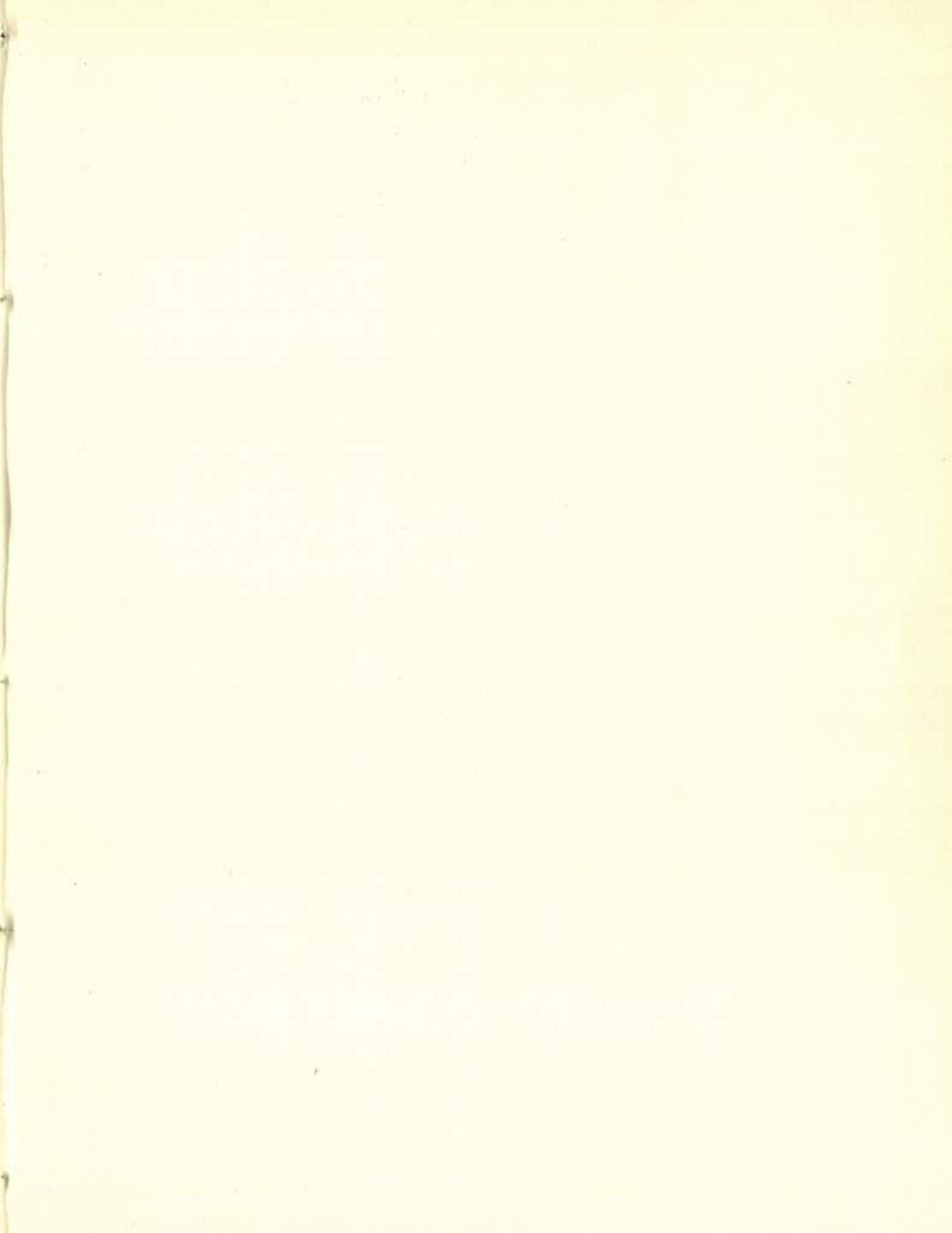
¹ *Anc. Eg. Paintings*, 1, pl. 9.

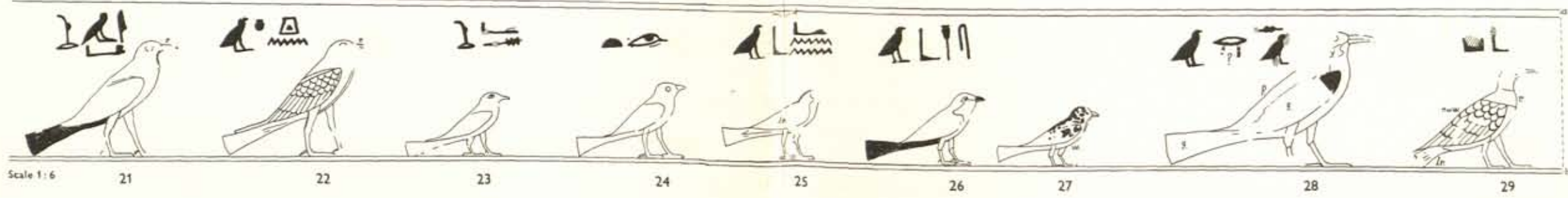
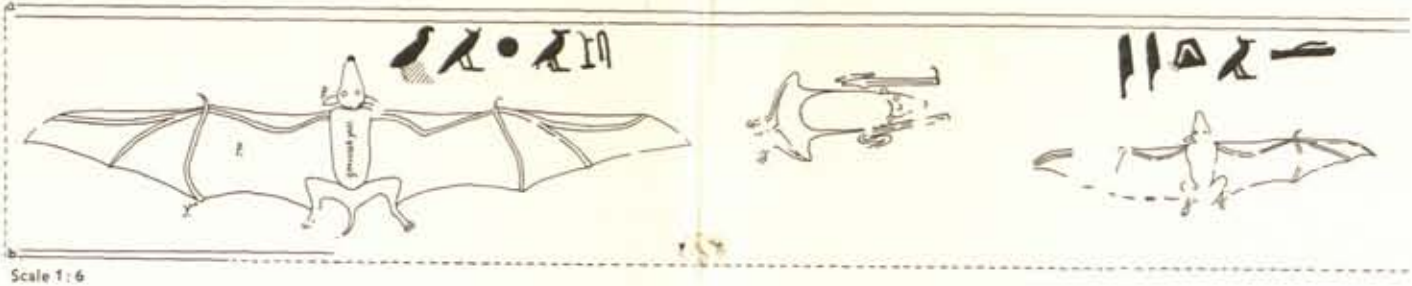
² Frankfort, *The Mural Paintings of El 'Amarnah*, pl. 4.

³ For the full bibliography of these scenes see Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* IV, 152-3.










BATS AND BIRDS IN THE TOMB OF BAḲT III (No. 15) AT BENI ḤASAN

Plate II

1. Gallinule?

Wilkinson MSS. ii, 27 verso, 28, 29, 29A, 30.¹ Two coloured sketches. Red beak and eye; dark-blue head, breast, and tail; dark-green wing covert; dark-blue thighs; red legs and feet.

Rosellini (*Mon. Civ.*, pls. 9 and 10).¹ Similar colours. Text,  plainly.

Champollion (*Mon.* iv, pls. 350, 351, 352).¹ Similar.

N. de G. Davies. Similar notes of colour on tracing.

Whymper (*Egyptian Birds*, London, 1909), in a coloured plate from nature, facing p. 168, shows the colouring exactly as in Wilkinson. Mr. Alexander, of the Edward Grey Ornithological Institute, points out that although the colouring is that of the gallinule, the outline is more that of the ruddy shelduck.

2. Species of crane, *Gous gous*? Or perhaps a white stork, *Ciconia ciconia*.

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. All white except blue wing covert and tail.

Rosellini. Black tip to beak; white head, breast, and legs; blue wing covert; tail-feathers outlined in white and red.

Champollion. Similar.

N. de G. Davies. No colours. (Probably only outlines now left.) Wilkinson notes that Rosellini gives it spurs which he himself did not observe. See Nicoll, *Birds of Egypt*, II, 628, fig. 86, for a picture of the common crane which is fairly close to the above.

3. Pied kingfisher, *Ceryle rudis*.

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. Upper part of beak black; rest streaky grey on white.

Rosellini and Champollion. Upper beak black; traces of black on white wing covert.

N. de G. Davies. No colours noted except black on beak.

Gaillard, in *Bull. Inst. fr.*, 30, 249-71, and pl. 4, identifies this bird with the pied kingfisher (*Martin-pêcheur pie*). The remains of black and white extant when the early copyists saw it seem to justify this. There are numerous kingfishers represented in the O.K., for example, in the mastabas of Ti and Mereruka at Sakḥārah, but they have lost their colour. A naturalistic picture of a pied kingfisher in the act of diving is shown at El 'Amārnah.² For the bird in nature see Nicoll, op. cit. II, 336.

4. Aquatic bird of some sort.

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. Top of head white; red beak and legs; green wing covert, breast, and tail. He notes that he got the colours from Rosellini.

Rosellini and Champollion. Similar except that black outlines to feathering on the wing covert are shown.

N. de G. Davies. No colours noted. Probably only outlines now extant.

5. Aquatic bird of some sort.

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. Yellow beak; black elsewhere; white eye, thighs, and feet.

Rosellini and Champollion. All blue with black outlines to feathering on wing covert; white beak, legs, and thighs; black feet.

N. de G. Davies. Greenish-black wing covert.

A bird of this kind is often pictured in fowling scenes, cf. *Anc. Eg. Paintings*, pl. 47.

¹ These references apply throughout. For fuller bibliography see Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* IV, 152.

² Frankfort, op. cit., pl. 4.



6. Spur-winged plover. *Hoplopterus spinosus*. Named '*Chardonis Cristatus*'? in Wilk. MSS.

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. Black on top of head extending to crest; white below; black breast and black above and under wing covert; red wing covert; white thighs; black legs and feet.

Rosellini and Champollion. Blue on top of head, beak, breast, and tail; red wing covert; black legs and feet. No crest.

N. de G. Davies. Black patch on breast and tail; pink (faded red) wing covert. No crest.

A small black crest, extending from the beak along the level of the eye and ending in a tuft beyond the head, is shown only by Wilkinson; its disappearance may be due to the fugitive nature of this pigment. It is added in dotted lines on the plate from Wilkinson's copy.

In Nicoll (op. cit. II, fig. 78, p. 551) a spur-winged plover (uncoloured) approximates closely to the . It shows elongated feathers forming a short crest extending down the back of the head. A coloured study from life by Whympers (op. cit., p. 113, pl. 31), and reproduced by Gaillard in *Mél. Masp.* 1, 2, pp. 465-78, and coloured plate, represents the wing coverts brown instead of red, and the other colours dark indigo-blue and white; red eye and black iris. The small flat crest is shown and the appearance of the bird is much that of the . Gaillard omits to mention that the crest, unseen by Rosellini and Champollion, is shown by Wilkinson in *M. and C.* III, 112-113. He notes that the bird has a spur on the feet lacking in nature and suggests that this feature has disappeared since Dyn. XI. This supposition is not considered possible by ornithologists.

7. Black stork. *Ciconia negra*?

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. All black except pink upper wing covert with red outlines and feathering; white eye, beak, and thighs; grey legs and feet. He calls it 'a black stork' in *M. and C.* III, 114.

Rosellini and Champollion. White beak, head, and breast; white upper wing covert with feathers outlined in red; blue tail-feathers outlined in red with white spaces between.



N. de G. Davies. Black head and breast; streaky-black tail feathers. The shape of the bird indicates a stork. Black storks are rarely found in Egyptian paintings. See Whympers (op. cit., facing p. 142) for a black stork in nature.

8. Species of water-bird.

Wilkinson MSS. All white outlined in red and a band across the top of the head.

Rosellini and Champollion. Not recorded.

N. de G. Davies. White band on head; pink (faded red) wing covert; grey or black legs and feet.







Wilkinson hatches  and shows no hatching beyond where a  might be expected. It does not seem possible to identify this bird but its long legs and general shape give the impression of a water-bird.

9. Duck.

Wilkinson MSS. No colours noted. Pencil sketch. Tail and legs indefinite.

Rosellini and Champollion. Not recorded.

N. de G. Davies. Light-red head.

Wilkinson shows another  under  and traces of two other signs beneath it. Newberry saw the text as    . The bird is in a bad state of preservation and was so in Wilkinson's time. Most of the text is difficult to read since the signs appear to have been corrected and those painted out are now confused with the scribe's alterations.

10. Goose.

Wilkinson MSS. Omitted. Rosellini and Champollion. Omitted.

N. de G. Davies. No colours noted.


In O.K. and M.K. the colouring of geese often approximates more closely to nature than later, cf. *Anc. Eg. Paintings*, I, pls. 1 and 6. There is nevertheless a very naturalistic rendering on a Dyn. XVIII fragment in the British Museum (op. cit. II, pl. 67).

11. Common crane. *Gous gous*.

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. Black patch on top of head; white elsewhere; green wing covert extending to end of tail; green legs and feet.

Rosellini and Champollion. Not recorded.

N. de G. Davies. Blackish-grey wing covert extending to tail.


Text is shown by Wilkinson thus, . It is evidently a different species from no. 2 which has a squarish tail instead of a rounded one merging into the wing covert as here. The patch on the head noted by Wilkinson looks as if it might be elongated feathers. The tail is not that of the demoiselle crane so commonly pictured at Beni Hasan (cf. *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 30).

12. Night heron. *Nycticorax nycticorax*.

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. Black patch on top of head and back; black circle round eye; black beak; lower part of wing covert grey; rest white; red legs and feet.

Rosellini and Champollion. Similar.

N. de G. Davies. Black beak and patches; grey or streaky-black wing covert; pink below wing covert; red legs and feet.

Wilkinson, Rosellini, and Champollion add  to the text but the signs are in reality far to the right and probably relate to a bird either omitted or destroyed. Wilkinson shows the text thus:

.

Nicoll (op. cit. I, 65), states: 'In the tomb of Baqt a hunched figure with a suggestion of thin plumes springing from the head is exactly in the attitude of a night heron.' An illustration from nature in II, 448, leaves little doubt as to the identification.

13. Unidentifiable species.

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. Red beak; rest white with red outlines; grey legs and feet.

Rosellini and Champollion. White; red beak; black legs and feet.

N. de G. Davies. Similar but blue or black legs.

No similar bird can be recalled elsewhere in the paintings.



14. Unidentified.

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. White head and beak (hatched); red breast extending up to eye; yellow below; white above and below the green wing covert; red spots on white between the wing covert and tail; green legs and feet.

Rosellini and Champollion. White head and beak; red neck; white breast; green wing covert; white tail and thighs; green feet.

Howard Carter (*Beni Hasan*, IV, 3 and pl. 13). Head, beak, neck, body, and thighs pink with streaky-red lines on neck; greenish-yellow wing covert; yellow legs and feet.

N. de G. Davies. Similar to Carter.

Carter's colours differ very considerably from those shown by Wilkinson but only traces now remain on which he based his painting. Mr. Moreau does not agree with the suggestion in *ibid.*, p. 3, that the bird is a painted snipe. The beak is much too short and the colours unnatural. Some of the hieroglyphs are very uncertain. Wilkinson has two indefinite signs above the final  and neither Newberry nor N. de G. Davies have seen them any clearer. Champollion omits these and the final .

15. Bittern. *Botaunes stellaris*?

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. Yellow head; green beak; red body and thighs; green legs and feet. Rosellini and Champollion. White head; green beak and legs; red body.

Howard Carter (loc. cit.). All pink except back of head, beak, legs, and feet, which are yellow. N. de G. Davies. Similar to Carter.

16. Avocet. *Recuririosha avosetta*. Named 'the Avocetta' in Wilk. MSS.

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. White; black bands on wing covert and down back of head; green legs and feet.

Rosellini, Champollion, and Davies. Similar.

Both form and colour leave no doubt as to the identification of this bird. Nicoll (op. cit. II, pl. 28) shows how closely the Egyptian artist adhered to nature in this case. The legs and feet, however, should not be green.

17. Pigeon?

Wilkinson MSS. Twice in colour. Blue on back of head, wing covert, and tail; streaks of blue on breast; rest white.

Rosellini and Champollion. Similar.

N. de G. Davies. No colour noted.


The outlines are now very broken and the colour gone. The rounded head and blue colour seem to indicate a pigeon. Cf. *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 30, for a row of pigeons.

18. Perhaps a kingfisher (so named by Wilkinson), but identification doubtful.

Wilkinson MSS. Twice in colour. Streaky-blue on white; red outline to eye; black iris.

Rosellini and Champollion. White; green patch on back of head; red patch below; green patches on breast, wing covert, and tail.

N. de G. Davies. Two green patches on wing covert.

Since Wilkinson calls the bird 'a kingfisher' it may perhaps be the ordinary species and not the pied (no. 3). M. Gaillard (in *Bull. Inst. fr.*, 30, 266, fig. 3) illustrates two species of kingfishers from the reliefs in the temple of Userkaf. The one on the left without a crest he calls *Martin-pêcheur ordinaire*, and the shape of the head much resembles the .

19. Ringed or Little ringed plover. *Charadonis* sp.

Wilkinson MSS. Twice in colour. Red patch on top of head; red outline to eye and black iris; black collar and black patch from beak to back of head; red wing covert and tail; white breast and thighs; red legs and feet.

Rosellini and Champollion. Similar.

N. de G. Davies. Similar, but dull pink instead of red is noted. Wilkinson remarks that Rosellini shows a spur behind each foot. This he omits in one sketch and draws it in dotted lines in the other as if it were doubtful. It is not seen in the tracing by N. de G. Davies. I owe the identification as a ringed plover to Mr. Moreau of the Edward Grey Ornithological Institute.

20. Unidentifiable.

Wilkinson MSS. Twice in colour. Blue beak; red circle round eye and black iris; blue wing covert; white breast and thighs; blue legs and feet.

Rosellini and Champollion. Black beak and in addition lighter blue streaks on white tail; black outlines to feathering on blue wing covert.

N. de G. Davies. Similar. No details to feathering now visible.

Gaillard (*Bull. Inst. fr.*, 33, 181-5, and coloured plate) calls the bird '*le Blongios nain*' (*Ardetta minuta*), and says it represents a small heron common to Egypt. He cites Breasted, *Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, pl. 8, ll. 14-15, p. 293, for another occurrence of the name of the bird. He notes that it is unknown on the monuments except possibly in the fowling scene in the tomb of Ti. Mr. Moreau and Mr. Alexander are of opinion, however, that it is not possible to identify the bird with any known species.

Plate III

21. Unidentifiable. Very similar in form to no. 22.

Wilkinson MSS. White with red outlines to feathering.

Rosellini. White; yellow eye; brownish beak; brownish wing covert and tail; red outlines.

Champollion. Similar, but black wing covert.

N. de G. Davies. Red beak; black tail. Feathering now invisible.

Wilkinson notes that Rosellini adds spurs to the feet which he himself did not see. They are nevertheless on the tracing.

22. Unidentifiable.

Wilkinson MSS. White with red outlines to feathers.

Rosellini and Champollion. White; red beak; red outlines to feathering; yellow eye.

N. de G. Davies. Red beak noted only.

The colouring here has also probably perished early.

23 and 24. Unidentifiable.

Wilkinson MSS. White with red outlines to feathering.

Rosellini and Champollion. Similar, but red shading on upper part of wing.

N. de G. Davies. No colour.

The colours seem to have perished early or possibly they were never coloured. The shapes suggest birds like chats common in Egypt (cf. Shelly, *Birds of Egypt*, pl. 2). There is also some resemblance to the smaller birds in the acacia trees in tomb 3 at Beni Hasan (cf. *Anc. Eg. Paintings*, 1, pl. 9).

25. Unidentified species.

Wilkinson MSS. All white with red outlines.

Rosellini and Champollion. Similar.

N. de G. Davies. Same, but with light red wing covert.

26. Unidentified species. Named 'Lanirius' in manuscripts.

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. White with red outlines; streaky-black on back of head, wing covert, and tail.

Rosellini and Champollion. Black patches on white, very like no. 27.

N. de G. Davies. Black upper beak; blue lower; black tail; red legs and feet.

27. No name. Species of finch?

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. Red outlines on white; touches of black along wing covert and tail.

Rosellini and Champollion. Similar, but black patches on head and black upper beak.

N. de G. Davies. Black patches on head and wing covert; white breast.

It has a very blunt bill like a desert finch and is similar in form (see Whympers, op. cit., pl. facing p. 86). This is one of the commonest small birds in Egypt but its plumage—a greyish pink—does not correspond to the black and white noted above.

28. Unidentified species.

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. White head, beak, legs, and feet; rest green with large red patch on back.

Rosellini. Blue patch on upper part of wing; red back; white beak; green patch round eye; green breast and tail; white thighs; red legs and feet.

Champollion. Similar, but green thighs.

N. de G. Davies. Similar to Rosellini but the patch on wing dark green or black, and light yellow above it beyond the break.

This bird seems impossible to identify. The shape and beak recall a crow, but not its gay colours. The head is now too broken to give us its exact shape. Wilkinson has shown more although his hatching is evidence that it was not clear in his time.

29. Unidentified species. Named 'the Gutta' in the Wilk. MSS.

Wilkinson MSS. In colour. Red band on neck; rest white with red outlines to feathers.

Rosellini and Champollion. Similar.

N. de G. Davies. Similar, but with light red tail.

No aquatic birds seem to be pictured here or elsewhere on this line. Wilkinson says (*M. and C.*, III, 114), that the name 'Gutta' has been given it in Arabic 'from the noise it makes when alarmed and flying'. This is the Arabic name for the sand-grouse, but Wilkinson's note of the name is hardly sufficient proof of identification, except that the bird has an indication of a collar like a sand-grouse.

All the hieroglyphs above the birds are green.

I am indebted to Professor Gunn who helped me with the texts and compared the names with those in the *Berlin Dictionary*, and to Miss R. Moss for helpful criticism. I am also grateful to Mr. Moreau and Mr. Alexander of the Edward Grey Ornithological Institute, Oxford, for their opinions on the different species and the Latin names. The privilege I have had of consulting the Wilkinson MSS. has enabled much information to be added to the descriptions.

is not discussed by Erman or Sethe.) It thus seems far more probable that the verbal form is *šdm·f* or (more rarely) *šdm·n·f*.¹

I now wish to draw attention to what seems to be a construction of similar kind, in which a *šdm·f* either perfective or imperfective, or (again much more rarely), a *šdm·n·f* form is appended as a noun-clause to a substantive in the *direct genitive*. The substantives to which they are appended are, in every case known to me, expressions of *time* or *place*; the use with the direct genitive is thus apparently more restricted than that with the indirect. The following examples are known to me:

A. With Expressions of Time

I. *Hrw* 'day'

(1) *Hrw ms·i²* 'the day that I was born', lit. 'the day of {I am born}', *B.D. in Theban Tombs Ser.*, I, 17, 31 (pl. 39); (2) *hrw ms·f* 'the day that he is born', *Ramesseum Medical Papyrus* (unpubl.), 17; (3) *hrw msw·f*, same meaning, Davies, *El Amarna*, VI, pl. 27, 7; with *·tw*; (4) *hrw mss·tw·f*,³ same meaning, *P. Ebers*, 97, 13. The first three examples contain passive *šdm·f*.

(5) *Hrw wdj·sn⁴* 'the day that they proceeded', lit. 'the day of {they proceed}', Anthes, *Felseninschr. v. Hatnub*, Graffito 24, 3; (6) *hrw ḥj·s⁴* 'the day that it (the town) fought', same graffito, l. 8; (7) *hrw šd ntr mdw·f* 'the day that the god raises (?) his speech', De Buck, *Coffin Texts*, III, 57, c; (8) *hrw ḥr·f* 'the day that he appears', op. cit. III, 262, k; (9) *hrw ḥr Hr* 'the day that Horus appears', Wreszinski, *Aeg. Inschr. . . . in Wien*, p. 56, l. 7 of text.

To these examples with active or passive *šdm·f* is to be added one with *šdm·n·f*: (10) *hrw sj·n·šn hnd⁵* 'the day that they protected the throne', *Pyr.* 606, c.

II. Other Expressions of Time

Hrwy 'evening': (11) *ḥrwy ihd·šn* 'the evening when they (the gods) grow bright (?)', *Pyr.*, 1217, c⁶.

when the carved inscription was revised the error (as it surely is) was noticed and corrected by the Δ being filled up with plaster (painted over) which has since fallen out. The possibility of such lost corrections is not, I believe, sufficiently taken into account, although the correction of mistakes in lapidary inscriptions by means of plaster is of course well known.

¹ The following are a few examples of this construction supplementary to those quoted in the three works cited above: *hrw n ms·tw·f* 'the day that he was born', *Bull. Inst. fr.* 45, 158, l. 15 of text; *hrw n šp·f ist·f* 'the day that he received his office (the kingship)', Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1075, l. 5 of text; *hrw pwo n ḥtm·tw hftyw nwo Nb-r-dr ḥnc shk·tw sj·f Hr* 'that day of the enemies of the All-Lord being destroyed and of his son Horus being given the rule', *B.D. Nu.* 17, 11; *grh pwy . . . n smc·tw hrw Hr r hftyw·f* 'that night of Horus' being justified against his enemies', *B.D. Nu.* 18, 34-5; *sp tpy n mv·i mwt* 'the first occasion of my seeing Right', *B.D. Nebeni*, 50A, 5; *phrt nt wš šny* 'a cure which is for {the hair falls out}', *P. Hearst*, 10, 18; *sr n irr pṣ ḥkṣ* 'an official of the Ruler's making', lit. 'of {the Ruler makes}', Davies, *El Amarna*, IV, 35; *n ib n hrw snf·f* 'because of the desire that its blood may come down', *P. Ebers*, 91, 15-16.

² Var. Naville, *Totenbuch*, II, 44, *hrw mswt·i(f)* 'the day of my (his) birth', with infinitive.

³ Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 746, 3, takes this as relative.

⁴ Anthes, op. cit., 55, seems to take this as an infinitive.

⁵ Sethe, *Üb. Komm. Pyr.*, ad loc., regards this as a relative construction with omission of *im* at the end.

⁶ M, N have *ḥrwy ihd·š tṣ*, also obscure.

Rnpt 'year': (12) *rnpt ly·f* 'the year that he comes', *Urk.* IV, 18, 7; (13) *rnptwt hr·f* 'the years that he appears', *Urk.* IV, 280, 13; *Buhen*, 52.

hr 'time': (14) *hr·y di·k srf n p; mšr* 'a pause when thou givest a rest to the soldiers',¹ *P. Anast.* I, 17, 1-2.

Nw 'time': (15) *nwy gm·k sdry* 'the moment thou findest a camping-place (?)', *ibid.* 25, 2.

Sp 'occasion': (16) *sp ššwt·i s* 'an occasion of my depriving a son', *Urk.* I, 133, 5, cf. 123, 4; (17) *sp špt·k hr·f* 'an occasion of thy being angry with him', *Ptahhotep*, 472; (18) *r tnw sp gmm sw b; k-im* 'on each occasion that this servant finds him', *Kah. Pap.*, pl. 36, 25-26.

B. With Expressions of Place

St 'place': (19) *r st mrr Wniš²* 'to the place that Onnos desires', lit. 'the place of {O. desires}', *Pyr.*, 510, d; (20) *st wnn·k* 'the place where thou art', *ZÄS* 44, pl. 1, l. 7.

Drw 'limit': (21) *r drw mrr·i³* 'as much as I wish', lit. 'to the limit of {I wish}', *Mém. Inst. fr.* XXIV, 70.

It is very improbable that these examples contain relative forms for the following reasons: (a) none of them contains a resumptive pronoun or the adverb *im* (= *m* + suffix); (b) although in Coptic a resumptive pronoun may be omitted in relative clauses following nouns of time, place, or manner (cf. Steindorff, *Kopt. Gramm.*, § 528), the verbal forms do not suit relative clauses in some examples: *šd*, *hr*, *di* in exx. 7, 8, 13, 14; (c) to interpret these forms as relative with suppression of a resumptive pronoun or *im* would in some cases not give a satisfactory sense, cf. exx. 16-18; (d) there is no concord of gender after feminine nouns.

Most of the verbs which occur in these examples are weak ones, and it is therefore easy to see that they are not infinitives. Doubt on this point is possible only with exx. 5, 6, 17, 20.

That the verbal form is in every case *šdm·f* (or *šdm·n·f*) being granted, it might be suggested that the verb is appended to the noun absolutely, as in 'the day I saw him', 'the way we live'. But this seems to be most unlikely, for indeed the construction just instanced, which is known to be derived from ellipse of a relative pronoun, appears to be peculiar to English.

It is perhaps a further argument for the view that we have here to do with a *šdm·f* (or *šdm·n·f*) form appended to a noun in the direct genitive, that a very similar construction is not uncommon in the Semitic languages, a noun in the construct being followed immediately by a finite verb with no relative pronoun (although the noun is determined) and no resumptive pronoun. In Akkadian we have, for example, *awat (a-wa-at) iḫbū* 'the word he said', *dīn (di-in) idīnū* 'the judgement he decreed', *ašar (a-šar) irubū* 'where (lit. the place of) she has entered in'; the verb is in the subjunctive or in certain cases the

¹ The translations of this and the following examples are Gardiner's in *Egn. Hieratic Texts*, I, 1.

² Sethe, *Üb. Komm. Pyr.*, ad loc., takes *r st* as equivalent to a preposition 'wohin'. Another example is perhaps *st mrr·s* 'the place that she desires', *Medinet Habu* (Chicago), I, pl. 28, l. 73; but this, *temp.* Ramesses III, may be for the imperfective relative *st mrrt·s*.

³ Var. *dr mrr·f*.

energicus, see Ungnad, *Babyl.-Assyr. Gramm.* (2nd ed.), § 15, a; Ungnad in *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, 18, 59-60; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gramm.* (2nd ed.), § 190, 2. In Arabic especially after nouns of time: *لَيْلَةَ صَاحُوا* 'the time when I shall rest'; *سَاعَةَ تُصَنِّعُ* 'in the night (in which) they cried'; *يَوْمَ لَاقُوا ذُوَيْبَةَ* 'on the day that they met Dh.'; *سَاعَةَ تُصَنِّعُ* 'in the hour when it was finished'; see Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, § 190, 2.¹ The author refers to clauses of this type as 'asyndetische Genitivsätze', and points out that, for example, *يَوْمَ قُتِلَ* ist also eigentlich "der Tag des 'er wurde getötet'"; man hat nicht etwa *فِيهِ* "an ihm" zu ergänzen, und darf diese Sätze nicht mit asyndet. Relativsätzen verwechseln'. In Hebrew we find such clauses as *שָׁנוֹת רָאִינוּ רָעָה* 'the years (wherein) we have seen evil', Ps. xc, 15; *כִּימֵי אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁמְרֵנִי* 'as in the days (when) God watched over me', Job xxix, 2; *כָּל-יְמֵי הַתְּהַלֵּכְנוּ אִתָּם* 'as long as (lit. all the days of) we were conversant with them', 1 Sam. xxv, 15; *קִרְיַת חֲנָה דָוִד* 'the city where David encamped', Isa. xxix, 1, cf. König, *Historisch-Comparative Syntax d. Hebr. Sprache*, § 337, y; Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, *Hebr. Grammar*, §§ 130, d, 155, l.

Two questions arise in connexion with the material that I have brought together here. The first is, if the verb is *šdm·f* (*šdm·n·f*), why do we find this form, in clauses with similar meaning, and sometimes depending on the same noun, in both the indirect and the direct genitives?² The second is, may not some clauses which have all the appearance of containing relative forms actually contain *šdm·f* forms in the direct genitive? Compare, for example, *špss dd* (*𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎩*) *nsu* 'costly things {of the King's giving' (?)³ } {which the King gives' (?)}

ZÄS 45, pl. 6, l. 6, with the large number of examples of *dd nsu* and the like in the indirect genitive. To these questions I can make no answer; it will perhaps be possible to throw some light on them when more study has been given to the general problem of the rules determining the choice between the two forms of genitive—one of the most important outstanding problems of Egyptian grammar.

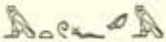
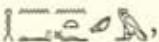


¹ Similarly in South Arabian, see M. Höfner, *Altsüdarabische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1943), § 138. I owe this reference to Dr. C. Rabin, who also points out that Brockelmann in his *Grundriss*, II, p. 554, denied that these constructions, either in South Arabian or Old Babylonian, contain real *status constructus*.

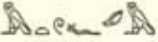
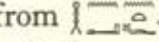
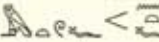
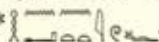
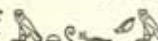
² I leave out of account, of course, the cases in which the indirect genitive is necessitated by the presence of a word—demonstrative, copula, or what not—between *regens* and *rectum*, e.g. *hrw ch·s*, ex. 6 above, but *hrw pwy n ch· Rhwy* 'that day that the Two Companions fought', *B.D. Nu*, 17, 37; *sp špt·k* . . ., ex. 17 above, but *sp pw n hsf·tw n* . . . 'is it a case for one's punishing . . .?' *Peas. B1*, 46-7.

³ Feminine singular nouns followed immediately by *dd·f*, *dd nsu* or the like, would, of course, form strong evidence for this interpretation.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE EGYPTIAN CONJUNCTIVE

By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

ALL students of the later phases of the Egyptian language must have shared my own feelings of satisfaction when the mystery of the Late Egyptian construction  and its descendant, the Coptic Conjunctive $\overline{\pi\tau\epsilon\omega\tau\alpha}$, was, at last, solved by Sir Alan Gardiner in an article in this *Journal*¹ just over twenty years ago. He showed that *ntw-f sdm* was descended from an earlier construction , lit. 'together with on his part the hearing', the latter in its turn being derived from a still earlier . Both these earlier stages were sufficiently attested, and no one familiar with the peculiarities of Late Egyptian orthography was surprised at finding *ntf* consistently written  in the Late Egyptian stage; the Independent Pronoun, indeed, seemed the only means available to the language of expressing a pronominal semantic subject of an Infinitive, equivalent to $\text{f} + \text{noun}$ when the semantic subject was nominal. That the verbal form *sdm* in this construction was always an Infinitive had never been open to the slightest doubt, the evidence of Coptic on this point being quite conclusive.

Gardiner's explanation could be considered as generally accepted when such a cautious scholar as Erman adopted it without hesitation in the fourth edition of his *Ägyptische Grammatik*² and again in the second edition of his *Neuägyptische Grammatik*.³ Recently, however, Professor G. Mattha published an article⁴ in which, while accepting the etymology of  from  he disagreed with Gardiner on the interpretation of  as the Independent Pronoun, and proposed a new etymology of *hnc ntf sdm*. According to Mattha this is nothing other than a writing of * 'together with the fact that he will hear', where *ntw-f hr sdm* is the pseudo-verbal construction 'conveniently called Praesens II'. This Second Present—still according to him—'would suit all tenses and moods, including, of course, the future or prospective tense', the latter being precisely the tense required by the meaning of  and of its forerunner as well as of its Coptic successor. Feeling strongly that Mattha's article requires an answer lest it should gain ready acceptance on the score of being the latest opinion expressed on the problem, and in the firm belief that Gardiner's explanation is correct, I have chosen this as the subject of my contribution to a volume dedicated to him and trust he will accept it as my tribute to his scientific work and to our long-standing friendship.

The relevant part of Mattha's article consists of two sets of arguments: first he

¹ *JEA* 14, 86-96.² § 416 (in 1928).³ § 575 (in 1933).⁴ *The Egyptian Conjunctive* in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 45, 43-55.

enumerates five objections which in his opinion speak against Gardiner, and secondly, he adduces reasons which he thinks speak in favour of his own explanation. I ought perhaps to follow the order adopted by Mattha, but owing to the nature of the second and third objections in his list I think it advisable to postpone my answer to them until a later stage in this article; the other three, however, are simple and can be tackled at once.

Mattha's objection (1) is that, if the 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏 in $mtw\cdot f\ s\dot{d}m$ really were the Independent pronoun, one would expect it, at least sometimes, to be spelt 𓆎𓅓 , 𓆎𓏏 or 𓏏 which are the regular Late Egyptian writings of the Independent pronoun. But apart from the fact that it does occur in the construction normally written $mtw\cdot f\ s\dot{d}m$ ¹ Mattha's argument is a double-edged weapon, for the same objection could be raised with even greater force against his own explanation, since not a single example of the construction $mtw\cdot f\ s\dot{d}m$ displaying the 'Second Present' 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏 postulated by Mattha can be cited. It is, however, better not to argue *a silentio* against either Gardiner or Mattha, for one of the difficulties of Late Egyptian is that the etymology of words and grammatical elements is not always revealed in their spelling; moreover, the existence, in some cases, of two different spellings—one exposing its etymology and the other not—has sometimes led scholars to question their identity. The first category may be exemplified by the Negative Past tense $bwpw\cdot f\ s\dot{d}m$ which in true Late Egyptian is never written 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏 though here nobody doubts that they are the same; to the second category belong the negatives 𓆎𓅓 and 𓏏 , where the identity is, or was, contested by some, though to my mind the accepted etymology of $bwpw\cdot f\ s\dot{d}m$ by itself suffices to establish the equation $\text{𓆎𓅓} = \text{𓏏}$.

As for Mattha's objection (4), it is true that there are a certain number of cases of 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏 , but for eight out of nineteen cases known to me the scribe of the d'Orbigny papyrus is responsible, and he is not a trustworthy authority. It is significant that no example occurs in business documents, all instances being restricted to literary texts or miscellanies. Gardiner (loc. cit., 93, top; 94, bottom) was at great pains to show that in all good early texts 𓏏 was consistently absent; this vital part of his argument is inexcusably ignored by Mattha. The writing of $mtw\cdot f\ s\dot{d}m$ with 𓏏 was evidently due to the endeavour of the scribes responsible for the literary texts to write more correctly than in business documents, an aim which they hoped to attain by writing, as they believed, etymologically. In so doing, however, they supplied 𓏏 before an Infinitive often in cases where this preposition could never have stood,² and even before an Old Perfective where it was manifestly impossible.³ The occasional presence

¹ De Rougé, *Inscr. hiérog.*, pl. 257, l. 7, quoted by Gardiner, loc. cit., 95.

² So after the auxiliary *iri* of which the following Infinitive is a direct object and consequently cannot be introduced by any preposition (e.g. Sall. III, 3, 5; An. V, 11, 5-6; 13, 7; An. VI, 16, 36; Orb. 14, 6), further between 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏 and its Infinitive (e.g. ostr. Berlin 10628, 4), and between 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏 and its Infinitive (e.g. An. V, 23, 5). Also in the common expression *ky stwḏ* 'another message': P. Bol. 1094, 2, 8; 3, 1; 5, 2; 10, 10; 11, 6; Sall. I, 4, 6, 7; An. IV, 6, 10.

³ E.g. P. Leiden 368, 7 *tw-i* (*hr*) *spr* 'I have arrived'; An. IV, 5, 1 *tw-i* (*hr*) *hmskw-i*; An. IV, 6, 10 *tw-i* (*hr*) *spr-kwi*.

of ḥr in *mtw·f sdm* therefore proves nothing, nor does the occurrence of a $\text{ḥr} \text{ḥr} \text{ḥr}$ in the carelessly written Berlin Medical Papyrus (11, 10), and the distinction which Mattha makes between *mtw·f sdm* and *mtw·f ḥr sdm* is in fact illusory. Besides, other Late Egyptian scribes thought that it was rather the preposition ḥr which needed to be supplied before the Infinitive and consequently spelt the construction *mtw·f r sdm*.¹ Here the scribes of business documents were also at fault, but out of the three known cases of the kind two occur in the letter P. Turin, P.-R., 16, and probably indicate by the ḥr only the vowel *ā* with which the pronominal form of the following Infinitive of *iri* iri already at that time began (cf. Coptic $\alpha\alpha\gamma$).²

Objection (5) concerns the use of the Old Perfective in the construction *mtw·f sdm*, a use irreconcilable with its origin in $\text{ḥr} +$ Independent pronoun + Infinitive. The example quoted by Mattha, namely, $\text{ḥr} \text{ḥr} \text{ḥr}$ is, as far as I can see, unique. Furthermore, it occurs in the d'Orbiney papyrus (14, 6)—a document which can hardly be pitted against the mass of cases elsewhere in which the construction *mtw·f sdm* shows an Infinitive, and against the evidence of the Coptic $\text{ḥr} \text{ḥr} \text{ḥr}$ which—as is well known—admits only of the Infinitive. Rather surprisingly, Mattha has not noted that $\text{ḥr} \text{ḥr}$ being 2nd person singular, would require $\text{ḥr} \text{ḥr}$ and not $\text{ḥr} \text{ḥr}$ in the d'Orbiney papyrus if the form in question were really an Old Perfective. In order to explain $\text{ḥr} \text{ḥr} \text{ḥr}$ several possibilities can be suggested. One is that it is simply a scribal error for the expected $\text{ḥr} \text{ḥr} \text{ḥr}$.³ For my part I believe that it is an early substitution of the Old Perfective for the Infinitive; among Coptic dialects only Bohairic has preserved the Infinitive of ḥr (ḥr) while all the others use the Qualitative (ḥr) for the Infinitive also.⁴ A confusion of persons in the d'Orbiney passage must in any case be admitted. But as long as an Egyptian verb preserved the fundamental distinction between the Infinitive to express an action (or change of state) and the Qualitative (= Old Perfective) to express a state, the very nature of the Qualitative (= Old Perfective) precluded its use in the Conjunctive or in *mtw·f sdm*. The Egyptian language could express only a present or past state, but not a future state;⁵ since both the Coptic Conjunctive and *mtw·f sdm* have a future meaning, they can only express a future





¹ Mallet 3, 6; Harris 500, 6, 15; P. Turin, P.-R., 16, 4, 8; 19, 8; Inscr. of Nastesen, 62. I would like to point out, too, that the three examples of *mtw* followed by *sdm·f* quoted by Wb. II, 165, 7, are non-existent: in Wenamūn 2, 58 the original has $\text{ḥr} \text{ḥr} \text{ḥr}$, see Gardiner, *L.-Eg. Stories*, p. 73a, note c on the passage; in *Mythe d'Horus*, pl. i, l. 8 (= Chassinat, *Edfou*, VI, 61, 11) $\text{ḥr} \text{ḥr} \text{ḥr}$ is *m-ḥr sdm·sn*, see JEA 29, 6, note c; P. Turin (209) is damaged and the context unpublished, but read *mtw* (i) *dit sdr* ḥr .





² D'Orbiney has once (18, 1) $\text{ḥr} \text{ḥr} \text{ḥr}$ intending **mtw·tw ḥr*.


³ This is the explanation offered by Gardiner, *L.-Eg. Stories*, p. 24a, note a on 14, 6; he rightly points out that there is no parallel for the other alternative which he suggests.


⁴ Steindorff, *Kopt. Gramm.* §§ 200, 248; Plumley, *Coptic Gramm.*, § 142. For details of the form ḥr see Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 98.

⁵ This has been recognized by Stern, *Kopt. Gramm.*, § 349, for Coptic, but the principle is valid for the earlier stages of the Egyptian language as well. Similarly Egyptian only reluctantly expresses denial of a state (for a few Middle Egyptian examples, see Gardiner, *Gramm.*, § 334), the idea being expressed by denying the action which would lead to that state; for this, in so far as Middle Egyptian is concerned, see Gunn, *Studies*, 97-8.

Examples of * ought to have been produced, for this is the construction which we should find everywhere—and not —if Mattha's theory were right. A point of some importance, which Mattha overlooks, is that in texts dating from the time when  is attested, the preposition  was still always written out, both before nouns and before Infinitives in verbal constructions.¹

I have left till the end the most serious objection to regarding the origin of the Conjunctive form as a *. When Mattha chooses between two constructions for his prototype, he rejects  (i.e. Late Egyptian and Coptic First Present) and adopts  (i.e. Late Egyptian and Coptic Second Present) chiefly because a construction suiting the future or prospective meaning (he says 'tense') of the Conjunctive is required. He argues that such a meaning is irreconcilable with the First Present and in this he is quite correct:  never refers to the future. But when he states that 'this (i.e. future or prospective meaning) is, as a matter of fact, the outstanding characteristic of the so-called Praesens II', he is entirely mistaken.

As far as Middle Egyptian is concerned, the grammars show that *iw-f hr sdm* can refer only to past or present. Gardiner (*Gramm.*, § 323) is quite explicit on this point; Erman (§§ 369–72) is less so, but none of his examples has a future or prospective meaning. In Late Egyptian the use of *iw-f hr sdm* is different in so far as the construction can no longer be used as an independent statement or narrative, but only as a continuation of another verbal form which precedes it. It is true that we often have to translate it by a main clause, but from the Egyptian standpoint *iw-f hr sdm* was no longer independent.² The verbal form on which it depended could be any form with a past meaning (like *sdm-f*, Relative form, Participle, *wn-f hr sdm*, Old Perfective, etc.); but I have failed to find one example of *iw-f hr sdm* as a continuation of a First Present containing an Infinitive (*sw hr sdm*). When the first verbal form used refers to the future or when it is an Imperative, only *iw-f*+Old Perfective, or *iw-f*+adverb (or preposition with a substantive) can follow to express an accompanying circumstance; *iw-f hr sdm* is never found in this position. *Iw-f hr sdm* therefore does not have a future or a prospective meaning and for this reason cannot be at the root of the Conjunctive. The normal Late Egyptian method of expressing the future is by .

As far as our present evidence goes *hnr ntk sdm* was used originally as a continuation of an Imperative or its polite equivalent  and it must be left to future investigation why this continuation was preferred to a paratactic use of another Imperative. As early as the reign of Sethos I *hnr ntk sdm* is attested as continuing relative clauses with future meaning *nti r sdm* and *nti iw-f r sdm*. This and further extensions of its use necessitated for *hnr ntk sdm* the creation of a paradigm covering all persons both singular

¹ P. Cairo 58055: *wn-tw hr iyt* and *iw-tw hr hwb*; P. Cairo 58053: *tw-n hr tht* and *iw-tn hr tm rdit*; P. Cairo 58054: *iw-k hr smtr*; JEA 34, pls. 9–10: *mk wi hr dd* and *hr tw-i di hr dd*; P. Berlin 10463 (unpublished): *iw-k hr spr*; ostr. Der el-Med. Cat. 114: *wnn-f hr iyt* and *iw-tn hr iyt*; so, too, in the Astarte Papyrus, for which see Gardiner in *Griffith Studies*, p. 84.

² This has been recognized by de Buck, JEA 23, 161.

and plural. While for the 3rd persons recourse was still made to the Independent pronouns *ntf* and *ntsn*, the 1st persons were formed on analogy with the suffixes *nt·i* and *nt·n*; the 2nd person plural which on the testimony of P. Cairo 58053 above quoted was originally *hnc tn*, was assimilated to the rest of the paradigm as *nt·tn*. The whole set of forms was given a uniform spelling $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑} + \text{suffix}$ during the 'Amārnah period, though *hnc ntk sdm* continued to occur together with the new spelling *mtw* even down to the reign of Ramesses II. That we cannot demonstrate this development in detail is largely due to the paucity of non-literary documents (i.e. such as were not, or only to a limited degree, under the influence of Middle Egyptian) of the end of the Eighteenth and the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasties. The analogies which Gardiner's explanation has to assume contain nothing improbable in themselves, and answer sufficiently Mattha's objections (2) and (3) which concern the existence of the forms 𓂏𓂐𓂑 and 𓂏𓂐𓂑 on the one hand, and that of $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑} + \text{nominal subject}$ (instead of the expected $*\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑} + \text{nominal subject} + \text{Infinitive}$) on the other.

If the Conjunctive contained the Second Present *tw·f hr sdm*, there is no reason why it should not have resumed not only Present and Future tenses, but Past tenses as well. But this is exactly what it does not do either in Late Egyptian or in Coptic. For the latter this has recently been pointed out by Plumley,¹ who states that after a Past tense the Conjunctive either has final meaning or else expresses the object of a command. The rare cases in which *mtw·f sdm* seems to continue a Past tense in Late Egyptian can also be explained as having a final meaning.²

I hope that enough has now been said to show that there is no reason to question the correctness of Gardiner's well-substantiated explanation of 𓂏𓂐𓂑 as containing the Independent pronoun 𓂏 and that Mattha's theory whereby this construction would be derived from $*\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑} + \text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$ must be finally rejected.





¹ *An Introductory Coptic Grammar*, § 226.

² That they do not express a simple co-ordination has already been suggested by Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*, § 582.

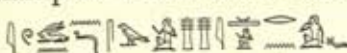
ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE EXPRESSIONS DENOTING EXISTENCE AND NON-EXISTENCE IN MIDDLE EGYPTIAN

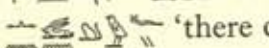
By T. W. THACKER


I. and


IN Middle Egyptian  *iw wn* denotes existence, 'there is/are', 'there was/were', and  *nn wn*¹ is one of the ways of expressing non-existence, 'there is/are not', 'there was/were not'. Since  is avoided after ² we may infer that *nn wn* is the phrase *iw wn* negated, and consequently that *wn* is the same verb-form in each case.

The subject of both phrases, when expressed,³ is nominal, very rarely pronominal.⁴ The noun follows immediately after the element *wn*, which does not vary according to the number or gender of the noun. The phrases have reference to present or past time.⁵ Examples which demonstrate these points are:


 'there is a commoner whose name is Djedi'. (*Westc.* 6, 26.)

 'there does not exist its end'. (*Leb.* 130.)


 'a healthy body, its malady does not exist'. (*Turin*, 159, 5.)

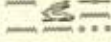
 'there was none wretched in my time'. (*Beni Hasan*, I, 8, 19.)



Since the noun whose existence or non-existence is predicated follows the verb *wn*, the latter has been assumed to be a Perfective *šdm.f* form of the verb *wnn* 'be'.⁶ Thus the phrase *iw wn* is usually interpreted as belonging to the *iw šdm.f* category,⁷ a compound which has implications of repetition or continuity, and the phrase *nn wn* is regarded as *nn + šdm.f*.⁸ There are, however, difficulties in accepting this view. The negative equivalent of *iw šdm.f* is most frequently *n šdm.n.f*,⁹ apparently never *nn šdm.f*: there seem to be no instances where *iw šdm.f* is negated by the expedient of placing *nn* before it. Further, *nn šdm.f* has future meaning 'he will not hear'.¹⁰ It seems

¹ For the Dyn. XI variant  *n wn* see below, p. 33.

² Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 107, 2.

³ *Nn wn* can be used impersonally, e.g. 'people say:  there is nothing' (*Adm.* 6, 4).

⁴ Gunn, *Syntax*, 123. He cites the passage 'his enemies are fallen  they do not exist' (*Nav. Todtb.*, 137 A/6, 13). If the explanation of *nn wn* given below on p. 32 is correct, *nn* is here probably not a suffixed, but a dependent, pronoun.

⁵ Gardiner, op. cit., §§ 107-8; Gunn, op. cit., 122 ff. Existence in future time is probably expressed by  *wnn.f*, of which the negative seems to be  *n wnn.f*. For *wnn.f* cf. *Urk.* IV, 348, 9 (quoted by Gardiner, op. cit., § 107, 1): for *n wnn.f* cf. *Beni Hasan*, I, 25, 96-9 and *M. u. K.* 10, 1.

⁶ Gardiner, op. cit., § 107, 2.

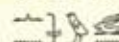
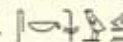
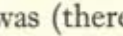
⁷ Ibid., § 462.

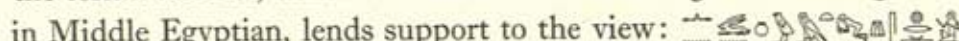

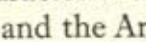

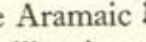
⁸ Ibid., § 108, 1.


⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, § 418 (p. 332) and § 463 Obs. The *iw.f šdm.f* compound is often but a variant of *iw šdm.f*. The latter replaces the former when the verb has the passive element *tw*, and sometimes when the subject is nominal.

¹⁰ Ibid., § 457.

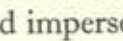
impossible, therefore, that *iw wn* is to be classed as the *iw sdm-f* compound, and that *nn wn* is a construction of the same type as *nn sdm-f*. Accordingly it is most improbable that *wn* is here a *sdm-f* form. Indeed, the lack of examples with a pronominal subject which is indubitably a suffixed pronoun¹ would of itself lead one to the latter conclusion. How, then, are the phrases *iw wn* and *nn wn* to be analysed?

The key to the riddle is provided by Lebensmüde 126, which contains an example of a sentence asserting the non-existence of a pronominal subject. There we read  'he does not exist'. In this passage *wn* can hardly be anything other than the 3rd masc. sing. of the Old Perfective. This form is eminently suitable to express existence, for its function is to describe a state, regardless of the time in which that state is situated,² though usually it lies in the past or present. For the Old Perfective of *wnn* denoting existence compare 'K has freed himself from those who did this to him, who robbed him of his meal  when it was (there), who robbed him of his evening meal  when it was (there)'. (Pyr. 290 c-291 b.)

I would suggest, therefore, that *wn* in *iw wn* and *nn wn* is the 3rd masc. sing. of the Old Perfective. The following example from a Dyn. XII inscription, where *wn* receives the termination *w*, which is often found with the 3rd masc. sing. of the Old Perfective in Middle Egyptian, lends support to the view:  'there was none who died because of my counsel'. (Hanover, 2927, line 7 = ZÄS 72, 85-6, pl. 4.) The 3rd masc. sing. has become stereotyped and unchangeable, whatever the number and gender of the nominal subject. Thus the word *wn* has assumed the nature and character of a particle, and the nominal subject is placed after it. Compare the Hebrew  and the Aramaic  expressing existence, and the Hebrew  and the Aramaic  expressing non-existence. All these words are particles which are likewise unaffected by the number and gender of the nominal subject which follows them. They are unrestricted as to time.

There is, however, this interesting difference between the Egyptian and the Semitic expressions. The Egyptian *wn* began as a verb and was fossilized into a particle: the Semitic words began as particles (or nouns employed as particles) and tended to pass into verbs. Compare especially the Arabic  'there is/was not'.³

Both *iw wn* and *nn wn* appear not to occur in Old Egyptian, hence it seems probable that they were evolved in early Middle Egyptian.

Originally the phrase *iw wn* meant literally 'it exists' and *nn wn* 'it does not exist'. Before Late Egyptian the feminine was used to indicate the meaning of the neuter, but already in Middle Egyptian there are instances of the masculine so employed. It is perhaps significant that the earliest are verbs in the Old Perfective.⁴ For *iw* without an expressed subject and employed impersonally compare sentences like  'it was as the dispensation of God' (Sin. B 43),⁵ and perhaps the compound verb-forms *iw sdm-n-f*, *iw sdm-f* and *iw sdm-f* (Passive).⁶ When a nominal subject was first

¹ See p. 31, n. 4.

² Cf. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, § 311.

³ See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.*, § 213.

⁴ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, § 511, 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, § 123.

⁶ *Ibid.*, § 461.

placed after *iw wn* and *nn wn* it was doubtless felt to be in apposition to the impersonal subject, i.e. 'it exists, (namely) X'. Compare the German use of *es* in expressions like *es kommt ein Mann*.

It seems likely that *iw wn* is the ancestor of the Coptic ⲟⲩⲟⲛ (B), ⲟⲩⲁⲛ (F), ⲟⲩⲏ- (SA) 'there is/are' introducing a non-verbal sentence with an undefined subject, and that ⲁⲁⲁⲟⲛ (SB), ⲁⲁⲟⲛ (S), ⲁⲁⲁⲁⲛ, ⲁⲁⲁⲛ (AF) 'no' is descended from *nn wn*.¹ If so, the original vocalization of *wn* has been preserved. The 3rd masc. sing. of the Egyptian Old Perfective is the form which has given rise to the Qualitative of most Coptic verbs. The normal pattern of the Qualitative of the strong trilateral verb is *conꜥ* (SB), *canꜥ* (AF), which shows that the Egyptian form whence it was derived had an accented *a* following the first radical. The geminating verbs are but a class of the strong verbs, and on the analogy of the latter we may presume that the 3rd masc. sing. of their Old Perfective was at one stage *kábēbēw*, which later became *kabb > kab*. (Compare the 3rd masc. sing. of the Permansive of Accadian verbs, *qátīl* for the strong class, *dánin > dann > dan* for the geminating class.)² Similarly the transitive infinitive went through the stages *támēm > tām > taw* 'shut', thus becoming identical in pattern with the Infinitive of the biliteral class. So soon as this happened the Qualitative of geminating verbs was assimilated to that of the biliteral class and became *knē*. The form ⲟⲩⲟⲛ probably retained its true vocalization and did not pass into ⲟⲩⲏⲛ because its original identity had long been forgotten.

II. $\overline{\text{nn}}$ and $\overline{\text{nn}}$

In Middle Egyptian non-existence is expressed by $\overline{\text{nn}}$ *nn wn* (Dyn. XI variant $\overline{\text{nn}}$ *n wn*),³ $\overline{\text{nn}}$ *n wnt* (Dyn. XVIII variant $\overline{\text{nn}}$ *nn wnt*),⁴ and $\overline{\text{nn}}$ *nn*.⁵ All three are found in main and subordinate clauses. In the latter they are best translated by 'without': *nn* is commoner than the other two in this employment. The extant Old Egyptian texts do not yield many examples of this type of sentence. In them we find $\overline{\text{nn}}$,⁶ $\overline{\text{nn}}$,⁷ $\overline{\text{nn}}$,⁸ $\overline{\text{nn}}$,⁹ but most commonly $\overline{\text{nn}}$.¹⁰

The phrase $\overline{\text{nn}}$ has already been discussed. Let us next consider $\overline{\text{nn}}$. Unlike *nn wn*, *n wnt* is found in Old as well as Middle Egyptian. In the latter there appears to be no difference in the meaning, employment, and syntax of the two phrases.¹¹ The expression *n wnt* is never used with a pronominal, but only with a nominal subject, which is placed immediately after it. It is invariable for number and gender and it denies existence in present or past time. Examples are:

¹ Cf. Till, *Achm. Gramm.*, § 120c and Steindorff, *Kopt. Gramm.*, § 269 Anm. In Boh. ⲁⲁⲁⲟⲛ also means 'there is/are not'.

² Ryckmans, *Gramm. Accad.*, § 297.

³ Hatnub, 14, 4; 17, 12; 22, 8; 22, 9; 23, 6. *Nn wn* also occurs in these inscriptions, e.g. 20, 9; 24, 10.

⁴ *Urk.* IV, 1199, 2. Nav. *Todtb.*, 29a, 2. See Gunn, op. cit., 168.

⁵ In early Middle Egyptian $\overline{\text{nn}}$ is sometimes found. See Gunn, op. cit., 140, n. 4 and p. 195.

⁶ *Urk.* I, 3, 1; 3, 2; 108, 8 (restored); 100, 15. *Pyr.* 475a.


⁷ *Urk.* I, 42, 16.

⁸ *Urk.* I, 50, 14.

⁹ *Urk.* I, 192, 14.

¹⁰ *Pyr.* 141a, 143b, 145a, 161c, 163c, 211a, 386a, 484d, 590c, 604d, 619a, 635b, 637c, &c.

¹¹ Gardiner, op. cit., § 108, 2. See also Gunn, op. cit., ch. xix.

There are, perhaps, other survivals of Old Egyptian *n* 'there is/was not' in Middle Egyptian idioms. Compare, for example, the negation of two parallel infinitives without a semantic object by means of *n*,¹ e.g. 'would that it were the end of men  without conception, without birth' (*Adm.* 5, 14). Perhaps the *n* of the construction *n šdmt.f* 'he has/had not (yet) heard' is best explained in this way i.e. as meaning 'there is/was not the fact that he has/had heard', or, when it occurs after a main clause, as it normally does, 'there not being the fact that he has/had heard'.²

¹ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, § 307, 1.

² Cf. *ibid.*, § 405 and Gunn, *op. cit.*, 174 ff. The *šdmt.f* form is perhaps derived from a relative form which bears the same relation to the Perfective *šdm.f* form as the Imperfective relative form bears to the Imperfective *šdm.f* form. So far as I know the existence of such a relative form has not been recognized by the grammarians, but I have not yet seen M. Clère's paper on a new relative form which he read at the Congress of Orientalists in Paris in July 1948.

L'EXPRESSION *DNŠ MHWT* DES AUTOBIOGRAPHIES ÉGYPTIENNES

Par J. J. CLÈRE

'We are still far from having reached the stage where the meaning of an Egyptian word can be proclaimed *ex cathedra*.'


GARDINER, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 1, pp. xiii-xiv.

Parmi les épithètes laudatives dont sont composées les autobiographies conventionnelles que l'on rencontre dans les inscriptions égyptiennes, il existe quelques exemples d'une expression *dnš mhwt* dont on n'a pas réussi, jusqu'à présent, à bien établir la signification. Le premier mot de ce cliché est le verbe *dnš* 'être lourd' pris au sens figuré; le second, qui n'est pas attesté ailleurs, est obscur.

Alors que certains auteurs ont préféré laisser cette expression sans traduction,¹ d'autres en ont donné des interprétations fort différentes et dont aucune n'est satisfaisante: Breasted l'a rendue par 'weighty in affairs',² Daressy par 'pondéré dans le pessimisme'³ et Janssen, récemment, par 'gewichtig van raad'.⁴ D'autres encore en ont modifié la lecture: Sjöberg, considérant l'expression comme fautive, a corrigé *mhwt* en *m hpw* et l'a traduite 'd'importance pour les lois';⁵ Bergmann, attribuant par erreur la valeur *tp*⁶ au signe qui sert à noter *dnš* dans un des exemples de Basse Époque et lisant d'une façon erronée le déterminatif de *mhwt*, en est arrivé à la rendre par 'der Chef der Familiengenossen';⁷ Capart, enfin, gêné par la détérioration du signe *h* de *mhwt*, qu'il a pris pour un *g*, l'a traduite 'ferme dans l'épreuve' (soit: **dnš m g;w*).⁸ Quant au *Wörterbuch*—qui ne mentionne l'existence de ce cliché qu'au Moyen Empire et à la Dix-huitième Dynastie—il s'est contenté d'indiquer qu'il servait à noter une bonne qualité.⁹

Sans prétendre arriver à donner de l'expression une traduction tout à fait précise, je crois pouvoir en établir la signification d'une façon suffisamment approchée pour que l'on puisse saisir ce à quoi les Égyptiens faisaient allusion quand ils l'employaient.

Il existe à ma connaissance cinq exemples du cliché en question, qui fournissent les graphies suivantes:

(a)  (XII^e Dyn.)¹⁰

¹ Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 64, 80 et 82 (6); Maspero et Gauthier, *Sarcoph. des époques persane et ptolém.* (CCG), II, p. 8 et n. 4. Dans *Les Momies Royales de Déir el-Baharî* (Mém. Miss. fr. 1), p. 627, Maspero saute l'expression dans sa traduction sans même en signaler la présence par des points de suspension. L'expression n'est pas citée dans Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegypt.*, p. 175, art. 'schwer sein'.

² *Anc. Rec.* II, § 52.

³ *De traditioneele Egypt. autobiografie vóór het N.R.*, II, p. 57.

⁴ *Sphinx* 9, 218.

⁵ Cf. *Wb.* v, 433 s.v. *db*.




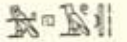

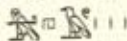

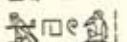
⁶ *ZÄS* 18, 51.


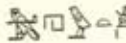








⁷ *C.R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L.* 1947, 273 et 274, fig. 2.

⁸ *Wb.* II, 114, 14 et v, 469, 5.

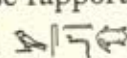
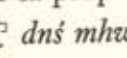
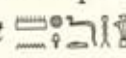
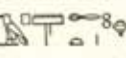


⁹ *Caire 20539*, II b 5 = Lange et Schäfer, *Grab- u. Denksteine des m. R.* (CCG), II, p. 155 et IV, pl. 42.

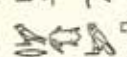
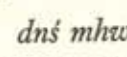
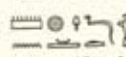
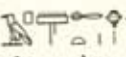
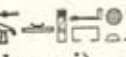

¹⁰ *Rec. trav.* 10, 148.

- (b)   (XVIII^e Dyn.)¹
 (c)   (XXX^e Dyn.)²
 (d)   (début de l'époque ptolémaïque)³
 (e)   (époque ptolémaïque)⁴

Les Exx. *a* et *b* se trouvent dans deux longs textes parallèles, sur les stèles bien connues de Mentouhotep et de Karès du Musée du Caire. Le déterminatif  de *mhwt* dans l'Ex. *a*, bien qu'étant fourni par le document le plus ancien, est certainement fautif. Ainsi déterminé, *mhwt* serait le mot  'famille, parents' (*Wb.* II, 114, 7-12)⁵ qui ne permet pas de donner un sens à l'expression. La valeur 'chargé de famille' qu'on pourrait être tenté de lui attribuer est certainement à rejeter, car l'égyptien exprimerait cette idée à l'aide du mot  'ayant de nombreux . . .' ou d'un terme de signification analogue. D'ailleurs, le contexte des différents exemples indique qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une qualité matérielle, mais d'une particularité du caractère. C'est donc la graphie avec  du doublet *b* qu'il faut prendre en considération. Le texte *a* emploie parfois, par erreur, la forme hybride  au lieu de  ou : on peut penser que dans *mhwt* le signe  est également fautif et doit être remplacé par , déterminatif qui s'accorde aussi bien que  avec la signification que l'on est amené à donner au terme, et qui est d'ailleurs attesté tardivement par l'Ex. *e*.

Les clichés qui sont employés en parallélisme avec *dns mhwt* dans les cinq documents cités se rapportent pour la plupart à la pensée ou à l'élocution:



(a')  *dns mhwt*     





(b')  *dns mhwt*     

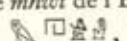
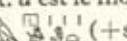
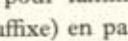

'très respecté dans la maison du roi (*b* de la mère du roi), . . ., à l'éloquence par-





¹ Caire 34003 = Lacau, *Stèles du N.E.* (CCG), I, p. 8 et pl. 4; *Urk.* IV, 47.


² Caire 29307 = Maspero et Gauthier, *Sarcoph. des époques persane et ptolém.* (CCG), II, p. 7 et pl. 3, 1; Spiegelberg, *ZAS* 64, 79.


³ Collection Arakel Pacha Nubar = Capart, *C.R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L.* 1947, 274, fig. 2; Clère, *Rev. d'égyptol.* 6 (sous presse). Le signe  de *mhwt*, bien que mutilé, est absolument sûr; Capart donne .

⁴ Vienne Inv. No. 20 = Bergmann, *ZAS* 18, 51. Collationné sur une photographie et sur un frottis à la mine de plomb aimablement communiqués par H. Demel. Le déterminatif  de *mhwt* est absolument sûr; Bergmann donne  [sic, coquille pour ] et croit avoir affaire au mot *mhwt* 'famille'. Pour  = *dns*, voir Ex. *j* ci-dessous, et *Wb.* v, 469, 12; Chassinat, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 10, 163; Kuentz, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 34, 153.

⁵ La première graphie citée *Wb.* II, 114 s.v. *mhwt* 'Familie' dans la colonne de droite est empruntée à notre Ex. *a* et c'est sur elle qu'est fondée l'indication de date 'belegt seit M.R.'; mais en même temps cet exemple est cité au mot *mhwt* de *dns mhwt* (114, 14). Cette confusion a été rectifiée implicitement dans *Belegst.* II, à 114, 7 par la remarque, à propos de *mhwt* 'Familie', 'N.B.! Erst seit D.18 belegt'. En définitive, les auteurs du *Wb.* ne sont donc pas d'avis que *mhwt* de l'Ex. *a* est le mot pour 'famille'. (Ce dernier apparaît en fait dès la Seconde Période Intermédiaire: cf. ,  (+suffixe) en parallélisme avec  *Ann. Serv.* 23, 183-4, Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (1933), p. 31 et pl. 15, 1;  [sic] en parallélisme avec *snw* 'frères' *Ann. Serv.* 21, 66 et 22, fig. 2 de la pl. de Engelbach, *Stèles . . . of the late M.K. from Tell Edfu*.)

⁶ Pour  dans  (1 b 12); pour  dans  (deux fois en II b 4).

⁷ L'original, collationné par B. Grdseloff puis par moi-même, porte bien  comme donnent Lange et Schäfer.

⁸ Ainsi d'après la photographie de Lange et Schäfer, op. cit. IV, pl. 42;  est omis ibid. II, p. 155.

faite, discret (*litt.* caché de ventre) sur les affaires du Palais, ne disant mot de (*litt.* *a* dont la bouche est scellée sur, *b* scellé de bouche sur) ce qu'il entend'.

(c') *dnš mhwt* 'ayant l'esprit pénétrant, l'élocution agréable (*litt.* doux de langue), . . ., s'exprimant bien (*ṛk(ṛ)* *dd*)'.

(d') *dnš mhwt* 'fidèle à son maître, . . ., répondant correctement'.

(e') *dnš mhwt* 'qui possède l'éloquence, aux conseils utiles, . . .'

D'autre part, on trouve des clichés composés également du verbe *dnš* suivi d'un substantif, que l'on peut considérer comme des équivalents approximatifs de *dnš mhwt* tant à cause de leur formation qu'à cause de la nature des expressions à côté desquelles ils apparaissent; *mhwt* y est remplacé par d'autres mots tels que *mdwt* 'paroles', *šhrw* 'pensées, intentions, &c.', *ṛ* 'bouche' (voir aussi *dnš ib* 'lourd de cœur' cité plus bas):

(f) (XIX^e Dyn.)¹ 'lourd de paroles, à l'éloquence parfaite, discret (*litt.* caché de ventre) sur ses (propres) pensées'.

(g) (XXVI^e Dyn.)² 'parlant au moment voulu, répondant à propos, exempt de hâte à parler (*litt.* exempt de rapidité de bouche),³ *lourd de bouche*'.

(h) (époque saïte)⁴ 'à qui le roi parle seul à seul tandis que tout le monde reste dehors, *lourd de bouche*, répondant correctement'.

(i) (époque ptolémaïque)⁵ 'circonspect,⁶ discret, *lourd de bouche*, répondant correctement (*ṛw nfr* = *r nfr*)'.

¹ Thèbes, tombe 158, 2^e salle ('passage'), paroi sud, côté est, col. 1 (inédit, d'après l'original). Une partie du texte cité ici est donnée dans *Wb. Belegst.* II, à 85, 25 et 114, 15 où l'exemple est qualifié de 'ältester Beleg' de *dnš mdwt*, ce qui implique que le *Wb.* en connaît d'autres. Dans le même texte, col. 2, on trouve *dnš šhrw* *litt.* 'lourd de pensées' (cf. ci-dessous, p. 41, n. 6, et *Wb.* v, 469, 2; Grapow, *Bildl. Ausdrücke*, p. 175) à côté de *gr, kb šrf, wḥ ib* 'silencieux, calme, impassible'. Voir aussi *dnš šhr ht* cité ci-dessous Ex. k.

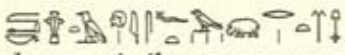
² Thèbes, tombe 36 = Scheil, *Le tombeau d'Aba* (*Mém. Miss. fr.* V), pl. 6 (collationné sur une photographie).

³ Cf. Pays. B 1, 208-9 (cf. ci-dessous, Ex. k).

⁴ Louvre C 317 (stèle du Sérapéum) = Chassinat, *Rec. trav.* 25, 53 (collationné).

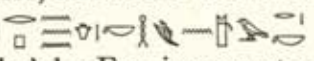
⁵ Leyde V 58 (et non V 94 comme indique le *Wb. Belegst.* I, à 184, 14 et II, à 256, 14) = *Beschr. Leiden* VII, p. 7 et pl. 16, No. 20; Piankoff, *Le 'cœur' dans les textes ég.*, p. 49. Dans *dnš ṛ*, l'original a pour .

⁶ *cm ib* () *litt.* 'avalé de cœur' signifie plus exactement 'discret'; c'est un synonyme de *hṛp ht*. Les indications données à propos de *cm + ib* dans le *Wb.* I, 184, 14-15 sont incomplètes: *cm* avec *ib* comme objet signifie non seulement 'regretter', mais aussi 'être discret' et, pris en mauvaise part, 'dissimuler' — cf. 'ne dissimule rien de (*litt.* n'avalé pas ton cœur au sujet de) ce qu'on a pu te dire, garde-toi d'une occasion d'être (intentionnellement) oublieux' *Ptahh.* 153-4; (XII^e Dyn.) *Brit. Mus.* [569] = *Hierog. Texts BM.* II, pl. 19; *Ptahh.* 249 (dans ces deux derniers exx., Gard., *Gr.* § 307 et *Suppl.* p. 10 à 231, 5 regarde *ib* comme le sujet de *cm*); *L. des M.*, ch. 125, Conf. nég. 28 = Maystre, *Les déclarations d'innocence*, p. 89 (cf. Drioton, *Rev. arch.* 6^e sér. 27, 110). Sur *cm ib*, cf. encore Sethe, *ZÄS* 58, 15; Piankoff, *Le 'cœur' dans les textes ég.*, p. 83; Gunn, *Studies in Eg. Syntax*, p. 158; Spiegel, *Erzähl. vom Streite des Horus u. Seth*, p. 107, n. 3; voir aussi, ci-dessous, p. 41, n. 5.

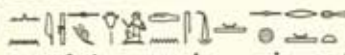
(j)  (époque ptolémaïque)¹ 'se détournant du mal, *lourd de bouche*, ne révélant pas ses pensées (*litt.* n'étant pas foré (=ouvert) de cœur)'.

On notera en particulier que *dnš mdwt* est suivi de *mnḥ ḏd*, *hrp ḥt* dans l'Ex. *f* et *dnš r*; de *wšb r nfr* dans les Exx. *h* et *i* comme c'est le cas pour *dnš mhwt* dans les Exx. *a'*-*b'* et *d'*—ce qui prouve, dans une certaine mesure, le parallélisme de signification de ces diverses expressions. Le *Wörterbuch*—qui précise (II, 114, 14) que *dnš mhwt* apparaît à côté d'expressions signifiant 'éloquent' et 'discret' ('beredt' und 'verschwiegen')—est catégorique à ce sujet: il observe (II, 114, 15; cf. aussi V, 469, 6) que, dans *dnš mhwt*, le mot *mhwt* est 'remplacé' (ersetzt) par *mdt* 'parole' à la Dix-neuvième Dynastie.

On peut donc, pour les différentes raisons exposées, penser que *mhwt* a une signification voisine de celle qu'ont les mots *mdwt* et *r*; lorsqu'ils sont employés dans les clichés que l'on vient de voir, tout en comportant certainement une nuance de sens qu'il n'est pas possible de préciser sur la seule base des exemples connus actuellement.

La détermination du sens qu'a le verbe *dnš* dans le cliché étudié fait moins de difficulté. Le *Wörterbuch* (V, 468, 14) donne pour ce mot employé avec *ib* 'cœur' = 'pensée, intention, &c.' les seules acceptions figurées 'gewichtig, ernst o. ä.'. Mais, comme l'ont déjà remarqué Gardiner² et Vogelsang,³ *dnš* peut être dans cet emploi en quelque sorte un synonyme de *imn* 'cacher, être caché' (*Wb.* I, 83-4) et de *hrp* 'couler, aller au fond de l'eau, plonger' (*Wb.* II, 500-1), ce dernier verbe prenant pratiquement dans ce cas lui aussi le sens de 'cacher, être caché' comme il ressort clairement du parallélisme dans la recommandation  'cache tes pensées (*litt.* enfonce ton cœur), contrôle ta bouche' des Enseignements de Ptahhotep.⁴ Comme *imn ib* *litt.* 'caché de cœur',⁵ *hrp ib* *litt.* 'enfoncé de cœur' signifie ainsi 'ne révélant pas ses pensées, ne manifestant pas ses intentions, ses sentiments', peut-être aussi 'ne se laissant pas aller à tenir des propos inconvenants, ne s'emportant pas' ou encore 'réprimant ses désirs, se maîtrisant'—et *dnš ib* *litt.* 'lourd de cœur' a pratiquement les mêmes significations.

Que *dnš* ait une telle valeur, étonnante *a priori*, c'est ce que montre le rapprochement des quatre exemples suivants (les trois derniers sont des épithètes du défunt) qui fournissent l'équivalence *dnš* = *hrp* = *imn* attestant le glissement de sens 'être lourd' > 'être au fond de l'eau comme une chose lourde' > 'être caché comme une chose qui est au fond de l'eau':—

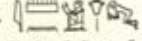

(k)  (*Pays.* B 1, 209) 'il n'est pas d'inconsidéré qui sache garder cachées ses intentions (*litt.* il n'est pas de léger de cœur (qui soit) lourd de dessein du corps)'.⁶

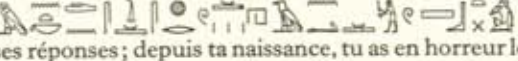
¹ Caire 70031 = Roeder, *Naos* (CCG), p. 115 et pl. 33, a; *Urk.* II, 60.

² *JEA* 9, 16, n. 2.

³ *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, p. 161.

⁴ *Ptahḥ.* 618; cf. Sethe, *Erläut. Lesest.* à 41, 20/21; Piankoff, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁵ Cf.  (XII^e Dyn.) pris en mauvaise part pour désigner le délinquant réticent, qui ne veut pas avouer, *Brit. Mus.* [566] = *Hierog. Texts BM.* IV, pl. 37. Dans le même texte, un juge (*mr šnt*) est dit  'celui qui fait que le cœur vomisse ce qu'il a avalé (c.-à-d. qui fait avouer le coupable)'.

⁶ Pour *dnš + šhr*, cf. aussi  'tu es un homme qui sait garder cachées ses pensées, qui pèse ses réponses; depuis ta naissance, tu as en horreur les propos grossiers (?)' P. Lansing 14 (15), 8 = Erman et Lange, p. 127; Blackman et Peet, *JEA* 11, 297; Gardiner, *L.-Eg. Misc.*, p. 114. *Hn*—*litt.* 'pencher, incliner, courber', employé aussi pour rendre '(s)' incliner sous l'effet de quelque chose de *lourd*

CAREER OF THE GREAT STEWARD HENENU UNDER NEBHEPETRĒ MENTUHOTPE

By WILLIAM C. HAYES

THE notion that the Steward 𓂏𓂏𓂏 of Hammāmāt 114¹ and the Steward 𓂏𓂏𓂏 of Tomb 313 at Dēr el-Bahri² were one and the same man has undoubtedly occurred to students of Eleventh Dynasty history—and been set aside for lack of any evidence which, in the face of the differences in the writings of the name, would confirm such a supposition. Furthermore, the Hammāmāt inscription is dated to Year 8 of S'ankhkarē Mentuhotpe (2002 B.C.), while the tomb, from its type and its position midway between those of the Chancellor Akhtoy (No. 311) and the Vizier Ipy (No. 315), clearly belongs to the reign of Nebhepetrē Mentuhotpe (2061–2010 B.C.).³ Evidence for the identification, together with interesting glimpses of Henenu's long and distinguished career under the earlier Pharaoh, does, however, exist in the fragments of four big limestone stelae found in Tomb 313 during the winter of 1922–3 by the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁴

It is with a deep feeling of gratitude to my friend and teacher, Sir Alan Gardiner, that I offer the following earnest, if not altogether successful, attempt to reassemble the pieces of the largest, finest, and least fragmentary of these four monuments (Stela 'A')⁵ and to reconstruct portions of its interesting autobiographical inscription. In the undertaking I have had the expert assistance of Lindsley F. Hall, to whose skill and long experience as an Egyptological draughtsman we owe the drawing of Plate IV.

The stela, now represented by some thirty-five fragments, was an oblong rectangular slab of limestone, 22 cm., or about 3 palms, in thickness, mounted originally in a shallow recess in the left-hand wall of the rock-cut vestibule of the tomb, just outside the entrance doorway.⁶ It was supported, at a height of 73 cm. above the floor, on a slab

¹ Couyat-Montet, *Hammāmāt*, 19 ff., 81–4; Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* 1, §§ 427 ff., etc. Of the more recent publications in which this text is treated see especially Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, 8, n. 2, 11, 12, 48; and Janssen, *De traditioneele egyptische Autobiografie* (indices, Part I, 176–7; Part II, v–vi).

² Map of *The Theban Necropolis* (Scale 1 : 1,000) published by the Survey of Egypt, Sheet C-4; Engelbach, *Suppl. Top. Cat.* 24.

³ The order of kings and chronology of Dyn. XI followed here conform to those recently evolved by Winlock (*Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom*, 2, 8–9). The dates are based on those established by L. H. Wood for Dyn. XII (*Bull. ASOR*, No. 99 (October 1945), 5–9). Prof. R. A. Parker tells me that, although there is a fallacy in the astronomical evidence adduced by Wood, his results from the chronological point of view are essentially correct.

⁴ Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri*, 68 ff.; *Rise and Fall*, 44–5.

⁵ Now in New York (M.M.A., Acc. No. 26.3.217).

⁶ Stela 'B', of the same type and approximately the same size as 'A', was apparently mounted on the opposite (right-hand) wall of the vestibule. Stelae 'C' and 'D', also of the same type, but smaller, seem to have been set up in the rear of the first corridor of the tomb, facing one another on opposite walls of the passage. The fragments of all four stelae were found scattered on the floor of the tomb near the entrance of the corridor.

of sandstone 218 cm. long, 46 cm. deep, and 22 cm. high, which rested partly on the floor of the recess and partly on a rough stone foundation built out in front of the recess. This sandstone slab was found in position, and in a crust of cement on its upper surface was the clear imprint of the whole bottom edge of the stela, which we therefore know to have been 157 cm., or exactly 3 *cubits*, in width. The height of the stela as

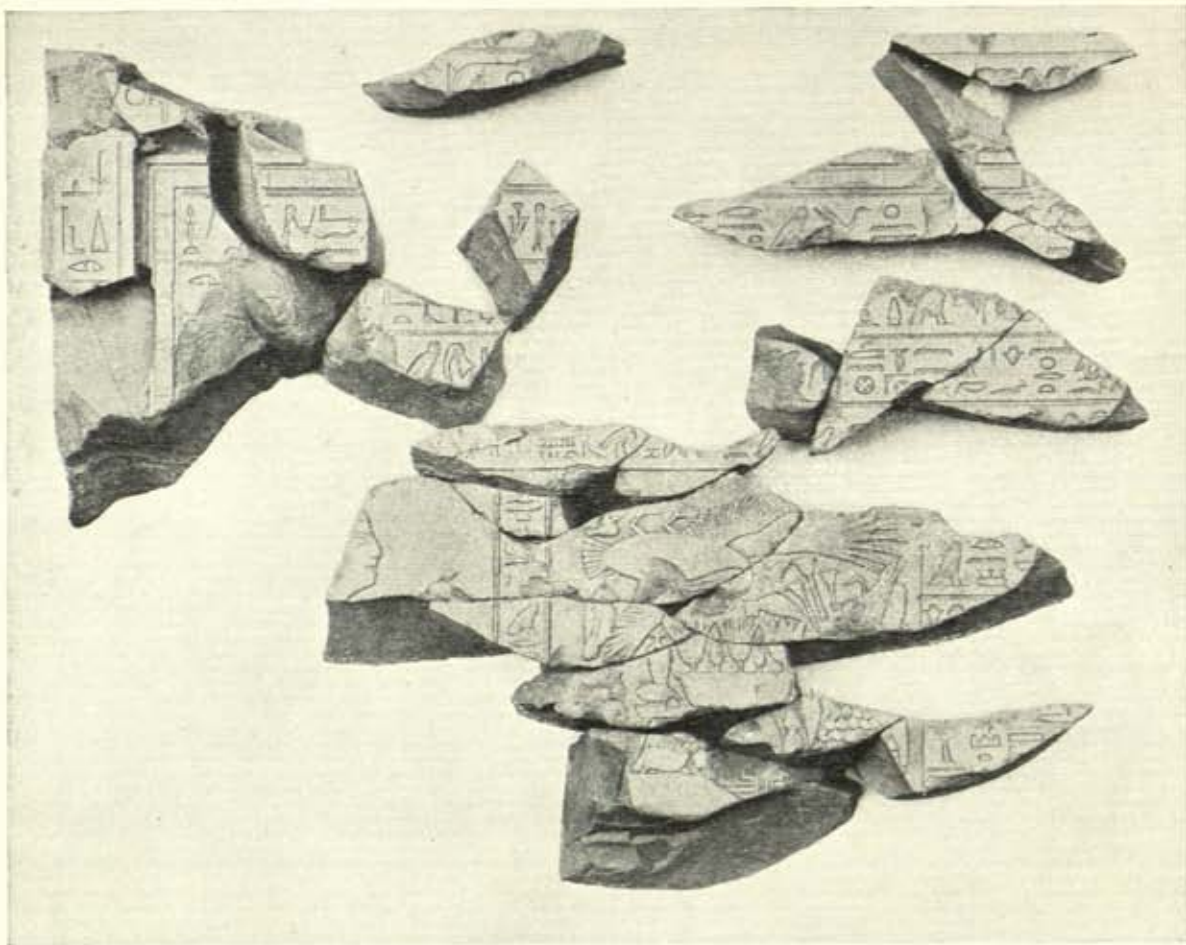
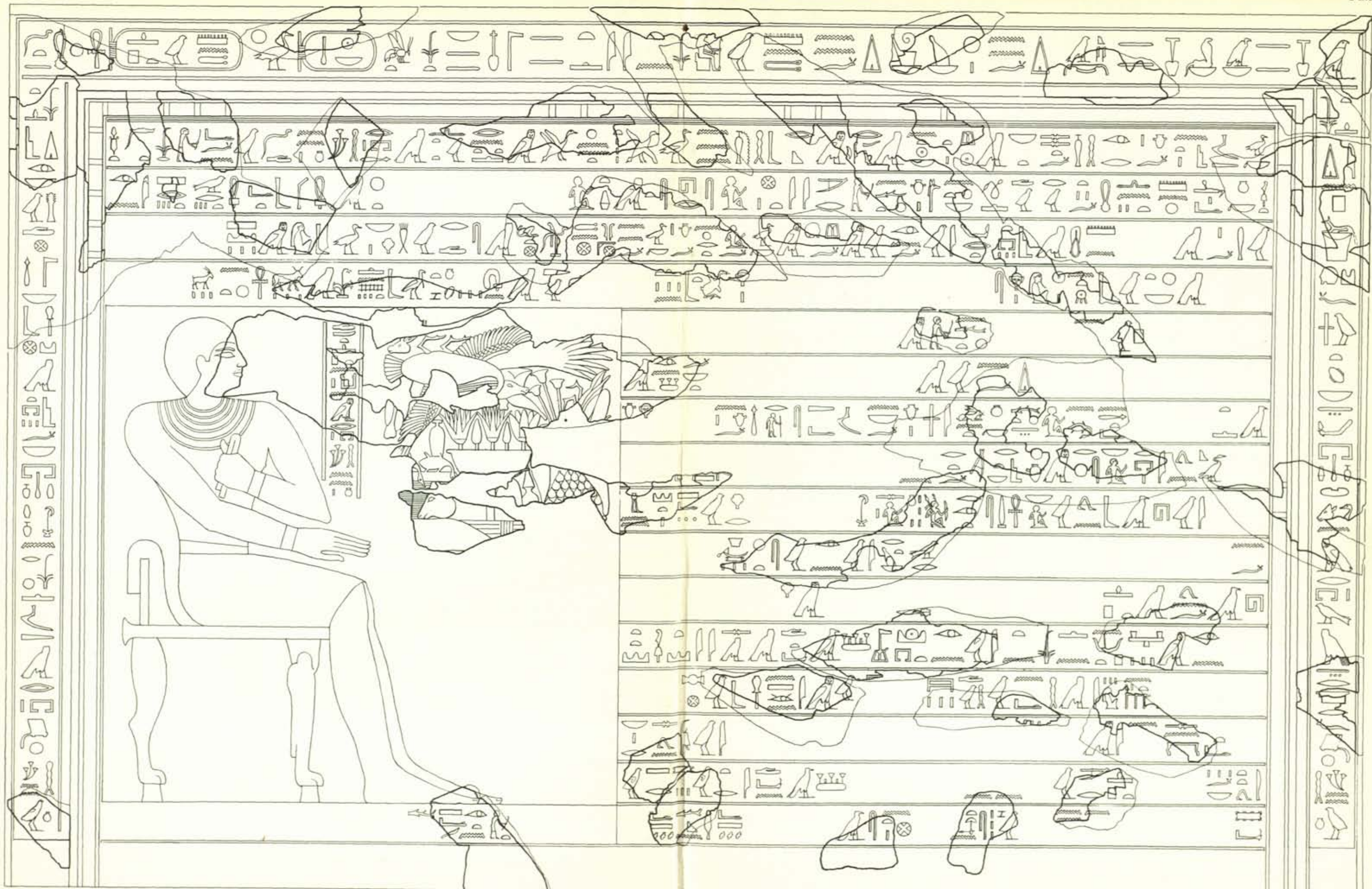


Fig. 1. Stela A of the Steward Henu

reconstructed—101.2 cm., or just under 2 *cubits*—was obtained by restoring the stereotyped offering formulae at its sides, close parallels to which are fortunately preserved on the other stelae from the same tomb; testing this result against the combined heights of an even number (16) of whole lines of inscription in the main text;¹ and checking both these indications against the restored height of the seated figure² and

¹ As a general rule the biographical texts on the larger rectangular stelae of Dyn. XI are composed in an even number of horizontal lines: 10, 12, 14, or 16. See, for example, Berlin 13272 (Lange, *ZÄS* 34, 33), Brit. Mus. 100 [614] (*Hierog. Texts BM* 1, 49); Cairo E. 36346 (Clère-Vandier, *Bibl. Aeg.* x, § 24), Copenhagen 1241 (Mogensen, *La collect. ég.*, pl. 98, No. A 689), Brit. Mus. 134 [1164] (*Hierog. Texts BM* 1, 55), Mentuhotpe (Griffith, *PSBA* 18, 195–204). Worth noting is the preservation on one fragment of our stela of a section of the horizontal dividing-line between lines 8 and 9 of the main text together with several groups from the mid-section of the right-hand offering formula (pl. IV, right).

² Models used in restoring the figure were: a fragment of Henu's Stela 'B', on which the figure is preserved



STELA A OF THE GREAT STEWARD HENENU

SCALE 0 5 10 20 30 40 50 CM.

Lindsley F. Hall del.

against the proportions of numerous other Theban stelae of the same type and date.¹ Moreover, except for a gap in l. 4, the height of the stela is established by an unbroken series of fits from its top edge down through l. 9 of the main inscription—that is, down to the level of the waist of the figure—and a single small fragment fixes the relationship between the feet of the figure, the last line of the inscription, and the rough-dressed bottom edge of the slab.

At a distance of 9.3 cm. down from the top and 7.5 cm. in from the sides the whole front surface of the stela is recessed to a depth of 1.5 cm., leaving a flat projecting frame around all but its bottom edge. The frame so formed is inscribed at each side with an offering formula and across the top with the titulary of King Nebhepetrē Mentuhotpe. Inside the projecting frame the surface of the stela is surrounded at the top and sides by a simple block-border, 2.6 cm. in width. This border, the relatively large-scale inscriptions on the outer frame,² and the sixteen slightly smaller lines of inscription which comprise the long autobiographical text,³ are executed in *relief en creux*, the interiors of many of the hieroglyphic signs showing considerable modelling and often a wealth of fine detail (Plate IV). The big panel which occupies the lower left-hand portion of the stela is cut back very slightly behind the adjacent inscribed surfaces and the figure of Henenu, the table of offerings before him, and the accompanying hieroglyphic label ('Requirements of the offering table for the *ka* of the Steward, [Henenu]') are carved in delicate low relief. The stela, like that of the Treasurer Tjetjy in the British Museum⁴ and probably many others of the same general period, was apparently not painted. In quality of design and excellence of workmanship it is, I believe, unsurpassed by any private monument of the Eleventh Dynasty which has come down to us.⁵

To preserve the continuity which exists between the titulary of the king at the top of the stela and the first line of Henenu's autobiography it seems best to begin the translation of the texts with the two offering formulae.⁶

Frame, right side:

A boon given by the king and by Anubis, He-who-is-on-his-mountain, [He-who-is-in-

down to the waist; a fragmentary stela of the reign of Nebhepetrē Mentuhotpe from one of the cliff-tombs to the west of Henenu's (Met. Mus. Art Exped, unpublished); the stela of the Gatekeeper, Ma'et, in the Metropolitan Museum (Acc. No. 14.2.7, Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 2); and the stela of the Steward Mentuwsre, also in the Metropolitan Museum (Acc. No. 12.184, Ransom, *Stela of Mentuwsre*, pl. 1, Reign of Sesostri I.)

¹ Compare, for example, Cairo 20001, 20004, 20011 (Lange-Schäfer, *CCG*); Brit. Mus. 99 [1203], 134 [1164] (*Hierog. Texts BM* 1, 53, 55); Mentuhotpe (Griffith, loc. cit.), in all of which the ratio between the height and width is 2:3 or very close to it. The horizontal 'slab-stela' of these general proportions is not only one of the earliest forms known, but is one of the two dominant types during Dyn. XI. See Müller, *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 4, 165 ff., 169; Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, 11, 73 ff.; Pflüger, *JAOS*, 67, 127 ff.

² The square of inscription at the top is 4.6 × 4.6 cm.; at the sides, 3.7 × 3.7 cm.

³ The square of inscription ranges from 3.2 × 3.2 cm. (line 16) to 4 × 4 cm. (line 12), the average being about 3.7 × 3.7 cm. This variation in the size of the signs has, needless to say, been an important factor in determining the positions of the unattached fragments of the text.

⁴ See Blackman, *JEA* 17, 55.

⁵ The three other stela from Tomb 313 are of exactly the same type, but of coarser workmanship, and lack the titulary of the king across the top, having in its place a third offering formula.

⁶ The two offering formulae can be restored in their entirety from Henenu's own Stelae 'B' and 'C', where the missing portions of them happen to be well preserved, and from many other closely contemporary examples (see Clère-Vandier, *Bibl. Aeg.* x, *passim*).

the-Place-of-Embalming, Lord of the Holy Land], that a funerary offering of bread and beer, beef and fowl, be made for the [great] Ste[ward] of the entire land, the one in hon[our], Henenu].^a

Frame, left side:

A boon given by the king and by Osiris, Lord of [Busiris, the Great God, Lord of Abydos, in all his places, that a funerary offering of bread and beer, a thousand of bread and beer, be made for the true familiar of the king, the Steward, the one in honour, Hen]enu.

Frame, top:

The Horus [Somtow, He-of-the-Two-Goddesses Som]tow, the Horus of Gold [Ka]-shuty, [to whom] Rē [has given] the Crown of Upper Egypt and the Crown of Lower Egypt, [to whom Mon]t [has given] the king[ship of the Two Lands, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt], Nebhepetrē, the Son of [Rē, Mentuhotpe], may he live like Rē [forever]!

Main text:

(1)^b *[The true ser]vant [of his affection who did what he praised in] the course of every day, the over[seer of horn], hoof, feather, and scale, the overseer of waterfowl, of that which flies and that which flutters down^c, the overseer of that which is and that which is not, the great [Ste]ward, Hen[enu, says]: (1) curbed the south, north, east, (2) [and west. I was one uniquely efficient, without equal, flourishing] in all things, one valiant and strong, [one beloved of my city, one who satis]fied it with my bread,, (whose) signet-ring sealed [great matters] and small (?). [His Majesty] made (3) [me a], [firm of sandal] in the holy places. [He ma]de me his personal attendant and his servant of his desire; and I taxed for him This of the Thinite nome and the Lower Aphroditopolite nome^d [in all that is made to grow upon] Geb, in garden[s], (4), [and in everything] on [which] Rē shines.^e [He made me] concerning loan[s] (of grain)^f food (?), and treasurer of the [products (?) of] the Oasis; and (I) furnished the nomes of Upper Egypt with oxen, [goats, asses, barley, spelt, etc.] (5) it was for strong in (6) He place[d me as a] all his; and I did what was ap- (7) [pointed (?)] [inasmuch as] fear of me was throughout the land. I was indeed [one truly in the confidence of his lord, an official whose understanding was great], in the heart of . . . (8) . . . I [entered] into the house of my lord in order to provide diversion and into [every] place which he loved; and (I) (9) [My lord (may he live, prosper, and be well!) sent me] to conduct an expedition^g of [... thousand (?)] men [to the land of] the Sand-[Dwellers]; and (I) brought back (10) [to him tribute,, through dread of (?)] the Great White Crown. I made barges (11) . . . and it^h [desce]nded in [safety] (12) [which (I)] made into roads for the business [of the king]. (I) made a 'horizon of the necropolis,'ⁱ exca[vated in the desert of the west] (13) [to the plac]e wh[ere] the gods are, together with t[ables of offerings] . . . in fine stone of Elephantine . . . (14) . . . a bier (?) for . . . therein. (I) followed [my lord] in (15) [all his goings] peace and love [(I) (re-) excavated ca]nals which had become block- (16) [ed] (I) . . . water . . . the (rural) districts. (I) poured out (?) . . . for the city. (I) ap[proached (?)]^j [ced]ar (of) the Plateau of Cedar^k which (I) made, cutting (down ?) the tree[s]*

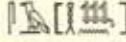
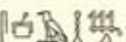

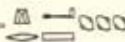
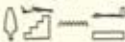
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
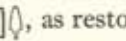
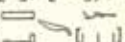
(a) [$\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$], restored from the remains of the name at the bottom of the left-hand side of the frame of this stela ($\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$) and on a fragment of Henenu's limestone sarcophagus ($\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$). Elsewhere on the inscribed monuments from Tomb 313 the name is usually written $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (on Stela B, once; on Stela C, twice; on the limestone door-frame, twice; and probably in line 1 of the present stela). On a second fragment of the sarcophagus we find the writing 𓂏 , and on a model coffin, also from Tomb 313, the writing 𓂏 . Although the double — is consistently used in all variants of the name found in the Dēr el-Bahri tomb, it is certainly possible that ten or fifteen years later a different scribe could have written the same name, *Hnnw*, less redundantly with a single — , as in Hammāmāt 114, 10 ($\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$), since an *n*-sound is already present in each of the two biliteral signs, 𓂏 and 𓂏 . The omission of the phonetic complement is common in personal names written with other biliterals, such as 𓂏 and 𓂏 (Ranke, *Personennamen, passim*); and in the index to *CCG*, 20001–20780 (III, 138–9), Lange-Schäfer list 42 variant spellings of names derived from or compounded with the stem 𓂏 .

(b) Line 1 of our text is restored chiefly from the opening lines of Hammāmāt 114 (Cuyat-Montet, *Hammāmāt*, 81–2), which, in addition to beginning with the common expression *bḥk mṣc n st-ib.f*..., contain three of the four titles preserved on the present stela: $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (line 4), $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (line 3), and $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (line 10). Other titles of Henenu found in Tomb 313 are: 𓂏 (door lintel), $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ and $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (right door-jamb. Hammāmāt 114, 3, 9), and 𓂏 (Stela C).

(c) *imy-r ḥbḥw pṣ(y)t hnt*, 'overseer of aquatic (i.e. swimming) birds, flying birds, and fluttering birds'—that is, overseer of the three principal classes of birds, or 'birds of all kinds'. This title, so far as I can discover, is unique; but the words contained in it, *pṣyt*, *hnt*, and *ḥbḥw*, are listed, with ample references, in *Wb.* I, 494 (13–14); III, 288 (4–6); V, 30 (8); and Budge, *Eg. Dict.* 230 A, 594 A, and 768 A. According to *Wb.*, *pṣyt* (later var. *pṣyw*) and *hnt* are not recorded before Dyn. XVIII. Thereafter they are fairly common and are not infrequently found together. *Ḥbḥw*, meaning 'waterfowl', is apparently not known before the M.K. (*Wb.* V, 30). The titles $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, and $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ occur in that order on a stela of the Steward Hor from the Wādī el-Hūdī (reign of Sesotris I). The second title, translated by Rowe 'Overseer of the Two Houses of Waterfowl (*ḥbḥw*)', is discussed briefly by him in *Ann. Serv.* 39, 189, 191 n. 2 (pl. 25). Titles of this type, specifically designating supervision over the animal, bird, and fish life of the royal estates (or of the whole of Egypt) figure prominently in the titularies of several other M.K. stewards. See, for example, Leiden V.5 (Boeser, *Beschreibung*, II, pl. 5); Louvre C.2 (Gayet, *Stèles*, pl. 2); Cairo 20053 and 20428 (Lange-Schäfer, *CCG*). See also the discussion of the title $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ by Loret, *Rec. trav.* 38, 61–8. This title occurs a second time in the inscriptions from Tomb 313, on a fragment of Stela 'C'.

(d) Undoubtedly meaning the whole of the Thinite nome, including the city of This, and all the territory north of it as far as (supply 𓂏 or 𓂏 ?) the 'back', or northern, part of the Aphroditopolite nome—in other words, all of the VIIIth, IXth, and Xth nomes of Upper Egypt. A jurisdiction which extended only over the capital of the VIIIth nome and the northern portion of the Xth nome is unlikely in the extreme. For a construction of the type implied and especially for the writing of *phwt* (𓂏) after *Wḏt* compare the phrase $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, *mḥty r Ḥm hnty*, 'northward to the Upper Panopolite nome' (Leiden V.3, 3–4. Boeser, *Beschreibung*, 2, pl. 2). See also Petrie, *Qurneh*, pl. 2, l. 4; *Denderah*, pl. 15, l. 10). The translation 'This of (or in) the Thinite nome' (lit. 'Thinite nome, This') follows Gard., *Eg. Gramm.*, § 90, 3. Another reference to Henenu's association with the Thinite nome occurs on a fragment of the left door-jamb from his tomb, where are

(j) ? (*Wb.* iv, 20). The phrases which follow suggest an expedition to the Lebanon; and in the account of such an expedition preserved to us from the reign of Tuthmosis III the expression — is used to describe the arrival in Egypt at the end of the return voyage from Syria (Sethe, *Sitzungsab. Berlin*, 1906, 356–63; *Urk.* iv, 534–5). Here we might conceivably restore: ——, '(I) re[ach]ed land, bringing cedar]wood (of) the Plateau of Cedar.'

(k) *Htyw n ʿš*, the wooded highlands of the Lebanon (Gauthier, *Kémi*, 2, 72–8. On the translation of *htyw* as 'plateau' see also Gard., *Eg. Gramm.*, *Suppl.*, 19). The name in its full form, as here, appears to be preserved in only one other Egyptian text: an inscription of Tuthmosis III at Karnak, where it is written  (Urk. iv, 778; Gauthier, op. cit. 72. See, however, Sethe's restoration of *Urk* iv, 532, 13). References to "cedar" (*ʿš*) of the best of the Plateau', however, are fairly common from the time of Amosis I onward (Gauthier, op. cit. 73 ff.), and the Syrian wood called *ʿš* is mentioned in the annals of the reign of Snofru (*Urk.* i, 236–7) and frequently thereafter. On the wood itself, here, as elsewhere, arbitrarily called 'cedar', see Gauthier, op. cit. 75; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, i, 8 n. 1; Lucas, *Materials* (3rd ed.), 491–4; etc. In spite of the final determinative , the word , as restored here before *htyw n ʿš*, can and frequently does mean simply 'cedar-(wood)', rather than living 'cedar tree(s)' (*Urk.* i, 236–7; Gauthier, op. cit. 74 [8], [12]); and it is safest to assume that that is what it means here. On the other hand, the words , farther along in the same line, certainly suggest that Henenu was involved in the operation of actually felling the trees. *Šr* (later *šrd*) *ht*, in any case, is the normal Egyptian expression for 'cutting (down) trees' (*Wb.* iv, 422, 11; III, 341, C), and is the expression used by Wenamūn (2, 43) to describe precisely the operation of felling cedar trees on the Lebanon (Gardiner, *Bibl. Aeg.* i, 71; Erman, *Literature*, 182). Although I do not place much reliance on the restoration suggested in note (j) above, it does look very much as if Henenu had topped off his brilliant and varied career under Nebḥepetrē Mentuḥotpe by a trip to Syria to procure timber.

A BUHEN STELA FROM THE SECOND INTER-MEDIATE PERIOD (KHARTŪM NO. 18)

By T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH

EVEN if the general outlines of the history of the Second Intermediate Period can now be reconstructed with some probability, most of the details remain unknown to us, so that any scrap of evidence from which any historical conclusions can be drawn may be of value. With regard to Nubia it can be concluded from the archaeological data and from the allusions in the famous text of King Kamosē that towards the end of the Second Intermediate Period the Nubians had liberated themselves politically, but that they had rapidly adopted more and more of the Egyptian civilization. So far, however, hardly any text from Nubia itself has seemed to throw any light on this evolution, for the interesting Buhen stela of Sepedher (see below) has been dated to Dyn. XVIII, and only some barbarous and uninformative native stelae have been ascribed to Hyksos times.¹ In this situation an unpublished stela from Buhen containing, if I have interpreted it correctly, the 'autobiography' of an Egyptian serving the free native ruler of Cush, is a most welcome piece of evidence, the more so since it also throws new light on some other interesting texts from the same period.

I owe the knowledge of this monument to Mr. I. E. S. Edwards, who photographed and copied it in Khartūm and very kindly suggested that I should publish it. My thanks are also due to Mr. P. L. Shinnie, the present Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology for the Sudan Government, who authorized me to do so. According to Mr. Edwards's notes, it is a limestone stela measuring 48 × 27 cm., found in Buhen possibly by Scott Moncrieff in 1905. It was kept in the Wādi Ḥalfa Museum until the last war, when it was transported to Khartūm and given the museum number 18. The decoration of the rounded top is entirely conventional, as is also the first half of the text (ll. 1-6, fig. 1).

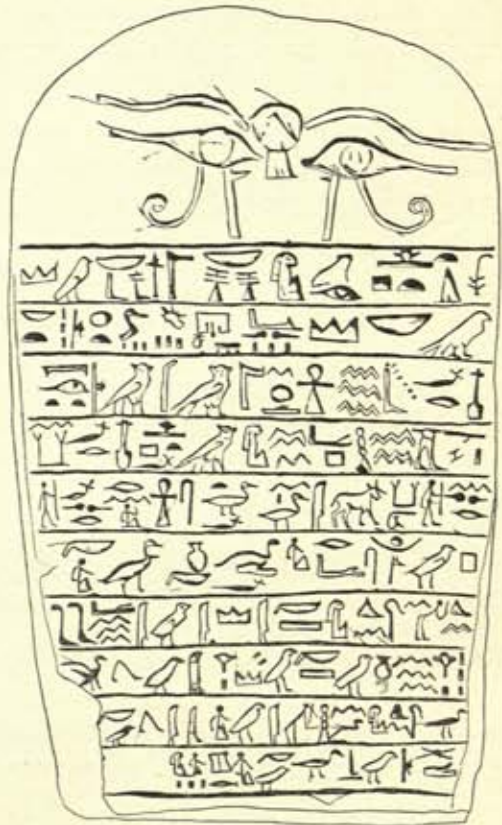


FIG. 1. Khartūm No. 18

¹ A clumsily-engraved stela from tomb 8 at East Serra (*Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 8, 98, pl. 29, 1), dated by the excavators to Dyn. XVII and containing some names and a *ḥtp di nsw* formula to Osiris of Busiris. Some black-topped bowls found in the tomb may indicate that the owner was a Nubian. From the Nubian cemetery

(1) A boon which the king gives^a to Osiris, Lord of Busiris, the Great God, Lord of Abydos,^b and (2) to Horus, Lord of the foreign land,^c that they may give^d an invocation consisting of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, and all things (3) good and pure whereon a god lives,^e which heaven creates, (4) earth makes and the Nile brings^f as his good offering,^g to the *ka* (5) of the official Ka (the Bull).^h It is his daughter's son who makes his name to live, namely (6) the official Iahwoser.ⁱ

(a) The writing of the *hṯp di nsw* formula with Δ as the second element dates the text to a period later than Dyn. XIII, see Smither, *JEA* 25, 34 ff.

(b) There can be no doubt that Abydos, not Elephantine, is intended. The formula is not only exceedingly common at Abydos and all over Egypt, but occurs also at Buhen (Randall MacIver and Woolley—hereafter cited as *Buhen*—pp. 181 ff.). The same wrong spelling is found also on the stela of Sepedher (fig. 2, below), and arises from a not uncommon confusion of \mathfrak{m} and \mathfrak{m} ; cf. the series $\mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{m}$ (Cairo 20188, 20245, Abydos; *Buhen*, p. 183); $\mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{m}$ (Cairo 20163, Abydos); $\mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{m} \mathfrak{h}$ (Ann. Serv. xxiii, 183, Edfu); $\mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{m} \mathfrak{h}$ (Cairo 20615, prov. ?); $\mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{m}$ (Cairo 20117, Abydos); \mathfrak{f} (Cairo 20603, prov. ?); also $\mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{m}$ (Cairo 20286, Abydos; *Buhen*, p. 208); $\mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{m}$ (Cairo 20617, Abydos); $\mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{m}$ (Cairo 20313, Abydos). For the composite sign \mathfrak{f} , cf., e.g. *Buhen*, p. 182. The writing in our text therefore must not be interpreted as due merely to the ignorance of a Nubian barbarian.


(c) In view of the parallelism with the Buhen stela of Sepedher, it would seem plausible to regard Horus *nb hṯst* simply as a variant of Horus *nb Bhn*. However, on Brit. Mus. stela No. 139 [489] (*Hierogl. Texts B.M.* iv, pl. 4), also from Buhen, *ntr nfr Hpr-ki-r' m'c-hrw*, Horus *nb Bhn* and Horus *nb hṯswt* are all invoked in the *hṯp di nsw* formula.¹ This may indicate that Horus *nb hṯswt* (in all probability identical with our Horus *nb hṯst*) and Horus *nb Bhn* were regarded as two different gods, though, of course, intimately related to one another. Similarly, two Horus-gods are worshipped in antithetical scenes on the door-framing erected in the temple of Horus in Buhen by the commandant and later viceroy Tjuri (*Buhen*, pp. 87 f., pl. 35). The left-hand scene represents 'Horus, Lord of Buhen', but the text behind the other Horus has, unfortunately, been cut out. Possibly Horus *nb hṯswt* was worshipped here also, though whereas Horus, Lord of Buhen, is frequently mentioned in the Buhen texts, Horus *nb hṯst* hardly occurs at all.

(d) The writing \mathfrak{f} for \mathfrak{f} is not uncommon in the Second Intermediate Period, especially on the stelae from Edfu (Gunn, *Ann. Serv.* 29, 6; cf. further Cairo 20450, 20556, 20630, all from Abydos; 20322, provenance unknown, and the Buhen stela of Sepedher). To the instances of the still shorter writing \mathfrak{f} or \mathfrak{f} quoted by Lefebvre


N at Aniba came some fragments of a similar stela which had once been set up in the cult-chamber of a Nubian tomb from the Hyksos period (Steindorff, *Aniba*, i, 40 f., pl. 16, 2-4). Steindorff printed the text in reverse order and passed a very hard judgement on the scribe. When read in the correct order, the inscription—a mixture of hieroglyphic and hieratic signs—is not much worse than many contemporary Egyptian texts. It reads: \mathfrak{f} ... *hw* [prep.] *hṯswt*... *-tsw hr ntt ink*... [mrr] *sw snw'f snw'f*... coming [from?] the deserts... because I am... [one beloved] of his brothers and sisters'. In a vertical line before a face: *snf mry'f In(t)f* 'His beloved brother Intef'.


¹ So far as I know this is the only stela from Nubia invoking Sesostri I as a god. This deification should have been mentioned in my *Ägypten und Nubien*, 202 ff. among the other instances of deified deceased kings. It is also left out in Rowe's list of deified deceased persons in *Ann. Serv.* 40, 38.

(*Grammaire*, § 77, n. 17) may be added, e.g. Cairo 20536, 20633; the Aswān graffito, Petrie, *Season*, No. 89; and the Toshka inscription, Weigall, *Report*, pl. 66 = *Ann. Serv.* 39, pl. 19, 2. Gunn is, of course, right in interpreting this as a phonetic writing.

(e) For the writing  for *im* in the formula *ḥnht ntr im* see also Cairo 20117, 20120, 20617, 20658, all from Abydos, and 20471 (provenance unknown). For other abnormal writings of this formula see Gunn, *Studies*, 33 f.

(f) A variant of the common formula *ddt pt, kmst ts, innt Ḥrpy m tpht-f* 'which heaven gives, earth creates, and the Nile brings from his cavern', cf. Gardiner, *Gramm.* § 379, 2; Gunn, *Studies*, 12 f., 17, 34; *Wb.* v, 365. Writings without the feminine ending are common, e.g. Cairo 20079, 20152, 20630, 20733; *Ann. Serv.* 18, 49; 23, 185.
















(g) The word *tpht* of the formula was often misunderstood or reinterpreted in the sense of 'offering', once it had been written with the anagram , and it was then a natural consequence to add such adjectives as *nfr* or *wrb* (e.g. Cairo 20152). Cf. Engelbach and Gardiner, *Ann. Serv.* 23, 185.







(h) Ka 'the Bull' is a purely Egyptian proper name. It occurs twice on the Abydos stela Cairo 20032b, e, and on Cairo 20742 (provenance unknown), all three times without  as here. Cf. further, Ranke, *Personennamen*, 337, 21.¹


(i) The inversion of the moon-sign is exceedingly common in proper names of this type, cf. Ranke, op. cit. 12 f.; *Buhen*, pp. 87, 91, 113; pl. 35; Weigall, *Report*, pl. 65, 4. The name Iahwoser seems to be unknown, but is without doubt Egyptian.²









After this introduction, conventional but of value since its orthographical peculiarities date the text, there follows the more interesting 'biographical' part of the inscription (ll. 6-10).

He says: I was a valiant servant (7) of the ruler of Cush;^a I washed (my) feet (8) in the waters of Cush in the suite of (9) the ruler *Ndh*,^b and I returned (10) safe and sound^c (to my) family.^d

(a) For the abnormal position of the genitival *n* see also Sepedher, l. 9. For the earlier writings of the name of Cush see Junker, *Kubanieh Nord*, 17 f.: under Sesostri I   and  , later in Dyn. XII as a rule  with the varr.   (Cairo 20086) and   (Petrie, *Season*, No. 340). The form of Kharṭūm No. 18, l. 8 does not occur elsewhere, but that of l. 7 recurs in the form   in the Kamosē text of the Carnarvon tablet, l. 3 (*JEA* 3, 98), with which may be compared   on the Edfu stela published by Gunn, *Ann. Serv.* 29, 7, and  on the fragmentary Edfu text published by Gardiner, *JEA* 3, 100, both from the Second Intermediate Period. The common N.K. form  is found on Berlin 19500 (*Äg. Inschr. Berlin*, 1, 261), possibly earlier than Dyn. XVIII. Thus the writing of the geographical name supports a dating of Kharṭūm No. 18 to the end of the Second Intermediate Period.

¹ Not mentioned there are the similar proper names    on a stela from the Hathōr temple at Faras, *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* VIII, pl. 24, 6, and    on a stela from East Serra, *ibid.*, pl. 29, 1. The latter, probably dating from the late Hyksos times (see above, p. 50), may be the earliest occurrence of the word *brwi* 'bull-arena', which according to *Wb.* 1, 415 is known only from the end of the New Kingdom.

² Cf.  (Ranke, op. cit. 85, 7). The construction with *ptw* is quite abnormal, and, as pointed out to me by J. J. Clère, the name may of course be *Sr-ptw-iḥ-twsr* (cf. *Nb(i)-ptw-snbi*, op. cit. 184, 17).

(b)  is clearly intended for the article . On the occurrence of  for  in hieroglyphic before Dyn. XVIII see Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, p. 463; Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, p. 394, n. 1, who quote examples ranging from the O.K. to Dyn. XVII; see also *Ann. Serv.* 24, 7, l. 10, and the stela of Sepedher, l. 9. The writing in question appears to be characteristic of the Second Intermediate Period, in spite of sporadic earlier instances. That  stands for  is evident from the context, as well as from its occurrence in *wdj* in l. 10. Note that in l. 5 *sr* 'son' is written . In  the first word is thoughtlessly copied from l. 7, which explains the superfluous *n*. *Ndh* must thus be the name of the ruler, and may be either a Nubian word, or else a form of the verb *ndh*, known only in the Egyptian proper name *Tmw-ndh* (cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, 6, 27; *Wb.* II, 384).

Whereas a literal translation offers no difficulties, it is not easy to explain the meaning of the sentence. Without doubt it is a metaphor, but one so far apparently unknown—at least *Wb.* quotes no similar construction. Both *iri* and *mw* are used metaphorically, but the well-known phrases *iri ib* 'rejoice', &c. (*Wb.* I, 39; *Rec. trav.* 14, 120 ff.), *iri hr* 'sharpsighted (?)' (Sinuhe, B55, cf. *Siut*, III, 29), or the metaphor 'I washed my soiled linen', Peasant, B1, 279 (cf. Vogelsang, 194 f.; Gardiner, *JEA* 9, 18) give no clue to the true sense of our text. Perhaps the solution is rather to be found on the line of such expressions as 'come', 'act', 'be', 'go', &c., *hr mw* 'on someone's water' in the sense of 'be subject to', 'loyal to' someone, e.g. *rdi sw hr mw:f* 'to put himself on someone's water' = 'surrender to him' (cf. *Wb.* II, 52). In view of the ensuing *hr šmsw pr hki* we may also consider the common phrase 'to follow someone (as a rule the king) *hr mw hr ts* on water and on land' = 'everywhere'.

None of these instances are in any way perfect as parallels, and we must therefore chiefly rely on the general context. Since Ka starts his biography with emphasizing his loyalty to the ruler of Cush, any prejudice against service in a foreign country seems to be excluded, and presumably the doubtful expression alludes either to his loyalty and bravery, or to the fact that he travelled much and far in Cush in the suite of the ruler and came to know the country intimately. With regard to the many other verbal expressions in connexion with *hr mw* + a genitive, and to the introductory phrase, the first possibility that his loyalty to Cush is alluded to may seem preferable; on the other hand the last sentence of the text rather supports the interpretation that some expedition to a distant part of Cush is somehow described in these words. Since the stela was erected in Buhen, which belonged to the realm of the ruler of Cush (see below) and since we gain the impression that our man died there, the last sentence in all probability describes a return to Buhen—in any case not to Egypt, which would have been the natural conclusion, had the stela been found there.

(c) We would have expected *ii·n·i ṣḏ·kwi wḏj·kwi* (cf. e.g. *pr·n(i) im ṣḏ·kw(i) wḏj·kw(i)* 'I went out from it safe and sound', *Urk.* IV, 209; *bin·wi ii·k ṣḏ·ti wḏj·ti* 'How bad it is that thou shouldest come safe and sound', *P. Kah.* 32, 12). But with the sentence introduced by an Old Perfective, the result would have been very clumsy, with three identical verb-forms of a different nuance, the first being more or less independent narrative, the second and third circumstantial, and that is perhaps the reason why the

use of *ʿd·kwi* was avoided. The lacuna at the end of l. 9 is hardly large enough for the restoration [𐤀]𐤍 and, moreover, *m ʿd wd* does not, according to *Wb.* I, 238, 10, occur until Dyn. XIX, and in the last line the ending of the Old Perfective is written 𐤀𐤍. Hence it is preferable to restore [𐤀]. *ʿd wd·kwi* is perhaps to be explained as a composite verb, but it should be noted that, as a rule, the endings of both verbs are written out (cf. e.g. the instances quoted above). Possibly *ʿd* is a participle, the construction being a short writing for *ʿd wi*, replacing an Old Perfective (cf. Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, § 357).

(d) The preposition *n* should probably be supplied before *hrw*, the last phrase reading *wd·kwi (n) hrw (·i)*, and the final sentence not quite filling l. 10.

In many respects Khartūm No. 18 resembles the Buhen stela of Sepedher (Philadelphia 10984), to which reference has already been made several times, and which, in view of its great interest, I reproduce in facsimile (fig. 2).¹ It is a round-topped stela,



FIG. 2. Stela of Sepedher

decorated at the top with a winged disk with pendent uraei. In front of the left-hand serpent is what seems to be the signature of the scribe who wrote the text: 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍.

¹ From a photograph kindly sent to me by Prof. Ranke of the Philadelphia University Museum. Cf. *Buhen*, p. 113.

There follows below an inscription in horizontal lines, of which only the first nine remain.



(1) A boon which the king gives to Ptah-Sokar-[Osiris], Lord of Busiris, the Great God, Lord of Abydos, and (2) to Horus, Lord of Buhen, and to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kha'kaurē, justified, and the gods (3) who are in Wawat, that they may give an invocation consisting of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and clothing (?), incense, (4) ointment, offerings of food, and all things good and (5) pure . . .² which heaven gives, [earth creates] and the Nile [brings] (6) as his good offerings, to the *ka* of the commandant [of Bu]hen (7) Sepedher, repeating life. He says: I was a valiant commandant of Buhen, (8) and never did any commandant do^b what I did; I built the temple (9) of Horus, Lord of Buhen, to the satisfaction of the ruler of Cush.

(a) Probably *ꜥnhꜥ nꜥtr im* 'whereon a god lives' rather than *ndm* 'sweet' (the reading proposed in *Buhen*, p. 113).

(b) This is possibly one of the very rare instances of *n sdm·f* with a geminated IIIae inf. verb (cf. Gunn, *Studies*, 105).¹ At the end of the sentence we should expect *irt·n·i* rather than *irr·i*.

Exactly the same criteria as those used for dating Kharṭūm No. 18 apply also to this text, hence the stela of Sepedher should in all probability be dated to the period between Dyns. XIII and XVIII;² further, the position of the ruler of Cush in both texts make a dating to the period of Nubian freedom before the reconquest by Amosis I the most plausible one. In both cases we would have the 'autobiographies' of Egyptians who served under the free native ruler. That Sepedher was an Egyptian is indicated by the list of his family which he set up in honour of one of his brothers (*Buhen*, pp. 114 ff.; Philadelphia No. 10983, found near 10984). All his relatives seem to have good Egyptian names, just as Ka and Iaḥwoser of Kharṭūm No. 18. On the other hand, Gauthier (*Rec. trav.* 39, 236) tells us that Sepedher was commandant of Buhen later than Tjuri who served there under King Amosis. He gives no reason for his dating, but presumably regards Tjuri as the first commandant after the reconquest and did not suspect the possibility that the native ruler of Cush might have had a 'commandant of Buhen' before that time and have had a temple built by an Egyptian.

The stela of Sepedher was found at the so-called Dyn. XVIII level near the northern temple at Buhen, but this does not by any means date it to that dynasty. The Dyn. XII stelae found by Champollion and Lyons were above a Dyn. XVIII pavement (*Buhen*, p. 89), and the 'Dyn. XVIII level' indicates only what was above an earlier building complex³ below the temple of Amenophis II (the northern temple). On this level the very crude doorway erected under King Amosis by the commandant of Buhen and later viceroy Tjuri was found 'flung face downward from the place which it originally occupied' and 'must have stood on a floor of virtually the same level as Amenhotep 2nd's' (*Buhen*, p. 102). This is the only remnant that can with certainty be ascribed to Amosis'

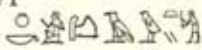
¹  also occurs rarely as a writing of the perfective (non-geminated) *sdm·f* form of , see Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, p. 365 (Ed.).

² The proper name 'Aḥmosē occurs before Dyn. XVIII (Ranke, *Personennamen*, 12, 19) and is no indication of a date later than the Second Intermediate Period.

³ The so-called Governor's House. This can be only vaguely dated to an earlier date than King Amosis, but whether it belongs to Dyn. XII or to the Second Intermediate Period is quite uncertain.

building activity, and probably Amenophis II razed more or less to the ground the earlier constructions. Tjuri's doorway may only have been inserted in an earlier temple built in Egyptian style by Sepedher for the free native ruler of Cush of the very latest Hyksos times, and this temple would have shared the fate of the doorway and have been torn down in the reign of Amenophis II. Thus there is nothing in the archaeological evidence that is in conflict with my suggested dating of the stelae of Sepedher and his brother.

The philological reasons for this dating are perhaps not quite conclusive, and it is in fact rather surprising that a free native ruler of Cush should have had Egyptians in his service so short a time after the Egyptian yoke had been thrown off and should have had a temple built by an Egyptian at Buhen, the old Egyptian stronghold. In the case of Sepedher it could perhaps be argued that the expression *hkꜣ n Kš* alludes to the Egyptian king, the true ruler of Cush after the reconquest of Nubia. This interpretation is, however, impossible in the case of Khartūm No. 18, where the name of the ruler is mentioned, a fact which proves beyond doubt that at some time the native ruler had Egyptians in his service.

Now it is true that the native kinglets play a certain rôle in the administration of Nubia even after the reconquest (see my *Ägypten und Nubien*, 184 ff.), but is it plausible that they then had a position such as that implied by these texts? Can we really assume that they sent out expeditions by themselves (Khartūm No. 18) or that the Egyptian commandant of Buhen, one of the most important Egyptian strongholds and administrative centres, was responsible, when building a temple, to the native ruler of Cush, rather than to the viceroy and through him to the Egyptian king? A man serving in Nubia in Dyn. XVIII would rather have attested his loyalty to the Egyptian overlord and have formulated his text in the way done by another man in Buhen:  (Buhen, pp. 90 f.), or have used the words *nsw* or *hmꜣ* rather than *hkꜣ n Kš* only, which was more or less a technical term for the native ruler. Thus, I think that a dating of both Khartūm No. 18 and the Sepedher stelae to the very latest part of the Second Intermediate Period is the only plausible one.¹

According to these inscriptions, Buhen belonged to the realm of the rulers of Cush, one of whom had the name of *Ndh*. Nubian freedom under these rulers lasted only a generation or two. The great Hyksos kings down to Sheshi, Māetibrē^c and Jacob-El, whose names occur on the seal-impressions in the factory of Kerma,² seem to have ruled Nubia until shortly before 1600 B.C., while Amosis reconquered Lower Nubia in the first half of the sixteenth century. The political situation before the reconquest is described in Kamosē's famous speech to his grandees: 'To what end am I cognizant of it, this power of mine, when one chieftain is in Avaris and another in Cush, and I sit in league with an Asiatic and a Nubian, every man holding his slice of this Egypt' (*JEA* 5, 45). We gain the impression of three great powers: northern Egypt under

¹ The fact that Sesostri III is invoked in the *hꜣp di nsw* formula by Sepedher does not speak against it. We do not need to assume that the Nubian lord of Sepedher was versed enough in hieroglyphs and history to react against such an invocation of a long-dead conqueror of Nubia.

² Cf. my *Ägypten und Nubien*, 109, 128 f.; Stock, *Stud. zur Ges. u. Arch. d. 13 bis 17 Dyn. Ag.* 43, 66 f. I was wrong in accepting Reisner's readings of the names.

the Hyksos king, Upper Egypt down to Cusae under Kamosē, and Cush under a Nubian ruler. The answer of the grandees, 'Elephantine is strong', shows that the northern frontier of this free Nubia was at the First Cataract. Hence, from a combination of this text with the Buhen stelae, it would seem possible to conclude that one single Nubian ruler dominated the whole of Lower Nubia. This may even have temporarily held good after the reconquest, for a later text from the reign of Tuthmosis II tells us that the realm of the ruler of Cush was divided into five parts by Tuthmosis I, but at that time the term Cush was perhaps used in a different sense. In view of the very short period of Nubian freedom it is indeed possible that the ruler of Cush *Ndh* is the one alluded to in the Kamosē text.

Kamosē's words 'this Egypt', in so far as they allude to the former Egyptian province in Nubia, are not at all out of place. The Nubian C-group already before Dyn. XVIII was Egyptianized to such a degree that Reisner at first had the impression that the C-group had been expelled by Egyptian immigrants who had fled from the Hyksos régime in Egypt. Junker (*Ermenne*, pp. 37 ff.) has shown, however, that this Egyptianization was an evolution within the C-group and was not due to a radical change in the ethnic composition of the inhabitants of Lower Nubia. This rapid change may be explained in part by the fact that many Nubians served as mercenaries in the army of Dyn. XVII in Egypt and then returned home (op. cit., p. 44). However, neither the *Mdyw* nor the people of the Pan graves, who in the text of Kamosē and in the archaeological evidence represent these Nubian mercenaries, seem to be quite identical with the C-group of Lower Nubia.¹

The Buhen texts just analysed show that we may assume another agent in the process of Egyptianizing Nubia, namely Egyptians in Nubian service. Once Nubia was free and Egyptian civilization had become popular there, it was only natural that Egyptians willing to serve the native ruler would be welcome. And if Lower Nubia was governed at that time by one single ruler who had a certain predilection for Egyptians and Egyptian civilization, the rapid change in the fashions is, of course, still more easy to explain. In these circumstances it is only natural to look for corroborative evidence in the contemporary biographical texts from the southernmost part of Egypt. Whereas Tjau of the Edfu stela published by Gardiner (*JEA* 3, 100) tells us that 'he made his north at Avaris and his south at Cush', and thus restricted himself to Egypt proper, it is not impossible that Ḥankhef from Edfu (Gunn, *Ann. Serv.* 29, 5 ff.) was another such Egyptian who served under a Nubian kinglet and then returned to Egypt with his family. The same dating criteria as those of Khartūm No. 18 and the stela of Sepedher seem to indicate that this Edfu text belongs to the late Second Intermediate Period. In the light of the other stelae, the following interpretation, largely based on Gunn's analysis of the very difficult biographical passage, may perhaps be defensible:

I was a valiant warrior, an 'Enterer' of Edfu. I transported wife and children and my property from the south of Cush in thirteen days. I brought back gold, 26 (*deben*) and the handmaid *Wsr-st-ty*. Nothing of it was left for another wife² (i.e. despite these riches I did not take a second wife, but

¹ Cf. my *Ägypten und Nubien*, 135 ff.; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 73* ff.; II, 269* ff.

² Gunn prefers the rendering 'I brought back gold, and 26 maidservants. Ay consumed them, and nothing

A NEW MIDDLE KINGDOM LETTER FROM EL-LĀHŪN

By BERNHARD GRDSELOFF

THE year 1898 is a landmark in the history of Egyptology, for that year saw the appearance of F. Ll. Griffith's edition of the hieratic papyri of the Middle Kingdom^a which Petrie had discovered in 1889^b at El-Lāhūn at the entrance to the Fayyūm. Thanks to his remarkable gifts in the field of palaeography, Griffith succeeded in deciphering for the first time the cursive writing of the Middle Kingdom preserved, above all, in the letters.

It was at about the same time that, while yet a youth, the undisputed master of our science, whose immense contributions to Egyptology we celebrate to-day, 'first began to take an interest in Egyptology'. Under the direct guidance of Griffith he speedily responded to the genial influence of that great scholar whom in later years it was his pleasure to call his 'first teacher in hieroglyphics'. In the circumstances, therefore, I feel I cannot do better than offer him as my own modest tribute this first edition of a little Middle Egyptian letter which, I hope, will evoke in him memories of the genius of his first teacher and of his own brilliant beginnings.

The rich harvest of Middle Kingdom papyri obtained from El-Lāhūn is known to us, for the greater part, under the name 'Kahun Papyri'. Among these papyri is a group of some twenty letters. Scarcely had Griffith's edition of these been published than Borchardt^c was able to announce the discovery of a second group, almost as important as the first, which was not studied until 1924, and then only very summarily, by Scharff.^d

The letter which is the object of this paper may well have been originally part of this second group; it certainly does not emanate from any more recent find. It was offered to me in 1943 at Medīnet el-Fayyūm, together with some unimportant fragments of Coptic papyri, all of which the vendor asserted had been in his possession for almost fifty years.^e

The papyrus (Pl. V) now measures 33 cm. in height and 15 cm. in width. On the recto are three vertical columns, carefully written: the writing fills the right-hand portion of the sheet, the left half having been left blank. On the verso a short vertical column gives the name and title of the addressee. Clear signs of the original folds make it possible to establish the original dimensions of the papyrus. Twenty cm.

^a F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, vols. I, II, especially vol. II (London 1898).

^b G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, I, 13.

^c L. Borchardt, *Der zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun und die zeitliche Festlegung der ägyptischen Geschichte* (ZÄS 37 (1899), 89-103).

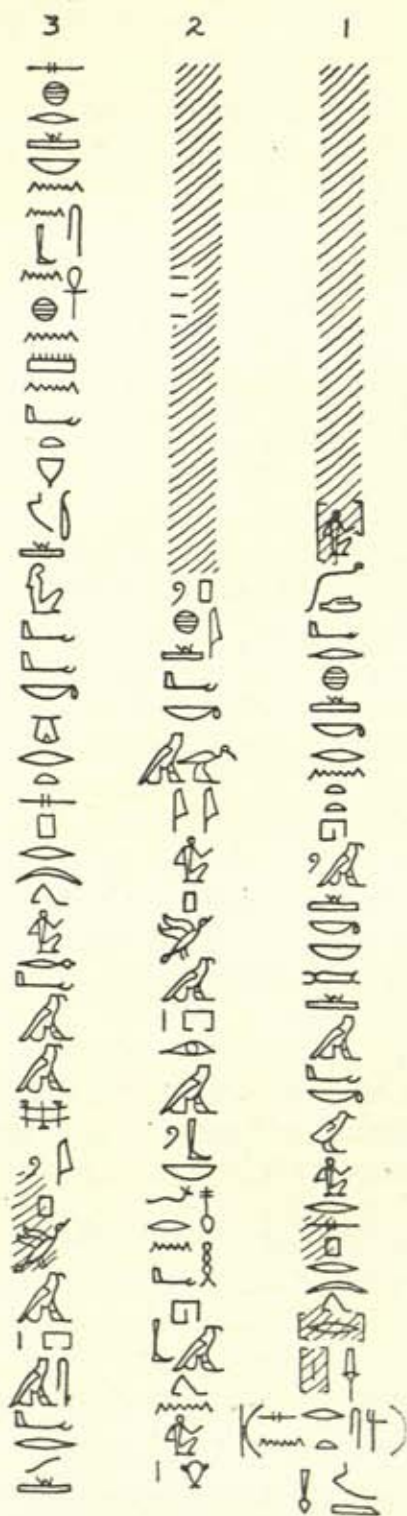
^d A. Scharff, *Briefe aus Illahun* (ZÄS 59, 20-51, pls. 1-12).

^e The papyrus is now in the collection of M. G. Michaelidis of Cairo.

VERSO






RECTO



above the bottom of the recto is a great transverse fold. It may be concluded that once the letter had been written the sheet was folded exactly in half: this would give an original height of 40 cm., including an upper margin of about 7 cm. which was never inscribed and which is now lost.

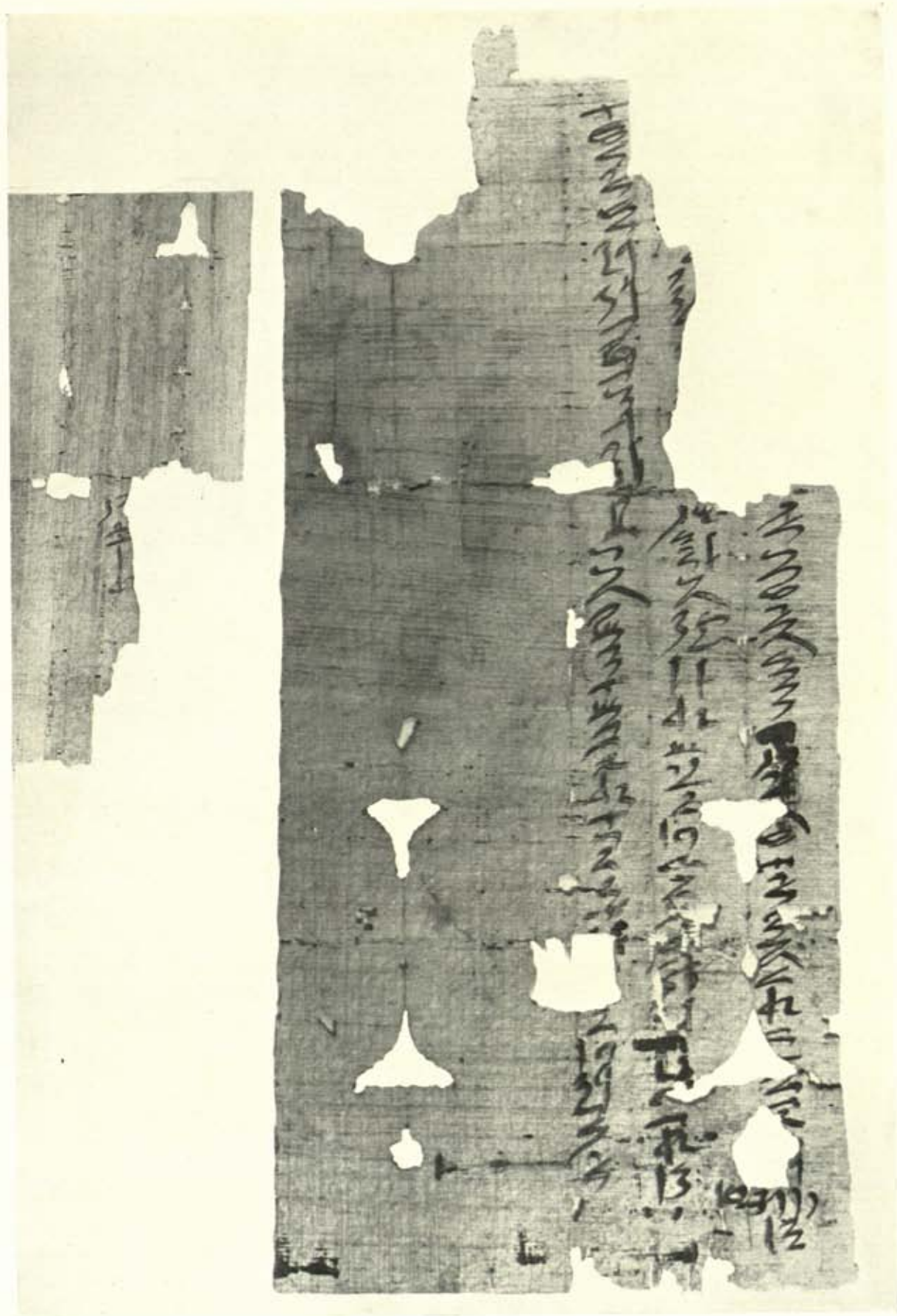
In addition, it is still possible to discern five vertical folds which divide the papyrus into six narrow strips. After folding the sheet in half, the writer began to fold it again commencing at the left-hand edge. Five folds produced a flattened roll which was then folded in half in such a way that the inscribed surface was inside a roll, 10 cm. high and 2.5 cm. broad, and secured in the middle by string and a clay sealing now lost. Finally, the roll was turned so that the transverse fold was on top and the name of the addressee was written on the verso in a short vertical column between the fourth and fifth folds.

The contents of this little letter are very simple. The writer, apparently absent on a journey, informs his servant of his impending return to his home in the pyramid-town of Sesostriis II at or near El-Lāhūn. The servant is instructed to prepare the house for his master's return. The writer also asks for news of a nurse, who was perhaps the wife of the man to whom the letter was addressed.


The addressee is a certain  *Neni*, whose title is, unfortunately, partly broken away. To judge from the surviving traces, the title cannot be read  *šmšw* 'valet'. Perhaps it was  *htmw*, which from the time of the Old Kingdom was a designation of a special class of servant. Junker, who has recently studied this title,^a translates it by 'Beschliesser' and suggests that its holders were responsible for the custody of all the precious objects in the house, including furniture, linen, cosmetics, etc.

The lacuna at the beginning of the first line of the recto has involved the loss of the title of

^a H. Junker, *Giza*, III, 180.



A MIDDLE KINGDOM LETTER FROM EL-LĀHŪN

the writer of the letter and of all but a small trace of the determinative  of his name. For lack of other information we can only assume that the writer was an official, probably contemporary with Ammenemes III, who lived in the pyramid-town of Sesostris II. This official clearly possessed a servant and a nurse, though no doubt they did not form his entire household.

TRANSLATION

Recto: (1) [*The official NN*] says: *I cause thee to know that all thy affairs are well.*¹ *Lo, I shall arrive at*² *Shm-Snwsrt-mꜣt-hrw*³ (2)⁴ *It is (?)* *Then thou shalt act*⁵ *so that I may find the house in good order and send me*⁶ (3) *a full report*⁷ *on the health and life of the nurse Tima(t).*⁸ *Once the house is put in order,*⁹ *thou shalt cause me to arrive there.*¹⁰

Verso (address): *The servant Neni.*

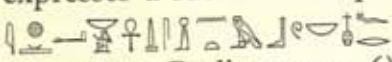
NOTES

1. Generally this formula, in a more developed form, was employed by officials writing to their superiors, cf. Pap. Berlin 10003 A ii, 17, quoted Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, p. 256. Our present example shows that it can be used, in its simplest form, in a letter addressed to a servant. For *di(i) rh·k r-ntt* cf. Pap. Berlin 10023 A, 2 = Scharff, *ZÄS* 59, 27.

2. Cf. *mk tw r spr r hnw* 'Lo, thou shalt reach (thy) home' (*Shipwrecked Sailor*, 167).





3. The reading *Shm-Snwsrt-mꜣt-hrw* of the name of the pyramid-town of Sesostris II has recently been established by Gunn.^a According to Lefebvre^b the name should be translated 'Sesostris is powerful'.

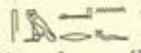
4. In the lacuna there must have been the date of the writer's intended arrival, cf. Pap. *Kahun*, pl. 32, vi. 8, 11-12.

5. The construction of the sentence is clear: *ih* followed by the perfective *šdm·f* expresses a future consequence or an exhortation (Gardiner, op. cit., § 450, 5a); cf.  'Then, may the Lord, l.p.h. send (it) in very good condition' (Pap. Berlin 10017, 6). In our example, however, we find the Old Perfective *ir(w)* qualifying the object (*pꜣ pr*) of the verb *gmi* 'find' (Gardiner, op. cit., § 315).

6. For the construction see Gardiner, op. cit., § 171, 3; Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, § 403.

7. Lit. 'every matter of the health and life of'.

8. The name of the nurse, slightly damaged in the original, is somewhat rare. A woman  , var.  occurs on a stela from Abydos (Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pl. 12, 7). Another  occurs on the stela Cairo 20577d. In the midst of his instructions to his servant, the master finds time to inquire after the health of this nurse who, we suggest, may have been the wife of Neni.

9. In this sentence a complete clause of circumstance is emphasized by the so-called 'emphatic form' *dd·k*. *Smꜣr* occurs, slightly damaged, in a passage in the Pyramid Texts,  'he has cleansed (his fingers and toes)'.^c A further example from the Old Kingdom (Dyn. V) occurs in 'His Majesty caused me to be rubbed with oil,

^a *JEA* 31, 106-7.

^b *Revue d'égyptol.* 5, 49.

^c *Pyr.* 1297d.














𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 and my flesh to be cleansed in the presence of His Majesty by the inspector [of the barbers] of the Palace'.^a The *Wörterbuch* apparently does not know this verb in the Middle Kingdom, where, however, the simplex *m'r* is common and occurs once in a context very similar to ours in 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆


NOTES ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SUTY AND HOR

(British Museum Stela No. 826)

By JEAN SAINTE FARE GARNOT

THE interest of the Suty and Ḥor inscriptions (including the well-known solar hymns)¹ for the study of pre-ʿAmārnah religion has been recognized by many scholars, but they have never been fully discussed and several passages in these texts are as yet unsolved puzzles. I have had the privilege of reading the two hymns with Professor Seele, and Professor Lefebvre has also given me invaluable help by putting at my disposal additional evidence and by providing several constructive suggestions. A new translation of mine, which differs to some extent from that recently published by Varille (*Bull. Inst. fr.* 41, 27-9) will appear in the *Comptes Rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1948, together with remarks on the religious ideas expressed by Suty and Ḥor. Here I must confine myself to notes on the most difficult passages. Since they deal with grammatical problems, and also because the stela is in the Egyptian collection of the British Museum, I am glad to submit the result of my efforts to the critical examination of my colleagues in the issue of the *Journal* dedicated to our revered mentor, the philologist *par excellence*, Sir Alan Gardiner.

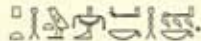
(1) L. 1 . I am by no means sure that  is a peculiar writing of *hft* (with  = *t*) as Grdseloff thinks (*Ann. Serv.* 43, 315). If the scribe had had a preference for this 'abnormal' (loc. cit., n. 1) writing, we should expect to find it elsewhere in the inscription. On the contrary, the three other examples are  (l. 7) and  (ll. 17, 21).  cannot be explained as an example of 'graphic dissimilation' (Drioton), since this conjunction does not occur a second time in close proximity. I am inclined to believe that  originated in a confusion between two regular writings of *hft*,  and . Mistakes are not numerous in the Suty and Ḥor texts, but there are some:  (l. 19) for ;  (l. 20) for  (cf. l. 17), etc.










(2) L. 2 . Breasted (*Religion and Thought*, p. 315), who translates '(not) wearied in labor', thinks that a negation has fallen out before *wrd*. If this view is right, the missing negation must be the participle of the verb *tm*, *wrd* being, in that case, the negational complement. But a good sense is obtained without any emendation if we consider that, though grammatically connected with *Hpri*, the word *wrd* qualifies the task, not the god: 'Khepri, whose task is exhausting'.

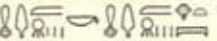





(3) L. 2 Either 'thy rays are upon (every) face (though) they have not been noticed', or 'they are (already) upon every face (even before) they have

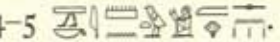


¹ Budge, whose translation is poor and often inaccurate, is the only Egyptologist who has seen (*From Fetish to God*, pp. 414 ff.) that in these texts there are *two* solar hymns and not merely one.

been noticed', as Piehl has guessed (*Rec. trav.* 2, 73, n. 5), in his translation of a Cairo stela, probably dating from Ramesside times, which reproduces, with many mistakes, several passages from our text.

(4) L. 3 . Erman's translation (*La Religion des Égyptiens*, ed. Wild, p. 135) 'thou art Pth!' is impossible—one expects *ntk Pth*. *Pth* is probably a participle of the verb *pth* 'to shape' ($\Phi\omega\tau\epsilon$), used as an adjectival predicate before the dependent pronoun *tw* (Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.* § 374 B, p. 289). For this verb, hitherto known only from late texts, see *Wb.* I, 565. *Nb-k hcrw-k* is likely to be an explanation—and not simply a development—of the preceding sentence; 'a creator art thou, (since) thou hast fashioned thine (own) limbs', rather than 'thou who hast fashioned . . .' (virtual relative clause).

(5) L. 3  is a crux. In spite of the determinative , *hr ssm-f* probably means 'under his guidance', cf. Dēr Rīfah, Tomb IV, in Griffith, *Siût and Dēr Rīfeh*, pl. 17, ll. 56–7, quoted by Lefebvre, *Gramm. de l'Ég. class.* § 453,  'unique god, under whose direction one lives'. Since the expression 'higher eternity' (*nhh hry*) is meaningless, it follows that  must stand alone and is apparently a qualification of the sun. I take it as the perfective participle (perhaps in the 'substantival form', see my note No. 14 on ) of the verb *hri* 'be far away', rather than as an example of the *nisbe hry* 'the upper one' (the plural *hryw* is used of the stars, *Wb.* III, 145). The omission of  at the end of the word may be easily accounted for, because the following word is  (haplography): the determinatives are frequently omitted in this text, e.g. in l. 2  without  for 'the god Khepri'. I would translate the whole 'he who traverses eternity, the remote one, with millions of ways under his guidance'. The idea is that all travellers watch the sun to take their bearings, and it is because the sun is so far away that he can preside over an infinite number of roads.

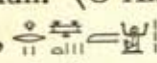
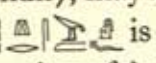
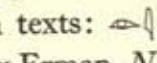
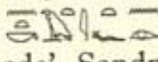
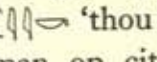
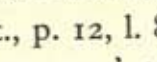
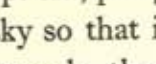


(6) L. 4  'such is thy radiance, such is the radiance of the sky'. The meaning is clear enough, but the construction is strange and has never to my knowledge been noted in any of our grammars; the preposition *mi* stands at the beginning of each sentence just as if it were an adjectival predicate. Professor Gunn in a private communication quotes as possible parallels  . . .  . . . (three times) in Gauthier, *Inscr. dedic. d'Abydos*, ll. 9–10,¹ 54–5, 60, and  . . .  . . . in the Berlin stela 23077, l. 10 (cf. Erman, *Denkst. aus d. theb. Gräberstadt*, *Sitzungsb. Berlin 1911* (vol. 49), p. 1094, top), where *hr*, *hy* are certainly prepositions used like conjunctions. The best example is that provided by the Abydos inscription, l. 60:  'such art thou, such is the son of Osiris.'

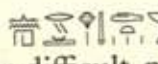
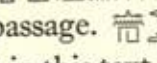
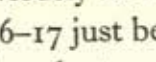
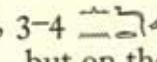
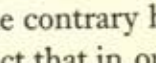
(7) Ll. 4–5 . The construction is probably, as in l. 3 (*pth tw*), participle (predicate) + dependent pronoun: 'when thou departest, a hidden one art thou from their sight.' Taking into consideration that the determinative  is placed after , Professor Lefebvre wonders if we have not here an early example of the old

¹ Not 8 as wrongly stated in the glossary, p. 106.

perfective 2nd masc. sing. in 𐎓 (Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*, 2nd. ed., § 331): 'then thou departest, having been concealed from their sight.'

(8) L. 5 $\text{𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵$

of Amūn. <O Amūn>, mayest thou give me . . .', and l. 3 where, as I have suggested above,  is perhaps for  etc. Lefebvre agrees with Seele as regards the meaning of *iry-f nb*, and calls my attention to the many examples of the expression in the 'Amārnah texts: , Maj. Sandman, *Texts from the time of Akhenaten*, 92, l. 5, quoted by Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*,² § 512, p. 249, and translated by him 'alles was er getan hat';  in  'thou art the mother and the father of (every) being that thou hast made', Sandman, *op. cit.*, p. 12, l. 8;  'all the creatures made by thee are dancing in thy presence', *op. cit.*, p. 14, l. 5;  'thou hast made the sky so that it was remote, to rise in it and (thence) to see every creature that thou hast made, thou being alone', *op. cit.*, p. 95, ll. 10-11, which seems to me conclusive. Taking into consideration the end of the passage last quoted and its parallel, *op. cit.*, p. 15, ll. 1-4, Lefebvre suggests that in our passage of the Suty and Hor inscription,  is an old perfective 3rd masc. sing., *wr(w)*. In that case,  must have fallen out before . This is a clever guess, but it is simpler to suggest that is to be transliterated *iry-f nb* <nb> *wr* (for this well-known expression see *Wb.* I, 275, 18). Our translation of the whole would be 'the primaeval one of the Two Lands, who has made himself and (later) has seen every creature of his (rather than 'everything that he has made'), the unique Lord, who has reached the limits of all lands every day (= at the end of every day)'.

(16) L. 18 . Another difficult passage.  is obviously *nm hr<i>*; for the omission of the suffix *-i* after a verbal form in this text, see ll. 16-17 just before:  'I have practised it (*mr<t>*) and (therefore) thou hast promoted me' (*iw ir-n<i> s<y> sr-n-k wi*). *M hrw pn* at the end of the passage clearly means 'the same day', as has been recognized by Pierret (*Rec. trav.* I, 72) and recently explained with full details by Daumas (*Bull. Inst. fr.* 48, 91). The construction with *wprw-hr* after a negative statement, introducing its positive counterpart, is reminiscent of the one described by Lefebvre, *Gramm. Ég. class.*, § 406, who quotes *Urk.* IV, 368, 3-4  . . .  'he who will hear (such a thing) will not say that . . . but on the contrary he will say . . .'. The main difference between the two examples lies in the fact that in our text *wprw-hr* introduces, not an infinitive, but a noun (*sn-i*) which, as regards the indirect object of the following verb *hrr-i*, plays the role of an anticipatory direct genitive; *wprw-hr sn-i . . . hrr-i hr shrw-f* would be a rather sophisticated alternative to *wprw-hr hrr-i hr shrw sn-i* (for *wprw-hr* followed by *šdm-f* see Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 179 B, p. 135). We can now translate 'I will never agree with the sayings of a liar, but on the contrary my brother, the likeness of me (because, as I do, he hates lies and loves truth), I always agree with his plans'. The concluding sentence is a problem even though at first sight quite simple, for if we take it as a virtual relative clause 'who was born with me the same day', the sense obtained spoils the argument. The contrast existing between the first sentence and what follows is not a matter of fact, but based

upon moral ideas. Suty or Ḥor says (a) that he does not approve of people who deal in falsehood and are thus doing wrong (cf. just before, *ink msc bwt·f isf(t)* 'I am a just one, whose abomination is sin'): (b) that he supports all his brother's plans, evidently because he too is a faithful servant of Maṣēt, being like him (in the moral sense). The fact that they are twins, which would be referred to in connexion with the general sense of the passage if *pr·n·f* had a causal meaning (he who was born = because he was born), has nothing to do with their rightness, and the mention of it weakens the value of the statement. The only solution seems to be to take *pr·n·f* . . . as a temporal sentence with past meaning 'after that he was born with me the same day'. The idea would be that the speaker has been in agreement with his twin ever since they were born. Actually 'since he was born together with me on the same day' seems the best possible rendering, but this interpretation is not supported by the grammars, which postulate *dr* before the verb in sentences meaning 'since (such or such a thing happened)'. It may be that, if cumulative evidence leading to the conclusion suggested above should be found—which until now is not the case—the accepted views on this particular point will have to be altered.

I am much indebted to I. E. S. Edwards, who has given us an excellent edition of the Suty and Ḥor inscriptions (*Hierog. Texts BM* VIII, 22-5 and pl. 21), and to the editor of the *Journal*, R. O. Faulkner, for their kindness in reading the manuscript of the present article; I owe them my grateful thanks for their friendly co-operation and for some valuable suggestions.

THE NEVILL PAPYRUS: A LATE RAMESSIDE LETTER TO AN ORACLE

By JOHN BARNES

THE owner of this fine document, T. S. Nevill, Esq., Headmaster of Wellingborough School, by whose kind permission I publish it, informs me that it was purchased in London by his father, the late T. G. Nevill, Esq., F.S.A., at some time before 1903. The papyrus, which is 25.3 cm. high by 22 cm. long, is of fair quality and the H/V side (verso) is palimpsest; traces of the original writing, in a much smaller hand, are visible here and there at right angles to the present text. The latter is in a bold, upright, and superficially handsome late Ramesside hand, variable and negligent in detail. Its anonymous writer requests the attention of an unspecified personage, evidently divine; he says that he has already tried to engage it, but that the god disappeared into his sanctuary before he could be approached. Now, however, having found someone who would be admitted to the sanctuary, he entrusts him with this letter, in which he requires the god to make him a decision in the matter of some garments for which he is unable to account to the Vizier.

If one were to believe that the letter was written in good faith to the god by a believer, its naïvely familiar and insistent tone would be remarkable. One suspects, however, that the writer is indirectly but consciously addressing the oracle's priestly control.¹ See commentary on rt. 5 ff.; vs. 4 ff. Certainly, apart from the absence of preamble and address, the letter differs little from ordinary human correspondence of the period, even ending with the conventional formula of farewell. On the part played by oracles in judicial matters at this time, see Erman, *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, XIX (1910), 330 ff.; E. Meyer, *ibid.* XXVIII (1928), 500 ff.; Peet, *JEA* 10, 116 ff.; Blackman, *ibid.* 11, 249 ff.; 12, 176 ff.; Gardiner, *ibid.* 19, 19 ff.; Černý, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 35, 41 ff.; 40, 135 ff.; also references quoted by Černý, and by Vandier, *La Religion Égyptienne*, p. 200.

I am most grateful to Professor Gunn, Professor Černý, and Sir Alan Gardiner for information and suggestions.

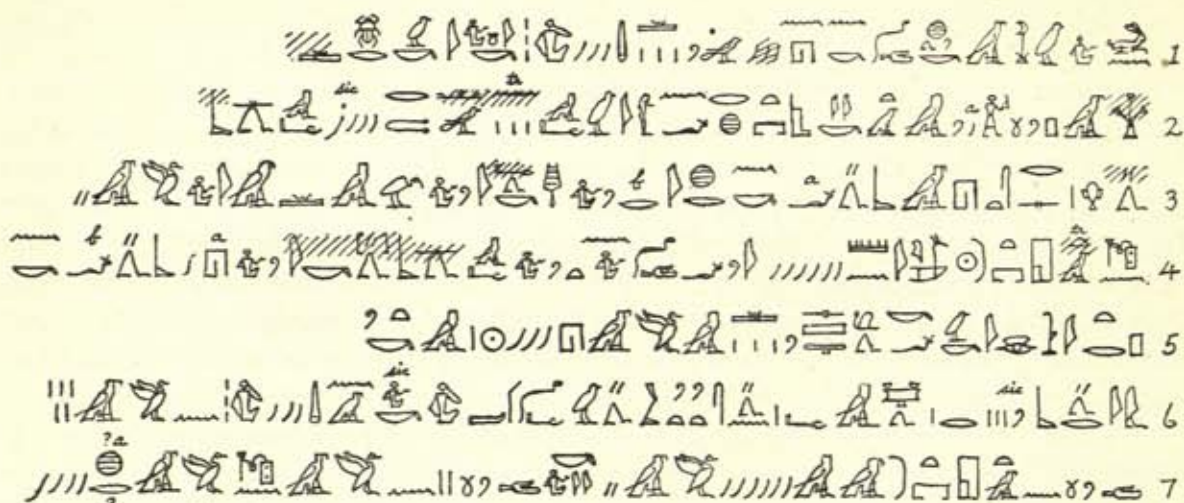
TRANSLATION

Rt. (1) 'I was looking for you to tell you of certain matters of mine, (but) you disappeared into your sanctuary, and there was no one admitted (3) to it to send to you. But as I was waiting I met Ḥōri, this (4) scribe of the Mansion of Usimareṯ-miamūn, and he said to me, "I'm admitted"; I am sending him to you. (5) Now look: you must discard mystery today, and (6) come out in procession, to decide the cases of the five (7) garments of the Mansion of Ḥaremḥab, also these two garments of the scribe of the Necropolis (?); Vs. (1) the Vizier doesn't receive these clothes and says "Have you made

¹ Cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 19, 28. The verbal convention is always kept up. Even the villainous priest of the Turin Indictment Papyrus, who can have had few illusions, speaks of 'causing the god' to further his evil designs; see Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 75, 11. The writer of another letter to a god (*ZAS* 53, 13 f.; a text whose true nature was pointed out to me by Professor Gunn) is obviously sincere.

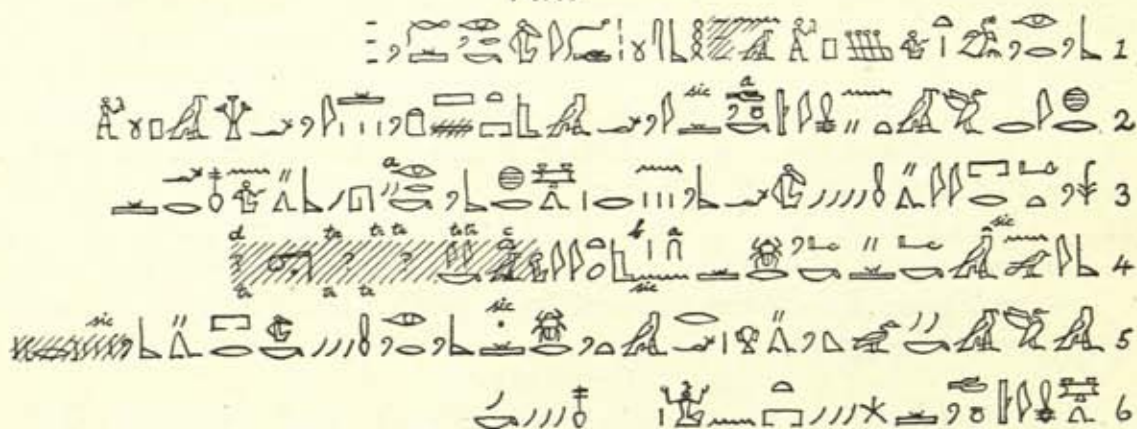
up their (number)?". (2) Now, one like you, being in a place of secrecy and hidden, (3) sends out his pronouncements; but you haven't yet sent me (news) good (4) or bad. See now, you have made it so that Esēye, your, got eleven (5) when you

Recto



2a. For α. 3a. The tail of *ka*, which is small as in *h3b* in l. 4, abnormally ligatured to the following *mm*. 3b. Or α. 4a-b. The writing of *h3b* here and in vs. 3 is quite unlike that in *rt* 3, *Π* being like *□* and *Δ* reduced to a vertical stroke. 7a. See commentary.

Verso



2a. *ε* here, and in 6 below, little more than a dot. 3a. For *α*. 4a. *Π*, and not *□*; no trace of a cross-stroke at top: Černý. 4b. The *mm* and the base of the *Δ* joined to form one stroke. 4c-d. See commentary. Černý regards *ω* as almost certain.

went in for it (?), and that your pronouncements fail to come out, (6) as if (from) the Underworld of a Million (Years?). Goodbye.'

NOTES

- Rt.* 1. 'Either *dd*:i with final meaning after a verb of motion, or (r) *dd*: Černý.
2. *St rh-nf*: the *Belegstellen* to *Wb.* II, 443 (5); 445 (11) show that what we must here understand as 'the place of that (masc.)-which-he (the god)-knows', i.e. the place

1. *... ..*
 2. *... ..*
 3. *... ..*
 4. *... ..*
 5. *... ..*
 6. *... ..*
 7. *... ..*
 8. *... ..*

THE NEVILL PAPYRUS *Recto*

1. *... ..*
 2. *... ..*
 3. *... ..*
 4. *... ..*
 5. *... ..*
 6. *... ..*
 7. *... ..*
 8. *... ..*

THE NEVILL PAPYRUS *Verso*



of the cult-statue, is not easily distinguishable from the *st rht-n-f* of *Aeg. Inschr. Berl.* 17021 (II, 60), etc.

2f. *Ms hr-s*: cf. *rk hr* + place (not, however, *vs.* 5, below).


3. I understand (*r*) *hḥb-f n-k*; after this, emend to *hr ir (t)wl*.

5. *Iw-k (r) kf*, etc.: a strong request, cf. Coptic 3rd Future.

6. *M r n swtwt*: it was in the course of such processions that the god gave his oracles; see *JEA* 11, 253; 12, 183; 185; *Bull. inst. fr.* 35, 56 ff.

Wdr-k, final. Černý suggests that the scribe wrote  thinking of . For *wdr* in a similar context, see Černý, *Late-Rameside Letters*, p. 37, 5 ff.: *wdr mdt*, P. Mayer A 13 B 6.

7. *Pry ky*, etc.: Černý compares π-ke in Coptic.



Hr (?): as Černý pointed out to me, the last signs in this line look very like *rmt* in l. 2, above. Close examination of the uppermost of the two signs following *pr*, however, suggests that it was begun and ended on top, where there is an indentation; so I read, very doubtfully, *hr*, with four strokes instead of ; a writing for which I can find no parallel, even in the most cursive hands.¹


Vs. 1. I owe the interpretation of *i-ir-k mh-w* as a question, and the sense of *mh* here (for which see *Wb.* II, 117 (18)), to Černý.

2. *Pr nty mī-kd-k*: Gardiner points out that the expression is quite general in meaning, 'one like you'; he has supplied me with most of the following examples: *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 91, 2 (restored); 15; P. Abbott 6, 16; *Ram. Adm. Doc.* 56, 6; plural, *JEA* 31, pl. 8 a, 11, 4; cf. *wr n mī-kd-f*, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 2, 5.

St štrw: see *Wb.* IV, 554 (5).

3f. *Nfr bīn*: cf. P. Anast. I, 11, 1; V, 21, 2; Sall. I, 3, 3; *LRL* 3, 12; *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, XLIX (1911), 1098. It means 'anything'. (Černý.)

4. *Mk di-k hpr* 11, etc.: by this I understand the writer to be reminding those in charge of the oracle that he knows that Esēye, a woman connected with its service, has received, no doubt illegally, eleven (*dw*-garments). This could account for the fact that the writer seems able to dictate to the oracle in *rt.* 5 ff. The reading  was supplied by Černý, who points out that the name occurs in P. Mayer A 4, 8, as a variant of  (ibid. 13, C 10); what follows in the damaged passage remains uncertain; I suppose some word designating the woman's function; but the two traces of a sign or signs visible above the gap suggest nothing obvious.


5. *M pry-k rk hr-f*: I do not understand this; *f* perhaps refers vaguely to  in the previous line. The construction seems to be that discussed by Gunn, *JEA* 32, 95.

Mtw hpr: an impersonal use, cf. Wenamūn, 2, 58; P. Mayer A, 6, 13; P.B.M. 10403, 3, 6.

6. *Dst n hḥ*: the expression is unfamiliar but seems not unnatural; cf. *Wb.* III, 153 (13);² I suppose that the writer compares the silence of the uncommunicative god with the silence of the grave.

Nfr snb-k: see foreword.



¹ For a comparable final stroke, however, cf. *LRL* 53, 3, textual n.



² Gunn believes that the appendage to the top of the head of  which one sees in hieratic may be the result of the coalescence with this sign of { in the common expression 'a million years', and may in consequence sometimes bear this reading.

ROUGE ET NUANCES VOISINES

Par GUSTAVE LEFEBVRE

BREASTED a souligné à deux reprises¹ combien sont vagues, chez les Égyptiens, la perception et la notation des couleurs. Un des meilleurs exemples de cette imprécision semble fourni par les mots exprimant, de façon générale, la couleur rouge. Dans quelle mesure cependant faut-il incriminer soit le vocabulaire égyptien, soit l'insuffisance de notre analyse, c'est ce que je voudrais examiner succinctement dans cette Note, bien modeste contribution à l'hommage rendu en ce jour à mon illustre confrère et ami, Sir Alan Gardiner.

L'adjectif le plus usuel désignant cette couleur est . C'est le nom même de l'oiseau , le flamant (*phaenicopterus roseus*), cité au *Livre des Morts* sous le nom, écrit en toutes lettres, de *dšr* 'le rouge'² et représenté, peint en rouge, à Meidoum.³ Ce rouge est celui de la flamme: il est dit des dieux irrités 'qu'ils sont rouges comme un brandon enflammé' *dšr-sn mi bs n sdt*.⁴ En français également, le mot 'flamant', emprunté au provençal *flamenc* (de *flama*), évoque la couleur de la flamme (cf. en diverses langues *flamingo*). L'oxyde de fer que renferment certaines roches donne à celles-ci une coloration rouge, assez violente, d'où le nom de la Montagne Rouge, près du Caire, le *dw dšr* de Sin. B 15. Les individus à la chevelure rouge portaient le sobriquet — qui devint nom — de *Dšr*⁵ (comparer les noms propres Lerouge, Roux, Leroux).

L'adjectif *dšr* désigne aussi la couleur du sang; le sang lui-même est, dans certains textes religieux, appelé  *dšrw*.⁶ C'est pourquoi des yeux injectés de sang (sous l'effet de la colère) sont qualifiés *dšr*: 'Gardez-vous d'Horus aux yeux rouges, fou de colère' *s(w)tn Hr dšr irty, mr it*.⁷ A cet emploi se rattache le causatif *sdšr* 'rendre rouge', c'est-à-dire 'saignant': '(Ton ennemi a été frappé par les enfants d'Horus;) ils ont fait rouge (saignant) le coup qu'ils lui ont porté' *sdšr-n-šn hwt-f*,⁸ autrement dit: 'ils l'ont frappé (Seth) jusqu'au sang'. En relation avec le sang et la colère, *dšr* se rencontre encore dans l'expression *dšr ib* 'rouge de cœur, furieux';⁹ à basse époque, la même idée est aussi rendue par *dšr hr* 'rouge de visage',¹⁰ qui s'oppose à *hđ hr* 'blanc de visage', c'est-à-dire 'bienveillant, généreux'.¹¹ De cette acception de l'adjectif *dšr* est enfin dérivé un substantif  *dšrw* 'colère': 'je suis (un homme qui) ne connaît pas la colère' *ink n rh-f dšrw*.¹²

Le mot *dšr* s'applique d'autre part aux régions non cultivées de l'Égypte, au désert

¹ *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, 193 et 364.

² Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, ch. 31, 8-9, cité par Keimer, dans *Ann. Serv.* 33, 123-4.

³ Petrie, *Medum*, frontispiece, n° 6.

⁴ *Bibl. Aegypt.* iv, 28, 16 (XIX^e dyn.).

⁵ Ranke, *Ägypt. Personennamen*, 400, 23 et 24.

⁶ *Pyr.* 1464a; De Buck, *Coffin Texts*, I, 393 (spell 75) et II, 69 (spell 94); Budge, *B. of the Dead*, 293, 4; 344, 12.

⁷ *Pyr.* 253, a-b. — De même, Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 79: *Hrpy irty tšrty*.

⁸ *Pyr.* 643a. Le causatif *sdšr* se rencontre aussi, par exemple à Edfou, avec la signification 'teindre en rouge' (au moyen d'orcanette des corps gras, des huiles); cf. Loret, *Kémi*, 3, 25-6.

⁹ Exemples dans *JEA* 29, 57.

¹⁰ *Wb.* v, 490, 4-5.

¹¹ Anthes, *Hatnub*, 28, 8, etc.; Mentuwer, 8; Br. Mus. 581, vert. 6.

¹² Nu, 42, 21.

𓂏𓂏𓂏 *dšrt*, par opposition à la 'terre noire' des cultures, *kmt*: 'il est roi du pays noir, il gouverne le pays rouge' *nswy-f kmt, ḥkꜣ-f dšrt*.¹ Cependant il est peu croyable que le désert soit apparu exclusivement rouge aux yeux des Égyptiens: en fait, sur une stèle en bois du Musée du Caire, provenant de la nécropole thébaine, le *gebel* est peint en jaune rayé et tacheté de rouge;² nous dirions, nous, qu'il est 'fauve'. *Dšr* est encore la couleur de l'orge servant à la préparation de la bière, *it dšr*, et que nous considérerions plutôt comme 'blonde'.³

De même que le blanc est la couleur nationale de la Haute Égypte, le rouge est celle de la Basse Égypte. A la 'maison blanche' *pr ḥd* de Haute Égypte a correspondu, à une époque très ancienne, une 'maison rouge' 𓂏𓂏𓂏 *pr dšr*.⁴ La couronne du Nord 𓂏𓂏 *nt* était, par opposition à 𓂏𓂏 *ḥdt* 'la (couronne) blanche' du Sud, généralement appelée 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *dšrt* 'la (couronne) rouge'.⁵ Cependant elle portait encore un autre nom: 𓂏𓂏𓂏 *wꜣdt*,⁶ mot qui désigne également la déesse de Basse Égypte 𓂏𓂏𓂏 *Wꜣdt*, Outo, ou mieux Edjō;⁷ celle-ci est appelée aussi 𓂏𓂏𓂏 *irt Hr wꜣdt* 'l'œil d'Horus *wꜣdt*' et fait pendant à la déesse de Haute Égypte 'la blanche de Nekhen' *ḥdt Nḫn* (ou 'l'œil d'Horus blanc' *irt Hr ḥdt*).

Comment l'adjectif *wꜣdt* qui signifie 'vert' peut-il, dans les expressions précitées (ailleurs encore), échanger avec *dšr* qui signifie 'rouge'? D'après Sethe, *wꜣdt* aurait, anciennement, qualifié des objets qui sont naturellement rouges: langue, viande, bœufs, soleil.⁸ Mais cela ne prouverait pas l'équivalence de *wꜣdt* et *dšr*, car il faut prendre garde que *wꜣdt* n'exprime pas seulement une notion de couleur, mais implique aussi une idée de fraîcheur, on peut même dire — c'est bien le cas — de 'verdeur': les traductions 'frais, jeune, prospère, brillant', &c. pourraient donc convenir ici; en ce qui concerne notamment la viande, on sait qu'au *P. Smith* les mots *iwf wꜣdt* signifient 'viande fraîche' ou 'viande crue'.⁹ Sethe, toutefois, insistant sur le rapprochement de l'adjectif *wꜣdt* et du substantif 𓂏𓂏𓂏 *wꜣdt* 'papyrus' — au point de traduire le premier par *papyrusfarben*¹⁰ 'qui a la couleur du papyrus' — semble avoir considéré comme certain que l'adjectif *wꜣdt* était susceptible de désigner à la fois le vert et le rouge — *grün und rot*.¹¹ Il est de fait que quelques parties de la tige, de l'ombelle et des folioles de la plante en question ont une teinte rougeâtre, et cette particularité n'a pas échappé aux peintres égyptiens, qui l'ont plutôt exagérée.¹² Mais le vert, dans le papyrus, l'emporte sur le rouge et les deux couleurs sont, en tout cas, nettement séparées: quiconque n'est pas atteint de dyschromatopsie ne saurait les confondre; d'autre part, il est difficile d'admettre qu'un même vocable ait pu réunir deux nuances si différentes de l'arc-en-ciel. Si cependant on

¹ *Urk.* IV, 58, 16-17. — De même, Bakhtan, 2. Cf. aussi *Admonitions*, 3, 1: *dšrt ḥt tꜣ* 'le désert a envahi les terres cultivées'.

² Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 342, n° 3365; *Ars Una, Égypte*, 276 et pl. 2 (en couleurs).

³ Budge, *B. of the Dead*, 124, 11; 244, 4 (*Wb.* I, 142, 15 traduit *gelbe Gerste*).

⁴ Sethe, *Unters.* III, 127.

⁵ *Pyr.* 702 b; 911 a, et *passim*.

⁶ *Pyr.* 1374 b; 1459 a. Les deux noms alternent dans *Pyr.* 410 a: *iw wnm-nf dšrt, iw tm-nf wꜣdt* il a mangé la (couronne)-*dšrt*, il a avalé la (couronne)-*wꜣdt*.

⁷ Gardiner, dans *JEA* 30, 56, et *Onomastica*, II, 193.*

⁸ Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, 160, n. 2.

⁹ *P. Smith*, I, 2-3; 13, 16, etc.

¹⁰ Sethe, *op. cit.*, 67, n. 1; 160, et ailleurs.

¹¹ Sethe, *Kommentar*, I, 187.

¹² Par exemple, dans N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemré*, I, pls. 18 et 19 (en couleurs).

rencontre—c'est incontestable—*wḏ* en place de *dšr* dans des expressions telles que celles qui désignent la couronne ou la déesse de Basse Égypte, la raison en est très probablement—comme l'a bien senti Erman¹—que *wḏ*, nom d'une couleur gaie et de bon augure, a été par euphémisme substitué au mot *dšr*, lequel revêtait parfois la valeur d'une épithète péjorative et pouvait, de ce fait, déplaire à des esprits superstitieux.

Cette valeur péjorative de *dšr* est bien connue : on l'explique comme une conséquence de l'assujettissement de la Basse Égypte à la Haute Égypte.² Ainsi le mot *dšr*, abstraction faite de la couleur qu'il représente, est-il devenu l'équivalent de 'fâcheux, mauvais', &c. : '(O Isis,) délivre-moi de toute chose mauvaise, nuisible, rouge' *sfh·t wi m·c ht nbt bint, dwt, dšrt*.³ S'il est vrai que le texte de *Pyr.* 1595 c (= P. 831) présente, là où l'on attendrait *ht nbt dšrt*, la curieuse variante *ht nb(t) wḏdt*, on aurait, dans ce cas, un bon exemple de *wḏ* remplaçant *dšr* par euphémisme;⁴ mais la lecture *wḏ* n'est nullement certaine.⁵ L'épithète péjorative *dšr* s'applique non seulement aux choses, mais parfois même à des personnes malheureuses : par exemple, à une femme, qualifiée de rouge, *hmt dšrt*, parce qu'elle a accouché avant terme.⁶

Le rouge étant une couleur honnie, on imagina que le méchant dieu Seth était rouge, tandis qu'Horus était blanc et Osiris noir.⁷ Il avait les yeux rouges⁸ et, dit Plutarque, était de la couleur d'un âne.⁹ A son image, les animaux en lesquels Seth s'incarne sont rouges, notamment l'hippopotame—*hḥb dšr* ou *db dšr*¹⁰—auquel on attribue également la couleur de la pierre—*hnmt*, le jaspé rouge.¹¹ Les partisans de Seth aussi sont rouges : 'Ne reconnaissez pas le Noir (partisan d'Osiris), ne saluez pas le Rouge (partisan de Seth)' *m rh km, m wšd dšr*.¹² C'est sans doute parce qu'elle était sœur de Seth et d'Osiris qu'Isis est représentée comme une 'femme noire et rouge' *st kmt dšrt*.¹³ Si le vin est rouge (*dšr*), c'est qu'il représente l'œil d'Horus, que les partisans de Seth mirent dans leur bouche et imbibèrent de leur salive qui devait être rouge;¹⁴ d'après une autre légende, c'est dans la bouche de Seth lui-même que l'œil d'Horus devint rouge.¹⁵ Toutefois, étant donné que *wḏ* peut, par euphémisme, se substituer à *dšr*, on ne sera pas surpris que le vin soit aussi désigné, à l'époque grecque, du nom de *ἰρτ Ἡρ wḏdt*,¹⁶ tout comme la déesse Edjō.

Les Égyptiens se servaient encore pour désigner le rouge, ou une couleur renfermant du rouge, d'un autre adjectif, aussi ancien que le précédent, *tmṣ*.¹⁷ Le déter-

¹ Voir ci-après, note 4.

² Sethe, *Unters.* III, 128.

³ P. Ebers, I, 14-15.

⁴ Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, 39, écrit à ce sujet : 'Wenn man statt derer ihn (Seth) auch einmal grüne Dinge, d. h. Segensreiches tun lässt, so ist das nur ein Euphemismus.'

⁵ Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, III, 92.

⁶ Mutter und Kind, Rs. 6, 1.

⁷ Plutarque, *De Iside*, 22.

⁸ Dümichen, *Geogr. Inschr.* II, pl. 87-8.

⁹ *De Iside*, 30.

¹⁰ *Edfou*, VI, 216; 217; 222. On notera que *dšr* a souvent pour déterminatif — ou même pour substitut (217) — un poisson *ḥ*. A l'époque grecque, *dšr*, suivi du déterminatif approprié, est le nom même du taureau et de l'hippopotame, *Wb.* v, 492, 12 et 13.

¹¹ Cf. *JEA* 21, 33, n. 6 (et Gardiner, *Koller*, 41*, n. 10).

¹² Stèle Metternich, l. 52 et 64 (texte fautif), citée par Drioton, *Le Théâtre égyptien*, 84, n. 1. Cf. aussi Gardiner, *Hier. pap. Br. Museum*, Third Series, Text, 10-11.

¹³ Dümichen, *Baugeschichte*, 37.

¹⁴ Sethe, *Unters.* X, 177.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 184.

¹⁶ Sethe, op. cit. III, 126, et exemples dans *Wb.* I, 107, 19 (*Belegstellen*, 19).

¹⁷ Et *tmṣ*, *tmṣ* : par souci d'uniformité, je transcrirai partout *tmṣ*, quels que soient la graphie et l'âge des documents.

minatif se réfère manifestement à la pastille d'ocre rouge de la palette des scribes, dont l'épithète *dšr* désignerait aussi bien, sinon mieux, la nuance exacte. C'est que *tmš* apparaît généralement, et de très bonne heure, comme l'équivalent pur et simple de *dšr*. Ainsi, dans ce texte où les deux mots sont placés à la suite l'un de l'autre, en apposition, et comme si le second contribuait à éclairer le sens du premier: *tmšt, dšrt* (déterminé par *š*), *nbt idbw Dp* 'la rouge-*tmšt*, la rouge-*dšrt*, la maîtresse des champs de Bouto'¹ (la déesse et la couronne rouge sont ici confondues). Ayant à définir, dans un texte médical, le mot *tmš*, déjà devenu rare, le glossateur du *P. Smith* a recours à l'adjectif *dšr*.² De même, d'un serpent qui a la face *tmš* on dit que 'sa face est en feu' *hr-f m ht*;³ or la comparaison avec un brandon enflammé a déjà servi, nous l'avons vu (note 4 de p. 72), à expliquer le mot *dšr*.

Comme, dans aucune langue, deux mots ne sont jamais, du moins à l'origine, absolument synonymes, il doit exister une différence entre *dšr* et *tmš*: le passage de *Pyr.* 1349 *a* met en lumière cette différence: il s'agit de la description réaliste d'un dieu-singe, Baboui,⁴ qui a 'l'oreille rouge et le derrière *tmš*' *Bšbwī dšr mšdr, tmš crt*. L'adjectif *tmš* paraît bien indiquer une couleur où le rouge et le bleu sont mêlés: 'violet' conviendrait assez bien ici. Dans le papyrus médical précité,⁵ ce même mot revient avec une signification analogue: d'un malade atteint d'une plaie profonde à la tête et présentant les symptômes du tétanos, il est dit: *hr-f tmš*; on ne se trompera pas en traduisant: 'il a le visage violacé' ou 'cyanosé'. Le glossateur a bien essayé d'expliquer le mot *tmš*, mais, nous l'avons vu, au moyen de *dšr*, qui ne nous éclaire pas; il a soin toutefois d'ajouter: '(rouge) comme la couleur du fruit-tjéméset' *mī irtyw prt tmšt*.⁶ Mais ce fruit nous est totalement inconnu.

Quelques substantifs sont dérivés de *tmš*:⁷ le plus intéressant est le mot abstrait *tmšw* (var. = *tmšw*) *tmšw*, qui apparaît au M.E.⁸ et, ayant perdu sa signification première, équivaut à l'expression péjorative citée ci-dessus: *ht dšrt*. On trouve ce mot dans des expressions comme: *db; (š) tmšw* 'punir les mauvaises actions',⁹ *wšh (š) tmšw*¹⁰ et *wšh (š) tmšw*¹¹ 'détruire (en les abattant) les maux, (les fautes, l'iniquité)', — *šin (š) tmšw* 'effacer les fautes',¹² *dr (š) tmšw* 'écarter (repousser) le mal',¹³ — *mdjt nt tmšw* 'le livre où sont inscrits les péchés',¹⁴ &c.

¹ *Pyr.* 911 *a*. Cf. 702 *b* pour *tmšt dšrt* 'qui appartient à la rouge-*tmšt*, la rouge-*dšrt*', et voir les observations de Sethe, *Kommentar*, III, 288. ² P. Smith, 3, 20-1. ³ *Chronique d'Égypte*, No. 29, 23-4.

⁴ On le retrouve sous le nom de *Bšb* dans le conte d'Horus et Seth, 3, 9.

⁵ P. Smith, 3, 10.

⁶ Ibid. 3, 21.

⁷ On peut citer comme dérivation directe: *tmšt* 'étoffe de couleur-*tmš* (rouge ou violette)'; cf. *Pyr.* 1147 *a*. ⁸ Ce mot a été reconnu d'abord par Lepage-Renouf, *TSBA* 2, 312. Il en cite deux exemples d'époque ramesside ou ptolémaïque; mais *tmšw* serait en réalité attesté à plus haute époque s'il est exact qu'on le trouve dans Griffith, *Siût*, pl. 16, 12 (texte peu sûr) et dans *Coffin Texts* (voir n. 12 ci-après).

⁹ *Urk.* IV, 42, 3; Obélisque de Philae, aujourd'hui en Angleterre: Lepsius, *Auswahl*, XVII B, 3.

¹⁰ Moret, *Rituel*, 134.

¹¹ Gardiner, *Hier. pap. Br. Museum*, Third Series, pl. 8, recto 10, 13-14, et Text, 19, n. 7.

¹² De Buck, *Coffin Texts*, I, 183 (spell 44): graphie = *tmšw*.



¹³ *Urk.* VI, 91, 6 (en parallèle avec *hsr dšrt*, l. 8, qui a exactement la même signification). Cet exemple m'a été signalé par G. Posener, qui attire aussi mon attention sur le texte de *Urk.* VI, 127, 7-8, où *tmšw* a pour variante *tmšw* 'choses mauvaises'.

¹⁴ Lefebvre, *Petosiris*, no. 63, 4: lire *tmšw* au lieu de *tmšw* que donne le texte (et cf. à ce propos *JEA* 24, 171).

Pour conclure, nous avons vu que *dšr* désigne le coloris de l'oiseau qui, dans les langues modernes, tire son nom de la flamme, le rouge plus foncé de certaines roches, du sang, du vin, le roux des cheveux. Il peut en même temps exprimer ce qui, de nature, est jaune ou fauve comme le désert, le sable, ou blond comme l'orge. S'il semble parfois rejoindre *wɜd* 'vert' dans la gamme des couleurs, c'est là pur procédé de style, inspiré par une idée superstitieuse. Par contre, *dšr* s'emploie comme équivalent de *tms*, mot qui semble bien avoir originairement désigné le 'violet', mais qui a perdu de bonne heure sa signification propre, n'a plus été compris et s'est finalement confondu avec *dšr* qui, lui, a survécu jusqu'à la fin de la langue (copte τωⲡⲓⲩ).

LES SIGNES NOIRS DANS LES RUBRIQUES

Par GEORGES POSENER

Le troisième rubrique du P. d'Orbiney s'interrompt au milieu pour faire place à  tracé à l'encre noire après  rouge.¹ Gardiner, dans son édition du texte, relève cette particularité qu'il attribue aux 'superstitious reasons'.² Le phénomène n'est pas isolé et la remarque de Gardiner mérite une glose.

Pour situer le problème, il faut fournir quelques renseignements sur un emploi particulier des couleurs dans les manuscrits égyptiens qui n'est pas utilitaire et qui tient à la valeur symbolique du rouge.³ Pour des raisons qu'on ne pourrait examiner ici,⁴ il prit une signification défavorable⁵ et fut associé avec le serpent Apopis et le dieu Seth. Il en est résulté dans l'écriture une extension de l'emploi de l'encre rouge et des restrictions à son usage.

Déjà à la fin du Moyen Empire, une partie des statuettes de captifs trouvées à Saqqara portent des textes à l'encre rouge:⁶ ce sont des énumérations des êtres dangereux, identifiés à Apopis⁷ et combattus à l'aide de l'envoûtement.⁸ Les textes religieux et magiques du Nouvel Empire utilisent couramment le rouge pour Apopis.⁹ A la XXX^e dyn. et à l'époque ptolémaïque, la rubrique devient constante pour ses noms et surnoms, ainsi que pour Seth¹⁰ et pour leurs compagnons.¹¹ Il ne semble pas

¹ P. d'Orbiney 1, 8.

² L.-Eg. Stories, 10 a, note 1, 8^d, et 99.

³ Longuement étudiée par Kees, *Farbensymbolik in äg. religiösen Texten*, Nachr. Göttingen, 1943, 446-64. Kees se cantonne sur le terrain égyptologique; voir sur les possibilités qu'offre le comparatisme Wunderlich, *Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer*, Religionsgesch. Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 20, 1 (1925).





⁴ Cf. Kees, loc. cit.; explication purement historique dans Sethe, *Unters.* 3, 126-8. Gardiner dans *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, 20, n. 3, souligne avec raison les difficultés du problème.


⁵ Sur le sens péjoratif des termes désignant cette couleur, cf. Lefebvre, ci-dessus, p. 74.

⁶ C'est le cas pour toutes les grandes figurines ayant conservé entre autres les listes de princes et de pays étrangers, ainsi que pour certaines des moyennes, voir la classification dans *Chron. d'Ég.* 14, 42.

⁷ *Rev. d'égyptol.* 5, 53.

⁸ Les descriptions de rites manuels similaires, fréquentes dans les textes tardifs, ne parlent pas, autant que je peux voir, de l'encre rouge, mais de *ryt wîdt* 'couleur fraîche' plutôt que 'couleur verte'; il faut sans doute comprendre: encre mélangée ou diluée exprès pour la cérémonie. Comparer l'utilisation dans les mêmes rites de *šw n mîwt* 'feuille de papyrus vierge'. L'efficacité magique semble exiger l'emploi de matières neuves.

⁹ Par ex. LM, Nu, *passim*; P. Beatty VII, rt. 5, 5; VIII, vs. 7, 4; id. 7, 3: *ꜥꜣꜣ ḥfty* (n R). Ses surnoms en rouge: *nyk*, P. Boulaq XVII, 10, 1; *ḏw-ḏd*, P. mag. Harris, 6, 2. Seul le déterminatif rouge: LM, Ani, 21, 19; P. Beatty VIII, vs. 7, 1. Extension de l'emploi:     en rouge dans un contexte noir, P. Beatty VI, vs. 1, 2.

¹⁰ Je n'ai pas noté d'exx. plus anciens du nom de Seth écrit à l'encre rouge au milieu d'un texte noir. Les MSS. du LM, échelonnés du NE à l'époque ptolémaïque, devraient permettre de dater cette innovation. L'enquête est rendue difficile du fait que Naville n'indique pas les rubriques dans son texte parallèle et qu'elles ne ressortent pas dans les éditions photographiques du LM. J'ai noté seulement que le LM de Turin (éd. Lepsius, ptol., cf. *ZAS* 58, 152-3) écrit Seth régulièrement en noir, sauf une fois, dans le chap. 9, où il est rouge; id. Leide T 1; dans le même passage, Pb et Pc (XVIII^e dyn., consultés au Louvre) ont Seth en noir. Voir aussi le P. Berlin 3055 (XXII^e dyn.) où le signe  est effacé dans 1, 3; 3, 8; 29, 6; 31, 6; 32, 5; intact dans 3, 9; 32, 1; 34, 5 et dans la marge, ainsi que dans les autres pap. de la même série; cette suppression n'a rien de systématique.

¹¹ P. Bremner-Rhind, *Urk.* vi, P. Schmitt cité par Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* 3, 4.

que l'on soit en présence d'une association objective de la couleur avec les êtres qu'elle caractérise, car s'il en était ainsi, d'autres mots liés à la notion du rouge auraient été rubriqués, ce qui n'arrive pas.¹ Dans cette extension de son emploi, le rouge est réservé aux ennemis des dieux. Or, les rituels tardifs où cette tendance est le plus marquée prescrivent la confection en cire rouge de figurines d'Apopis et de Seth² qui sont ensuite maltraitées. D'autre part, l'écriture représente le serpent *mn* et l'animal *snf* percés de couteaux.³ Ces rapprochements suggèrent que le rouge est utilisé parce que funeste pour ceux qu'il marque. Dans l'écriture, comme dans les rites manuels, les deux procédés, coloration et mutilation, paraissent complémentaires.

Dans la Clef des Songes du P. Beatty III et dans les Calendriers des Jours Fastes et Néfastes, les mauvais pronostics sont rubriqués.⁴ Sans doute, a-t-on ici un cas de différenciation à l'aide de la couleur, les bons pronostics étant noirs, mais il est significatif qu'on ait choisi le rouge pour annoncer les jours dangereux et les rêves funestes. Il n'est pas exclu que la couleur renforce le sens du terme et lui communique une nuance particulière, menace ou mauvais augure.⁵ On peut mesurer la force de cette teinte porte-malheur par deux fragments de Calendriers⁶ où les $\frac{1}{6}$ noirs expriment les bons présages et les $\frac{1}{6}$ rouges le danger.

Il n'est pas surprenant que les scribes aient évité de l'employer dans certains cas; ils l'ont fait essentiellement pour les noms des dieux, des rois et des morts. Les *Coffin Texts* ignorent ces limitations,⁷ comme ils ignorent l'extension de la rubrique aux êtres maudits; leur utilisation du rouge est purement fonctionnelle. Mais les autres manuscrits du Moyen Empire⁸ et des siècles ultérieurs appliquent la règle avec toute la rigueur dont leurs auteurs sont capables.⁹ Quand les rubriques s'arrêtent avant ou débudent après les mots sacrés, il pourrait y avoir un doute quant aux motifs du scribe;¹⁰

¹ Cf. *dšrt* 'désert', litt. 'pays rouge', *Urk.* vi, 17, 17; 27, 5; *dšrt* 'fureur', litt. 'rougeur', id. 81, 1; 91, 8; P. Bremner-Rhind, 23, 14 (en parlant de l'orage); *nt*, couronne rouge de la Basse Égypte, *Urk.* vi, 11, 16; *snf* 'sang', P. Bremner-Rhind, 30, 1. 24, ainsi que les différents mots désignant la flamme, mêmes MSS., *passim*. Je choisis exprès ces papyrus pour les exx. négatifs à cause de l'usage étendu qu'ils font des rubriques pour les êtres maléfaisants. Ailleurs non plus je n'ai noté de rouge pour les mots ou notions énumérés.

² Voir pour Seth, *Urk.* vi, 5, 6; 37, 4; *Rec. trav.* 16, 110, l. 31; cf. *Edfou* v, 133, l. 26; pour Apopis, P. Bremner-Rhind, 23, 6-7; 26, 20, où *mn* est à lire *dšr*, cf. Chassinat, *Edfou* vi, 217 n. 1 et 222 n. 6.

³ Pour le serpent, constant dans le LM; quand le serpent est noir, les couteaux sont rouges, par ex. P. Boulaq xvii, 4, 1; 10, 1; P. Beatty IV, rt. 6, 1; P. Sall. IV, 22, 9; quand le serpent est rouge, les couteaux sont noirs (cas le plus fréquent), par ex. P. Beatty VII, rt. 5, 5; VIII, vs. 7, 1. 3. 4. Le contraste fait ressortir la présence des poignards. Parfois le serpent est sans tête.—Pour l'animal de Seth, cf. *Urk.* vi, P. Bremner-Rhind, *passim*.

⁴ Déjà au ME, Griffith, *Kah. Pap.*, pl. 25.

⁵ On ajouterait en quelque sorte aux notions *chr* et *dw* la notion *dšr* au sens figuré; *dw* et *dšr* se trouvent associés dans les textes, cf. P. Ebers, 1, 14-15. 20; P. Bremner-Rhind, 32, 11; *ZAS* 65, 36; 67, 107.



⁶ Publiés par Malinine, *Mé. Maspero* 1, 879-99.


⁷ Ex. isolé: CT III, 301a.








⁸ J'ignore la situation dans les MSS. plus anciens.

⁹ Les exceptions totales sont rares, voir par ex. le Rituel d'Amenophis I de Turin (éd. Bacchi). Les cas isolés sont assez nombreux et s'expliquent par une distraction du scribe. Dans le P. Bremner-Rhind, 22, 24; 23, 17 le nom de Ra est écrit en noir sur des traces rouges, après une rubrique. On est tenté de supposer que le scribe n'a pas changé à temps de pinceau et, s'apercevant de son erreur, a effacé le groupe rouge et l'a réécrit dans la couleur convenable. Une faute semblable, 31, 10, perdue dans une longue rubrique, lui a échappé. M. J. Černý me signale le nom de Thot dans la rubrique du P. Boulaq vi, 3, 4 écrit en rouge et repassé à l'encre noire.


¹⁰ Très souvent c'est le début d'un passage qu'il importe de marquer à l'aide de la couleur, et le scribe est

d'ailleurs, ne comprend pas de phonogrammes même à l'époque ptolémaïque. Il est sans relation avec les textes, aussi bien œuvres classiques (Enseignement d'Ammenemès, Satire des Métiers) que conte néo-égyptien (Deux Frères). Pourtant il est difficile de dissocier ces exemples que rapproche la date des manuscrits, copiés par Pentwère (P. Sallier I) et Ennena (P. Sallier II et d'Orbiney) à la fin de la XIX^e dyn., ainsi que leur caractère commun de spécimens calligraphiques. Une explication unique est vraisemblable. Les signes ,  suggèrent une superstition. On pourrait concevoir que les scribes n'aient pas voulu dessiner en rouge un serpent et un crocodile pour ne pas en faire des signes annonciateurs de malheur à redouter de leurs modèles vivants, pour ne pas rendre hostiles ces derniers, pour ne pas les provoquer. Une telle sollicitude à l'égard du lecteur irait bien avec le caractère extérieurement soigné des manuscrits. Ce serait, au profit du vivant, le pendant du souci d'enlever des écrits funéraires tout élément matériellement dangereux pour le mort.

Ce cas particulier de suppression du rouge paraît être un raffinement. Pentwère et Ennena eux-mêmes ne tiennent compte de l'interdiction qu'au début de leurs manuscrits.¹ Il faut penser que la règle n'était pas impérieuse et la croyance qu'elle matérialise peu répandue, ni très forte. Appliquée à l'œil, elle doit signifier qu'on évitait l'encre rouge pour que le lecteur ne s'exposât pas à fixer le mauvais œil.² La crainte qu'il inspirait à l'époque de nos exemples³ est mise en évidence par la conclusion d'une prière à Thot * rendue par Gardiner:⁵ 'O Thoth, thou shalt be my helper; so shall I not fear the eye.'⁶

¹ À la même page du P. Sall. I, vs. qui a fourni les deux premiers exx. aux ll. 1-2, on trouve, l. 3  et l. 4  rouges dans des rubriques; le rt. de ce MS. n'a pas de rubriques contenant les signes de l'œil, de crocodile ou de serpent; le titre de 3, 4 passe à l'encre noire avec . Le P. Sall. III, dû également à Pentwère, contient peu de rouge, sans intérêt pour nous.—Œuvre d'Ennena: P. d'Orbiney:  est noir à la p. 1 (notre ex.), en lacune dans 2, 5, rouge par la suite (7, 2; 12, 7; 13, 6; 14, 9; 16, 6); pas d'exx. de l'œil ou du crocodile dans les rubriques de ce MS.;  toujours rouge et ceci dès 1, 1. P. Sall. II: avant 4, 4 l'œil est toujours noir dans les rubriques, après rouge (4, 6; 7, 4; 12, 1); pas d'exx. de crocodile dans les rubriques; les serpents (, ) n'y apparaissent qu'à la p. 4 et ont la couleur rouge du contexte (4, 1. 4; 5, 5. 7; 6, 1, &c.). P. Anast. VII: œil et serpent sont écrits en rouge et se rencontrent dès les rubriques de la p. 2; mais il manque plusieurs pages au début de ce MS. et là où il débute le texte parallèle du P. Sall. II n'observe plus la restriction (6, 1). P. Anast. IV et VI: pas de rubriques.

² L'équation œil rouge = mauvais œil, attestée en dehors de la vallée du Nil (Seligmann, *Die Zauberkraft des Auges und das Berufen*, 233), serait naturelle dans le cadre des croyances égyptiennes qui pourraient la motiver de diverses façons, cf. Pyr. 253 a-b: Horus courroucé aux yeux rouges; P. Beatty III, rt. 11, 7: œil rouge de l'homme rouge, un des types de l'homme typhonien.

³ Sur cette superstition en Égypte, cf. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 59, 149 ff.; Schott, *ZÄS* 67, 106 ff.; ajouter *Edfou* VI, 300, l. 26; les mentions sont pour la plupart tardives et Spiegelberg affirme ne pas en connaître avant l'époque saïte; à la même p. 153 où il le dit, il accepte de voir dans le nom propre néo-ég.  une attestation de cette croyance.

⁴ P. Anast. III, 5, 4.

⁵ *PSBA* 38, 130.

⁶ Comparer la discrétion prudente du texte qui sous-entend le mot 'mauvais' à la littérature magique où l'on évite de nommer le crocodile par son nom (*msh*), pour ne pas le provoquer, cf. Lange, *Mag. Pap. Harris*, 10-11.—L'amulette publiée par Schott, op. cit., nomme Thot parmi les protecteurs contre le mauvais œil.

THE RITE OF 'BRINGING THE FOOT' AS PORTRAYED IN TEMPLE RELIEFS

By HAROLD H. NELSON

IN the upper register on the north wall of the first court in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu is a relief (fig. 5 below) showing the king leaving the god's shrine at the close of the daily service.¹ The Pharaoh is depicted in the act of 'Bringing the Foot', a rite which is illustrated a number of times in temple and tomb decorations. The picture includes eight columns of very corrupt liturgical text which, however, are not concerned directly with the rite in which the king is engaged, but rather with the episodes of the service immediately preceding and following that act. The six lines directly to the left of the royal cartouches give the formula uttered as the cult image was restored to its shrine at the conclusion of the god's repast. The two columns to the right of the cartouches contain the words used as the doors were closed and bolted after the priest had left the sanctuary. Thus this one relief records three acts of the service which, however, were merely parts of one continuous whole. In this the king picked up the image, which had been removed from its shrine earlier in the service by the rite of 'Laying hands upon the god', restored it to its naos or tabernacle, turned and left the *pr-wr* dragging a bundle of *hḏn*-plant behind him, and shut and bolted the doors when he had 'gone outside'.

In the reliefs depicting the rite of 'Bringing the Foot' there are elements in the representations that seem to me of some possible importance for the explanation of the act which have not, as far as I know, been hitherto taken fully into account. There are at least fifteen temple reliefs surviving which show the rite as part of the temple service. In addition to these there are a considerable number of scenes of the meal for the dead, either king or noble, in which a priest performs the same act. I am here concerned merely with the rite as part of the temple service used in the worship of the god who, in most instances, is Amūn, though presumably any conclusions based on the temple usage would apply also to the same rite in the ceremonies accompanying the meal for the dead. The following list gives the dates and locations of the fifteen scenes.

1. Hatshepsut. The ebony shrine from Dēr el-Baḥrī (Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, II, pls. 25 and 28).
2. (Fig. 1) Hatshepsut. A block from the queen's red sandstone shrine found in the foundations of the third pylon at Karnak.
3. Hatshepsut. A similar scene on another block of the same shrine (unpublished).
4. (Fig. 2) Amenophis III. Luxor Temple (N. KP, pl. 13 F 102).²
5. Amenophis III. Luxor Temple (unpublished) (N. KP, pl. 23 E 254).

¹ *Medinet Habu* (ed. Chicago), IV, pl. 242 D.

² N. KP is an abbreviation for Nelson, *Key Plans showing Location of Theban Temple Decorations* (Oriental Institute Publications, LVI), Chicago, 1941.

6-10. Sethos I. Abydos, immediately to the right of the entrance in the chapels of Isis, Horus, Amūn, Rē-Ḥarakhti and Ptaḥ (Calverley, *Temple of Sethos I*, 1, pls. 17 and 25, and II, pls. 3, 13, and 21).



FIG. 1. Hatshepsut. Block from queen's red sandstone shrine (published by permission of M. Lacau)

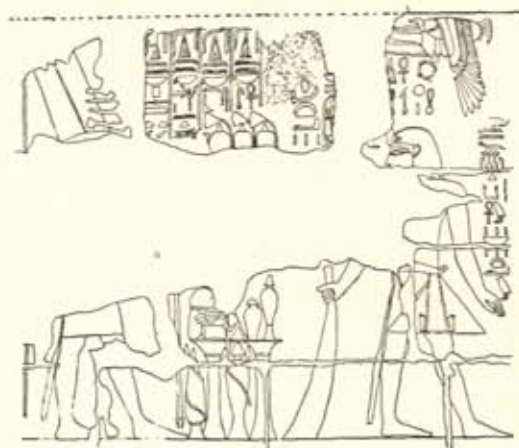


FIG. 2. Amenophis III. Luxor temple.



FIG. 3. Sethos I. Mortuary temple at Thebes. All details of the king's figure have been erased.



FIG. 4. Sethos I. Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak.

11. (Fig. 3) Sethos I. Mortuary Temple in the Theban Necropolis (N. KP, pl. 37, fig. 1, 266).
12. (Fig. 4) Sethos I. Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Amūn at Karnak (N. KP, pl. 4 B 313).
- 13-14. Ramesses II. Temple of Derr (Blackman, *Temple of Derr*, pl. 64).
15. (Fig. 5) Ramesses III. Medinet Habu. (*Medinet Habu* (ed. Chicago), IV, pl. 242 D).

In his discussion of the act of 'Bringing the Foot' Gardiner noted that the *hdn*-plant was sacred to Thoth, 'Lord of the *Hdn*.'¹ He adds, 'Obviously it is of this plant that is made the object which the lector trails behind him, and we shall not go far wrong in

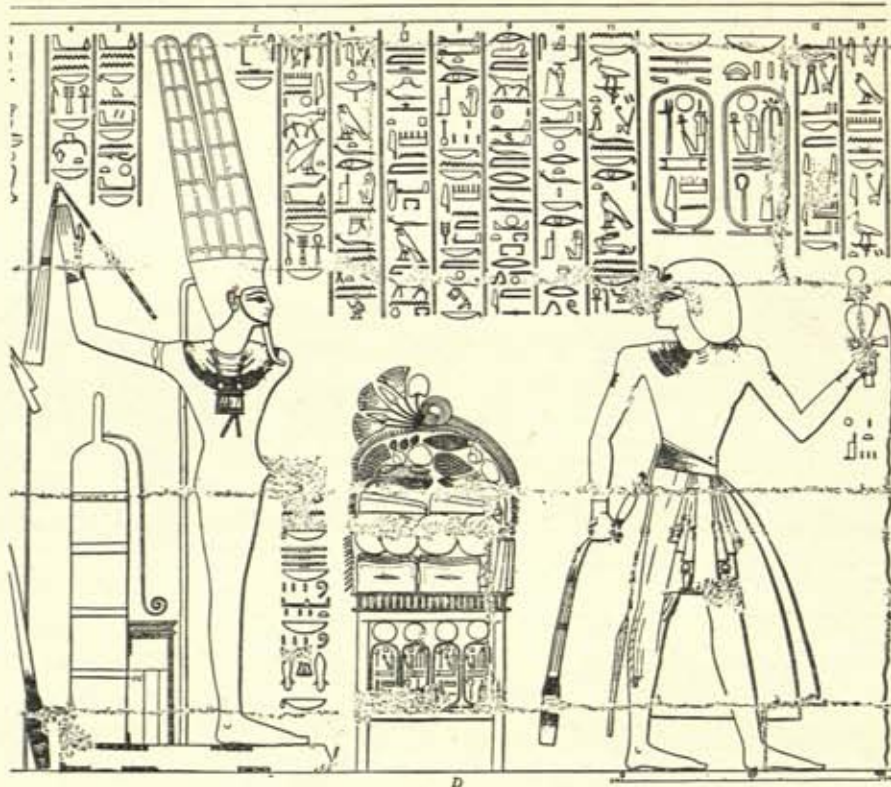


FIG. 5. Ramesses III. Medinet Habu.


assuming that he thereby impersonates Thoth.' He points out that the formula used at Abydos in connexion with this act reads, 'Thoth comes, he has rescued the eye of Horus from his enemies, and no enemy, male or female, enters into this sanctuary.' He continues, 'Thus the performer of this rite simulates Thoth, the great magician, and banishes from the shrine or sanctuary of temple or tomb all malign demons that perchance are lurking there.' In explanation of the manual act he suggests that the *hdn*-bundle is a 'symbol or effigy of the demon's foot, by which accordingly he would simply be hauled out of the holy place'. He adds that Griffith has suggested that the priest was obliterating his own footsteps. 'Thus the sanctuary would be cleaned up and purified and so rendered less accessible to evil spirits.' This latter seems now to be the usually accepted explanation and appears also in the *Berlin Dictionary*, I, 91. Yet in only one of the temple reliefs depicting this rite does the king seem to be doing what might be termed 'sweeping' (fig. 2), as would seem to be necessary were he obliterating his footprints. In several reliefs the *hdn*-bundle does not even touch the floor (figs. 3, 4, 5, and nos. 13-14), a fact which, however, may be due merely to the artist's carelessness in detail, or to the perfunctory manner in which the *hdn*-bundle had come to be used when those reliefs were carved.

¹ Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, pp. 94-5.

To the reasons advanced by Gardiner for regarding this rite as part of the terminal acts of the service may be added the scene from Medinet Habu (fig. 5). There the manual act is accompanied by texts which clearly belong to the conclusion of the ceremonies. Moreover, the next scene in the series at that temple shows the king, still holding the *hdm*-bundle, engaged in the rite of 'reversion of offerings',¹ which rite probably followed immediately upon the closing of the shrine doors. Also scenes nos. 2, 5, and 12 listed above immediately precede reliefs showing the 'reversion of offerings'.

Gardiner noted that some of the reliefs depicting the scene under discussion show the officiant looking behind him as he withdraws. We should also note that the king always turns his back upon the god and, in some instances, leans forward as he moves (figs. 3 and 4 and Calverley, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 13). When the Pharaoh assumes this posture he does not look behind him, possibly because, had he both looked behind and leaned forward, he would have found himself in a most awkward, if not impossible, position. In some scenes, at Abydos and at Derr, he neither leans forward nor looks behind. In these scenes the figure of the god is absent.

We have here in these reliefs four elements found in no other rite, which seem to require explanation. 1. The king turns his back upon the god. 2. He drags the *hdm*-bundle behind him. 3. He sometimes looks behind him as he moves. 4. He sometimes leans forward as he walks. The first of these characteristics may be explained by the fact that he is moving away from the image, the only occasion in the ceremonies, as far as I know, in which he does so. An explanation for all these elements, and especially for 3 and 4, seems to me to be contained in a relief in the chapel of Sethos I at Abydos.² There the figure of the king, advancing into the sanctuary, is shown on the wall to the right of the entrance to that chapel. It is accompanied by the text:

 'Spell for entering the

first door of the *st-wrt*. To be recited: O doorkeepers of this temple, who ward off all evil ones for king Menma'rē, without permitting that they enter behind him into this temple, their faces backward (as) they recoil, the purity of the Son of Rē, Setimerenptah, is the purity of Horus,³ etc. It would seem from this passage that evil spirits or demons might slip into the temple as the king entered and, as the spell was to be recited when he walked into the *st-wrt*, they might find their way even into the very shrine of the god itself. However, the formula assumes that such demons would recoil or withdraw, and, while so doing, their faces would be turned backward.

Much of the temple service was in the nature of magic, some of it sympathetic magic, which resulted at times in the officiant impersonating one or other of the deities. In the text of the liturgy he passes easily from one role to another so that sometimes he is

¹ *Medinet Habu*, IV, 242 D.

² Calverley, *Temple of Sethos I at Abydos*, II, pl. 29.

³ It is not apparent just why the doorkeepers, who ward off evil spirits, should be informed by the king that he is pure as Horus is pure. This statement is generally made by a deity to the king and not by the king himself. It is possible that the purity of the king was a sort of authority for his unrestrained entrance into the temple in contrast to the uncleanness of the demons who were not to be permitted to enter.

Horus, sometimes Thoth, etc. As Gardiner has suggested, in the scene of 'Bringing the Foot', the officiant seems to be Thoth who 'has rescued the eye of Horus from his enemies and no enemy, male or female, enters into this sanctuary'. But there is nothing in Egyptian thinking that would prohibit him from confusing two roles, so that while the king, or the lector priest for him, recited the prescribed formula in his capacity as Thoth, he might at the same time assume the part of the ejected demon departing with his back to the god, but with his face turned behind him, or even go still farther and occasionally lean forward in a cringing posture such as a defeated spirit might be expected to assume.¹ The ejection was apparently achieved by Thoth through the medium of the *hḏn*-plant. Thoth was the great magician, Lord of the *hḏn*, which therefore presumably had magical properties. From such an object the evil spirits might recoil, just as vampires were supposed to be repulsed by onions or garlic. In this way the king, or priest, in withdrawing, that is, 'Bringing the Foot'² would in his role as Thoth wield the *hḏn*-bundle, and at the same time demonstrate its effect by simulating the demon with his face turned backward, or possibly even by assuming a cringing attitude as he withdrew from the holy place before the power of the magical plant. I put forward this suggestion as a tentative explanation which seems to account for all the unique elements in this scene.

¹ This attitude is especially apparent in the reliefs of Sethos I at Karnak and Qurnah, figs. 3 and 4. Though it is true that Sethos I is more frequently represented kneeling or bending slightly forward than are other Pharaohs, still the posture he assumes in these two scenes, especially in fig. 4, seems to call for some specific explanation.

² This is the only use of the word *rd* with the meaning 'footprints' that the Dictionary gives. Elsewhere it seems to be confined to the idea of 'foot' or 'footstep', not the traces left by the foot. To 'bring the foot' would seem naturally to refer to the actual movement of the foot rather than to 'obliterating footprints', which definition gives to both words unusual, if not unique, meanings.

THE EARLIEST VERSION OF BOOK OF THE DEAD 78

By A. DE BUCK

A PRINCIPLE advocated on several occasions by the scholar to whom these pages are dedicated is that any translation of a difficult text is better than none at all, or as he expressed it in this *Journal* (32, 56): '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.' Therefore an attempt to translate and analyse an interesting but elusive spell or section (if one prefers that still more colourless term proposed by Gunn) of the Book of the Dead seemed a suitable tribute of gratitude to the man who not only formulated this lofty principle, but who has lived up to it so often. I must confess, looking back on the poor result of my efforts, that the idea of being a target for a champion shot of the calibre of an Amenophis II makes my flesh creep. Being in this dangerous position I can only cry for mercy, for when all is said and done: *ut desint vires, tamen est laudanda voluntas*.



The present article is chiefly a study of the earlier text of Book of the Dead 78, of which the manuscripts will be published in vol. IV, pp. 68 ff., of the Coffin Texts.¹ These manuscripts are the following: B6C, which contains the complete spell; D1C,² which, as this article will show, offers by far the best text, but which, alas, ends at 81j; T1C and B6Bo by chance both ending at 71f; B2Bo, ending at 80g; and B4C, which contains the opening sentences only and ends already at 68e. I have not made an exhaustive study of the text of the Book of the Dead, although here and there it has been taken into account,³ especially in the latter part of the spell where B6C is our only ancient and not too reliable source. The deviations of the later Book of the Dead from the text of the Coffin Texts are indeed so numerous and also so serious that it does not seem practicable to study them together with the earlier version. As a matter of fact the points of difference between the two versions are sometimes so vital that it is difficult to suppress a feeling of scepticism as to the intelligibility of the *BD* version, not so much of its separate sentences, which as a rule are not difficult to translate, but above all things of the plot and story of the spell as a whole.

It is not here the place, nor is there space available, to discuss the problem of the Book of the Dead thoroughly, and a few remarks must suffice. It has been suggested by Gunn that this collection should be studied in itself and that therefore the work of Sethe and others in their *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien* was superfluous for the purpose of translating the Book of the Dead. It is true that in this case, as in other fields of

¹ This volume is now ready for the press, and it is hoped that it will be published soon so that comparison of the present translation with the original texts will be possible. For the sake of convenience the pages and subdivisions (e.g. 68 b) of this future publication have been used in this article.

² In case my publication should not yet be out, the text of this manuscript is available for students in the admirable extra plate 37E of Petrie, *Denderah* (ll. 625-56), to which my fresh collation has added very little.

³ Quoted from Budge's edition of the papyrus of Nu in his *Book of the Dead* (1898 edn.), hereafter abbreviated as *BD*.

research, the synchronic and diachronic views have their own aims, methods, and rights. It is certainly true that a given phase of a literary and religious development (e.g. the Book of the Dead) can be studied for its own sake, the result being a transverse, horizontal section of the religious life of that particular period, and this would show what the people of that time wrote and read and presumably believed and understood. Still, a vertical, longitudinal section is not only intrinsically interesting and a legitimate subject of research; it may also offer an explanation of many strange and irrational features in the tradition of a later period. It may be true that much more of the Book of the Dead is translatable and makes good sense than is now generally believed; there remains, however, many a *crux* which to my mind can be explained only as the result of corruption or confusion and which can be elucidated only with the help of earlier and more correct texts. I doubt, for instance, to cite but a minor example, whether the people who used the Book of the Dead attached any sense to the suspicious phrase  (BD 165, 15) which the CT-version shows to be a corruption of the easy and straightforward phrase .

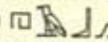



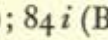
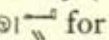
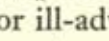

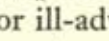
In the case of this spell the mixing up of the different personal pronouns has been a source of much confusion already in the Coffin Texts, and in the Book of the Dead so little remains of the original pronouns that the well-arranged plan of the story as told by the earlier version must needs have suffered (or have been altered) considerably. To quote only a few examples: no less than four times there occurs in the Book of the Dead the monotonous refrain 'The gods of the *Dat* fear me, their gates beware of me' (BD 165, 13-14; 166, 8-9; 166, 16-167, 1; 167, 7-8). The Coffin Texts use in the passages corresponding to the first two BD occurrences the 1st person (69 *e, f*) and the 2nd person (you, of you) respectively; to the third passage corresponds 73 *f* 'the gods fear you', which the BD has harmonized with the other passages, adding the second phrase and again using the 1st person; the fourth passage is also a product of harmonization with the stereotyped standard phrases; the Coffin Text version reads '... for the gods of the *Dat* and the gates beware of you' (74 *e, f*). The fifth occurrence of this phrase in the BD is composed in the 2nd person as in the Coffin Texts: 'the gods of the *Dat* fear you, their gates beware of you' (BD 168, 14-15), but this full form is once more influenced by the standard pattern; the corresponding passage of the Coffin Texts reads (79 *b*): 'the gods (so D1C: B6C has 'the gods of the *Dat*') fear you'.

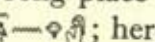
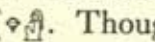
Another example of the same striving after uniformity is the following: in BD 165, 12-13 occurs the phrase 'May you inspire fear of me, may you create awe of me', which is identical with 69 *b, c*. But to 74 *d, e* 'May he inspire fear of you, may he create awe of you' corresponds 'May he inspire fear of me, may he create awe of me' (BD 167, 6-7) as in the former case.

Surely such a confusion of the personal pronouns must have caused a concomitant confusion in the distribution of the speeches among the various *dramatis personae* and cannot have contributed to the clearness of the story. Is it not legitimate to suspect that the contents of the spell were already enigmatic and obscure to the writers and readers of the Book of the Dead? Or is this doubt simply the outcome of an old-fashioned predilection for the diachronic method? Be this as it may, the present article

is mainly concerned with the recension of the Coffin Texts, leaving to the future the task of explaining the *BD* spell as it stands, and of elucidating the new interpretation which the later editor may have had in his mind.

As has already been stated, the type of corruption (*sit venia verbo*, if this term is too strong) of which a few examples were given above is not of late date. Already in the manuscripts of the Coffin Texts this process is in full swing. The principal cause of this kind of mistake is the replacing of the personal pronouns (chiefly those of the 1st person) referring to the deceased by the name of him or her for whom the manuscript was destined. Apparently this work was often carried out quite mechanically, so that the word-order no longer agrees with the rules of Egyptian syntax, e.g. 85*i* (B6C) *sch·n N. pn Hr m b:f*¹ is substituted for an original *sch·n wi Hr m b:f* (D1C). Although in our manuscripts the substitution was as a rule effected with sufficient care, ungrammatical word-order has been noted, apart from 85*i* quoted above, also in 73*f*: *hbb N. pn n·k*; 86*u*: *bik n N. pn ntrw*.

Firstly the writing out of a suffix of the 1st person in the copy of an archetype in which this suffix was not expressed in writing may lead to a certain number of mistakes. Traces of the fact that the archetypes of our manuscripts did not write this suffix are numerous, e.g. 73*f* (D1C)  for *hbb·i*; 77*a* (D1C)  for *itl·i*; 78*a* (B2Bo)  for *ir·i*; 78*f* (B6C)  for *di·i*; 80*c* (B6C)  for *sdi·n n·i*; 80*f* (D1C, B6C)  (var. ) for *hr·n·i* (var. *hr·i*); 84*i* (B6C)  for *di·i*; 84*d*  for *tp·wy·i*.

A good example of the corruptions which a careless or ill-advised scribe can cause by introducing an indication of the suffix of the 1st person into a manuscript without it and putting it in the wrong place is to be found in 78*b*, where the otherwise very reliable D1C reads ; here the correct text is doubtless that of the other manuscripts: *whm·n n·i Hr*. The reading of D1C is, of course, an erroneous copy of an archetype showing . Though in this case D1C for once is wrong, a careful study of the manuscripts has convinced me of the general superiority of D1C in this and other respects. The suffixes of D1C are nearly always a safe guide through the labyrinth of this spell, and as soon as D1C fails the degree of certainty in our interpretation falls considerably. The total lack of D1C in the latter part of the spell is a very serious difficulty.

Still more serious is the confusion caused by the mechanical substitution of *N. pn* for suffixes which do not refer to the dead man at all, but to some other character in the play. This type of mistake is well exemplified by the beginning of our spell (68*b*–70*b*), where some manuscripts (B6C, B6Bo, B4C) wrongly change the 1st person, there referring to Osiris, into *N. pn*. Later on this *N. pn* again replaces the 1st person where Horus is speaking (71*b*–*d*; 72*h*; 73*c, f*; 74*a, c*). Nor does *N. pn* replace only the 1st person; it replaces also the suffix of the 2nd person (*·k*) referring to Osiris (73*a* [B6C]: 74*d*–*f* [B6C]) or to another personage (77*e* [B6C]). Elsewhere it takes the place of the suffix of the 3rd person (*·f*) referring to Osiris (820), Horus (86*u, v*) or the

¹ It is instructive to reflect upon the disastrous results which a second copyist would bring about if he thoughtlessly changed this text again to the 1st person in the form *sch·n·i Hr m b:f*, thus turning subject into object and vice versa.

messenger (83*m-o*; 84*a, c, e, f*). It follows that we cannot reconstruct the original text simply by changing *N. pn* into a pronoun of the 1st person; the corruption may be deeper rooted and the confusion more intricate than that.

The problem of the personal pronouns has been discussed here at some length, because in this spell the interpretation depends to a large extent on their correctness. Fortunately, as has been stated above, we have in D1C a manuscript which is in this respect fairly reliable, and taking the pronouns used in it as a guide we can unravel many of its intricacies and assign the various parts of the spell, which chiefly consists of speeches, to the proper persons. In this analysis of the text the frequent literal repetitions of the same sentences and phrases, which differ only as regards the pronouns, are very helpful. The following brief survey of the spell will show how this criterion works.

As is shown by 69*g* ('my harm'), 70*b* ('my weariness'), 68*b, e* (Busiris is apparently the place where my house is situated), the person speaking in 68*b-70b* is Osiris, who asks Horus (68*b*) to render him certain services. After an interruption by the gods, Horus (cf. 71*c* [T1C], 'my father Osiris') answers. Various phrases are a counterpart of Osiris' words (see 73*a* 'your harm': 73*b* 'your weariness'). It is therefore highly probable that 71*e, f*, mentioning the form and the *ba*, correspond to 68*f, 69a*; the *ds-k* in 71*e* marks a certain contrast with the demand of 68*f* ('may you see my form'). As these sentences (71*e, f*) thus seem to contain the real gist of the answer of Horus, it is deplorable that they are rather obscure (71*f*) and ambiguous in meaning (71*e*). Somehow their meaning must be that Osiris himself can take care of his *ba* and procure himself the privileges enumerated in 72*a, b*. At any rate, though it seems to be nowhere expressed in clear words, Horus must practically have declined to come to Osiris and fulfil his wishes, for in 73*f* he is talking about sending somebody else, One who is in the Radiance or a Spirit (*akh*) who is in the Radiance, whom Horus will make his exact replica (74*a*), and whom he invests with his *ba* (74*b*). He shall do the very things which Osiris demanded, i.e. come to Busiris (74*b*), inspire fear of him, &c. (74*d-f*). Thus the third personage enters the stage to remain there till the end. He is a kind of messenger or mediator between Horus and Osiris, invested with Horus' *ba*: i.e. to all intents and purposes he is the *ba* of Horus, and his office of mediator between this world of the living and the *Dat* fits in perfectly with the character of the *ba*, who goes out on earth in the sunlight and rests upon the dead body in the tomb, and whom we see in a well-known vignette flying down the tomb-shaft to visit the mummy. It might be an illustration of what happens in our spell, where the mediator goes to the dead Osiris, and tells (or brings) him the affairs or the condition of Horus (74*c*), a phrase which occurs several times in the rest of the spell.

This mediator now speaks in his turn and various phrases which occurred in the speech of Horus in the 3rd person turn up again, but now in the 1st person. He says, e.g. 'I am one who is in the Radiance' (74*g*; 75*a*) and here he inserts an elaborate description of himself (74*g-76g*). 'Horus has invested me with his *ba*' (76*i*; 81*k*; 82*k*; 85*i*); 'I am he who is in his (Horus') form' (82*h*); 'I am high in the form of Horus' (80*b*); and well in keeping with this statement, 'I have made my appearance as a divine

falcon' (76*h*); 'I am a falcon in the Radiance' (82*b*). He is to do what Osiris asked Horus to do in the opening words of the spell: 'I go forth to Busiris' (82*l*; 85*o*): 'I go all over his house' (85*o*): 'I inspire the fear of him and I create the awe of him' (82*o*): 'I take his (Horus') affairs or condition to Osiris, to the *Dat*' (78*a*): '... in order to take his condition to Osiris, to the *Dat*' (77*a*): 'I tell him the condition of this his son' (85*p*); 'I come with the word of Horus to Osiris' (84*a*; however, see p. 96, n. 12).

Nevertheless, things are not as easy as they look in this bird's-eye view. There are always obstacles and demons or gods asking difficult questions or making objections on the roads to the Egyptian other world. So this mediator has to tell a story about a hindrance he had to overcome; it is the intervention of *Rwty*, which begins in 77*b*: '*Rwty* said to me', etc. *Rwty* admits that the traveller is equipped with the form of Horus (77*d*), but then goes on to say that he lacks the *nemes*-crown (77*e*), which is apparently all-important for him, if he wishes to reach his aim. 78*a-c* contain the answer of the detained traveller, who states his business (78*a*) and adds that Horus has repeated to him the words of Osiris on a certain occasion (78*b, d*); evidently these words are meant to act as a pass-word, which should compel *Rwty* to let him pass. However, the incredulous *Rwty* is not so easily silenced and makes a new objection: he is not willing to give the *nemes*-crown, unless the mediator proves the truth of his assertion. He says: '(If that is true), repeat then to me those words of Osiris' (78*d*);¹ then I will give you the *nemes*-crown (78*e*)² and the gods (of the *Dat*) shall fear you' (79*b*).

After this we expect again an answer from the traveller, the more so since in 79*g, h* *Rwty* gives in: 'Take out for him the *nemes*-crown. So said *Rwty*.' This seems to imply that between 79*b* and 79*g* the messenger has proved that he possesses the knowledge he boasted of. If so, 79*e* must contain the words of Osiris and this god must be meant by the deity mentioned in 79*f* as 'He who is high on his *ḏb*, who dwells in holiness', the latter phrase being an excellent epithet for Osiris. The content of 79*e* seems to suit this supposition well, saying, as it does, that he (the traveller) has been initiated in the word of the gods, an utterance eminently suitable to serve as a pass-word.

Accordingly, the results are satisfactory, the *nemes*-crown is given to him (79*g*), a fact which he carefully mentions (79*c*) when he addresses another demon with the command to let him pass (80*a*). Later on he is talking to other gods (83*i*, etc.) and quotes a command of Horus (83*l*) which may extend to 84*f*, for in 84*g* we find a fresh introduction: 'I say', the contents of this speech being a eulogy of Horus (84*h-l*). Now the gods of the *Dat* allow him to pass by (84*m*), and he then addresses a plurality of gods, presumably the warders of the House of Osiris, to whom he tells his errand (84*o-86b*). The rest of the spell (86*c-w*) consists of a speech of the messenger to Osiris himself, a hymn in praise of Osiris (86*c-k*) and of Horus (86*l-w*). Perhaps the latter, telling that Horus is now on the throne of Osiris and rules Egypt, is the true content of the

¹ In B 6 C and BD the point of this passage is totally lost in consequence of the omission of 78*d, e* which is due to homoeoteleuton.

² These words show that the gist of *Rwty*'s objection must have been that the mediator was not in the possession of a *nemes*-crown.

'affairs' or the 'condition' of Horus, which the mediator so often promised to say or to take to Osiris, to the *Dat*.

Translation

(68 *a*) Changing into a divine falcon.¹

[*Speech of Osiris.*]

(68 *b*) O Horus, come to Busiris,² (*c*) and clear my ways for me³ (*e*) and go all over my house,² (*f*) that you may see my form, (69 *a*) that you may extol my *ba*. (*b*) May you inspire fear of me, (*c*) may you create⁴ awe of me,⁵ (*e*) that the gods of the *Dat* may fear me, (*f*) that the⁶ gates may beware of me.⁷ (*g*) Let not him who has done me harm⁸ approach me, (70 *a*) so that he sees me in the House of Darkness,⁹ (*b*) and uncovers my weariness which is hidden from him.¹⁰

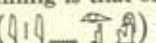
[*Interruption by the gods.*]

(70 *c*) 'Do thus',¹¹ say the gods, (*d*) who hear the voice of those who go¹² in the suite of Osiris.


[*Speech of Horus.*]

(70 *e*) Be silent, O gods. (71 *a*) Let a god speak with a god.¹³ (*b*) Let him hear the true message which I shall say to him.¹⁴ (*c*) Speak to me,¹⁵ Osiris, (*d*) and grant that that which has come forth from your

¹ This title was derived from passages like 76 *h*; 82 *b*, *h*, *i*; 83 *n*.

² A similar beginning is that of Coffin Texts spell 303: 'O falcon (*bik*), come to Busiris and go all over my house, says Osiris () that you may see. . . .'

³ So B6 Bo, B4 C, and BD. Perhaps this commonplace expression (*qsr wtt*) is secondary and the readings of the other manuscripts (B6 C *qsr-k*; T1 C *qsr-k hr-i*; D1 C *qsr-k n-i*) may be preferable. Their translation is, however, doubtful.

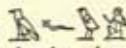
⁴ : only T1 C reads *km* as BD.


⁵ T1 C adds: '(*d*) encircle (*phr*) me, see me.'

⁶ BD: 'their gates': the earlier texts always read *rrwt* without the suffix.

⁷ Besides the well-known imperative *ch stw r* and *hr*, see the inscription of Amenhotpe son of Hapu (Cairo 583), l. 9, where *ch stw hr hrt-f nbt* occurs in parallelism with *sik stw hr hrt twt(w)-f* 'who is on his guard with regard to all his needs and is careful with regard to the needs of his statues'.

⁸ Of course Seth is meant.

⁹ D1 C is illegible, T1 C reads *m hry kkw* 'as one who is under darkness'. The curious reading  of BD, which has already been mentioned, occurs in all the manuscripts of the Book of the Dead, showing that they all derive from one archetype.

¹⁰ The weariness (death) of Osiris is (or should be) hidden from Seth (*r-f*), unless *rf* is the particle which can be placed after Old Perfectives, participles and adjectives, see Sethe's note on *Pyr.* 305 *a*; other examples, e.g. Westcar 7, 13 (*gnh rf*), *Urk.* 1, 125, 16 (*šm rf*). The idea that Osiris' death or wounds should be hidden occurs often. In a text which is written on the mummy-mask, it is said that this mask was given to Osiris by Rēc in order to hide (*šst*) what was done against him, to keep secret (? *dr*) the blow which Seth dealt against him (cf. M 36 C, 2-3 = *Ann. Serv.* 11, 37 (with many mistakes): similarly, T1 Be, 17-18 = Lepsius, *Älteste Texte*, pl. 5; CT 1, 141 *g*); to the initiated Osiris' weariness is uncovered and (142 *a*) he may see his blows; but elsewhere it is said of the enemy that (ibid. 155 *d-f*) he has betrayed (?) Osiris' weariness to Seth and has talked about his hidden blows. The reading  of D1 C must be a mistake for *rf*, cf. 73 *b* (D1 C) *imn rf*.

¹¹ Imperative or passive, 'let there be done accordingly'.

¹² In D1 C, (*d*) begins with *shm*, the rest is lacuna. It is doubtful whether *hrw hppw* is a genitive, *hppw* might be a second epithet of the gods, 'who hear the voice and go', etc., but *hrw* without a following genitive does not make good sense.

¹³ I.e. 'do not interrupt our conversation'. Or: 'because a god speaks with a god'. In difficult texts where the context is not clear, it is extremely awkward that the Egyptians do not as a rule supply us with the logical connexion of their sentences. For the phrase, cf. BD 244, 10-11: 'Be silent, Ennead, the *hmmmt* speak with N.'

¹⁴ Probably the prospective relative form *qd-t-i*.

¹⁵ D1 C *mdw n-i Wsir*; the other manuscripts *mdw n-i ir-k*: for the word-order cf. 78 *d*. The meaning seems to be 'speak to me again.'


mouth concerning me turns round.¹ (e) See your own form,² (f) form³ your *ba*, (72 a) and cause him to go forth and to have power over his legs (b) that he may stride and copulate among men,⁴ (c) and you shall be there⁵ as Lord of the Universe. (d) The gods of the *Dat* fear you, (e) the gates beware of you. (f) You⁶ move along with those who move along, (g) (while) I remain on your mound like the Lord of Life.⁷ (h) I ally myself with the divine Isis,⁸ (73 a) I rejoice⁹ on account of him who has done you harm. (b) May he not come so that he sees your weariness which is hidden from him.¹⁰ (c) I shall go and come to the confines of heaven, (d) that I may ask the word from Geb, (e) that I may demand the Command¹¹ from the Lord of the Universe. (f) Then the gods shall fear you,¹² (the gods) who shall see that I send to you one of those who dwell in the Radiance.¹³ (74 a) I have made his form as my form, his gait as my gait, (b) that he may go and come¹⁴ to Busiris, being invested with my *ba*, (c) that he may tell you my affairs.¹⁵ (d) He shall inspire fear of you, (e) he shall create awe of you in the gods of the *Dat*, (f) and the gates¹⁶ shall beware of you.

[Speech of the messenger or mediator.]

(g) Indeed, I am one who dwells in the Radiance, (h) I am a [Spirit who came into being and was created out of the body of the god, (75 a) I am one of these gods or Spirits who dwell in the Radiance],¹⁷ (b) whom Atum created from his flesh,¹⁸ (c) who came into being from the root¹⁹ of his eye, (d) whom Atum created and whom he made spirits, (e) whose faces he created,²⁰ (f) in order that

¹ *Dt-k wdb prt m r-k r-i*, a difficult phrase. In *CT* 1, 34 b; 385 b it is said of a god that he does not turn himself back upon what he has said, and *BD* 173, 8–9 mentions a god who does not turn (change) what *Hw* has told him. Does Horus wish here that Osiris should do this, change his mind and release him from the duty to come to Busiris, which Horus for some reason cannot or will not do?

² This sounds like an implicit refusal of the demand in 68 f; 69 a. Here and in other passages of our text 'see' may have the not uncommon pregnant meaning 'see with respect or love' (in parallelism with verbs like *dw*, *šms*, *sn*); 'look after', e.g. Dévaud, *Ptahhotep*, 334: 'See her (your wife), then you will make her stay in your house.'

³ Very doubtful, cf. M22 C, 74 (unpubl.): *irr hprw*,  'who makes transformations and forms a *ba*'. Where the determinative is the ship, the meaning may be: 'send out your *ba*', see *Wb.* IV, 309, 7.


⁴ B6 C has a different reading (due to corruption of *nk* 'copulate'?): 'May your seed go for you in (or as) him among men.' For the notion cf. *CT* II, 67 ff.: 'I am the great *ba* of Osiris, by means of whom (or as whom) the gods have commanded him to copulate, who lives by striding (*ir*: so also the S. manuscripts as in our text) by day'; and *BD* 17 (section 7) 'he is the *ba* of Rē by means of whom (or as whom) he copulates.' (b) is missing in *BD*, a case of prudery? *It* occurs also *CT* 1, 86 b as a variant of *sdj*.

⁵ I.e. in the *Dat*: the word is missing in D1C.

⁶ B2 Bo reads 'I'. I do not grasp the meaning of this sentence.

⁷ *It* as written in B2 Bo; in D1C the determinative and in B6 C the whole word is lost. *BD* reads *it* 'standard'. 'Lord of Life' occurs (*CT* 1, 255 a) as a name of Horus.

⁸ Cf. *CT* 1, 155 c: 'he (the enemy) has allied himself with Seth.'

⁹ Doubtful; read with B6 C and D1C (where, however, the *s* of *sdj* is missing, but see *Wb.* v, 514, 11) *sdj-i hr niri nkn-k* (B6 C wrongly *nkn n(y) N. pn*). B2 Bo may be corrected to *sdj-y-s n(i) hr niri nkn-k* 'she rejoices me (?)', etc. *BD* reads thus, but with an unknown verb , etc.

¹⁰ See above, p. 92, n. 10.

¹¹ *Hw*; cf. perhaps 86 s. 'The word' in (d) may have a similar pregnant meaning.

¹² So only D1C: B6 C and B2 Bo read 'the gods of the *Dat* fear me'.

¹³ So D1C; B6 C and B2 Bo read 'one of these Spirits who dwell in the Radiance'. For *ihw* cf. Sethe's note on *Pyr.* 304 c: the notion ought to be studied properly. B6 C changes the meaning of the sentence thoroughly, reading 'that you send to me', etc.

¹⁴ B6 C reads 'come forth, go and come'.

¹⁵ B6 C reads 'that you may tell him'. D1C's reading is certainly the right one, see 77 a; 78 a; 85 p; 84 a.

¹⁶ B6 C adds 'of the *Dat*'.

¹⁷ The passage in square brackets is missing in D1C, an omission due to homoeoteleuton (B2 Bo has a still longer omission 74 a–75 a, also due to *ihw* in 73 f). The passage is necessary, for it contains the plural substantive to which *hprw* (75 c), *hrtw-sn* (75 e), etc., refer.

¹⁸ B2 Bo *m hr-f* 'his body', which *BD* interprets as *dsf*.

¹⁹ *Wb.* I, 250, 11. One of the references is to the monologue by the Creator in P. Bremner-Rhind, 29, 3–4, but the context is utterly obscure.

²⁰ So D1C; B2 Bo, 'whose faces he distinguished'; B6 C reads both *ts* and *tni*.

they might be with him,¹ while he was alone in Nu, (g) who announced² him when he came² forth from the *akhet*, (h) who inspired² fear of him in the gods and spirits, the Powers and Shapes.³ (76 a) I am one of these serpents (b) whom the Sole Lord made,⁴ (c) before Isis came into being that she might give birth⁵ to Horus. (d) My magical protection⁶ has been made strong, (e) my magical protection⁶ has been made young and vigorous. (f) I am distinguished above the (other) beings who dwell in the Radiance, (g) the spirits who came into being along with me. (h) I have made my appearance as a divine falcon, (i) Horus has invested me with his *ba* (77 a) in order that I might take his affairs⁷ to Osiris, to the *Dat*.

[Rwty makes objections.]

(b) *Rwty* who is in his cavern,⁸ the warder of the House of the *nemes*-crown, said to me: (c) How can you reach the confines of heaven? (d) (To be sure) you are equipped with the form of Horus, (e) but you do not possess the *nemes*-crown.⁹ (f) Do you speak on the confines of heaven?¹⁰

[The messenger answers.]

(78 a) I am indeed he who takes¹¹ the affairs of Horus to Osiris, to the *Dat*. (b) Horus has repeated to me what his father Osiris said to him (c) in the *srit*¹² on the day¹³ of burial.

[New objection by *Rwty*.]

(d) Repeat to me what Horus has said to you as the word of his father Osiris¹⁴ (e) in the *srit* on the day¹³ of burial. (f) (Then) I shall give you the *nemes*-crown, (g)—so said *Rwty* to me—(h) that you may go and come on the roads of heaven. (79 a) (Then) those who dwell in the *akhet*¹⁵ shall see¹⁶ you, (b) and the gods of the *Dat*¹⁷ shall fear you.¹⁸

[The envoy proves the truth of his assertion.]

(e) You may jubilate concerning him:¹⁹ he has been initiated in the word²⁰ of these gods, the Lords

¹ So B6 C and B2 Bo; D1C reads *hm*, which is either the adverb or a mistake.

² Or possibly 'announce', 'comes', 'inspire'.

³ B2 Bo: 'the powers who came forth from him'; B6 C: *ḥnw*, a corruption of *shmw*.

⁴ B6 C 'whom he created from his eye': B2 Bo 'whom the eye of the Sole Lord created'. Many aboriginal gods were conceived as serpents, see e.g. Sethe, *Amun u.d. acht Urgötter*, Index, s.v. 'Schlangen'.

⁵ All Coffin Texts *msi*:s: BD has *msit* 'who gave birth'.

⁶ So D1C; B6 C and B2 Bo simply 'I'.

⁷ *Hrt* being a word of very vague meaning, it is not easy to determine the exact value of this expression. It occurs also CT 1, 399c: 'it (my *ba*) has taken my affair to him from whom I came forth.'

⁸ This personage occurs also CT 1, 368b, etc., in connexion with the *nemes*-crown.

⁹ The translation follows the text of B6 C and B2 Bo: D1C reads 'May you give me the *nemes*-crown which belongs to you': the meaning must be 'you cannot do that, because you have not got it'.

¹⁰ Meaning 'and how then would it be possible for you to speak', etc.

¹¹ *Ink (i)r-i iti*; for the construction cf. CT 1, 171c, *ink ir-i tpy-sn t* 'I am indeed their surviving relation', Pyr. 1742d. *N. pw ir* (substitute for *ink ir-i*) *s' Itm* 'I am indeed the son of Atum'.

¹² Probably some locality.

¹³ So D1C: B6 C and B2 Bo have 'days'.






¹⁴ 'Osiris' is missing in D1C. In B6 C and BD the passage was spoiled by the omission, due to homoeoteleuton, of (d) and (e).

¹⁵ B6 C *imyw iht*; D1C (and BD) *imyw drw iht* with identical meaning.

¹⁶ See above, p. 93, n. 2.

¹⁷ D1C reads simply 'the gods'.

¹⁸ (c) and (d) occur only in B6 C and are apparently a misplaced phrase.

¹⁹ D1C ; B6 C and B2 Bo : if *i* and *hi* are the interjection, *trf* must be a name; this, however, is improbable, since in none of the texts is it followed by a determinative. Nor is it clear who this *trf* could be. But it is perhaps not fair to press this point in a text which offers so many puzzles. Therefore I propose with all due diffidence to take  and  as verbs: if this is right = must, of course, refer to Isis. That on the day of his burial Osiris might have spoken to her the following words about their son is, indeed, not an impossible idea.  = (D1C), if correct, would mean 'you may speak concerning him'.

²⁰ So D1C; the other texts seem to insert 'and he knows'; they are, however, less clear than D1C and probably corrupt.

of the Universe, who are at the side of the Sole Lord. (f) So said he who is high on his *dbi*, who dwells in holiness,¹ concerning me.²

[*Rwty is satisfied.*]

(g) Take out³ the *nemes-crown* for him. (h) So said *Rwty* concerning me.

[*The envoy, now in the possession of a nemes-crown, continues his journey.*]

(80 a) O Heret,⁴ clear my way for me. (b) I am high in the form of Horus, (c) and *Rwty*⁵ has taken out for me the *nemes-crown*.⁶ (d) He has given me my wings. (e) He has established⁷ my heart on his great standard.⁸ (f) I do not fall on account of⁹ *Šw*. (g) I am he who pacifies himself¹⁰ with his own beauty,¹⁰ the Lord of the two mighty uraei. (81 a) I am he who knows the roads of Nūt,¹¹ (b) the winds are my magical protection. (c) The raging bull shall not¹² drive me back. (d) I go to the place where dwells he who sleeps, being helpless,¹³ who is in the Field of Eternity, (e) who was conducted¹⁴ to the painful western darkness, (f) (even) Osiris.¹⁵ I come today from the House of *Rwty*, (g) I have come forth from it to the House of Isis,¹⁶ (h) to the secret mysteries,¹⁷ (i) I have been conducted to her¹⁸ hidden secrets, (j) for she caused me to see the birth of the great god. (k) Horus has invested me with his *ba*,¹⁹ (l) in order that²⁰ I might say what is there, (82 a) in order that I might say . . .²¹ which shall drive back the fearful attack. (b) I am the falcon who dwells in the Radiance, (c) who has power over his light and his fillet. (d) I go and come to the confines of heaven. . . .²² (e) There is none who thwarts me (f) . . . Horus to the confines of heaven. (g) Horus is upon²³ his seats and his thrones.

¹ 'He who dwells in holiness' is a suitable name for Osiris, who must be meant here. As to 'he who is high on (or on account of) his *dbi*'—this is probably the right reading, as *BD* shows—there are various words *dbi* which may be intended, see *Wb.* v, 560.

² 'Concerning me' is missing in *D1C*, probably erroneously.

³ Probably imperative; $\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{t}}$ in *D1C* is a case of dittography. Since none of the manuscripts shows a suffix, it is probably wrong to interpret $\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{t}}$ as $\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{i}}$ 'I take out', in spite of 80 c, 83 o. There is, however, practically no difference between 'he took out' and 'he commanded to take out'.

⁴ So *D1C*, writing the word as if it meant 'the contented one'. The other manuscripts are not clear.

⁵ *D1C* wrongly omits *Rwty*.

⁶ *D1C* adds 'of Horus'.

⁷ Reading *smn-nf lb-i* with *BD*; in *D1C* and *B6C* the words are lost in a lacuna. *B2Bo* has *smn ni* 'my heart was established'.

⁸ *B2Bo* adds 'with his great might'; this is the version followed by *BD*.

⁹ Or 'on *Šw*'; the meaning is obscure to me.

¹⁰ My translation assumes that the suffixes refer to the subject of the sentence. The sentence is obscure and admits of different interpretations.

¹¹ So *D1C*: *B6C* (and *BD*) have *Nw*.

¹² So *D1C* if $\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{t}}$ stand for *nn*: if not, translate 'has not driven'. *B6C* (and *BD*) have 'does not drive'. The uncertainty of the time-distinctions is a source of much trouble for the translator of this kind of texts, where the situation is not clear.

¹³ Very doubtful. Both *D1C* and *B6C* read *iwf*, where one expects the Old Perfective (so *BD*). Can 'being without a ship' here mean 'helpless'? Surely Osiris must be meant.

¹⁴ Reading *šm* with *D1C*: however, the rest of (e) is not clear in this manuscript.

¹⁵ It is tempting—as I did in my publication—to take 'Osiris' as vocative with what follows, but at this moment the messenger has not yet reached Osiris; he addresses Osiris only much later in 86 d. To join 'Osiris' as genitive with *imntyw*, 'west(ern) of Osiris' does not seem to make good sense. In any case the translation of (e) is extremely doubtful.

¹⁶ In *D1C* 'Isis' is certain; *BD*, 'the House of the divine Isis'; *B6C*, 'Osiris'. That 'Isis' is the right reading is shown by the suffixes in (i) and (j). *B6C* is consistent in omitting the suffix in (j).

¹⁷ *B6C* (and *BD*), 'I have seen the secret mysteries'.

¹⁸ The suffix (*D1C*) is missing in *BD*: (i) was skipped in *B6C*.

¹⁹ Emend; *šh-n sw* (for *wi*) (*Hr m*) *bi-f*; so *BD*. For the rest of the spell *B6C* is our only early manuscript.

²⁰ *B6C* $\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{t}}$, cf. the same spelling in 77 a. It seems impossible to take (l) and (82 a) as conditional clauses.

²¹ Reading and meaning are equally obscure.

²² After *pt* *B6C* reads perhaps 'Lord of the Universe'. This phrase and also (e), (f) are missing in *BD*.

²³ Insert *hr* with *BD*.

(h) I am he who is in his (Horus') form. (i) My arms¹ are those of a divine falcon. (j) I am one who has acquired his lord.² (k) Horus has invested me with his *ba*. (l) I come forth to Busiris, (m) that I may see Osiris. (n) I land at the House of the great 'Lander'.³ (o) I inspire the fear of him and I create the awe of him⁴ in the gods. (p) I belong to the great shrine, (83 a) (I) the holy one of *Tri-hmstt*,⁵ in front of whom one walks to and fro.⁶ (b) (Therefore) Nūt shall walk to and fro when she sees me. (c) The hostile gods have seen that she incites⁷ *Imy-hnt-irty* (d) against those who shall stretch forth their arms against me. (e) The Powerful One stands up against *Akeru*. (f) The holy roads are opened for me (g) when they see my form (h) and hear what I shall say.⁸ (i) Down upon your faces, O ye gods of the *Dat*, who are *hufw*⁹ of faces, outstretched of necks, (j) who make secret the face of *Hm-wrt*. (k) Clear the road of *Tri-hmstt*⁵ towards¹⁰ the awesome *ba*.¹¹ (l) Horus has commanded:

[The messenger quotes the command of Horus.]

(m) Lift up your faces and look at him.¹² (n) He has made his appearance as a divine falcon. (o) *Rwt* has taken out the *nemes*-crown for him, (84 a) He has come with the word of Horus to Osiris. (b) The Grey-haired Ones have. . .¹³ (c) He has united himself with the Powers. (d) Get out of the way, ye warders of your gates, for him in front of me;¹⁴ (e) clear the way for him. (f) Let him pass by, O ye who dwell in your caverns, warders of the House of Osiris.

[The messenger continues his own speech.]

(g) I say: (h) How mighty is Horus! (i) I cause them to know that the terror of him is great, and that his horn is sharp against Seth.¹⁵ (j) (I cause them) to know¹⁶ that Horus has taken *Hw*,¹⁷ (k) that he has acquired the might of Atum. (l) I have followed Horus, the Lord of All.

[The gods give the messenger permission to pass by.]









(m) Pass by in peace—so say the gods of the *Dat* to me. (n) The warders of their caverns, the warders of the House of Osiris. . .¹⁸

¹ The reading is doubtful. *BD* reads 'My face is (that of) a divine falcon, my strength is (that of) a divine falcon'.





² I.e. the position of his lord; cf. for this meaning of *cpr*, e.g. 84 k; Dévaud, *Ptahhotep*, 56: *CT* 1, 86 c (and parallel passages): Cairo stela 51733: *rh mnh cpr rhw f*, Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. 29, 40; *Siût*, pl. 6, 263; Louvre C 14, 7. There are, however, various possibilities; 'the equipped one of his lord?'; 'who equips his lord?'

³ Reading and translation of (n) rather uncertain; I have inserted a preposition. The great 'Lander' is, of course, a suitable name for Osiris; the text gives a masculine substantive (and not e.g. the *mnit wrt* of the *Pyr.* texts), which, moreover, is confirmed by the pronouns in (o).

⁴ B6 C is an erroneous copy from an archetype which wrote these sentences in a split column.

⁵ See also 83 k,  ; *BD*  . Is  a misplaced element of a possible orthography  ? Cf. 85 d, where  is missing.



⁶ *Wmwn* must have a more special meaning 'to do obeisance (?)' or the like.







⁷    , unknown to *Wb*; it occurs also elsewhere in the Coffin Texts, but in obscure contexts.

⁸ See above, p. 92, n. 14. ⁹ An unknown word; *BD* reads *hufw* 'repelling'. ¹⁰ Insert *(hr)* with *BD*


¹¹ Emend perhaps with *BD* 'the lord of the *ba*, great of awe', as in 85 n; 86 c.

¹² This translation assumes that *N. pn* is here a substitute for *f*, not for *i*. The other possibility is to interpret (l) as 'Horus has commanded it' and to continue in the 1st person: 'look at me', etc. But see n. 14 below.

¹³ *Šd*; I do not understand this sentence. *BD* reads   *skmyto*.

¹⁴ B6 C  , *BD*    : B6 C preserves many traces of an earlier stage, when the suffix of the 1st person was not written. It is easier, perhaps, to suggest that the scribe overlooked an isolated 1st person in a passage (83 m-84 f) where he changed *f* into *N. pn*, than that in changing everywhere 1st persons into *N. pn* he forgot only this case. If so, this state of affairs would favour my view of this passage. At any rate, it is clear that the authority of Horus is the chief instrument on which the envoy relies for his admission. Hence the following eulogy and the statement of 84 l.

¹⁵ Or: 'sharper than that of Seth'. *BD* reads 'horns'.

¹⁶ *BD*  *rh·sn*.

¹⁷ See 86 s.

¹⁸ *tni·sn*; *BD* has *tni·sn r·sn*.

[The messenger addresses the gods.]

(o) See, I come¹ to you being a spirit and equipped.² (85 a) The warders of the gates walk for me, (b) the Powers clear the roads for me. (c) I have fetched the Grey Ones whom Nenet has defied.³ (d) The great ones who dwell in the *akhet* fear me, the warders of *hmstt* in the sky, (e) who guard the roads. (f) I establish the gates for the Lord of All (g) I have cleared the roads towards him. (h) I have done what was commanded. (i) Horus has invested me with his *ba*. (j) Let my . . . ⁴ be given. (k) I desire triumph over my enemies.⁵ (l) May the mysteries be uncovered for me, (m) may the secret caverns be opened to me, (n) may I enter into the Lord of the *ba*, great of awe, (o) may I come forth to Busiris and go all over his house, (p) may I tell him the affairs of his son, whom he loves, (q) while the heart of Seth is broken.⁶ (86 a) May I see the Lord of weariness, who is limitless, (b) that he may know how Horus regulated the affairs of the gods without him.⁷

[The messenger attains his aim and addresses Osiris.]

(c) O⁸ Lord of the *ba*, great of awe, (d) see, I have come, (e) the *Dat* has been opened for me: (f) The roads in heaven and earth have been opened for me, (g) there was none who thwarted me. (h)⁹ Be high upon your seat, O Osiris: (i) may your breast live and may your buttocks be vigorous.¹⁰ (j) Let your heart jubilate, (k) for you triumph over¹¹ Seth. (l) Your son Horus has been placed upon your throne. (m) Myriads have been assigned to him. (n) The gods have brought him oblations. (o) The heart of Geb, who is older than the great ones, rejoices. (p) The sky is strong and Nūt jubilates (q) when she sees what Atum has done, (r) whilst he sat among the two Enneads, (s) and gave *Htw*¹² who is upon his mouth to Horus, the son of Isis. (t) He has become ruler over Egypt. (u) The gods work for him. (v) He has nurtured myriads, (w) and he has brought up myriads by means of the Sole Eye, the Mistress of the Enneads, the Mistress of the Universe.

¹ Insert <li-kwt> with BD.

² Cf. the expression *ih rpr*, *Pyr.* 1771; *Urk.* I, 79, 122, 143, etc.

³ I do not understand (c).

⁴ *Šstw*?

⁵ Or: 'he (Horus) desires triumph over his enemies.' B6C has here not *N. pn* but *.f*.

⁶ *Tsp*; in connexion with *ib* it occurs also BD 9 (a spell consisting mainly of phrases derived from our spell) and S1C 273 (in parallelism with *htw-ib*). It is doubtless the word which *Wb* gives *sub* 1, 129, 6; 132, 13.

⁷ Cf. *Sinuhe* B44; BD reads 'without him, his father Osiris', with an apposition as in the *Sinuhe* passage. If we here take (c) as an apposition, the lack of a vocative in the following passage is awkward.

⁸ BD inserts *𓂏𓂐*.

⁹ Of the rest of the spell BD gives an enlarged version with many digressions.

¹⁰ A similar passage in BD, spell 69 (153, 8).

¹¹ *Nhm*, see, for example, CT I, 154g: 161 k; 163 a; 169 e; 309 a.

¹² See 84 j.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CEREMONY *ḥwt bḥsw* *Bḥsw* IN THE TEMPLE OF HORUS AT EDFU^a

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

SHORTLY after we had decided to write this article on the ceremony *ḥwt bḥsw* as depicted and explained in the Edfu temple reliefs, Blackman was informed by Dr. Seele of the Oriental Institute of Chicago that Dr. R. A. Parker, their Field Director at Luxor, had taken a photograph of a very important representation of the ceremony in question, occurring on the great Portal of Ptolemy Euergetes I which stands before the Temple of Khons at Karnak. Through Dr. Seele's and Dr. Parker's kind offices we not only received a copy of the photograph but permission to make full use of it and, if we wished, reproduce it. Needless to say, we have taken full advantage of this kind offer, for not only does the photograph admirably illustrate the ceremony with which we are concerned—the figures in the relief and their accessories are typical—but the texts are most illuminating and their incorporation in our article has greatly added to its value. We feel greatly indebted both to the Director of the Oriental Institute and to Dr. Seele and Dr. Parker for the valuable service they have rendered us, and we tender them our sincere thanks.

Note that Chassinat's *Le Temple d'Edfou*, *Le Temple de Dendara*, and *Mammisi d'Edfou*, are in this article referred to respectively as *E.*, *D.*, and *M.*

To make reference to them easy the texts with which we are concerned (see pp. 99–104) are numbered 1, 2, 3, etc., and to these numerals capital letters are attached to denote the position in the relief of each section of the explanatory text. Thus A. denotes the title and introductory formula; B., the names of the four calves; C., the cartouches and epithets of the King; D., the vertical line of text behind the King (which contains usually a further utterance by him and occasionally further titles and epithets); E. 1, name and titles of the god; E. 2, 3, speech or speeches of the god; F. 1, name and titles of the goddess; F. 2, speech of the goddess; G., vertical line of text behind the divine figures.

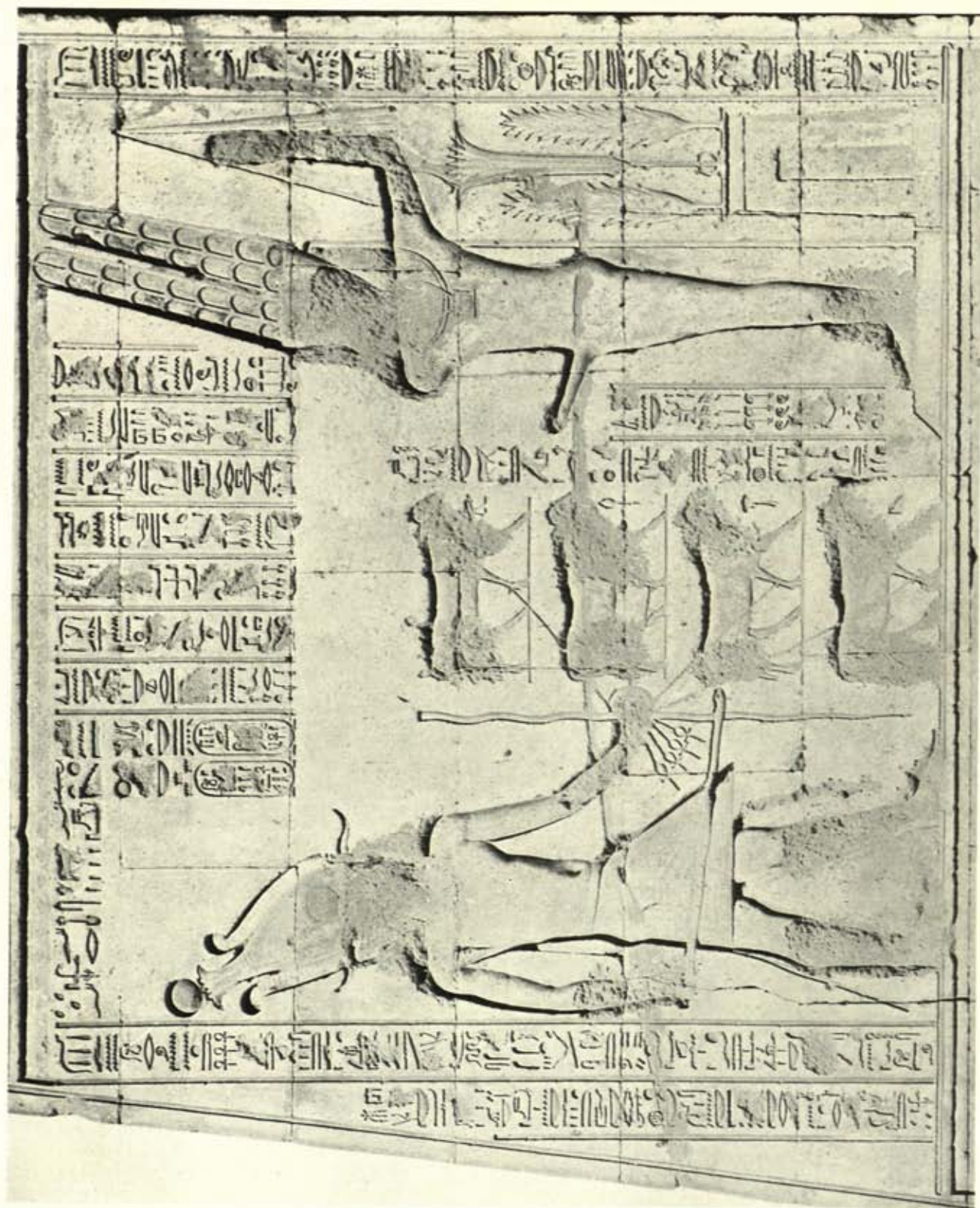
TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

Category I^b

TEXT I = *E.* III, 168, 9–169, 11; line drawing *E.* IX, pl. 64. Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II before Horus the Behdetite and Hathōr.

^a It having proved impossible to condense further our Commentary and Conclusions, we have been compelled regretfully to divide our paper. The Commentary, to which the small superior numerals refer, and our Conclusions will be printed in the next number of this *Journal*. Pending the appearance of that commentary it may be helpful to point out that in our opinion the texts of Category I give the earlier version of a pastoral-agricultural rite that originated in predynastic times; that Category II gives the later Osirianized version of the rite, and that the texts of Category III show a confusion of ideas or a complete misunderstanding of the significance of the ceremony.

^b See Conclusions in *JEA* 36.



THE CEREMONY OF DRIVING THE CALVES

Text 3 (Karnak, Portal of Euergetes I)

Text 4 (E.I, 101, 18-102, 12)

Notes. a-b Title misplaced in printed text; see E 18, pl. 88. c-d Omitted from printed text; see E 18, pl. 88.

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Text 5 (E. II, 86, 2-11)

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Text 6 (E. IV, 241, 16-242, 11)

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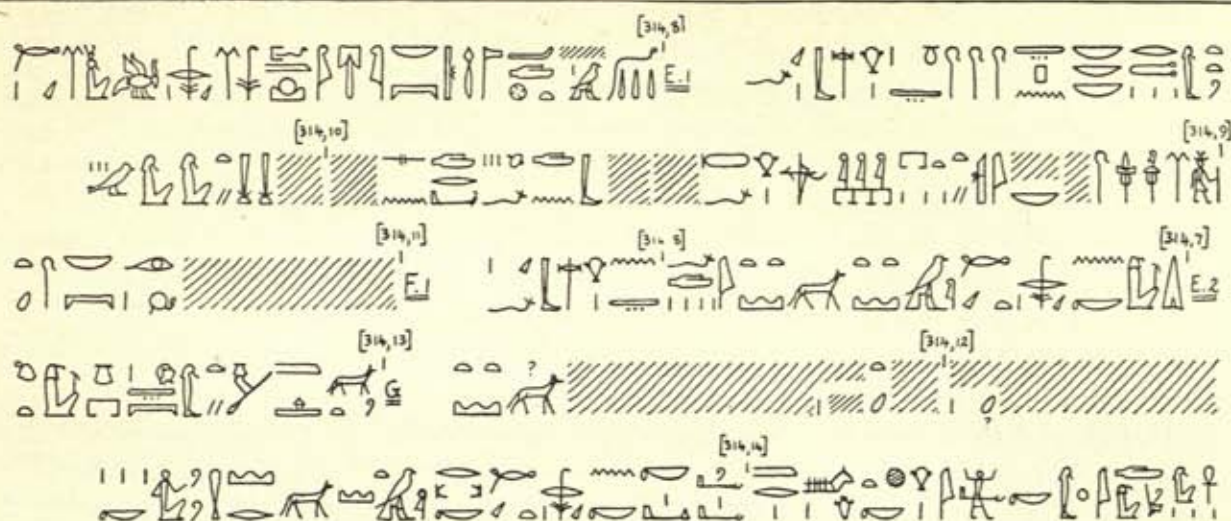
Notes. a-b Omitted from the printed text; see E. IV, pl. 241, 242.

^[242,8]
 [Ptolemy VII]
^[242,12] ^[242,11]
^[242,10] ^[242,13] ^[242,11]
^[242,14]

Text 7 (E.VI, 286,4-287,6)

^[286,4] ^[286,5] ^[286,6]
^[286,9] ^[286,8] ^[286,7]
^[286,12] ^[286,11] ^[286,10]
^[286,13] ^[286,12] ^[286,11]
^[286,10] ^[286,9] ^[286,8]
^[287,1] ^[287,2] ^[287,3] ^[287,4]
^[287,5] ^[287,6] ^[287,7] ^[287,8]

Notes. a-b Omitted from published text; see E IX, pl. xxxii b.



A. [168, 9] *Driving the calves. For recitation: [168, 10] I have reached thy threshing-floor,¹ thou likeness^{1 bis} of Rē. I direct² the calves behind [168, 11] thy corn,³ rope(s)⁴ being attached to their feet. Their names are in the four ḥt-sanctuaries.⁵ [168, 12] I have hacked at the pḥdty-snakes,⁶ the uraei worth (m-šw) [168, 13] thousands (?) of gold. The ḥt-snakes, I have severed their head(s) and cut off⁷ [168, 14] their tail(s), making (unthreshed) corn⁸ into grain (ty).*

B. [168, 16] *The Speckled; the Red; the Black; the White.*

C. [168, 17] *Ptolemy VII, [168, 18] the beneficent god, Horus with careful mind,⁹ guarding his small cattle,¹⁰ watching over¹¹ his calves when treading the threshing-floor.*

D. [168, 18] *Long live the good god, who holds fast to the rope¹² [169, 1] and brandishes¹³ the stick behind the calves; lord of their mother-cow(s) in the House of the Sovereign of the Wšb-cattle,¹⁴ a herdsman with herds in plenty, who threshes¹⁵ the corn [169, 2] countless times; lord of diadems (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-beloved-of-Ptah.)*

E, 1. [169, 4] *For recitation by Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, lord of . . . ,¹⁶ making green the leaves, lord of the meadow-land, who makes the herbage grow; who emits the air [169, 5] which is the fiery breath of his mouth; who made the cities and instituted the nomes, who made the (town-)mounds and created the villages,¹⁷ the temples of the gods being inscribed with his name [169, 6]; his wings span¹⁸ the Two Plants.¹⁹*

E, 2 [169, 3] *I give thee the verdure (lit. lapislazuli)²⁰ of the meadow, the runlets²¹ filling the²²*

E, 3 [169, 6] *I nurture thy youths, I feed thy calves, [169, 7] thy herds, their number is not known.*

F, 1. [169, 8] *For recitation by Hathor the great, Our Lady of Denderah, Eye of Rē, who sojourns in Behdet, mistress of heaven, queen of all gods, [169, 9] Gold of the gods in Wetjset-Hor, August Lady, Wosret in To-rēret.*

F, 2. [169, 9] *I make manifest thy loveliness among the gods, (and put) the awe of thee in the mind(s) of the common folk.*

G. [169, 10] *King of the south, sovereign and ruler of the north, master of the west, overlord of the east, Lower-Egyptian King in the (town-) mounds in the midst (of the Delta),¹⁷ lord of grain, [169, 11] who created corn; Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky.*

TEXT 2 = E, v, 86, 16-87, 7; no line drawing or photo. published. Ptolemy VIII or IX (cartouches left blank) before Horus the Behdetite.

A. [86, 16] *Driving the calves. For recitation: [86, 17] These calves which I usher in before thee, lord of gods, pre-eminent in the Great Seat!*

B. [86, 18] *The Speckled: the Red: the Black: the White.*

C. [87, 1] Blank cartouches.

D. [87, 1] *I have come unto thee, Falcon, [87, 2] overlord of the gods, Lower-Egyptian King in Seat of Rē. I bring²³ thee the calves correctly coloured. I slay the hnp(t)-snake²⁴ and cut off its head. Thou art the god [87, 3] who is greater than (other) gods, who avenged his father and his mother.*

E. [87, 4] *For recitation by Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, Falcon of Gold who is upon his throne, Happy-Dweller in Happy-to-dwell-in,²⁵ [87, 5] sovereign of all gods, Upper-Egyptian King in the south, Lower-Egyptian King in the north, under whose authority are the east and west.*

G. [87, 5] *A friendly welcome, [87, 6] O my heir,²⁶ my successor²⁷ among the living! I accept thy work, which thy Majesty doeth for my person, yea I rejoice in thy service.²⁸ I give thee Wšb-cattle at [87, 7] the opening of the flooded basin²⁹ of thy land, and to thresh¹⁵ the corn on thy threshing-floor.³⁰*

TEXT 3 = Karnak relief.^a For photo. see accompanying Pl. VII and p. 100. Ptolemy III, Euergetes I, before Min-Amenrē-Kamephis.

A. *I drive for thee the calves, namely, the Black and the Red, the White together with the Speckled. I have threshed³¹ countless times for thy ka, making thy (?) granary overflow³² with grain.*

B. *The Red: the White: the Speckled: the Black.*

C. *Ptolemy III, the living embodiment of Him-who-is-upon-his-Stairway,³³ who drives the calves to make goodly his Upper-Egyptian barley.*

D. *I have taken for myself the rope(s)³⁴ complete with the life-symbols, I grip them in my left hand. I have slain the Binder-snake (dm3),³⁵ the destroyer (?) of the corn-crop, cutting it in two. I have grasped its head with my right hand, I hold fast³⁶ its tail along with the rope(s).³⁷ (2) I bring²³ to thee the calves of every colour. I drive them for thee at thy coming forth to thy threshing-floor. I make abundant for thee thy harvest³⁸ at [its] (right) season annually³⁹ in order to flood thy hut-shrine⁴⁰ with Upper-Egyptian barley.*

E, 1. *For recitation by Min-Amenrē-Kamephis, who is upon his Great Seat, (2) Him-with-the-lofty-Plumes, Him-with-the-uplifted-Arm, of whose beauteous member men boast; (3) beneficent heir who came forth from Isis, eldest son of Osiris. Amūn is he, being the*

^a I.e. a relief on the great Portal of Euergetes I in front of the temple of Khons at Karnak, the precise location being Passage, West Wall, left half, 3rd register from top; see Nelson, *Key Plans showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations*, pl. 17, fig. 3, No. 950.

ruler when appearing in glory in order to come forth in procession, (5) the gods acclaiming him, the goddesses rattling sistra before his face⁴¹ in awe of whom is the entire Ennead.

E, 2. *I give thee all fields (laden) with their goodly harvest year by year.*

E, 3. *I give thee millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands, hundreds of the fruits of the field.*⁴²

G. *For recitation: I accept for myself thy provision. I have seen thy Upper-Egyptian barley, likewise [thy Lower-Egyptian barley (?)], beholding thy beauteous grain. I produce . . . for thee, flooding⁴³ for thee thy threshing-floor, so that thou reapest thy harvest in gladness. I give (thee)⁴⁴ piercing the storm-clouds, thy field doubling its goodly produce.*

Category II

TEXT 4 = E. I, 101, 18–102, 12; line drawing, E. IX, pl. 20. Ptolemy IV, Philopator, before Osiris and Isis.

A. [102, 2] *Driving the calves^a [101, 18] I drive for thee the calves, namely, the Black, the White, the Green⁴⁵ and the Pale Blue, so that thy Hallowed Ground is free from all that is evil,⁴⁶ thy place of burial hidden from all foes.*

B. *The Speckled; the Red; the Black; the White.*^b

C. [102, 3] *Ptolemy IV, of great dignity like Min upon his stairway,³³ who trod⁴⁷ the grave [102, 4] of him who begat him.*

D. [102, 4] *For recitation^{47 bis}: Take for thyself the calves of every colour which I drive to hide thy upland tomb. (I am)⁴⁸ Horus [102, 5] thy son, one serviceable to his father, who turns away enemies from the sepulchre.⁴⁹*

E, 1. [102, 7] *For recitation by Osiris Khentamenthes, great god, who sojourns in Behdet, great Pillar in his crypt; king in the sky, ruler of the Two Outpourings, great sovereign in the Hallowed Land.*

E, 2. [102, 6] *I give thee the dignity of Min upon his stairway,³³ his strength (displayed) in the Ennead.*

F, 1. [102, 9] *For recitation by Isis in Behdet, queen and mistress [102, 10] of the Two Lands; god's wife and protectress of her brother,⁵⁰ the Wailing Woman, who was the first to wail for her spouse, who wearied not in (uttering) beneficent spells.*

F, 2. [102, 9] *I give thee the strength of my son Horus, so that thou occupyest his throne in triumph.*

F, 3 [102, 10] *I give [102, 11] thee the valour of my son Horus, thy dignity being o'er-mastering like his; great thy strength, mighty thy power, and thy fearsomeness⁵¹ like that of Him-with-the-outstretched-Arm.*

TEXT 5 = E. II, 86, 2–11; line drawing, E. IX, pl. 40 g. Ptolemy IV, Philopator, before Horus the Behdetite.

A. [86, 2] *Driving the calves, four times, to turn away the steps of the Perverse One [86, 3] from the graveyard (hrt-ntr).*

^a These words misplaced in Rochemonteix's printed text. The line drawing, E. IX, pl. 20, shows, however, that they form a separate phrase in the normal position of the title, above the calves. In our translation and hand copy we have, therefore, restored them to their proper position.

^b These words omitted from Rochemonteix's printed text, but visible in E. IX, pl. 20.

B. *The Speckled; the Red; the Black; the White.*^a

C. [86, 5] *Ptolemy IV, the likeness of Horus, who drove [86, 6] the calves in Heliopolis. [He] is Min*⁵² *in his stairway-shrine.*

D. [86, 6] *As long as the good god Ptolemy IV exists, he shall be*^b *King of the Two Lands, a joyous ruler. He is [86, 7] like Horus after burying his father, who drove the calves to tread his grave.*⁴⁷

E, 1. [86, 8] *For recitation by Horus the Behdetite, great god [86, 9] lord of the sky, beneficent heir of Onnophris the Justified, who protects his father and avenges his mother.*

E, 2. [86, 8] *I give thee the (royal) offices of my son Horus, the successor of his father Osiris.*⁵³

G. [86, 9] *The Falcon [86, 10] of Gold upon his throne is King of the Two Lands upon the seat of his father. He is the Most-Victorious-One. After occupying his throne he slays*

TEXT 6 = E. IV, 241, 16-242, 14; line drawing, E. x, pl. 92. Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II, before Amenrē-Kamephis.

A. [241, 16] *Driving the calve(s).*⁵⁴ *For recitation: [241, 17] Rmnty*⁵⁵ *am I, Sovereign of the Wsb-cattle,*⁵⁶ *[241, 18] my choice ones which thou desirest, which I have brought before thee,—the Black for work to do [242, 1] thy will, the White to delight thee, the Speckled likewise [242, 2] who increases thy power, the Red driving away [242, 3] thine enemies.*⁵⁷

B. [242, 4] *The White: the Black: the Red: the Speckled.*

C. [242, 5] *Ptolemy VII, the beneficent god, trusty envoy of the Lord of Kine,*⁵⁸ *son of the Nile-god, born of the Tilth-goddess.*⁵⁹

D. [242, 6] *Ptolemy VII is [242, 7] upon his throne as Lower-Egyptian King in Mdt-st,*⁶⁰ *driving the calve(s), protecting B3-b3w,*⁶¹ *treading the grave [242, 8] of him who begat him. He is like Atum with his horns upon him,*⁶² *the heir is he of*⁶³ *the Overseer of the Granary.*

E, 1. [242, 11] *For recitation by Amenrē-Kamephis, great god, who sojourns*^c *in Behdet, Him-with-the-uplifted-Arm, [242, 12] of whose beauteous member men boast, Lusty Bull, Bull who is master of (all) bulls, at sight of whose face women rejoice.*

E, 2. [242, 10] *I give thee the cultivated land filled with food, thy threshing-floors heavy [244, 11] with grain.*

G. [242, 13] *Kamephis is the Bull-with-uplifted-Arm in the place of Harakhti's glorious appearance, impregnating the maidens, copulating with the damsels, causing consternation*⁵¹ *with his erect member. [242, 14] He is the protector of his sire, at seeing whose face the common folk rejoice.*

TEXT 7 = E. VI, 286, 4-287, 6; no drawing or photo. published. King (probably Ptolemy VIII, Soter II^d) before Horus the Behdetite and Isis.

A. [286, 4] *Driving the calve(s), four times. For recitation: I bring thee [286, 5] the calves*⁵⁴ *in which thou delightest, the Ennead lives when it sees thee [286, 6] while they (the*

^a These words omitted from Rochemonteix's printed text, but visible in E. ix, pl. 40 g.

^b For this rare use of *m* with future meaning see *JEA* 33, 16, n. (1); Grdseloff, *Ann. Serv.* 42, 50, n. (d).

^c Emending ♂ for ♂.

^d See Chassinat's remarks, E. vi, p. iv.

calves) are in front of thee. Thou rejoicest over them when they are in [286, 7] thy byre. Thou art Min who drove the calve(s) in Heliopolis, [286, 8] and reassembled the divine body⁶⁴ of his father,—making happy the heart(s) of gods and goddesses when thou didst put [286, 9] thy creator together again⁶⁵ and didst tread⁶⁷ his grave.

B. [286, 10] *The Black: the White: the Red: the Speckled.*

C. [286, 11] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Blank), son of Rē, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), [286, 12] who drives the calve(s) in Heliopolis (like)⁶⁶ Min upon his stairway.*

D. [286, 12] *The son of Rē, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah) is upon [286, 13] his canopied throne in Mesen, as beneficent ruler of the Two Lands, driving⁶⁷ the calves,⁵⁴ treading the grave of his father, trampling down those hostile to his sire. He is like Horus who buried his father [286, 14] in Heliopolis,⁶⁸ who hid the body of His-Nose-liveth (Fnd·f·nh).^a*

E, 1. [286, 16] *For recitation by Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, who is upon his Great Seat; Falcon of Gold, son of Osiris, beneficent heir who came forth from Isis, [286, 17] eldest son of Onnophris the Justified; lord of strength, who overthrows Seth and slays the confederates of [287, 1] the Perverse One; who battles for his father and safeguards his creator; who expels Be from the Fortress;⁶⁹ the Lion [287, 2] pre-eminent in Khentiabet, who makes Seth withdraw into the deserts.⁷⁰*

E, 2. [286, 15] *I give thee the south and the north yielding thee praise, the west and the east [286, 16] acclaiming Thy Majesty.*

F. [287, 3] *For recitation by Isis the Great, the God's Mother, pre-eminent in the Great Seat, beneficent queen, who protects the Two Lands, Mistress of the Universe is she [287, 4] in Khentiabet, who suppresses the robber....*

G. [287, 5] *The son of Isis is overlord of his Throne-city, ruling the Two Lands upon the throne of his father, piercing Nēhes, driving⁶⁷ the calves, hiding [287, 6] the crypt of his creator. He is the lord of victory, occupying his father's throne and joining together the Two Lands united in the Double Diadem.*

TEXT 8 = E, VII, 155, 12–156, 12; photo. E. XIV, pl. 633. Ptolemy VIII, Soter II, before Horus the Behdetite and Hathor.

A. [155, 12] *Driving the calve(s). For recitation: Be glad [155, 13] of heart, ye gods of the sky, rejoice, ye who are on the earth! Horus son of Isis has put [155, 14] his father together again,⁶⁵ and has trodden his tomb in⁷¹ Behdet.*

B. [156, 1] *The Speckled: the Red: the Black: the White.*

C. [156, 2] *Cartouches of Ptolemy VIII only.*

D. [156, 3] *[I have come] unto thee, thou Falcon of great strength, the hero who pierces the Unsuccessful One,⁷² that I may drive for thee the calve(s) in order to gladden thy heart when (?) [156, 4] concealing for thee the vault (d3t) of thy father. Thou art a god more renowned than (any other) gods, with [whose] name the temples are inscribed.*

E, 1. [156, 7] *For recitation by Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky; beneficent heir of Onnophris the Justified, protector of his father, who exacts [156, 8] vengeance⁷³ for his mother, who puts an end to mourning in this land.*

^a = Osiris.

E, 2. [156, 6] *I give thee great rejoicing (?) in triumph upon my throne in the House-of-Rejoicing.*⁷⁴

F. [156, 9] *For recitation by Hathor, Our Lady of Denderah, Eye of Rē, who sojourns in Behdet, mistress of the sky, queen of all gods [156, 10] great Female Hawk in House-of-the-Falcon, God's Mother of the Falcon of Gold.*

G. [156, 11] *A friendly welcome, Thou-who-didst-in-due-time-perform-the-Funeral-Rite,*⁷⁵ *my successor upon earth. [I] accept thy service rendered to me,*⁷⁶ *holy, secret. [156, 12] I rejoice in thy ceremony rightly performed.*⁷⁷ *I grant thee abundant byres stocked with cow(s),*⁷⁸ *all their calves being set to work for thee.*

TEXT 9 = M., 145, 17-146, 7; line drawing, M., pl. 39, 3. Ptolemy VIII, Soter II, before Amūn-the-Succourer and Mut(?).

A. [145, 17] *[Driving] the calves. For recitation: I am Rmnty,*⁵⁵ *Sovereign of the Wšb-cattle,*¹⁴ *the choice ones which thou desirest [145, 18] and which I have brought before thee.*

[B. [146, 1] *The Speckled: the Red: the Black: the White.*

C. Lost.

D. [146, 2] *Long live the good god, successor of the Lord of Kine,*¹⁴ *son of the Nile-god,*⁷⁹ *[146, 3] born of the Tilth-goddess, who protects B3-b3w⁶¹ and treads the grave of him who begat him, lord of diadems, son of Rē, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah)*

E, 1. Lost.

E, 2. [146, 4] *I give thee the field abundant in its output,*⁸⁰ *thy threshing-floor*⁸¹ *brimming over with corn-heaps.*

F, 1. Lost.

F, 2. [146, 7] *Thy son is he, thou didst create him, (thy) embodiment*⁸² *among the living.*

G, 1. [146, 5] *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Protector who protects him who made him,*⁸³ *at seeing whose face men rejoice; Falcon, lord of Wetjset, who frequents Thebes, Amūn-the-Succourer.*⁸⁴

Category III

TEXT 10 = E. I, 78, 10-17; line drawing, E. IX, pl. 17; photo., E. XI, pl. 244. Ptolemy IV, Philopator, before Horus-who-illuminates-Behdet.

A. [78, 10] *Driving the calve(s). For recitation: The vault of thy body is hidden from [78, 11] thy foe; men know not the way to it.*

B. *The Speckled: the Red: the Black: the White.*^a

C. [78, 12]. Ptolemy IV, a form⁸⁵ like *Him-who-is-upon-his-Stairway*³³ (= Min); at seeing his shape the gods rejoice.

D. [78, 13] *For recitation: Take for thyself the calves*⁵⁴ *of every colour. I drive them to hide thy burial-place, thy vault being sacrosanct, none knowing its portals, it being dark [78, 14] and remote*⁸⁶ *from the disaffected.*

E, 1. [76, 15] *For recitation by Horus-who-illuminates-Behdet, [78, 16] but keeps 'Ihks*⁸⁷ *hidden, Dwn-ḥnw, who shines as gold; who spends the day in the sky, who sleeps in Behdet*⁸⁹ *alive for ever, and shows himself in [78, 17] the east.*

^a B. omitted by Rochemonteix, but to be read in E. XI, pl. 244.

E, 2. [78, 15] *I give thee the four ends of the sky, the breadth of the earth, every place that the Two Luminaries⁹⁰ behold.*

E, 2. [78, 17] *For recitation: I give thee the south in adoration, the north in obeisance, the west and east with bowed head, and the whole circuit of the earth upon its foundation; they forsake thee not.*

TEXT 11 = E. I, 404, 2-11; line drawing, E. IX, pl. 32 b. Ptolemy IV, Philopator, before Min-Kamephis.

A. [404, 2] *Driving the calves⁵⁴ for his father that he may make 'given life'.*

B. *The Speckled;*^a

C. [404, 3] *Cartouches of Ptolemy IV.*

D. [404, 3] *For recitation: Thou⁹¹ art Horus who drove [404, 4] the calves in Heliopolis, Thy Majesty having appeared in glory upon thy stairway. Stand up, Horus, thy inheritance is my inheritance; thou art the lord, the sole heir. [404, 5]. Rejoice thou, O Horus, seize for thee thine eye and lift it up for thee . . [404, 7] . . . upon earth; thou hast taken the Wrrt-crown.*

E, 1. [404, 8] *For recitation by Min-Kamephis, [404, 9] who is upon his stairway, great god, who sojourns in Behdet; the Man of the East who describes the marvels of Pwāne, who seeks his eye in God's Land; [404, 10] victorious bull of great strength, who makes an end of his enemies.⁹²*

E, 2. [404, 8] *I give thee the canopy⁹³ (i.e. the clouds) of the sky, the four ends of the earth, and every place that the Horizon-god surveys.*

G. [404, 10] *I take the head-cloth⁹⁴ and array my hair, I traverse all the hill-countries. I give [404, 11] thee the southern lands as subjects*

TEXT 12 = E. VII, 313, 16-314, 14; no line drawing or photo. published. Ptolemy IX, Alexander I, before Horus the Behdetite and Hathōr.

A. [313, 16] *A ruler am I, Sovereign of the Wsb-cattle,¹⁴ my chosen ones which thou desirest and which I [have brought] before [thee].*

B. [314, 1] *The Speckled: the Red: the Black: the [White].*

C. [314, 3] *Ptolemy IV, the god who loves his mother.*

D. [314, 4] *I have come unto thee, O Behdetite, Thou with the Dappled Plumage, and (thy) Ka, the Gold-goddess, Our Lady of Denderah, bringing [314, 5] you as bond servants the four ends of the entire earth unto the sun's utmost bounds. Ye are the masters of this land, the rulers of the world upon its foundation.*

E, 1. [314, 8] *For recitation [by] Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, Him with the Dappled Plumage, who comes forth from the horizon, Upper-Egyptian King in the south, Lower-Egyptian King in the north, [314, 9] sovereign in the west and east, a ruler, lord of Egypt ('Isty),⁹⁵ with whose name the temples are inscribed⁹⁶*

E, 2. [314, 7] *I give thee the south and the north, the west and the east, the four ends [314, 8] of the earth upon its foundation.*

^a The names of the four calves are not given in Rochemonteix's text, but ⸙ is to be seen in E. IX, pl. 32 b, the other names being lost.

F. Destroyed apart from a few isolated words, including [314, 11]...*Eye of Rēr, mistress of heaven, queen....*

H. [314, 13] *A friendly welcome, (my) image upon earth, my successor among the living. I accept thy ceremony, I rejoice over thy ritual act, my heart delights in [314, 14] thy handiwork. I give thee the south and north for thy two portions, the west and east for thy bond servants.*

UNE REPRÉSENTATION RARE SUR L'UNE DES CHAPELLES DE TOUTÂNKHAMON

Par ALEXANDRE PIANKOFF

PAR l'étude de ces quelques scènes que nous présentons dans cet article nous avons voulu, tout en offrant ce modeste hommage à Sir Alan Gardiner, le remercier pour nous avoir gracieusement laissé publier les représentations et les textes des quatre 'chapelles' de Toutânkhamon. Anticipant en quelque sorte sur la publication *princeps*, nous espérons attirer l'attention des égyptologues sur des textes peu connus, indispensables néanmoins pour la compréhension de la théologie égyptienne.

La figure momiforme dont la tête et les jambes sont encadrées de serpents qui se mordent la queue, est représentée sur la paroi droite extérieure de la deuxième 'chapelle' de Toutânkhamon; la photographie de cette figure a paru pour la première fois dans le journal *The Illustrated London News*, Jan. 7, 1933 (fig. 1).

Cette représentation est unique dans l'iconographie égyptienne, pourtant, comme nous allons le voir plus loin, des figures analogues se rencontrent dans les tombes royales et tout particulièrement dans les tombes de Ramsès VI et Ramsès IX.

La figure sur la 'chapelle' de Toutânkhamon a les traits du pharaon défunt. Dans le cercle qui entoure la tête et qui est formée par un serpent se trouvent deux inscriptions identiques formées de trois signes: *imn wnw*.¹

Au-dessus de la tête du personnage, près de la tête du serpent, une courte inscription *mhm* (pl. VIII, I) indique que ce serpent est le même que celui qui dans le livre de l'Amdouat et le Livre des Portes protège le naos du dieu soleil en l'entourant de ses replis.

Plus bas sur le corps même de la figure est tracé un cercle qui contient un oiseau criocéphale tourné vers la gauche, ayant des bras humains levés en adoration. Une corde sort du disque² et se prolonge vers la gauche au-dessus de sept personnages qui s'avancent les bras levés vers le disque tracé sur le corps de la figure centrale dont les pieds sont placés dans un cercle formé par un serpent qui se mord la queue. Dans le cercle à droite et à gauche deux inscriptions identiques de quatre signes (voir la repré-



FIG. 1.

¹ Le premier signe est pour *imn*, les deux autres font allusion au verbe *wn*, Wb. I, 313 (10), *wnwn*. Ce dernier mot déterminé aussi par la mèche de cheveux Wb. I, 318 (1). Le déterminatif est dû probablement à un jeu de mots avec *wn*, Wb. I, 314 (15) — de là: 'Celui qui cache les fuyantes = les heures.'

² Cf. Jung, *Psychology of the Unconscious*, p. 59.

sensation). Cette figure momiforme occupe le centre de la paroi de la 'chapelle' et la partage en deux parties égales. A droite, face à la figure momiforme, se trouvent trois registres surmontés d'une inscription, qui se lit :

'Le dieu bon, maître des deux terres, Nb-hprw-r', fils du soleil issu de son corps, aimé par lui, maître des diadèmes Tout-Ankh-Amon, aimé de la grande ennéade qui se trouve dans la Douat. Ce qu'il a fait comme son monument pour son père Horus de l'horizon c'est de (représenter) ce qui est dans la Douat: la naissance de Râ et des entrées du dieu dans l'au delà.'

Le premier registre, sous cette inscription, contient le Chap. 17 du Livre des Morts, une théorie de sept divinités dénommées: (1) *Štry*, (2) *Im(y)-Dwt*, (3) *Trwty*, (4) *cn-hr*, (5) *Dd-hr*, (6) *Hst*, (7) *Mwt*, (8) *crty*¹ (II, A), accompagnées d'un texte énigmatique: *Nn n ntrw m šhr pn m krrwt-sn imywt Dyt. Wnn hwt-sn m kkw* (II, B).

'Ces dieux sont ainsi dans leurs Quererts qui se trouvent dans la Douat. Leurs corps sont dans les ténèbres.'

Le registre se termine à droite par un groupe représentant un bâton surmonté d'une tête de bélier, dénommé *tp-r'* (II, c 1), adoré par Isis (II, c 2) et par Nephthys (II, c 3).

Au-dessus de ces figures un texte énigmatique: *Nn m šhr pn šp itn msy'f* (II, D).

'Ils sont ainsi: le Disque commence à naître (lit: sa naissance).'

Au deuxième registre: trois colonnes horizontales qui contiennent le Chap. 27 du Livre des Morts; le reste du registre est occupé par sept représentations symboliques. Enfin au dernier registre d'en bas se trouvent le premier chapitre du Livre des Morts et une théorie de huit divinités:

(1) *Hpry*, (2) *Hnm*, (3) *Hr cnh-hprw*, (4) *Tk* (?),² (5) *T-tnn*, (6) *Tms-hr* (?), (7) *hmty*, (8) *Inpw* (pl. IX, III, A).

Au-dessus des figures un texte énigmatique: *Nn n ntrw m šhr pn m krrwt-sn imywt htmyt. Wnn hwt-sn m kkw smrw, cp R' tw b'w-sn s' itn-f. Stwt-f ck r krrwt-sn* (III, B).

'Ces dieux sont ainsi dans leurs Quererts qui se trouvent dans l'Endroit de l'anéantissement. Leurs corps sont dans les ténèbres épaisses lorsque Râ passe et que leurs âmes sont derrière son disque. Ses rayons pénètrent dans leurs Quererts.'

Le dernier groupe qui occupe le deuxième et le troisième registre représente la déesse *dwt* (IV, 2) et la déesse *štryt* (IV, 3) en adoration devant 'le cou de Râ' (IV, 1) surmonté d'un disque solaire dans lequel est représenté un oiseau criocéphale pareil à celui qui se trouve dans le disque.

Derrière la figure centrale la paroi de la 'chapelle' est également subdivisée en trois registres. Dans le premier sont placées sept déesses momiformes debout dans leur naos. Ce sont: (1) *D(w)yt*, (2) *Štryt*, (3) *Krtt*, (7) *Dbitt*, (5) *Nšyt*, (6) *Mwyt*, (7) *T'yt* (pl. X, V, A).

Au-dessus de ces représentations un texte énigmatique: *Nn n ntryt m šhr pn m dbwt-sn. Sn m'w'w' h'wt itn-f. B'w-sn, cp sn h'w nt(r) r* (V, B).

¹ Les transcriptions des noms des divinités et des textes énigmatiques sont faites par le Dr. E. Drioton.

² Cf. *Tkk*, *Wb.* I, 140 (10). Ce nom se rencontre également dans le Livre des Portes, Division VII (texte inédit).

I

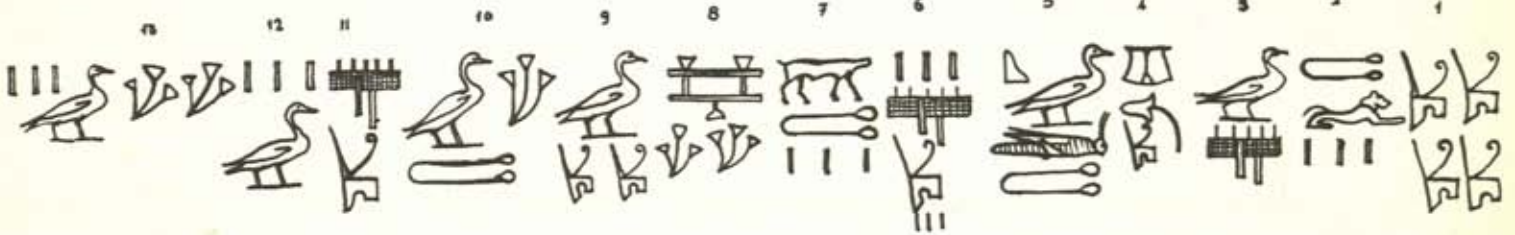


II

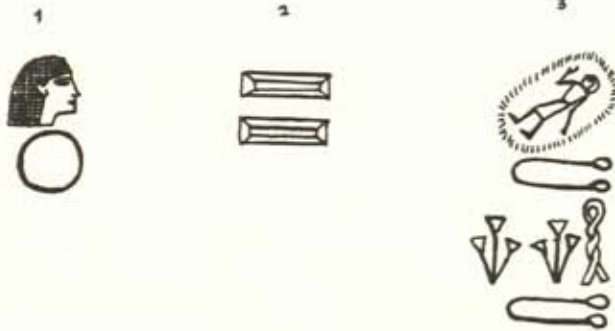
A



B



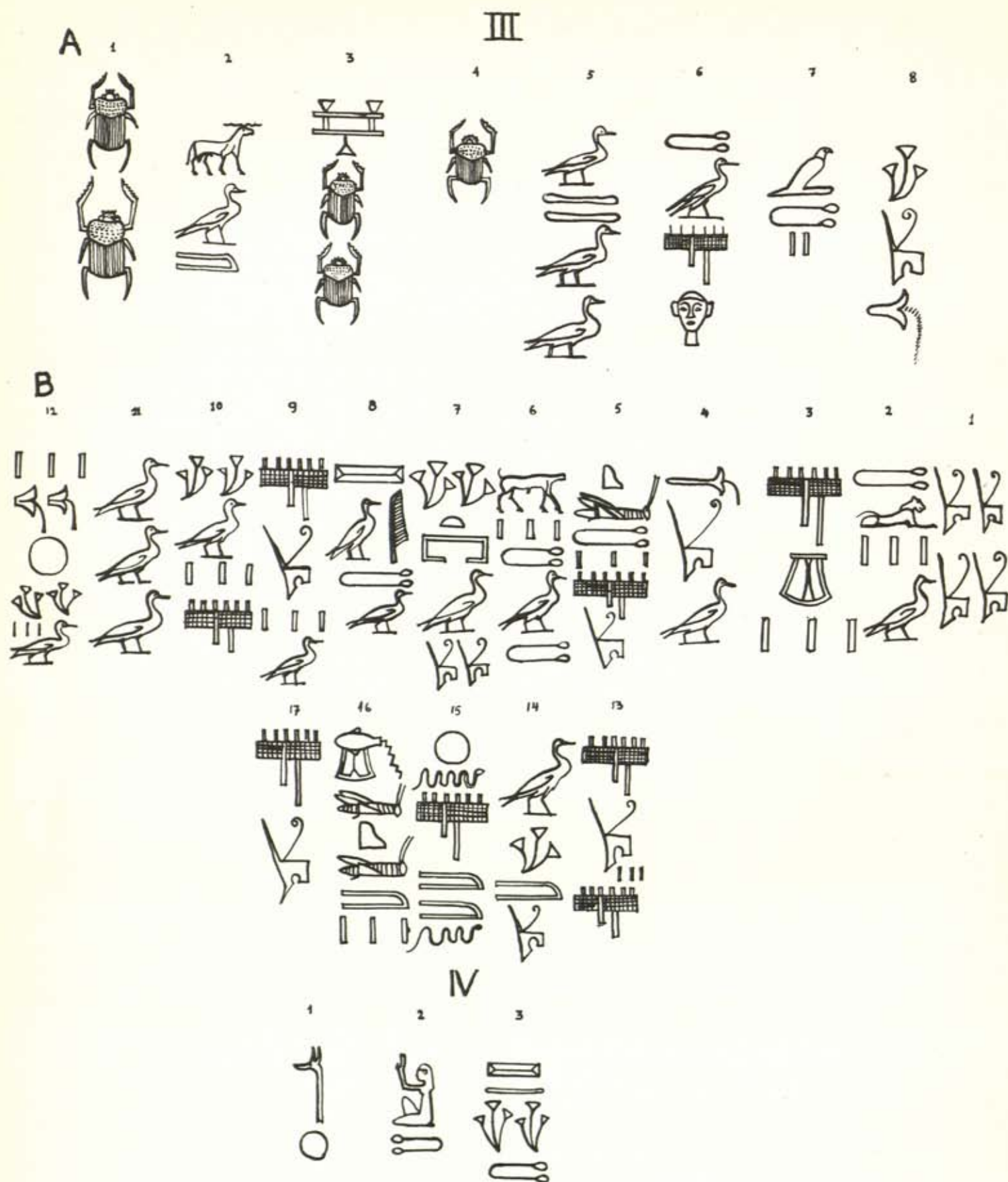
C



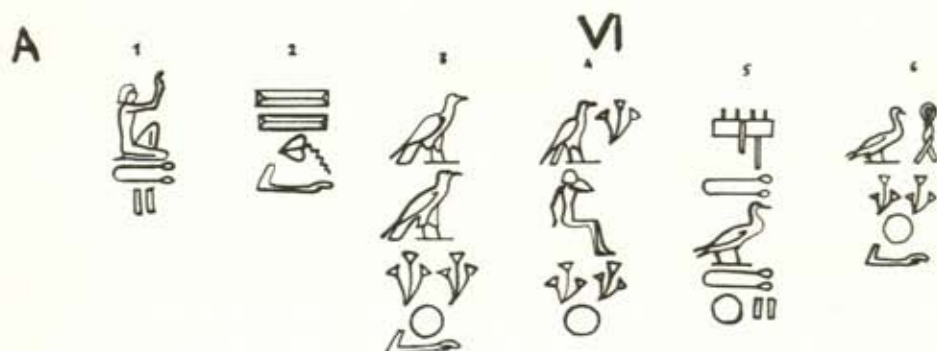
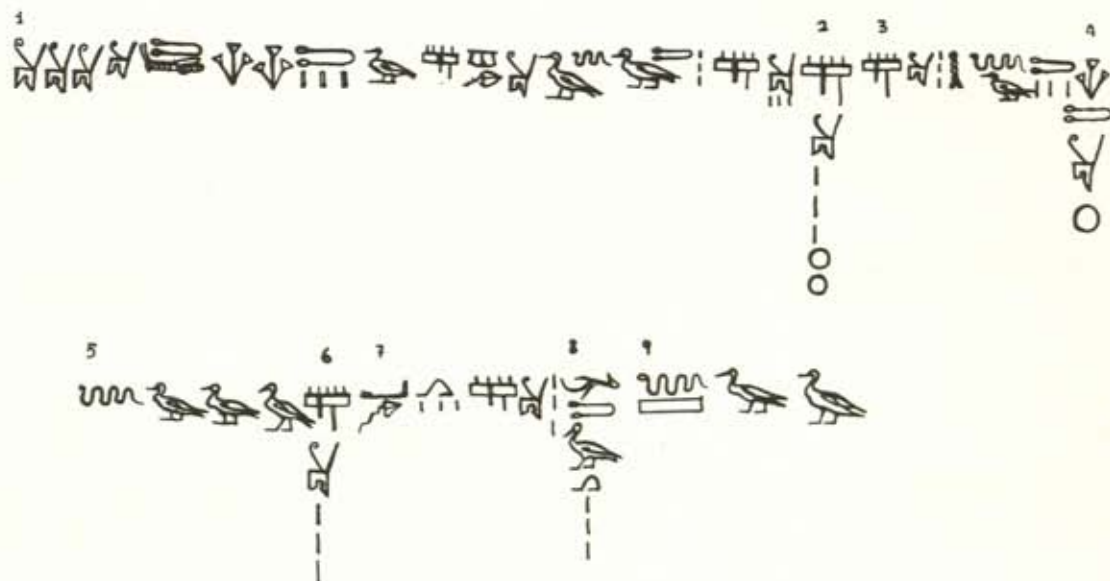
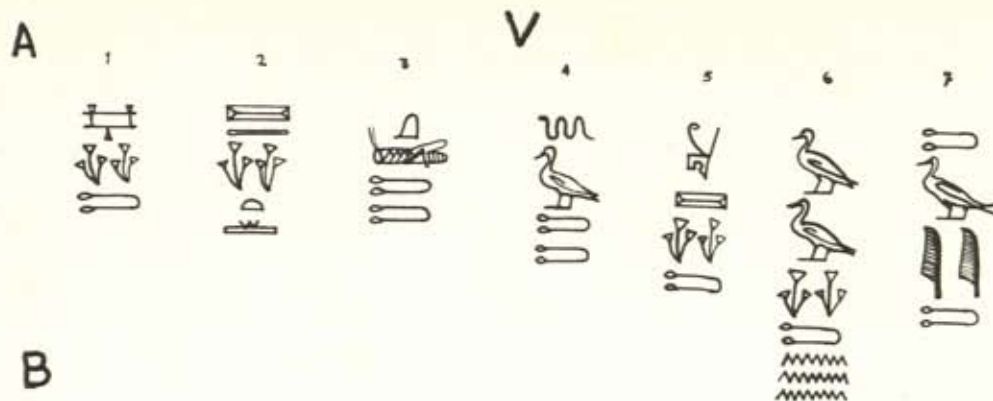
D



CRYPTOGRAPHIC TEXTS ON ONE OF THE CHAPELS OF TUT'ANKHAMÜN



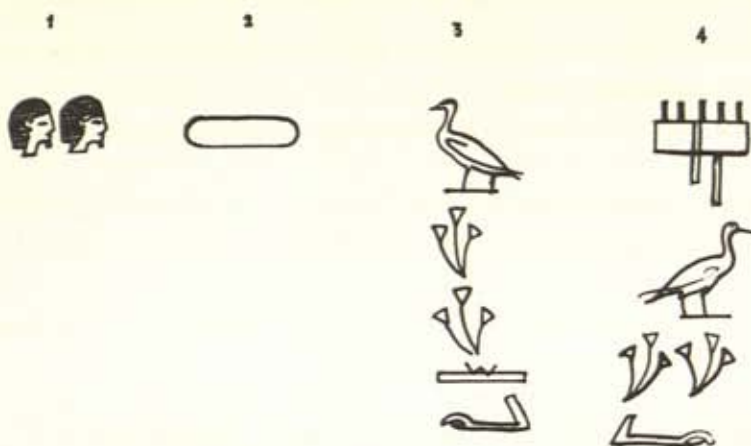
CRYPTOGRAPHIC TEXTS ON ONE OF THE CHAPELS OF TUT'ANKHAMÜN



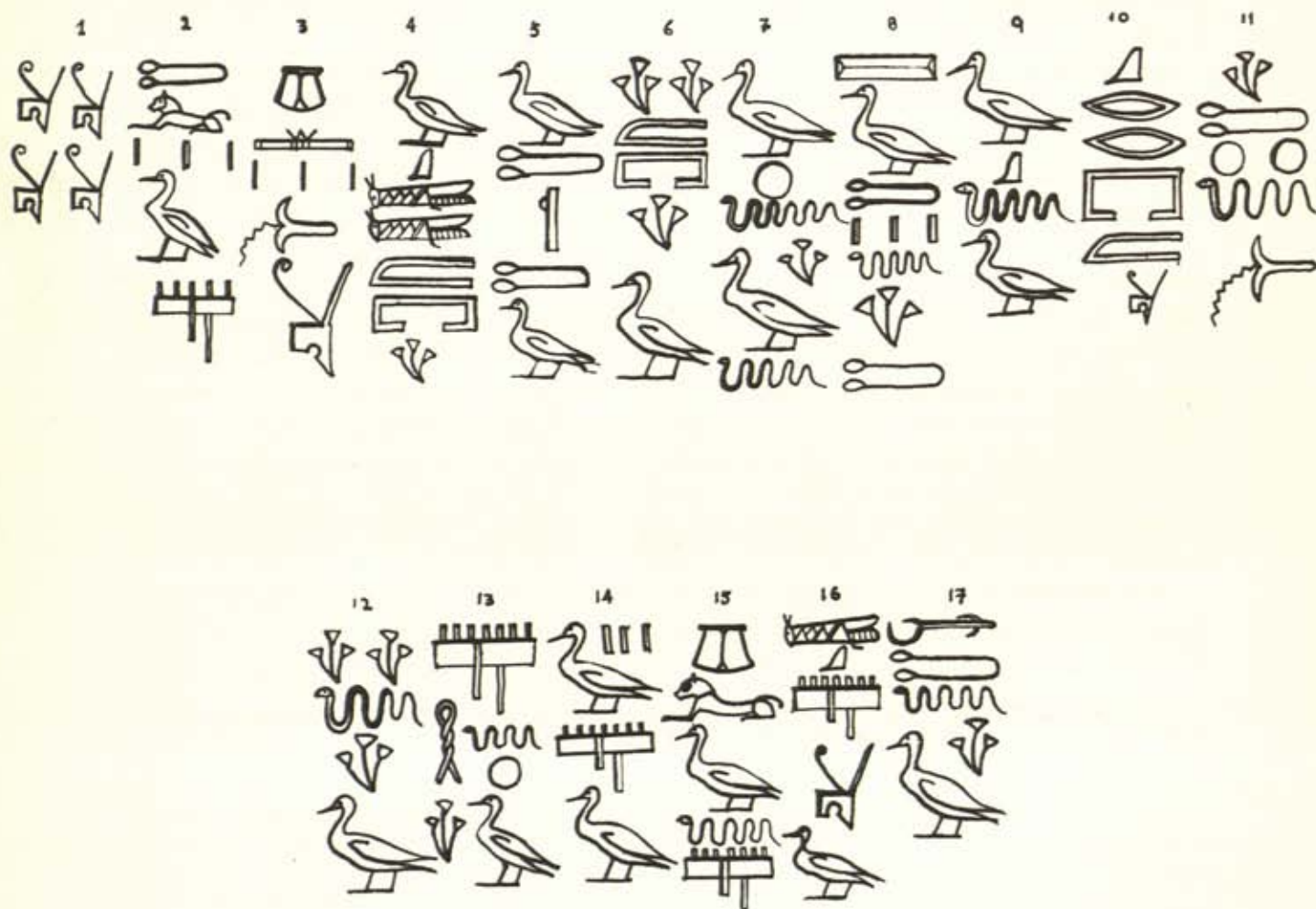
CRYPTOGRAPHIC TEXTS ON ONE OF THE CHAPELS OF TUTANKHAMON

VII

A



B



CRYPTOGRAPHIC TEXTS ON ONE OF THE CHAPELS OF TUT'ANKHAMÜN

'Ces déesses sont ainsi dans leurs sarcophages. Elles voient les rayons de son disque, leurs âmes passent dans la suite du grand dieu.'

A gauche dans le même registre quatre colonnes de texte contenant une invocation aux deux ennéades divines.

Dans le registre du milieu se trouvent le Chap. 29 du Livre des Morts ainsi que les sept dieux que nous avons déjà mentionnés qui sont représentés marchant les bras levés vers la figure centrale: (1) *Dwsty*, (2) *Šp-ε*, (3) *Hry-ε*, (4) *Tihy*, (5) *Stwty*, (6) *Hdy-ε* (VI A), au-dessus de ces figures un texte énigmatique: *Nn n ntrw m šhr pn. Šp-sn hđwt itn-f. Šp-f hđwt dwsty(w). 'pp-f sn-εn-sn m kkw* (VI B).

'Ces dieux sont ainsi: ils reçoivent les rayons de son disque lorsqu'il éclaire les corps des habitants de la Douat. Lorsqu'il passe ils rentrent dans l'obscurité.'

Enfin au dernier registre d'en bas, entre deux dieux momiformes debout dénommés respectivement *Htmy-ε* (pl. XI, VII, A 3) et *Sm(s)y-ε* (VII, A 4) le serpent *Tpy* (VII, A 1)¹ enveloppe dans ses replis deux cartouches superposés. Dans celui d'en haut un *Wsir* (VII, A 2) Osiris² ainsi qu'un tertre qui contient un bras, quatre mains, et le devant d'un bélier qui semble sortir de terre. Au-dessus de cette scène un texte énigmatique: *Nn n ntrw m šhr pn m krrt imyt htmyt. Tw Rε dwt-f h(s)wt d(wt)yt(yw). 'k-f m krrt tn. Ttn Rε dpy-f im-s. Hkn imyw-s m hrw-f. Srk-sn m ht dwt* (VII, B).

'Ces dieux sont ainsi dans la Querert qui se trouve dans l'Endroit de l'anéantissement. Râ appelle les corps des habitants de la Douat lorsqu'il pénètre dans cette Querert. Le disque de Râ circule en elle. Ceux qui sont en elle jubilent en entendant sa voix, ils respirent après qu'il les a appelés.'

Le reste du registre est occupé par le Chap. 26 du Livre des Morts.

La figure momiforme représentée sur la paroi de la deuxième 'chapelle' de Toutânkhamon est comme nous l'avons déjà dit plus haut unique dans l'iconographie de l'Égypte ancienne. Pourtant la divinité connue sous le nom 'celui qui cache les heures' ou 'celui qui cache ses heures'³ se trouve représentée dans la tombe de Ramsès VI,⁴ dans celle de Taousert et Set-Nakht⁵ ainsi que dans la tombe de Ramsès IX.⁶ C'est un dieu ithyphallique qui se tient debout dans une espèce d'entonnoir placé dans les replis d'un serpent géant. Le long des parois de l'entonnoir sont disposées douze déesses, 'Celles qui président le tir', tenant dans les mains des disques rouges. La tête du dieu est entourée de huit ou de treize étoiles parmi lesquelles se trouvent deux disques rouges.

Dans la Salle du Sarcophage de la tombe de Ramsès VI, parmi d'autres textes se rapportant à la création du disque solaire, se rencontre le passage suivant qui décrit ce tableau:⁷ '... Elles (les heures) passent et entrent dans la terre, dans la direction de la

¹ Cf. Bucher, *Les Textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, p. 25; Budge, *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, II, p. 250; voir aussi notre *Livre des Quererts*, Index, sous *dpj*.

² *Le Livre des Quererts*, pls. 76, 2; 79, 28; 147, 14.

³ Lefébure, *Sphinx*, 4, 2.

⁴ Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 577.

⁵ Lefébure, *Les Hypogées royaux de Thèbes*, pl. 67.

⁶ Lefébure, op. cit., pl. 19; Guilmant, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 92. Une représentation semblable existait également dans la tombe de Ramsès III, Champollion, op. cit. I, 420. Voir aussi: Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, pl. 28.

⁷ Lefébure, op. cit., pl. 53 D. Je prépare la publication de tous les textes de la Salle du Sarcophage de la tombe de Ramsès VI sous le titre *La Création du disque*.

Querert de *Celui qui cache ses heures*, tandis que leurs ombres portent leurs rayons et que leurs rayons pénètrent dans les chairs de celui qui les cache.'

C'est évidemment au même ordre d'idées que se rattache la figure d'Aken. Dans le Livre des Morts, Chap. 99¹ on nous apprend seulement que cet Aken doit être réveillé de son sommeil. Le Livre des Portes est plus explicite : à la cinquième division, registre supérieur, se trouve représenté un dieu momiforme debout. Une double corde que tiennent douze personnages divins lui sort de la bouche.² Le texte qui accompagne cette représentation se lit : 'Tenez bien la double corde, tirez de la bouche d'Aken la sortie des heures qui font votre félicité. Les heures sortent pour se reposer aux endroits qui leur sont destinés pendant que la double corde sort de la bouche d'Aken. Quand la tressée sort, l'heure naît. Pendant que Râ l'appelle elle arrive à l'endroit de son repos, alors Aken avale la corde.' Le dieu Aken, ainsi que *Celui qui cache ses heures*, symbolisent tous les deux l'arrêt dans le fonctionnement de la machine cosmique, l'arrêt du temps à un moment donné de la nuit. Pour remettre en marche le mécanisme céleste, et faire avancer le dieu soleil sur la rivière du temps,³ il fallait invoquer des forces de l'au delà et par des formules appropriées faire sortir les heures du gouffre du néant.

¹ Grapow, *Urk.* v, 147 ff.

² Lefébure, *Hypogées royales de Thèbes, Le tombeau de Séti I*, Seconde partie, pl. 14. Le texte ainsi que la rep. ont été reproduits par Budge, *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, II, p. 208. Le texte de Sethos I est assez fautif, ma traduction est fondée sur le texte établi par Ch. Maystre et par moi-même et qui va paraître dans le II^e volume du *Livre des Portes*.

³ Voir notre *Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, p. 31.

LA CRYPTOGRAPHIE DE LA CHAPELLE DE TOUTÂNKHAMON

Par ÉTIENNE DRIOTON

LA publication par M. Piankoff, dans ce tome du *JEA*, d'une représentation sculptée sur la deuxième chapelle de Toutânkhamon fait connaître un texte énigmatique important pour l'étude de cette écriture anormale. Qu'il me soit permis d'offrir un essai sur ce sujet en hommage au Maître de qui la *Grammaire* restera longtemps le code des connaissances pour ce qui concerne l'écriture normale des textes hiéroglyphiques.

Bien qu'elle ait attiré l'attention dès les débuts de l'égyptologie, puisque Champollion lui fit une place dans les tableaux de sa *Grammaire égyptienne*, par sept de ses signes¹ qu'il interpréta correctement, le déchiffrement de cette sorte de cryptographie, qui semble réservée aux compositions religieuses, n'a pas encore été poussée à fond. Les études que Lauth,² Goodwin,³ Le Page Renouf,⁴ Devéria⁵ et Lefébure⁶ lui consacrèrent n'eurent pas de lendemain. Il faut sans doute attribuer le fait à son caractère illogique, qui découragea de prime abord toute tentative d'explication raisonnée.

Mais il arrive parfois qu'une difficulté qu'il n'est pas possible de vaincre de front puisse l'être en vertu d'un mouvement tournant.

La cryptographie religieuse (nous emploierons ce terme pour désigner en bref l'écriture anormale dont il s'agit ici) n'a pas de frontières étanches avec la cryptographie courante, celle des inscriptions royales ou privées, dont on saisit pourtant à première vue qu'elle est distincte. En fait elle puise largement dans son répertoire. Depuis que les principes de la cryptographie civile ont été élucidés,⁷ il est possible de séparer, dans la cryptographie religieuse, ce qui est dû à l'influence du procédé parallèle. Le résidu représente ce qui lui appartient en propre. Ainsi circonscrit, le problème devient plus facile à résoudre.

On est d'ailleurs fortement aidé, dans le déchiffrement de la cryptographie religieuse, par les légendes doubles qui accompagnent la plupart des figures dans le Livre de l'Am-Douat. Elles donnent en parallèle le nom des personnages en cryptographie religieuse et en écriture normale.

Les seules compositions quelque peu développées rédigées dans cette sorte de cryptographie qui aient été publiées jusqu'à présent sont celles du Cénotaphe de Sêti I

¹ Champollion, *Grammaire égyptienne*, Paris, 1836, pp. 36, 38, 41 et 43.

² Lauth, *Aenigmatisches Schrift*, dans *ZÄS* 4 (1866), pp. 24-6.

³ Goodwin, *On the Enigmatic Writing on the Coffin of Seti I*, dans *ZÄS* 11 (1873), pp. 138 ff.

⁴ Le Page Renouf, *The Royal Tombs at Biban-el-Moluk and 'Enigmatical' Writing*, dans *ZÄS* 12 (1874), pp. 101-5.

⁵ Devéria, *L'Écriture secrète dans les textes hiéroglyphiques des anciens Égyptiens, Premier essai*, dans la *Bibl. égyptolog.* v, pp. 49-80.

⁶ Lefébure, *The Book of Hades, from the sarcophagus of Seti I*, dans les *Records of the Past*, x, 114.

⁷ Drioton, *Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e dynastie*, dans la *Rev. d'Égyptol.* 1, pp. 1-50.

à Abydos,¹ du tombeau de Ramsès VI² et de celui de Ramsès IX.³ Le mémoire de M. Piankoff verse donc au dossier la pièce la plus ancienne, à laquelle on ne connaît d'antérieures que les légendes succinctes du Livre de l'Am-Douat dans les tombes de Thoutmôsis III et d'Aménophis II.⁴

Dans l'étude qui suit, les chiffres et les lettres renvoient à la planche de l'article de M. Piankoff.

I. ÉLÉMENTS DE CRYPTOGRAPHIE ORDINAIRE

Une grande partie des signes employés dans les textes cryptographiques de la chapelle de Toutânkhamon relèvent de la cryptographie ordinaire, parce qu'ils en vérifient les lois.

1. Signes de l'écriture en clair employés de façon anormale


Il y a d'abord les signes qui, tout en conservant la valeur qu'ils ont dans l'écriture ordinaire, sont employés de façon insolite. Ainsi le signe-mot sans adjonction de trait 1 ou de déterminatif:


○ = *R'* (III b, 12. VII b, 7 et 11),


le déterminatif pris comme signe-mot:

⊙ (changement de position de ∞) = *mr* (V b, 2),

et les signes-mots jouant le rôle de phonétiques plurilitères:

 = *dw* (II a, 2. IV, 2. VI a et b).

 = *nb* (dans *nb-hyt*, II c, 3).


 = *htm* (dans *htmyt*, III b, 6. VII a, 3).


— = *tr* (dans *stryt*, IV, 3. V a, 2).


== = *mi* (dans *mtwy*, II a, 7).


2. Valeurs cryptographiques obtenues par acrophonie


On relève dans ces textes:


 = *h*, par acroph. de *hy* 'enfant' (dans *ihy*, VI a, 4).


 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} = r, \quad \text{,,} \quad \text{,,} \quad rr \text{ 'éjection' (dans } rp, \text{ III b, 12).} \\ = p, \quad \text{,,} \quad \text{,,} \quad psg \text{ 'cracher', } passim. \\ = \begin{cases} t, \quad \text{,,} \quad \text{,,} \quad tf \text{ 'cracher' (dans } itn, \text{ II d, 1).} \\ t > d \text{ (dans } ddr-hr, \text{ II a, 5).} \end{cases} \end{array} \right.$

 = *s* > *h*, par acroph. de *šft* 'ovis longipes' (dans *hnm*, III a, 2).

 = *r*, par acroph. de *rw* 'lion' (dans *ntrw*, II b, 2. III b, 2. VI, b. VII b, 2 — *hrw*, VII b, 15).

 = *m*, par acroph. de *msk* 'peau' (?) (dans *imyt*, II b, 7. III b, 6).

 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} = i, \text{ par acroph. de } ipd > ipd \text{ 'volatile' (dans } itn, \text{ VI b).} \\ = r, \quad \text{,,} \quad \text{,,} \quad rr \text{ 'oie' (dans } rr, \text{ VII b, 7).} \end{array} \right.$








 = *n*, ,, ,, *nsw* 'serpent' (dans *nt(r)-r*, V b, 9).

¹ Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*.



² Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 490-688. Cf. Lefébure, *Notices des hypogées*, Paris, 1889, pp. 48-80; Piankoff, *Le Livre des Quererts*, dans *Bull. Inst. fr.* 42, pls. 59-63, 67-70, 73, 76-9, et 146-51.

³ Guilmant, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès IX*, Le Caire, 1907.




⁴ Bucher, *Les Textes des tombes de Thoutmôsis III et d'Aménophis II*, Le Caire, 1932.

-  { = *w* par acroph. de *wbs* 'ce qui pousse' (dans *itw*, III b, 12).
 = *g > k* „ „ *gibt* 'feuillage' (dans *kkw*, II b, 13. III b, 10).
 = *p*, „ „ *pr* 'maison' (dans *(s)šp*, VI b).
 = *n* „ „ *nt* 'couronne de Basse Égypte', *passim*.
 = *r* „ „ *nt* 'anneau' (dans *rr*, VII b, 7).
 = *s*, „ „ *sis* 'pièce de lin', *passim*.
 = *n* „ „ *nwt* 'herminette' (dans *itn*, II d, 2).
vase renversé = *g > k*, par acroph. de *g* 'chaviré' (dans *kkw*, VI b).
 = *h*, par acroph. de *hwy* 'ce qui est frappé'¹ (dans *htmyt*, VII b, 5).

Il convient sans doute de classer dans cette catégorie, bien que l'origine n'en soit pas encore explicable :





-  = *r*, *passim*.
 = *n*² (dans *itn*, VI b).

3. Valeurs cryptographiques obtenues par rébus

-  { = *cnh* (III a, 3) de *cnh* 'scarabée'.
 = *ik* (?) (III a, 4) de *ik*, déterminé par un scarabée, *Pyr.* 806 b (P).
 = *hr* (III a, 3), de *hrt* 'chemin'.
 = *n* (VI b), de *nt* 'anneau'.
vase renversé sur son support = *rk* (III b, 16), de *rk* 'chaviré'.






4. Variations matérielles

Enfin, comme dans la cryptographie normale, le procédé de variation matérielle peut entrer en jeu. Seul l'aspect du signe est modifié, l'objet représenté et sa valeur restant identiques :

-  = *t*, variation matérielle de  (dans *itn*, VI b).
 = *r*, „ „  (VI a, 2, 3 et 6. VII a, 3 et 4).

5. Procédés spéciaux d'orthographe

On retrouve également dans ces textes les règles d'orthographe particulières à la cryptographie courante de la XVIII^e dynastie, telles qu'elles ont été définies ailleurs.³

Presque tous les mots sont écrits phonétiquement, par décomposition alphabétique, sans déterminatifs. Les seuls déterminatifs qu'on rencontre sont :  (dans *htw*, V a, 8),  (dans *itn*, III b, 14 — *hry*, VI a, 3 — *ishy*, VI a, 4 — *stwy*, VI a, 5 — *hdy*, VI a, 6),  (dans *htmyt*, III b, 7. VII b, 6 — *krrt*, VII a, 4),  (dans *štyt*, V a, 2 — *htmy*, VII a, 3 — *shr*, VII b, 3) et  (dans *mwyt*, V a, 6).

Les pluriels ne sont pas notés (dans *hwt*, II b, 10. III b, 8 — *dwstyw*, VI b — *dytyw*, VII b, 8 — *hprw*, III a, 3) et quelquefois les féminins non plus (dans *krrt*, VII b, 10 — *dzyt*, II b, 8). Il est probable que leur désinence était déjà perdue dans le langage courant de cette époque.


¹ A savoir le piquet d'amarrage.


² Cf. Fairman, *Notes on the alphabetic signs employed in the hieroglyphic inscriptions in the Temple of Edfu*, dans *Ann. Serv.* 43, 244, No. 166b. D'après M. Fairman cette valeur serait fondée sur le changement phonétique de *m* en *n* observé dans certains mots.

³ Drioton, *Essai sur la cryptographie privée* . . ., dans *Rev. d'Égyptol.* 1, pp. 1-50.

C'est également sans doute parce que la notation cryptographique s'inspire de la langue parlée que *krwt* est écrit trois fois *krwt* (II b, 5. III b, 5 et 16), que *h* est transcrit par *š* ou *h* dans *hnm* (III a, 2) et dans *hwt* (III b, 8.¹ VI b. VII b, 8), que *g* sert à noter *k* dans *kkw* (VI b) et que *hr* représente *hr* dans *shr* (II b, 4 et d, 1. III b, 3. V b, 1. VI b. VII b, 3) et dans *hrw* (VII b, 15).






Par deux fois on peut relever une finesse déjà remarquée dans la cryptographie régulière:² celle qui consiste à prendre comme dernier signe, avec une valeur phonétique énigmatique, celui-là même qui serait déterminatif du mot dans l'écriture en clair :

 o, *i+t+n* = *itn* 'disque' (VII b, 11).










 o, *r+r* = *rr* 'Rê' (VII b, 7).


II. ÉLÉMENTS SPÉCIAUX À LA CRYPTOGRAPHIE RELIGIEUSE

Mêlés aux éléments qu'on vient de définir, il s'en trouve d'autres qu'on essaierait en vain de faire entrer dans les mêmes catégories et qui ne s'expliquent que par des principes totalement différents. Ce sont eux qui donnent son caractère propre à la cryptographie religieuse.

Il saute aux yeux que, dans les textes de ce genre, les figures d'oiseaux sont pratiquement unifiées, en ce sens qu'un seul type les remplace toutes. Dans certains cas c'est ,³ dans d'autres ,⁴ ici, sauf quatre exceptions en faveur de  (dans *m* (prépos.), VI b — *hry*, VI a, 3 — *hwt*, VI b),⁵ c'est . L'oiseau choisi reçoit les valeurs les plus diverses. Dans nos textes,  représente *i*, *r*, *w*, *b*, *m*, *n*, *t* et *d*.

La seule explication possible est la suivante: étant donné le groupe des oiseaux de l'écriture normale, tous prennent cryptographiquement la valeur que chacun d'eux possède en clair ou quelquefois, dans le cas des plurilitères, par acrophonie. Ainsi sur ce baldaquin de Toutânkhamon :


- | | | |
|---|---|--|
|  | { | =  <i>w</i> (dans <i>hwt</i> , VI b). |
| | | =  <i>m</i> (prépos., VI b). |
| | | =  <i>h</i> , par acroph. de <i>htm</i> (dans <i>hry</i> , VI a, 3 — <i>hwt</i> , VI b). |
|  | { | =  <i>i</i> (dans <i>ri</i> , V b, 9 — <i>hst</i> , II a, 6 — <i>hwt</i> , II b, 10. III b, 8. VI b. VII b, 8 — <i>st</i> , III b, 14 — <i>smrw</i> , III b, 11 — <i>tyt</i> , V a, 7). |
| | | =  <i>r</i> , par acroph. (dans <i>ri</i> , V b, 9 — <i>rk</i> , VII b, 9). |
| | | =  <i>w</i> (dans <i>tw</i> , VII b, 6 — <i>imrw</i> , VII b, 14 — <i>wnn</i> , II b, 9; III b, 7 — <i>mtwy</i> , II a, 7 — <i>mwyt</i> , V a, 6 — <i>hwt</i> , V b, 3 — <i>htw</i> , V b, 8 — <i>smrw</i> , III b, 11 — <i>stwy</i> , VI a, 5 — <i>kkw</i> , II b, 13. VI b — <i>dwt</i> , VI b, 7 et 17). |
| | | =  <i>b</i> (dans <i>bw</i> , III b, 12. V b, 5 — <i>dbwt</i> , V b, 1 — <i>dbtt</i> , Va, 4). |
| | | |


¹ Ici l'écriture du mot est irrégulière. Les deux derniers signes, *w* et *t*, sont interversés et un  inexplicable vient s'intercaler entre *h* et *i*.

² Drioton, *Essai sur la cryptographie privée*, p. 34, et Piankoff, *Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, Le Caire, 1942, p. 117, § 30.


³ Par exemple dans le tableau de la psychostasie, inséré parfois dans la V^e division du Livre des Portes, selon la version du tombeau de Ramsès VI, Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, pp. 495-6.




⁴ Dans la même représentation au tombeau d'Harmâis, Davis, *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Toutânkhamon*, pls. 53-4.


⁵ Il se pourrait donc que le texte VI ait été transcrit d'un prototype en  qu'on aurait incomplètement adapté.





- 
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} = m \text{ (dans } m \text{ (prépos.), II b, 3, 5, 12 \text{ et d, 1. III b, 2, 4 et 9. V b, 1. VII b, 2, 4, 9 et 14} \\ \quad - m \text{ ht, VII b, 16 — im, VII b, 12 — imyt, VII b, 5 — imyw, VII b, 13 — imy-} \\ \quad \text{dwrt, II a, 2 — mwyt, V a, 6 — mhn, I — msi, II d, 2 — htmyt, VII b, 5 — smry,} \\ \quad \text{VII a, 4 — smrw, III b, 11 — tms-hr, III a, 6).} \\ = n, \text{ par acroph. (dans } n, \text{ II a, 4 — hnm, III a, 2 — ts-tnn, III a, 5).} \\ = t \text{ ou } d > t, \text{ par acroph. (dans } ts-tnn, \text{ III a, 5 — hdy, VI a, 6 — hdyt, VI b).} \end{array} \right.$

Si le principe énoncé est exact, on doit trouver le même procédé de signification utilisé pour d'autres groupes de signes que celui des oiseaux. En fait on peut dégager celui des serpents :

- 
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (irt), \text{ par acroph. : } i \text{ (dans } itn, \text{ II d, 1).} \\ (kt) \quad \quad \quad k \text{ (dans } hkn, \text{ VII b, 13).} \end{array} \right. \\ = f \text{ (pronom, II d, 4. III b, 15. V b, 5. VI b. VII b, 7, 9, 12 et 15).} \\ = d \text{ (dans } hdyt, \text{ V b, 3 — dbwt, V b, 1 — dbtt, V a, 4 — dwi, VII b, 7 et 17) et } d > d \\ \quad \text{(dans } drytyw, \text{ VII b, 8 — dpy, VII b, 11).} \end{array} \right.$

On discerne aussi le groupe des verdure, dont les exemples sont nécessairement peu nombreux dans un nombre aussi restreint d'inscriptions, mais qui, d'après les autres textes de même écriture, englobait également les signes ,  et .










- 
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} = i, \text{ passim.} \\ = h > h, \text{ par acroph. (dans } hwt, \text{ II b, 10).} \end{array} \right.$






Un autre groupe, qu'on peut appeler provisoirement des terrains, met en relation , ,  et .

- $\begin{array}{l} \text{---} = t > d \text{ (dans } dyt, \text{ II b, 8. V a, 1).} \\ \text{---} = t, \text{ par acroph. (dans } st, \text{ II c, 2 — nt(r)-rt, V b, 9).} \\ \text{---} = (sn) s, \text{ par acroph. (dans } st, \text{ II c, 2 — ssp, VI a, 2).} \end{array}$

Enfin le même système par équivalences groupales mettait aussi en œuvre des groupes fondés, non pas sur la nature des objets représentés, mais sur la ressemblance purement extérieure des signes, comme :

- $\begin{array}{l} \text{---} = m \text{ (prépos. VI b — dans } htmyt, \text{ III b, 6).} \\ \text{---} = t \text{ (dans } itn, \text{ III b, 14 — htmyt, VII b, 6 — stwt, III b, 15 — krrt, III b, 16. VII b, 4} \\ \quad \text{— tn, VII b, 10 — dwtyw, VI b).} \\ \text{---} = \text{---} \text{ par acroph. (dans } itn, \text{ VII b, 11 — hkn, VII b, 13).} \end{array}$

On remarque l'esprit de fantaisie arbitraire qu règne dans ce système et le rend si différent de la cryptographie normale, basée au contraire sur une précision peut-être subtile, mais minutieuse. Aussi c'est de lui sans doute que relèvent l'emploi sans signification des indices  du pluriel (dans , V b, 7 —  (prépos.), VI b — , III b, 3. VI b. VII b, 3) et des reduplications injustifiées comme  =  (,  par acroph. (dans , III a, 5).

En ce qui concerne le redoublement des signes, les textes de Toutânkhamon, comme d'ailleurs les autres inscriptions en cryptographie religieuse, usent du procédé pour exprimer la terminaison  ajoutée à un signe-mot (, II a, 3 — , II a, 8 — , III a, 1 — , VII a, 1). C'est étrange, la désinence du duel masculin étant en réalité

wy. Il faut sans doute reconnaître là une convention arbitraire inspirée par le mécanisme phonétique du duel féminin. Elle explique la valeur *ty* attribuée au redoublement -- dans *šty* (II a, 1).

Il est évident que l'esprit de la cryptographie religieuse est à l'opposé de celui de la normale.

Celle-ci cachait les textes pour qu'ils fussent déchiffrés par ceux qui en savaient les règles. Elle proposait subtilement, mais correctement, des énigmes. Non seulement elle était déchiffrable, mais dans l'esprit de ceux qui la pratiquaient elle provoquait au déchiffrement. C'est pourquoi elle mérite l'appellation plutôt d'énigmatique que de cryptographique.

Au contraire la cryptographie religieuse visait à faire obstacle au déchiffrement. Elle intervenait lorsque, la présence de certains textes étant requise, il fallait en empêcher la lecture par les profanes. Une telle écriture était cryptographique au sens le plus fort du terme.

Employée à l'état pur elle aurait été proprement indéchiffrable, puisqu'elle ne reposait sur aucune convention rationnelle qui permit d'accrocher un déchiffrement. Mais en usa-t-on jamais de la sorte? Telle qu'on la trouve dans les textes religieux jusqu'à présent connus, elle constitue seulement un appoint qui, mêlé à la cryptographie normale, la corse en quelque sorte et augmente la difficulté de sa lecture.

SOME EARLY DYNASTIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO EGYPTIAN ARCHITECTURE

By I. E. S. EDWARDS

IN a recent volume of this *Journal*, Sir Alan Gardiner found occasion to remark on the importance of the Early Dynastic Period as the time in which so many Egyptian artistic conventions took their familiar shape.¹ It is, indeed, a fact which has become generally recognized² and which has been clearly demonstrated by the results of excavations conducted during the past half-century at Abydos, Hieraconpolis, Sakḥārah, and elsewhere. Methods of representation devised by the artists and sculptors of that age remained substantially unchanged throughout dynastic history. This applies not only to individual details of form and dress, but also, in some cases, to complete scenes, the most striking example perhaps being the rock relief at Wādī Maghārah, showing Semerkhet slaying an Asiatic inhabitant,³ which differs in no essential respect from related scenes dating down to the New Kingdom both in the same locality and on the walls of temples in the Nile valley.

In the realm of architecture the debt of later generations to their early dynastic ancestors is in all probability no less appreciable than in other branches of art, but the entire lack of comparative material from pre-dynastic times renders the precise starting-point of this or that convention exceedingly difficult to determine. The remarkable series of buildings which lie within the Step Pyramid complex at Sakḥārah in fact provides the earliest assembly of monuments, apart from tombs, yet found in a state of preservation suitable for detailed study; only the ruined 'forts' at Abydos and Hieraconpolis remain to serve as visible evidence that edifices of considerable size were built in the preceding age. The architect of the Step Pyramid was, however, chiefly concerned with reproducing in stone forms which were already well established in less durable materials rather than with inventing new designs in which the special properties of stone could be exploited to greater advantage. Obvious instances of such reproduction are furnished by the many dummy doors in the complex, all of which are direct copies of wooden originals, and by the ribbed ceilings of the Entrance Colonnade and of certain other buildings which imitate logs of timber. In some cases the rendering in stone was a secondary development, the immediate prototype of wood having itself been derived from an original in some more frail material. Two incontestable instances of this class are the papyrus-stem and the lily-stem attached columns in the façades of

¹ A. H. Gardiner, *Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt*, *JEA* 31, 13, n. 2: 'This was the age in which the traditional attitudes and attributes received their stereotyped forms.'

² W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 128-9; H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, pp. 12-17.

³ Even earlier examples in miniature are provided by the Narmer palette and the ivory label of Udimu formerly in the Macgregor collection and now in the British Museum (No. 55586).

the courts of the Northern and Southern Buildings; as Lauer has pointed out, traces of red were found on the papyrus-stem column and red was the colour normally adopted by Djoser's architect when imitating wood.¹ It has therefore, no doubt rightly, been deduced that, in the period before Djoser, buildings existed which embodied wooden columns, either attached or free-standing, in the shape of papyrus- and lily-plants with their respective flowers serving as the capitals.

The antecedents of the two other types of attached column found in the Step Pyramid enclosure, namely, those with the fluted and the ribbed shafts, have long been a subject of speculation among authorities and it may be useful, before introducing a new explanation, to summarize briefly the two conflicting conclusions which have most recently been published.² H. Ricke maintains that the ribbed columns are not, in reality, an independent architectural element, but merely reproductions of the projecting ends of mud-brick walls overlaid with shields composed of palm-stems in order to protect them from damage and rubbing caused by passing traffic.³ The term 'column' is thus inappropriate, in his opinion, to describe these features. He supposes also that the ribs were once painted green, the natural colour of the palm-stem, and that the green has disappeared with the passage of time. Lauer, on the other hand, asserts that actual supports were intended and that they represent wooden columns imitating the appearance of bundles of reeds.⁴ With regard to the fluted columns, Ricke concedes that a different kind of interpretation from his view of the ribbed 'columns' is necessary; he believes that they represent slender trunks of coniferous trees, the fluted lines being merely stylized traces of the incisions made by the rounded cutting-edge of the tools used by the early Egyptians in dressing the surface of the trunk.⁵ Lauer is substantially in agreement with this explanation in so far as he also regards the fluted columns as copies of tree-trunks, but he prefers to consider the flutings as an artistic device intended to give the columns alternate lines of light and shade.⁶

Of one fact there can be no doubt: the fluted columns were painted red and thus it is probable that their immediate prototypes were, like those of the papyrus and lily columns, actually made of wood. If it is to be supposed, as Lauer and Ricke maintain, that they represent trunks of trees, no earlier stage in their history need be sought. But is this explanation correct? In view of the even surface of the log-beams in the ceilings already mentioned, which are undoubtedly reproductions of tree-trunks, the suggestion that the flutings represent tool-marks is hardly convincing and the alternative explanation that they were inspired by a desire to emphasize light and shade seems no more plausible. Moreover, the pendent leaf-capitals of these columns, as they are represented in the Northern and Southern Buildings and in the *heb-sed* chapels (fig. 1), cannot easily

¹ J.-P. Lauer, *Études complémentaires sur les monuments du roi Zoser à Saqqarah* (Supplément aux *Ann. du Serv.*, No. 9), p. 36.

² J.-P. Lauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-50; H. Ricke, *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, Heft 4, pp. 71-84. It is not possible to include here the views expressed by previous writers, a brief summary of which will be found in Ricke, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

³ H. Ricke, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁴ J.-P. Lauer, *La Pyramide à degrés*, III, 64.

⁵ H. Ricke, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-9.

⁶ J.-P. Lauer, *op. cit.*, p. 64; *Études complémentaires*, p. 42.

be reconciled with any known tree origin. Lauer and Ricke are manifestly at greater variance in their views on the ribbed columns, the former even denying that the term 'column' should be used in describing them. Here again the question of the immediate prototype is of interest and on this point I am of Lauer's opinion that the traces of red paint, which can still be seen on the columns in the Entrance Colonnade, are not accidental, but as original as the identical traces on the three other types of column; it follows therefore that I also agree with him in his contention that the immediate prototype was a wooden column of similar form. I venture to differ, however, from both Lauer and Ricke in their interpretations of the ultimate origin of the ribbed and the fluted columns, and I believe that the following explanation, offered by Professor P. E. Newberry, is far more probable:

'In 1924 Cecil Firth discovered in the Festival Hall of the Step Pyramid at Saqqārah fluted and ribbed columns which date from *circa* 2800 B.C.: these have no counterparts in the later history of Egyptian architecture. Shortly after his discovery, Firth asked me to visit him at Saqqārah to discuss the origin of these columns. He told me that he thought they were derived from bundles of reeds used in primitive buildings to support the roof and that the capitals showed the tops of the reeds themselves.

"The fluted columns", he said, "may represent reeds split vertically exposing the concave interior, packed closely to avoid air spaces, or even bundles of long grasses or reed leaves embedded in clay".¹ "The ribbed columns", he said, "are composed of a number of vertical ribs and are therefore the exact opposite of the fluted columns hitherto met with on the site. They may be described as fasciculated columns and may be derived from the bundles of reeds used in primitive buildings to support the roofs. The capitals are peculiar and it is possible that their original design or appearance was that of the top of the reeds themselves."² I disputed this theory and suggested that the columns were copied from some umbelliferous plant, perhaps the silphium which is represented on the coins of Cyrene. But the silphium plant has never been identified from living specimens and is supposed to be extinct.³ On my return to England I examined in the Herbariums at Kew and in the Natural History Museum all the species of umbelliferous plants found in North Africa, the Mediterranean

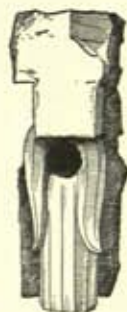


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

¹ See Firth-Quibell, *The Step Pyramid*, 1, 1935, p. 13.

² *Ann. Serv.* 26, 98.

³ On the silphium see Else Strantz, *Zur Silphionfrage*. The identity of the *Σιλφίον* has been much disputed. It was valued both as a relish and as a medicine. R. Murdoch Smith and E. A. Porcher, *History of Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*, 1864, pp. 87-9, pl. 60, identified it with *Thapsia garganica*. It was apparently closely allied to *Asafoetida*. Hort, *Theophrastus, Enquiry into Plants*, 1916, II, 476, identified it with *Ferula tingitana*. Le Maout et Decaisne, *General System of Botany*, 1876, p. 470, mention that the *Heracleum sphondylium* (Cow Parsnip) of Italy is said to have 'a sugary stem, with fermentable juice, which yields a very intoxicating liquor'. Was this the silphium? In the sixth and fifth centuries Cyrenaica owed its importance mainly to the export of its famous local herb, the silphium, and *Βάττον σιλφίον* passed as a proverb among the merchants of Greece.

region and western Asia, but found only one—the *Heracleum giganteum* (fig. 2)—which might have been the original of the fluted column. This species is a native of Asia Minor and the Caucasus. I later mentioned this to Firth and in *The Step Pyramid*, text, p. 21, published in 1935, four years after his death, it is said that “the fluted columns are more difficult to understand. It would seem that there existed in Egypt some large umbelliferous plant such as the *Heracleum giganteum* now extinct in Egypt.¹ The root part of the knot from which the leaves spring may have been used as the capital by reversing the plant, in the primitive huts of the first inhabitants of the Nile

Valley. The plant has, like the papyrus and lotus, been enormously magnified in size when used as an architectural motif.”

‘Shortly before the 1939–45 war broke out I procured seeds of the *Heracleum giganteum* and sowed them in my Surrey garden. This plant has now spread like a weed and scores have seeded. The central stems range from 10 to 18 feet in height and 2½ inches in diameter at the base. The stems are hollow and when in the green state are ribbed, but when dry are beautifully fluted. It is not necessary to turn the stems upside down, as Firth suggested, for in the natural state the large broad petioles of the leaves fall downwards covering the upper part of the stems in precisely the same way as is shown in the Sakḥārah capitals. The only difference is that in the Egyptian capitals the petioles are shown opposite while in the living plant they are alternate: this can easily be accounted for by the Egyptian love of symmetrical arrangement.’

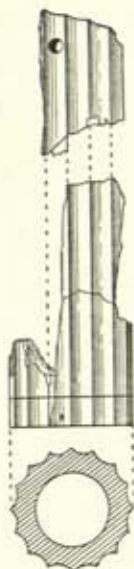


FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

In the light of this explanation it is clear that the columns in question belong to the same architectural family as those which represent the papyrus and lily plants: all imitate a single stem of a plant and all have passed through the stage of being repro-

duced in wood before being copied, presumably for the first time by Djoser's masons, in stone. A difficult problem, however, still remains to be considered, namely, the possibility of determining the point of time when wooden columns of these types were first introduced as architectural elements. The evidence available is admittedly sparse and indirect, but chronologically at least it is consistent. Nothing of predynastic date yet known suggests that the conception of the plant-column had at that time been realized, whereas proof of its existence, if only in miniature, has been obtained from tombs of the Early Dynastic Period. Nearly fifty years ago Petrie found in the ‘tombs’ of Djer and Udimu at Abydos fragments of ivory cylindrical objects with a fluted decoration which may have formed supports in some pieces of furniture (fig. 3).² A fragment of a wooden model column similarly fluted was found by Firth in a mastaba at Sakḥārah dated to the reign of Udimu, but, as far as I am aware, has never been published.³ From the Abydos ‘tomb’ of Kha'sekhemui an ivory cylinder or model column of an

¹ Lauer (*Ann. Serv.* 27, 116) writes: ‘Ce type de chapiteau, unique dans l'art égyptien, comporte deux feuilles latérales retombantes embrassant à droite et à gauche le haut du fût cannelé: je ne sais de quelle plante il peut s'agir.’

² W. M. F. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pls. xxxiv, 73, and xl, 107. Elsewhere at Abydos Petrie subsequently found fragments of a pottery cylindrical vase with a fluted exterior which for some reason he believed to be of foreign origin. *Tombs of the Courtiers*, p. 5 (pl. iv, 11).

³ Mentioned by Lauer in *La Pyramide à degrés*, I, 125, n. 3, and *Études complémentaires*, p. 50, n. 1.

analogous kind but with a ribbed exterior was recovered (fig. 4).¹ In the light of Professor Newberry's explanation of Djoser's ribbed and fluted columns, it seems clear that these ivory models must be regarded as imitations of the *Heracleum* plant. Perhaps the numerous ivory plaques and blue glazed tiles with ribbed surface found at Abydos and Hierakonpolis² are also representations of the same plant-stem cut into strips and woven into matting; such an interpretation would account for the difference between the ribbed and the plain tiles, the latter being representations of smooth-stemmed reeds. Small stone replicas of lotus-flowers (fig. 5)—all of which are believed to date from before the end of the Second Dynasty—have been found at Abydos,³ Sakḥārah,⁴ and elsewhere.⁵ At first sight they resemble cups, but, as Petrie remarked,



FIG. 5.

the hole in the centre is too small for this purpose and the presence of a raised disk surrounding the top of the hole suggests that they were the capitals of miniature columns, with the disk serving to prevent the architrave from damaging the petals of the flower.⁶ To these examples of the use of the lotus-plant must now be added a very remarkable ivory model column consisting of eight lotus-flowers and stems tied in a cluster which was recently discovered in a tomb of the First Dynasty.⁷ No parallel example with the papyrus so employed has yet come to light; Amélineau, however, found at Abydos a fragment of wood

with bound papyrus-plants carved in open-work,⁸ which proves that the decorative properties of the plant were realized, and the absence of any known instances of model columns composed of its stems, either singly or in a cluster, may well be attributed to the chances attending survival and discovery.

In spite of the plant ancestry which the four types of column shared in common, it is most probable that the development of the fluted and ribbed kinds, on the one hand, and of the papyrus- and lily-stem kinds, on the other, resulted from different beginnings. This difference is suggested by a marked dissimilarity in the physical structure of the stems of the actual plants and by the fact that the flowers are not represented in the fluted and the ribbed columns, but are represented in the papyrus and lily columns. The *Heracleum giganteum* possesses a very long stem of considerable strength—perhaps equal to bamboo—and could certainly have been used for the skeletons of

¹ W. M. F. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. xlv, 23.

² A good example of a ribbed ivory plaque appears in *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. xxxvii, 79 (from the 'tomb' of Ka); several other examples are to be found in the same volume and in its sequel. Glazed tiles with ribbing are illustrated in W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos*, I, pl. liii, 19-22; id., *Abydos*, II, pl. xi, 237; id. and J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, II, pl. 32.

³ W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos*, II, pls. i and vii, 93-5.

⁴ This specimen, now in an exhibition case in the Cairo Museum, bears the excavator's number 71299.

⁵ G. Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, 11 and pl. xviii, 4; Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, Guy Brunton, and M. A. Murray, *Lahun*, II, pl. xlv, 4.

⁶ W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos*, II, 26, who, however, draws a somewhat different conclusion from these observations.

⁷ Zaki Saad, *Fouilles royales d'Hélouan*, in *Chron. d'Égypte*, No. 42 (July 1946), pp. 197-8; id., *Illustrated London News*, June 5, 1948, p. 645.

⁸ E. Amélineau, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos*, III, pl. 6.

primitive huts or shrines, to be overlaid with reed-matting or animal skins. For such a use the flowers would obviously have been cut off and only the thicker parts of the stems would have been required. When the first replicas of these constructions were produced in wood, the carpenters and carvers were therefore copying faithfully something which actually existed. Papyrus and lily stems, by reason of their lack of strength, could not have been used for constructional skeletons and the presence of the floral capitals on the columns which represent these plants shows that their origin is not to be found in any kind of weight-bearing pillar or support. Nevertheless, flowers may well have been attached to caskets and also to parts of buildings for the purpose of decoration; indeed, the floral frieze on the *serekh* of the stela of Wadji in the Louvre gives every reason to suppose that this was so. In such a setting, being merely embellishments, they possessed no structural significance. Their employment as major architectural elements, however, is readily explained if it is regarded as having been inspired by the aesthetic success which attended the initial reproductions of the *Hera-cleum giganteum* in wood and ivory; the plant-motif having been established, variations involving the introduction of new species—even those which were unsuitable in the natural state—were, indeed, only to be expected when artificial materials were used. While it cannot be demonstrated that this development occurred in the Early Dynastic Period and not previously, the earliest known evidence comes from tombs of that time, and if, as is by no means unlikely, the first papyrus- and lily-columns were embodied in caskets and only subsequently employed architecturally, the reasons, whatever their nature, which led to the great elaboration in the style of tomb furniture at that date may well have supplied the impetus.

UN DÉTAIL DE LA DÉCORATION D'UNE TOMBE THÉBAÏNE: UN VASE AVEC UNE REPRÉ- SENTATION DE CHEVAUX

Par G. NAGEL

SIR A. H. Gardiner s'est toujours occupé des tombes thébaines et au cours de sa carrière il a travaillé autant à les faire mieux connaître qu'à les protéger. Un petit détail de ces tombes peut donc trouver sa modeste place dans l'hommage rendu au doyen si actif de notre science.

Si je publie ce détail, je ne l'ai, cependant, pas découvert moi-même. Quelques années après la publication d'un article sur des vases décorés de chevaux¹ M. G. Jéquier me montrait dans ses notes le croquis d'un vase décoré de la sorte qu'il avait relevé lorsque, avant 1914, il étudiait de plus près la décoration des tombes thébaines. C'est en 1939 seulement que j'ai pu visiter cette tombe et dessiner ce détail. J'eus la surprise de découvrir que M. N. de G. Davies qui, mieux que personne, connaissait toutes ces tombes, ne l'avait point encore remarqué.

La tombe d'Ouserhet (No. 56) appartient au règne d'Aménophis II. Plusieurs des scènes civiles qui la décorent ont été publiées, entre autres par Wreszinski, mais les représentations religieuses ne semblent pas avoir retenu l'attention des chercheurs. La scène à laquelle appartient le détail que je publie ici, se trouve sur la paroi ouest de la seconde chambre au sud du No. 10 dans le plan de Porter et Moss.

Les deux registres principaux (cf. pl. XII, 1) représentent les porteurs d'offrandes et de mobilier funéraire qui se dirigent vers le fond de la tombe. Dans le registre intermédiaire deux motifs alternent, séparés par de légères colonnes de bois à chapiteau papyri-forme, d'une part, cinq corbeilles (ou de grands vases de terre) remplies de pains ronds sur toute la hauteur du registre, auxquels se mêlent parfois des sarments de vigne avec feuilles et grappes; de l'autre un groupe où prédominent les vases. A la partie supérieure il y a quatre grandes cruches décorées, posées sur des supports de bois, elles n'ont point de bouchons. En bas il y a régulièrement à gauche une coupe profonde contenant un grand gâteau pointu, et sur les trois autres quarts de la largeur, une table basse sur laquelle sont posés, de gauche à droite, de la nourriture variée dans une grande corbeille, un autel portatif et un gâteau pointu posé dans une coupe.

Les colonnes pourraient n'être que des motifs décoratifs de séparation, mais j'y verrais plus volontiers une construction provisoire en matériaux légers, pour mettre à l'abri du soleil les provisions solides et liquides destinées à ceux qui participent à la

¹ G. Nagel, *Quelques représentations de chevaux sur des poteries du Nouvel Empire*, Bull. Inst. fr. 30, pp. 185 à 194; 7 figures et 1 planche.

cérémonie funéraire. Plus tard ou ailleurs, on voit de petits pavillons qui remplissent le même office.¹

Le groupe qui nous intéresse particulièrement (pl. XII, 2) est celui qui se trouve presque au centre de la figure 1. Les grands vases à vin ou à bière sont tous décorés; si un seul est particulièrement intéressant, les autres peuvent nous donner une idée des motifs assez simples qui se rencontrent ailleurs dans cette scène. Tous ont deux bandes décorées limitées par les lignes horizontales habituelles. Sur le col ce sont toujours des pétales stylisés, mais sur la panse il y a plus de variété. Le vase de gauche est orné de trois rangs de cercles, ceux du milieu étant plus grands que les autres; le second porte des chevaux représentés au repos et esquissés en quelques traits rapides; le troisième a des rinceaux encadrés de lignes obliques; sur le dernier, enfin, nous avons un motif qui se rencontre souvent dans la céramique décorée en Égypte: un sarment de vigne court autour du vase, au-dessus et au-dessous des feuilles et des grappes de raisin alternent.

Les couleurs sont réduites à leur plus simple expression, le contour des vases et des supports est en rouge vif ainsi que les lignes horizontales principales de la décoration, le reste est d'un rouge plus clair. Je ne crois pas que ce soient là les couleurs réelles des objets. Nous devons avoir, en réalité, des vases d'une terre brun clair avec un décor noir et rouge comme le vase aux chevaux du Musée du Caire que j'ai relevé,² ou celui, orné de deux vaches et d'un taureau, que Keimer vient de publier.³ Ces vases peuvent avoir, à l'occasion, quelques détails en bleu comme le vase de Berlin dont nous allons parler. Le style de la tombe d'Ouserhet n'est pas très soigné, et cela explique facilement que ces vases aient été reproduits aussi schématiquement.

Cette scène est, à ma connaissance, la seule où nous puissions voir reproduit un vase orné de chevaux et c'est ce qui fait son intérêt. Les exemples au naturel de vases décorés de la sorte ne sont pas nombreux. J'avais cru autrefois réunir tous ceux qui étaient connus, mais, par je ne sais quelle aberration, j'avais négligé un très bel exemplaire du Musée de Berlin qui était pourtant publié depuis plusieurs années et même en couleur.⁴ Grâce à l'obligeance du Dr. Anthes, alors assistant au Musée de Berlin, j'avais eu des photographies de l'objet et des indications sur les couleurs de la décoration. Je profite de cette occasion pour publier, d'après ces documents, la partie de la décoration qui n'est pas reproduite par Schäfer.

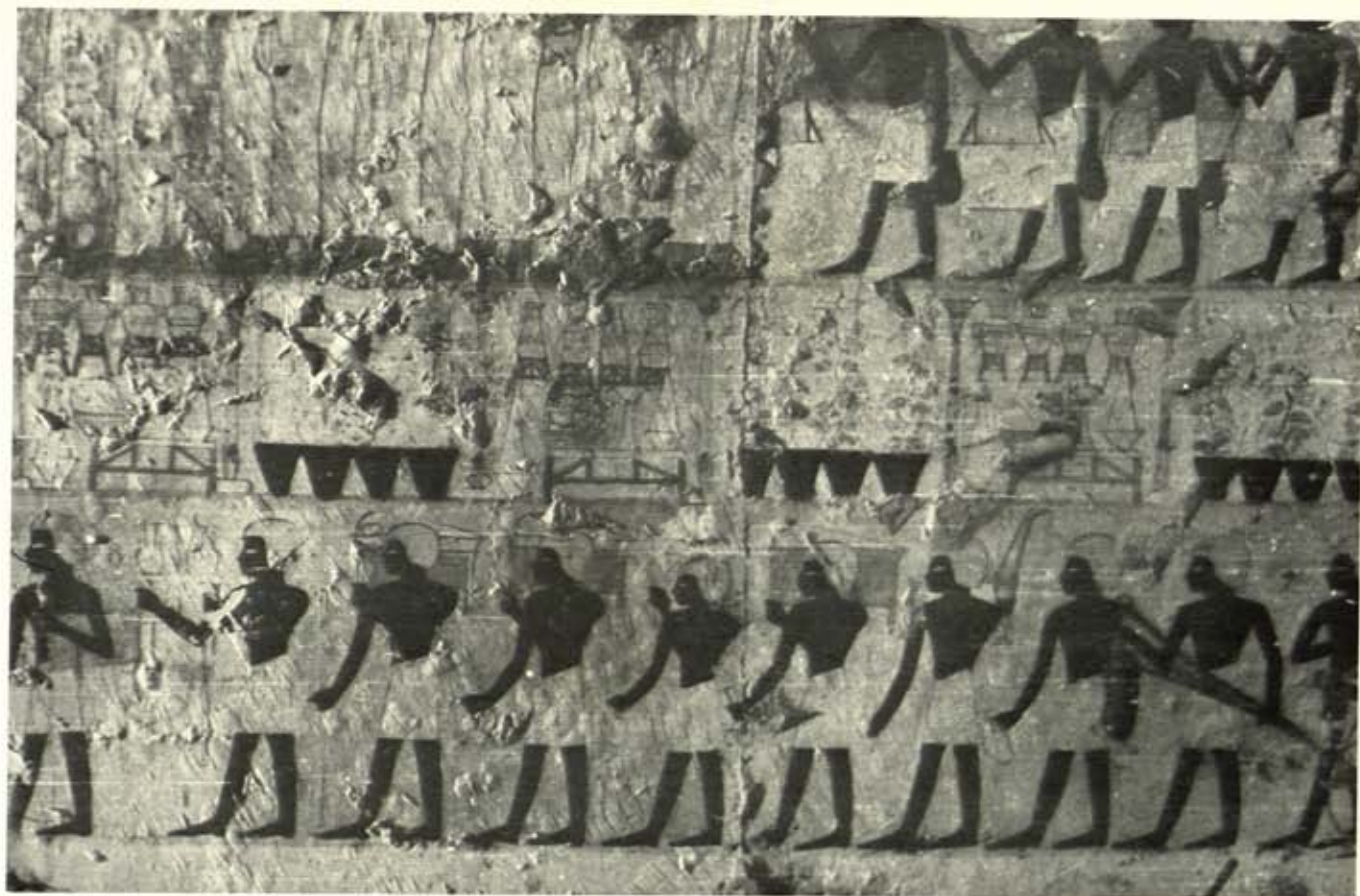
Sur ce vase, nous avons deux motifs décoratifs séparés et limités par trois bandes horizontales, formées chacune de deux lignes noires et de deux rouges encadrant une ligne bleue. Sur le col nous avons en noir des pétales stylisés. Sur la panse sont représentés deux chevaux tournés vers la droite. Ils sont séparés par deux motifs de remplissage, d'un côté c'est une sorte de bouquet monté formé par une armature de roseaux d'où sort une fleur de lotus, autour de l'armature jaillissent des feuilles qui rappellent celles du lierre. Du pied vers la gauche, sort une tige aboutissant à un cercle qui doit

¹ Cf. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, 1, pls. 278, 281, sur la pl. 260 nous avons, comme ici, une rangée de colonnes, mais elles n'abritent que de grandes amphores.

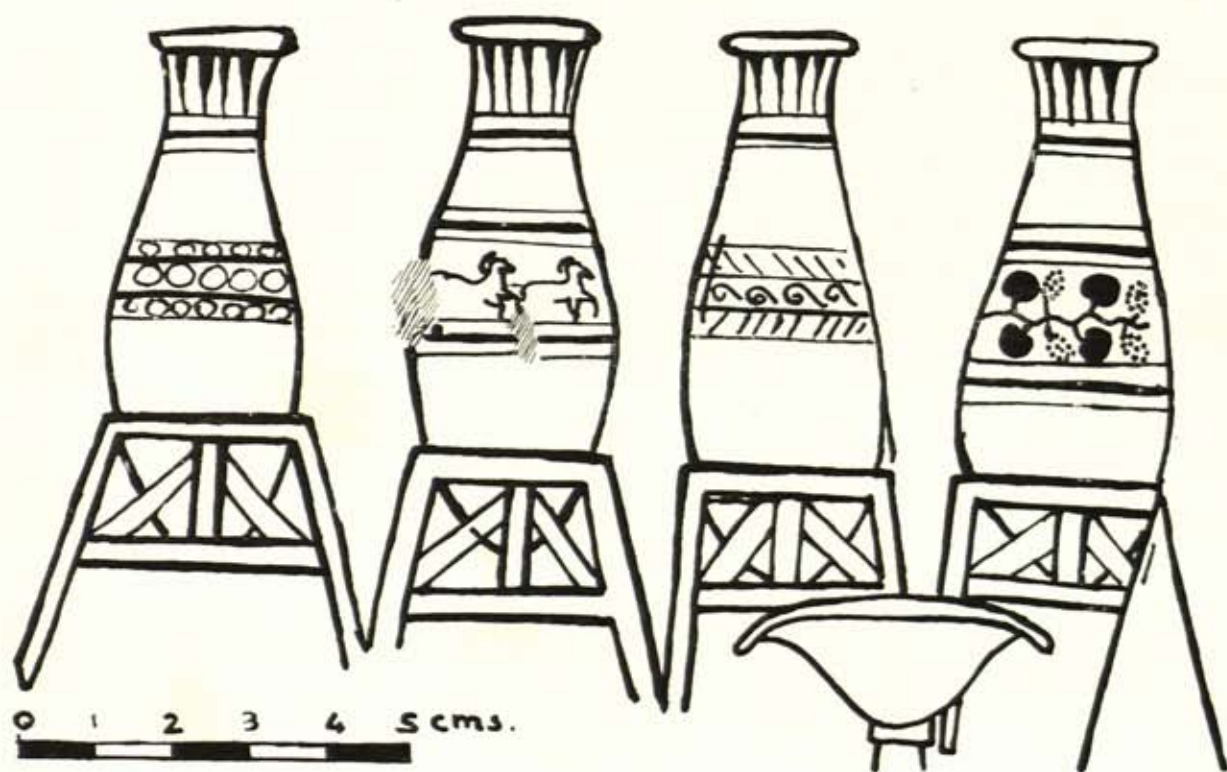
² Voir, p. 129, n. 1.

³ Keimer, *The Decoration of a New Kingdom Vase*, *JNES* 8, pp. 1 ff., pls. 1-4.

⁴ Schäfer-Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, II, pl. 19.



1. Scene from tomb No. 56



2. Vases from above scene.

DECORATED VASES IN TOMB No. 56

représenter soit une fleur, soit une feuille de lotus, mais dans un cas comme dans l'autre la figuration me semble exceptionnelle. A l'opposé nous avons un signe de vie qui tient toute la hauteur du registre; il est muni de bras qui tiennent des sceptres.¹ Le cheval reproduit par Schäfer se dresse à demi sur ses pattes de derrière, celui que je donne ici est en pleine course. L'un et l'autre ont autour de la tête une corde dont l'extrémité retombe entre les jambes de devant. Les deux ont l'avant-train couvert



FIG. 1. Vase du Musée de Berlin.

d'un quadrillage noir et rouge qui semble représenter un harnachement, mais je ne vois pas de parallèle dans les nombreuses représentations de chevaux que nous possédons. L'arrière-train est orné de taches noires et rouges comme c'est souvent le cas. Ces deux chevaux ont belle allure, mais ils me paraissent d'un style moins bon que ceux du vase du Caire. La manière dont l'avant-train est reproduit donne une certaine lourdeur à l'ensemble.

Depuis la publication de mon article dans le *Bull. Inst. fr.* j'ai eu entre les mains les très nombreux fragments de poteries décorées trouvés dans les fouilles du village de Deir el Médineh, mais je n'en ai point trouvés qui attestent un nouvel exemple de ce genre de décoration.

¹ Ce même motif se retrouve dans la même position sur un fragment du Musée du Caire (Cat. No. 2754) que j'ai reproduit. Op. cit., fig. 4, p. 189.

AN EGYPTIAN STATUETTE IN MALTA

By ROSALIND MOSS

THE spread of Egyptian culture outside the Nile valley has been the subject of much discussion and speculation. Palestine and Syria fall into a special category, and may be considered as almost part of the Empire, but how many inscribed monuments of Ancient Egyptian origin have actually been discovered in other Mediterranean countries? The most important are those of monumental proportions which were transported in classical and later times to embellish public squares and the like; such are the obelisks and sphinxes in Istanbul, Rome, and Cagliari (Sardinia), and the sphinxes of Amenophis III and Sethos I in the Dalmatian Palace of Diocletian at Split. A considerable number of statues, mostly of the Saite or Graeco-Roman periods, found their way to Rome, many of them serving to adorn the Villa of Hadrian and similar buildings, and are now in the Vatican, the Capitoline Museum, and other Italian collections. Inscribed vases travelled to the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete, from the Old Kingdom onwards, and small objects of an ornamental or magical nature were traded round the Mediterranean, a large number of these being imported to the Rhône valley in connexion with the cult of Isis in Graeco-Roman times. But considering the long period covered by the history of Egypt, and the enormous number of monuments produced, it is surprising that so few inscribed objects of Pre-Saite date survive outside its borders. Sculptured blocks used as ship's ballast have turned up at Marseilles and other ports, but complete stelae are almost entirely absent, except for four in the British Museum (nos. 218, 233, 287, 299) said to have come from Malta,¹ and apart from those in Italy already mentioned, there seem to be only some dozen statues known. These include two dating from the Middle Kingdom, namely, a granite statuette of Keri from a Byzantine cemetery in Asia Minor, now in Ankara Museum,² and a diorite statue of User discovered in the Palace of Minos by Sir Arthur Evans,³ now in Candia Museum. The New Kingdom is represented by a Nineteenth Dynasty statue of Wennefer from Greece now in the Athens Museum,⁴ a statue of Tuthmosis I found near the harbour at Cherchel in Algeria in 1848, now in the Museum,⁵ and the small group of Neferabu in Malta which is the subject of this article.

In the Museum at Valetta is a small limestone statue representing a standing man in a long pleated skirt, holding a seated group consisting of Rē-Ḥarakhti and Ma'et with an uraeus between them. The total height is 16½ inches, with a maximum width of 5½ inches at the shoulders, and there are inscriptions down the back, round the base, and on the stand supporting the two deities (see Pl. XIII). I am indebted to the Chevalier Scicluna of the Valetta Museum who kindly supplied the photographs

¹ 'Found at Bighi in 1829 in removing rubbish for the erection of the new Naval Hospital at Malta', Wilkinson MSS. xvii, G. 2.

² Von der Osten in *AJS* 43, 293, figs. 11-13.

⁴ Text, Legrain in *Rec. trav.* 31, 202 f.

³ *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, I, 288, fig. 220.

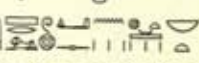
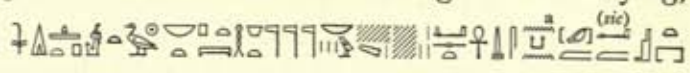
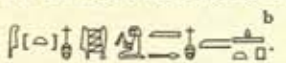
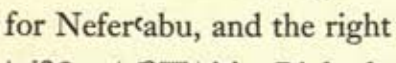
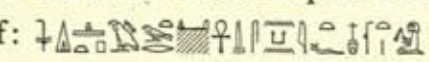
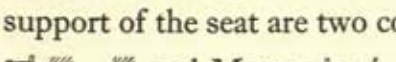
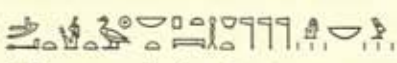
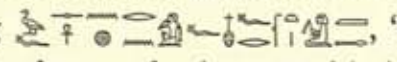
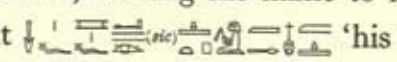
⁵ Gauckler, *Musée de Cherchel*, pl. 2 (1).



STATUE OF NEFER'ABU AT VALETTA

reproduced here and other details, and to Dr. Erik Iversen who was good enough to give me his hand-copies of the texts, made when he visited the museum.

Little is known of the history of the group, which was discovered in the neighbouring island of Gozo in 1713, and is described by Caruana in an article entitled 'Phoenician and Roman Antiquities in the Group of the Islands at Malta' (Malta, 1882), p. 32: '*An Egyptian Triad* borne by Talamifera, carved in Malta stone, 1 ft. 2 in. high. Osiris, bearing an Ibis head with a cavity in the vertex, is sitting on the right; Isis on the left; and Orus with a falcon's head in the middle. The sides and the front of the pedestal are covered with hieroglyphics of which Dr. Lepsius, in 1842, pronouncing it to be a sepulchral monument, promised an interpretation. It was discovered at Gozo in 1713.' The details of this description are rather quaint, the author having mistaken the uraeus between the divinities for a figure of Horus forming a triad, and the falcon head of Rē-Harakhti for that of an ibis. When Lepsius visited Malta in September 1842, the statue was in the Biblioteca di Lavalette, and he published a small sketch of it with some of the inscriptions.¹ It was also seen by Professor Sayce, who has left a rough copy of the text on an odd sheet among his papers, now in the Griffith Institute at Oxford, describing it incorrectly as a 'stela in Malta'.

The man represented in the statuette is a certain Neferabu, Servant in the Place of Truth. On the back-pillar is an offering formula addressed to Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, and Mūt, the Great One, the Lady of Asher . Round the base of the whole group runs a single line of text containing a double formula, beginning in the middle of the plinth, the left half addressed to Rē-Harakhti, Great God, King of the Ennead, and the right half to Maet, daughter of Rē, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, the two deities whose images he is carrying, in favour of Neferabu. Right half: . Left half: . The formulae round the edge of the seat are addressed to Amen-Rē and Mūt, the left half for Neferabu, and the right for his father Neferronpet. Left half: . Right half: . Down the front of the support of the seat are two columns of text with the epithets of Rē-Harakhti  and Maet , respectively, corresponding to the two statuettes above. The remaining texts are on the sides of the stand, that on the (spectator's) left being , 'his son, making his name to live, Neferronpet, justified'; that on the (spectator's) right , 'his beloved brother, Anhotpe, well justified in peace'. Professor Gunn kindly collated these texts from the photographs with the copies of Professor Sayce and Dr. Iversen, and I am most grateful for his help.

¹ Leps. *Denkm.*, Text, v, 396.

² The words between ^a and ^b are not repeated, see the photograph.

This Nefer^cabu, son of Neferronpet, with a son also named Neferronpet, and a brother ^cAnhotpe, is the owner of Tomb no. 5 at Thebes, published by Vandier, *La Tombe de Nefer-abou* (*Mém. Inst. fr.*, LXIX, 1935), who has collected all other known monuments of the same man, and gives a list of his relatives including the three mentioned here. According to the evidence of an ostracon in the British Museum (no. 5634),¹ he lived in the reign of Ramesses II. Objects bearing his name come either from his tomb, which seems to have been discovered between 1883 and 1886, though it may have been pillaged earlier, or from a Theban votive chapel, as discussed by Vandier, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-4. As our statue was discovered in 1713, it may have been a votive offering in some shrine or temple, presumably at Thebes.

One other inscription of Nefer^cabu not known by Vandier may be mentioned here. In the manuscript note-books of Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, on permanent loan to the Griffith Institute at Oxford (Wilkinson MSS. V. 126), is a drawing of the base of a statue or column dedicated by the Servant in the Place of Truth, Nefer^cabu (see fig. 1). Above are four cartouches, consisting of the prenomen and nomen of Amenophis I, and the cartouches of Queen ^cAḥmose-Nefertere and of Merytamūn. (The signs above the wavy line, drawn in red ink in Wilkinson's copy, are evidently a reconstruction.) The last-named princess is not the daughter of Tuthmosis III whose tomb was found by Mr. Winlock at Dēr el-Baḥri, but an earlier princess of the same name, a daughter of Amosis and ^cAḥmose-Nefertere, with whom she is associated in cult-scenes, see Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois*, II, 192-3. She also appears with her brother Sipair on a stela-fragment at Ashmūnēn, published in Roeder, *Vorläufiger Bericht . . . Hermopolis-Expedition 1931 und 1932*, p. 39, Abb. 19. The worship of these Eighteenth Dynasty members of the royal family by Theban officials was prevalent in the Nineteenth Dynasty, and in Nefer^cabu's tomb there is a representation of Amenophis I offering to divinities,² which makes it likely that Wilkinson's fragment belongs to the same man. In the note-book it is described as 'from Jannis, Thebes', meaning that it was then in the possession of Giovanni d'Athanasī, the well-known agent who procured antiquities for Salt in the early nineteenth century. It would be interesting to know whether it still survives, and whether it is now among the unpublished objects in some museum or private collection.



FIG. 1.

¹ Vandier, *op. cit.*, p. 72.



² *Ibid.* pls. 12, 13.




A PROPOS D'UN GROUPE DU SÉRAPÉUM DE MEMPHIS CONSERVÉ AU MUSÉE DU LOUVRE

By JACQUES VANDIER

Le groupe qui fait l'objet du présent article doit être entré au Musée du Louvre avec l'ensemble du Sérapéum, au milieu du siècle dernier. Il est, en tout cas, mentionné, et même partiellement reproduit en photographie, dans le volume de Mariette sur le Sérapéum.¹ Ce groupe se compose de deux personnages tenant devant eux une stèle.² Le style en est si grossier qu'on est tenté de supposer que le monument a été abandonné alors qu'il était à peine dégrossi, et qu'il n'a jamais, à l'exception de la stèle, été terminé. Les deux personnages sont si exactement semblables qu'il est à peu près impossible de dire si le dedicataire, Nesptah, est représenté à côté d'une femme ou à côté d'un homme. L'artiste, en effet, n'a pas cru utile de détailler les costumes, et nous n'avons aucun élément qui nous permette d'établir une distinction. Les visages, très ronds et grossièrement sculptés, sont encadrés, l'un et l'autre, par une perruque courte qui cache les oreilles et qui affecte, vaguement, la forme d'une calotte. Les deux personnages sont assis sur leurs jambes repliées, et ont le dos appuyé contre un pilier dorsal qui fait, avec le socle, un angle sensiblement obtus; aussi les personnages donnent-ils l'impression d'être à moitié couchés. Ils soutiennent, de leurs mains avancées, la stèle, ou, plutôt, le bloc de pierre dont la stèle n'a pas été entièrement dégagée, bloc qui se confond avec les genoux des personnages: les mains qui sont à l'intérieur sont posées à plat sur ce bloc, et les mains qui sont à l'extérieur sont posées sur la tranche de la partie non dégrossie de la stèle. Celle-ci est, sans aucun doute, l'élément le plus important de notre monument. Elle est d'une forme vaguement rectangulaire, étant un peu plus étroite au sommet qu'à la base. Le sommet est rectiligne, et sur la partie plate est gravée une table d'offrandes.

La face antérieure de la stèle se divise en deux parties inégales. En haut, sont gravés, en très léger relief dans le creux, de petits tableaux que nous décrirons de gauche à droite:

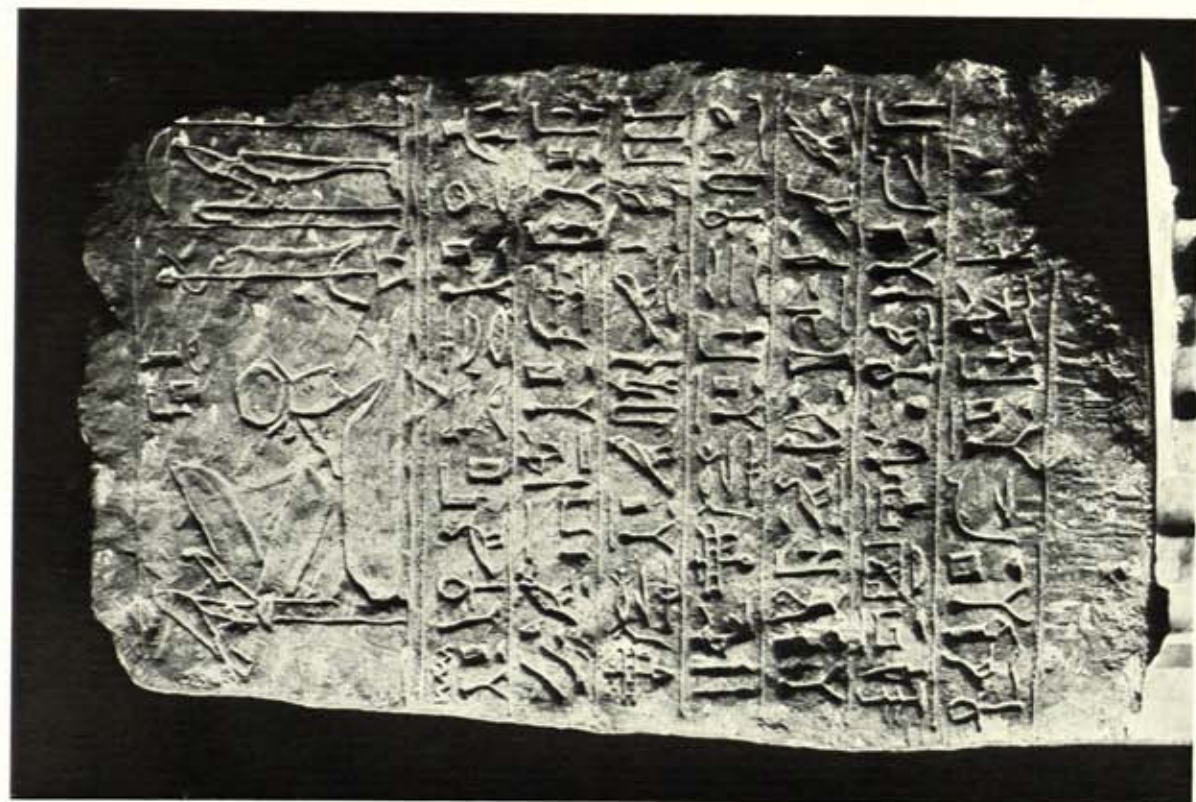
1° Le signe de l'Occident ; du pavois s'échappent deux grandes ailes, s'ouvrant de façon que la plume du signe  soit couchée sur la partie supérieure de l'aile qui lui correspond. L'Occident, ainsi ailé, protège

2° le taureau Apis  couché. L'Apis porte le disque solaire entre ses deux cornes qui, de profil, ressemblent à un croissant de lune. Aucun des signes distinctifs du taureau memphite n'a été indiqué par le sculpteur. Au-dessus de l'Apis est gravé son nom  , l'Osiris Apis.

3° La nébride d'Anubis; la peau est simplement silhouettée.

¹ Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, Paris, 1857, p. 18 et pl. 25, 2.

² Seule la stèle est reproduite sur la photographie de Mariette.



SERAPEUM STELA NOW IN THE LOUVRE



de cette généalogie, on doit signaler que Chedsounéferterem était le fils du grand prêtre de Ptaḥ, 'Ankhenefsekhmet, qui le précéda immédiatement dans cette charge, d'après la stèle 3429 du Sérapéum (cf. *supra*), et qu'il avait épousé une sœur de Nemrod, père de Chéchonq I^{er}.¹ Chedsounéferterem se trouve donc être l'oncle du fondateur de la XXII^e Dynastie, et il exerça, certainement, ses hautes fonctions sacerdotales sous le règne de son neveu, comme le prouve un bloc de Mitrahiné.² D'après la stèle 741 du Caire, les fils de Chedsounéferterem s'appelaient Chéchonq et 'Achaoutakh, et ses filles Tadénitenbast et Tachéritenmout.

Revenons, maintenant, au groupe du Louvre, dont le dédicataire se dit fils de Chedsounéferterem. Il n'est pas impossible, *a priori*, que le grand prêtre ait eu, en plus des deux fils mentionnés par la statue 741 du Caire, un troisième fils, appelé Nesptaḥ. Mais, dans ce cas, on doit admettre qu'il avait eu un quatrième fils, puisque Nesptaḥ, sur son groupe du Louvre, cite le nom d'un de ses frères, appelé Djedptaḥiouf'ankh. Aussi est-il, sans doute, préférable de supposer que le mot *z* doit être pris, ici, au sens plus large de petit-fils ou de descendant. La première acception semble, d'abord, la plus séduisante. Nous savons, en effet, que Chedsounéferterem avait une fille, Tadénitenbast, qui porte le même nom que la mère de Nesptaḥ. Malheureusement, sur le groupe du Louvre, il est bien précisé que le père de Tadénitenbast, donc le grand-père de Nesptaḥ, s'appelait, non pas Chedsounéferterem, mais Djedptaḥiouf'ankh. On est donc obligé de renoncer à cette hypothèse. La deuxième acception est, d'ailleurs, confirmée par une note de Mariette, dans l'ouvrage cité au début de cet article.³ Mariette, en effet, mentionne notre monument parmi ceux qui sont contemporains du troisième Apis de la XXII^e Dynastie. Cet Apis est mort en l'an 28 de Chéchonq III, c'est-à-dire en 795, plus d'un siècle après la mort (929) du roi Chéchonq I^{er}, qui était, comme nous l'avons vu, le neveu du grand prêtre Chedsounéferterem. Si la date indiquée par Mariette est exacte, il est évident que notre Nesptaḥ ne peut être qu'un descendant éloigné de Chedsounéferterem, dont il est séparé par quatre ou cinq générations. Aucun document, à ma connaissance, ne vient confirmer l'affirmation de Mariette, ce qui n'implique pas qu'elle soit inexacte. J'ai parcouru les inscriptions des stèles du Sérapéum conservées au Musée du Louvre;⁴ le nom de Nesptaḥ et celui de Chedsounéferterem y apparaissent souvent (surtout à l'époque perse), mais, nulle part, je n'ai pu trouver une généalogie qui corresponde à celles que nous ont conservées la statue 741 du Musée du Caire et le groupe du Louvre. Aussi, avant de conclure, est-on en droit de se demander s'il n'y a pas eu deux grands prêtres appelés Chedsounéferterem, l'un ayant vécu sous Chéchonq I^{er}, et, l'autre, sous Chéchonq III. La liste des grands prêtres, qui se trouve sur la stèle 3429 du Sérapéum ne permet guère de s'arrêter à une telle hypothèse. Cependant, une autre stèle du Sérapéum (n° 4039) cite un grand prêtre Chedsounéferterem, qui est

¹ Sa femme s'appelait, non pas Tachépenast, comme on l'a prétendu souvent, mais Tapéchenast, comme l'a démontré Grdseloff en collationnant l'original (cf. *Ann. Serv.* 47, 212-13).

² Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 817 et p. 949 (le monument est reproduit, par erreur, deux fois). Cette référence m'a été aimablement communiquée par Ch. Maystre.

³ *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, p. 18, n. 3.

⁴ Ce travail m'a été facilité grâce aux excellentes copies établies par G. Posener, M. Malinine et J. Vercoutter en vue de la publication de ces stèles.

fils, non pas de 'Ankhenefsekhmet, comme le Chedsounéfertem de la statue 741 du Musée du Caire, mais d'un prophète, appelé Paḥemnéter. Mais cette stèle est sensiblement postérieure au règne de Chéchonq I^{er}, et Ch. Maystre, dans sa thèse, encore inédite, a montré qu'on ne peut, en aucune manière, se fier aux généalogies, dès qu'elles sont faites, et c'est le cas ici, deux ou trois générations après l'époque où a vécu le personnage cité. Il semble donc qu'il ne faille pas faire une trop grande confiance au document, d'ailleurs très fragmentaire, auquel il vient d'être fait allusion, et il est probable que le Chedsounéfertem qu'il mentionne est bien l'oncle de Chéchonq I^{er}. Signalons, enfin, pour être complet, qu'une stèle de Berlin¹ mentionne, côte à côte, un grand prêtre Chedsounéfertem, un prophète Nesptaḥ et un ['Ankh]enefsekhmet (ce dernier ne porte aucun titre). Malheureusement, la stèle n'est pas datée, et elle ne précise pas les liens de parenté qui existent entre les trois personnages cités. Elle ne nous permet donc pas de résoudre le petit problème généalogique que nous nous étions posé. Il n'est pas possible, en effet, de rattacher, d'une manière certaine, le Nesptaḥ du groupe du Louvre au grand prêtre Chedsounéfertem, dont il se proclame, cependant, le fils. Il est vraisemblable, dans ces conditions, d'admettre que Nesptaḥ a vécu réellement sous le règne de Chéchonq III, et que, s'il a nommé, dans son inscription, le grand prêtre Chedsounéfertem, c'était uniquement parce que cette illustre ascendance avait été conservée, dans sa famille, comme une précieuse tradition. Les différentes hypothèses qui ont été exposées dans cet article ont simplement prouvé, une fois de plus, combien il était difficile, en se fondant sur des documents égyptiens, de dresser, particulièrement à l'époque pré-saïte, une généalogie sûre.

¹ Berlin 8169 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, pp. 811-13 et *Äg. Inschr. Berlin*, II, 232-4.

NAMES AND RELATIONSHIPS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF NAPATA

By DOWS DUNHAM AND M. F. LAMING MACADAM

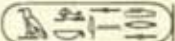
THE researches and excavations of Professor F. Ll. Griffith and the Griffith Institute, and the work of Professor George A. Reisner and the Harvard-Boston Expedition, have added greatly to the body of information now available on the history of Kush and its rulers from the beginning of the Twenty-fifth Egyptian Dynasty to the fall of Meroë. This paper is an attempt to present that part of the evidence which bears on the early period of Kushite culture, from Alara (a predecessor of Kashta) to Nastaseñ, called by us the Napatan Kingdom and dating from early in the eighth to the beginning of the third century B.C.

Reisner's excavations in the cemeteries of Kurru and Nuri, and his work at the temples of Gebel Barkal, have established the archaeological sequence of the majority of the tombs of the kings and queens of this period, have identified by inscribed finds the people buried in many of them, and have thrown much light on their relationships. Further evidence on these matters has come from the work of the Griffith Institute, especially at Kawa.

For some years previous to the last war the second of the two writers contributing this article was engaged in preparing a memoir on Professor Griffith's excavations at Kawa from the papers he left at his death. The volume dealing with the inscriptions will be published shortly and may even have seen publication before the appearance of this volume of the *Journal*. The inscriptions considered there are mainly from the Napatan and Meroitic periods. They fall into a sequence providing a number of what have hitherto been called 'Late Ethiopian' inscriptions illustrating the gradual disappearance of Egyptian from the Sudan as a written language and its replacement by Meroitic. The task of publishing both these and the archaeological material from Kawa brought the writer into touch with Dows Dunham, who has at his disposal all the unpublished files of Professor George A. Reisner's extensive researches in the Sudan. As a result he (Macadam) has come to feel a lively interest in Meroitic and its successor, Nubian, and has for some time been convinced of the desirability of trying to further the study of these in the hope that a better understanding of Meroitic at least may yield something of value for the history of the Hamitic and perhaps other groups of African languages geographically situated near to Egypt, as well as for the history of the Sudan. To study Meroitic is not necessarily to stray from the paths of Egyptology, for Egyptian, largely Semitic as it is, nevertheless contains at least a modicum (some scholars say much more) of Hamitic, and what is to the profit of one may ultimately prove to be to the profit of the other.

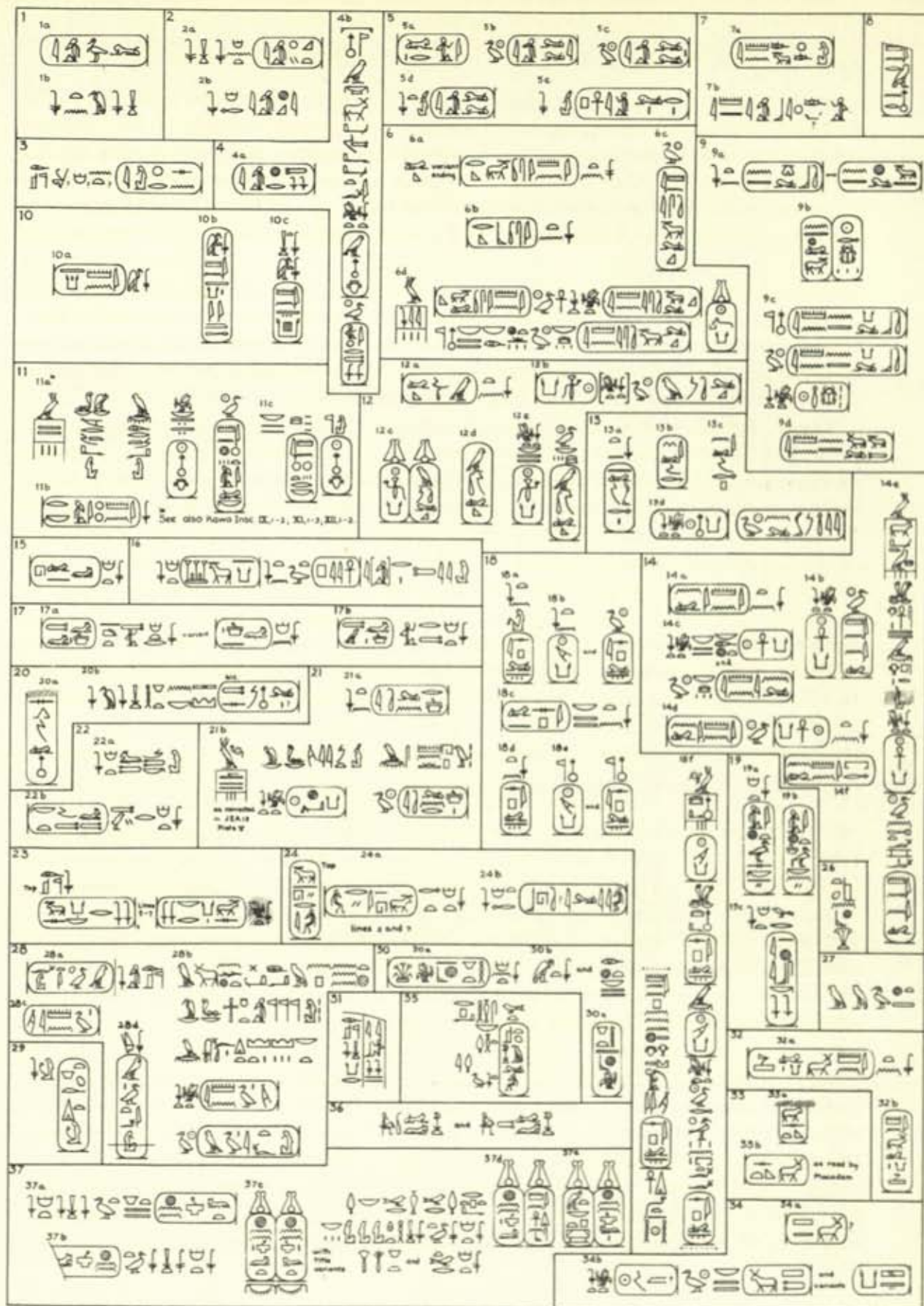
Anyone seeking to explain the cultural inheritance of Napata and Meroë sees at once

that almost all that was received came by way of Egypt. The easiest approach to the Meroitic language, it seems logical to suppose, lies through a study of the Napatan inscriptions, which, as their style of Egyptian degenerates, may occasionally let fall some hint, historical or grammatical, of what is to come. The personal names of the Napatan period, royal and otherwise, to be seen there, should be found to form a series merging smoothly into the Meroitic, and it is encouraging to be able to report that some of the Napatan names can be translated as Meroitic. For the moment we do not wish to enlarge on this point, for there is insufficient space to discuss problems of Meroitic grammar and phonetics which arise. During the past year or more we have been pooling our information and attempting to arrive at agreed conclusions on two matters: the sequence and relationship of the royal personages, and the adoption of 'pronounceable forms' for the writing of their names.

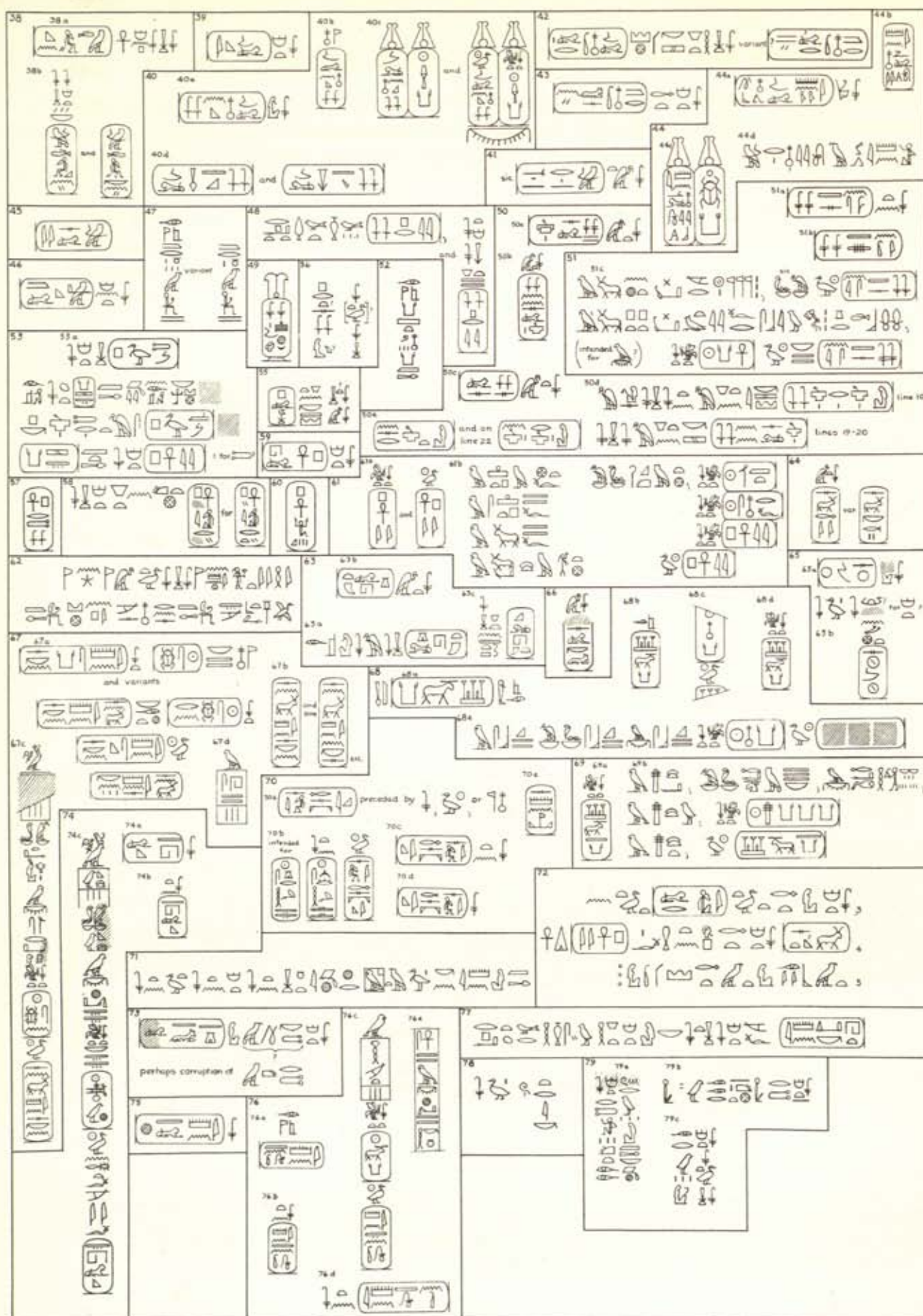
The second of these we have already touched on. Briefly stated, the problem is this. From Dyn. XXV, in both Egypt and Nubia, the personal names of kings are no longer all Egyptian. Egypt needed to spell, as nearly alphabetically as she was able in hieroglyphic and demotic, the foreign names of her Persian, Greek, and Roman rulers. In Nubia the system as used in hieroglyphic was applied to the native names of the rulers of the Napatan and Meroitic periods. For Napatan, Persian, Greek, and Roman names consonants presented no great difficulty, but vowels could be indicated only vaguely by the use of *z*, *i*, *y*, *r*, *w*, and combinations of these, as *matres lectionis*. With Meroitic, although the signs employed are different, the system is the same, the signs formerly supposed to indicate vowels being mere counters, denoting the presence of vowels but very little about their nature. Our problem is that whereas with the Persian, Greek, and Roman names we already know their Persian, Greek, and Roman forms, so that their transcription presents no difficulty, with the Napatan and Meroitic names we have very rarely any such guide. It is as though we were confronted with 

and having no guardian spirit to whisper 'Alexandros' could only perpetrate at worst ELKESENDERES or at best ALAKSANDRAS as 'pronounceable form'. If our pronounceable forms look bizarre, therefore, let it be remembered that they are but a temporary expedient (how temporary depends on the rate of advancement of the study of Meroitic), designed to last only until further knowledge shall warrant a new attempt. Inevitably the readings of a number of names remain tentative, as indicated by the symbol '(?)', either because the inscriptional evidence is inadequate or because some as yet imperfectly understood point of grammar is involved.

As to the relationships of the Napatan rulers it should be explained that in *The Temples of Kawa*, I, Macadam has essayed a genealogical reconstruction of the earlier part of the Napatan dynasty using only inscriptional evidence either hitherto published or freshly obtained from the Kawa inscriptions. It was intended as a textual skeleton to be given archaeological flesh at a later stage. In the genealogy published here the skeleton is so dressed. To it Dunham has added many more names the evidence for the position of which is mainly archaeological. In a number of cases relationships, especially of husband and wife, are in doubt, although in such cases the very clear



NAPATAN ROYAL NAMES



NAPATAN ROYAL NAMES

archaeological evidence for the sequence of the tombs at Kurru and Nuri has supplemented the inscriptional material. Despite these imperfections we have felt that the amount of evidence at our disposal was sufficient to warrant publication of our results at this stage.

In the following pages we list the names in the alphabetical order of their 'pronounceable forms', men in capitals and women in small type. The names of kings, which are underlined, are followed by a number in round brackets () indicating their places in the chronological series. The place of burial, where known, is indicated, and also such relationships as can be established. Finally we give the inscriptional evidence for the identification of the names on the accompanying plates of hieroglyphs, reference to which in the text is given in square brackets []. The original direction of writing has not always been preserved, the object being merely to collect the different spellings.¹

NAPATAN ROYAL NAMES

1. Abar, Queen. Tomb unidentified; Reisner proposed Nuri 35.
Daughter of KASHTA (1). Sister-wife of PIANKHY (2). Mother of TAHARQA (5).
Kawa, Stela V [1, a]; Barkal Temple 300 = Leps. *Denkm.* v, pl. 7 c, left, a misunderstood cartouche and the titles [1, b].
2. Akhe(qa?), Queen. Buried in Nuri 38.
Daughter of ASPELTA (10) (and Henuttakhebit?). Sister-wife of AMTALQA (11).
Shawabti [2, a]; and compare scarab from Meroë West 591 [2, b].
3. Akhrasan, Queen. Buried in Nuri 32.
King's wife, about temp. MALEWIEBAMANI (19).
Shawabti [3].
4. AKHRATAN (25), King. Buried in Nuri 14.
Perhaps son of HARSIOTEF (23).
Cartouche in chapel [4, a]; statue from Barkal Temple 500 in Boston 23.735 [4, b].
5. ALARA (ancestral), King? or Chieftain. Tomb unidentified.
Probably elder brother of KASHTA (1).
Tabiry Stela in Khartoum, No. 1901 [5, a]; Kawa Stela IV, line 17 [5, b]; Kawa Stela VI, line 22 [5, c]; Kawa Inscr. IX, line 54 [5, d]; 'Nastaseñ Stela' (Berlin 2268; *Urk.* III, 137 ff.) [5, e].
6. AMANIASTABARQA (16), King. Buried in Nuri 2.
Shawabti [6, a]; beryl plaque 17-2-235 [6, b]; sheet gold 17-2-237 (in Khartoum) [6, c]; cylinder sheath 17-2-258 [6, d]; granite stela, Nuri 100, No. 4, in Boston (unregistered) with cartouches as [6, c] reversed and [6, d] line 2.
7. AMANIBAKHI (?), King. Tomb unidentified, presumed to be at Nuri.
Date and relationships unknown.
Nuri 100, No. 1, granite stela in Boston 21.3236 [7, a]; Nuri 100, No. 6, offering-stone in Boston (unregistered) [7, b]. Both perhaps the same person.

¹ By an oversight the votaresses Amonirdis I and II and Shepenwepet II, and the son of Taharqa named Eshshowtēfēnet have been omitted from the list, though not from the genealogical table. They have all, however, been included in Macadam's discussion referred to above, and as no direct evidence about any of them has come either from Reisner's excavations or from Kawa the omission is not a serious one.

8. Amanimalēl, Queen. Tomb unidentified; Reisner proposed Nuri 22.

Presumed wife of SENKAMANISKEŃ (8).

Statue from Barkal 500 in Merowe Museum, No. 13 (Khartoum, No. 1843) (titles broken off) [8], forming a pair with statue of SENKAMANISKEŃ in same find in Merowe Museum, No. 12 (Khartoum, No. 1842).

9. AMANI-NATAKI-LEBTE (14), King. Buried in Nuri 10.

Shawabti [9, a]; F.D. tablet 17-4-680 [9, b]; cylinder sheath 17-1-10 [9, c]; silver mirror in Boston 21.338 [9, d].

10. Amanitakaye, Queen. Buried in Nuri 26.

Daughter of ASPELTA (10). Sister-wife of AMTALQA (11). Mother of MALENAQEN (12).

Shawabti [10, a]; F.D. plaque 17-4-1131 [10, b]; cylinder sheath 18-2-667 [10, c].

11. AMAN-NĒTE-YERIKE (21), King. Buried in Nuri 12.

Son of MALEWIEBAMANI (19). Elder brother of BASKAKEREN (22). Perhaps nephew of TALAKHAMANI (20).

Blocks fallen from chapel [11, a]; shawabti [11, b]; offering-stone 17-1-175 [11, c]. Further examples Macadam, *Temples of Kawa*, I, 52; and for a different royal titulary see Kawa Inscr. IX, 1-2; XI, 1-3; XII, 1-2.

12. AMTALQA (11), King. Buried in Nuri 9.

Son of ASPELTA (10) and Henuttakhēbit.

Shawabti [12, a]; cylinder sheath 17-1-211 [12, b]; gold band 17-1-225 [12, c]; F.D. cartouche 17-4-621 [12, d]; gold spacer from Garstang's excavations at Meroë (McGregor Catalogue, pl. 38, now in Brooklyn Museum) [12, e].

13. ANALMA'AYE (13), King. Buried in Nuri 18.

Shawabti [13, a]; F.D. cartouche 17-4-944 [13, b]; F.D. plaque 17-4-945 [13, c]; silver bowl intruded in Nuri 10, 17-1-280 [13, d].

14. ANLAMANI (9), King. Buried in Nuri 6.

Son of SENKAMANISKEŃ (8) and Nasalsa. Elder brother of ASPELTA (10).

Stela in chapel [14, a]; two granite basins from chapel in Boston 16-11-43 [14, b]; granite sarcophagus in Merowe Museum, Nos. 1 and 2 (Khartoum, No. 1868) [14, c]; shawabti [14, d]; F.D. tablets and cups and Canopic jars with cartouches as above; granite statue from Barkal 500 in Boston 23.732 [14, e], and titulary very similar in Kawa Inscr. VIII, line 1. See also variant spelling in 'Dedication Stela' (*Urk.* III, 101 ff.), line 10 [14, f].

15. Artaha, Queen. Buried in Nuri 58.

Wife of ASPELTA (10).

Shawabti [15].

16. Arty, Queen. Tomb unidentified; Reisner proposed Kurru 6.

Daughter of PI'ANKHY (2). Sister-wife of SHEBITKU (4).

Cairo Statue 49157 (*Ann. Serv.* 25, 29) [16]. Perhaps same as the Pi'ankh-arty of the 'Dream Stela': see below, name 58.

17. Asata, Queen. Buried in Nuri 42.

Wife of ASPELTA (10).

Shawabti [17, a]; heart scarab in Boston 20.643 [17, b].

18. ASPELTA (10), King. Buried in Nuri 8.

Son of SENKAMANISKEŃ (8) and Nasalsa. Younger brother of ANLAMANI (9).

Texts on chamber walls [18, a]; sarcophagus in Boston 23.729 [18, b]; shawabti [18, c]; Canopics [18, d]; F.D. tablets and cups [18, e], and similarly on many other objects from burial chambers; granite statue

from Barkal 500 in Boston 23.730 [18, f]. See more correctly written titulary in 'Dedication Stela' (*Urk.* III, 101 ff.), line 1.

19. Atakhebaskēn, Queen. Buried in Nuri 36.

Wife of TAHARQA (5).

Shawabti [19, a]; Canopics in Boston 23.744-5 [19, b]; altar in Merowe Museum, No. 10 (Khartoum, No. 1860) [19, c].

20. Atasamalē, Queen. Buried in Nuri 61.

Perhaps sister and wife of AMAN-NĒTE-YERIKE (21). Mother of HARSIOTEF (23).

Sandstone altar from chamber [20, a]; stela from Barkal (Cairo Ent. 48864; Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, IV, 61) [20, b].

21. ATLANERSA (7), King. Probably buried in Nuri 20.

Son of TAHARQA (5) and . . . salka.

Tablet from Nuri 500 in Boston 20. 769 [21, a]; Gauthier, op. cit. IV, 53-4 [21, b]. See also *JEA* 4, pl. 45. N.B. No inscriptional evidence from tomb, which is assigned on archaeological grounds.

22. Atmataka, Queen. Buried in Nuri 55.

Wife of AMTALQA (11).

Shawabti (after Reisner's hand copy) [22, a]; heart scarab found intruded in Nuri 57 [22, b].

23. BASKAKEREN (22), King. Buried in Nuri 17.

Son of MALEWIEBAMANI (19). Younger brother of AMAN-NĒTE-YERIKE (21).

Stela from chapel in Merowe Museum, No. 4 (Khartoum, No. 1859) [23].

24. Batahaliye, Queen. Buried in Nuri 44.

Wife and sister of HARSIOTEF (23).

Stela from chapel in Boston 21.3231 [24, a]; Gauthier, op. cit. IV, 61 [24, b].

25. ESANHURE[T] (?), Prince. Tomb unidentified.

Eldest son of TAHARQA (5).

Suggested Egyptianization of the name 'Ushanakhūru' (if so to be read) in the annals of Esarhaddon (Macadam, *Temples of Kawa*, I, 124).

26. Es[t]jenkhēbi[t], Princess. Buried at Abydos, Tomb 3.

Daughter of SHABAKO (3).

Shawabti (*El Amrah and Abydos*, 97, pl. 39) [26].

27. HARMAKHE[T], Prince. Tomb unidentified.

Eldest son of SHABAKO (3).

Cairo Statue 42204 [27]. See *Ann. Serv.* 25, 26, and for the relationships *ibid.* 30.

28. HARSIOTEF (23), King. Buried in Nuri 13.

Son of Atasamalē and perhaps of AMAN-NĒTE-YERIKE (21).

Heart scarab 17-3-19 [28, a]; Gauthier, op. cit. IV, 59 ff. [28, b]; a variant prenomen found at Kawa [28, c]; on block fallen from chapel (after sketch by Reisner) [28, d].

29. Henutirdis, Queen. Buried in Nuri 34.

temp. HARSIOTEF (23).

Offering-table from chapel in Boston 21.3233 [29].

30. Henuttakhēbi[t], Queen. Buried in Nuri 28.

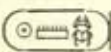

Probably daughter of SENKAMANISKEN (8). Adoptive daughter of Madiqēn. Wife of ASPELTA (10). Mother of AMTALQA (11).

Shawabti [30, a]; fragments gold sheet 17-3-448 [30, b]; F.D. cartouche 17-4-1224 [30, c]. See Gauthier, op. cit., IV, 58 for some of above relationships.

31. KARIBEN, Prince. Buried in Meroë South 500.
 Brother perhaps of SI'ASPIQA (?) (17) or ÑASAKHMA (18) (tomb dated here on archaeological grounds).
 Stela from stair in Boston 23.869 [31].
32. KARKAMANI (15), King. Buried in Nuri 7.
 Shawabti [32, a]; F.D. cartouche 17-4-461 [32, b].
33. Kasaqa, Queen. Tomb unidentified.
 Sister-wife of ALARA. Sister of KASHTA (1) and Pebatma. Mother of Tabiry. Adoptive mother of Abar.
 Kawa, Insc. XLVI [33, a]; stela of Tabiry in Khartoum, No. 1901 [33, b].
34. KASHTA (1), King. Tomb unidentified: Reisner proposed Kurru 8.
 Probably brother of ALARA. Father of PI'ANKHY (2) and SHABAKO (3).
 Fragment of faience in stair of Ku. 1, 19-3-537 [34, a]; Gauthier, op. cit. IV, 5 ff. [34, b].
35. Khalēse, Queen. Tomb unidentified.
 Probably wife of ATLANERSA (7).
 Destroyed pylon of Barkal 700 [35, a]. See *JEA* 15, pl. 5, and Macadam in *JEA* 32, 62.
36. KHALIUT, Prince. Tomb unidentified.
 Son of PI'ANKHY (2).
 Stela from Barkal 500 [36], published *ZÄS* 70, 35 ff.
37. Kheñsa, Queen. Buried in Kurru 4.
 Daughter of KASHTA (1). Sister-wife of PI'ANKHY (2). (Buried *temp.* TAHARQA (5)?)
 Granite offering-stone from stair in Boston (unregistered) [37, a]; alabaster offering-stone from chamber 19-3-543 [37, b]; various alabaster vases, all with double cartouches and varying titles [37, c]; steatite ball in Boston 21.313 [37, d]; silver basin in Boston 21.3091 [37, e].
38. Madiqēn, Queen. Buried in Nuri 27.
 Daughter of SENKAMANISKEÑ (8) and Ñasalsa. Sister-wife of ANLAMANI (9).
 Adoptive mother of Henuttakhēbi[1]. Buried *temp.* ASPELTA (10).
 Shawabti [38, a]; cylinder sheath 18-3-1012 in Boston [38, b]. See also 'Dedication Stela' (*Urk.* III, 101 ff.), line 9.
39. Malaqaye, Queen. Buried in Nuri 59.
 Perhaps wife of TANWETAMANI (6).
 Heart scarab in Boston 20.646 [39].
40. MALĒNAQEN (12), King. Buried in Nuri 5.
 Son of AMTALQA (11) and Amanitakaye.
 Shawabti [40, a]; F.D. cartouche and tablets [40, b]; five alabaster vases [40, c]; at Kawa, Insc. XLIII (*Temples of Kawa*, I, p. 89, and pl. 35) [40, d].
41. Malētaral (?) I, Queen. Buried in Nuri 41.
 Wife of ATLANERSA (7). Mother of SENKAMANISKEÑ (8).
 Heart scarab in Boston 20.644 [41].
42. Malētaral II, Queen? Buried in Nuri 25.
temp. c. AMANI-NATAKI-LEBTE (14). A king's sister, perhaps wife of PI'ANKHARITEN.
 Shawabti [42].

43. Malētaseñ, Queen. Buried in Nuri 39.
Wife of AMTALQA (11).
Shawabti [43].
44. MALEWIEBAMANI (19), King. Buried in Nuri 11.
Son of Sakataye and of either SI'ASPIQA (17) or ÑASAKHMA (18).
Shawabti [44, a]; F.D. cartouche 17-4-776 [44, b]; fragment of electrum band found intruded in Nuri 16 [44, c]; compare the private name [44, d] of *temp.* ASPELTA (10) on 'Dedication Stela', lines 6-7. Nomen nearly identical with [44, c] in Kawa Inscr. IX, line 12.
45. Masalaye, Queen? Buried in Nuri 23.
Probably wife of SENKAMANISKEÑ (8). Probably buried under ANLAMANI (9).
Shawabti (without titles) [45].
46. Meqēmalē, Queen. Buried in Nuri 40.
Wife? of ASPELTA (10).
Shawabti [46], and one other in Ashmolean Museum (1921.943) said to come from Sanam Temple, cf. *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 9, 88-9, pl. 18.
47. Mernua, Princess. Buried in Meroë South 85.
temp. c. ANLAMANI (9)-ASPELTA (10).
Shawabti [47].
48. Ñaparaye, Queen. Buried in Kurru 3.
Daughter of PI'ANKHY (2). Sister-wife of TAHARQA (5).
Alabaster offering-stone 19-3-588 (Khartoum, No. 1911) [48, a].
49. ÑASAKHMA (18), King. Buried in Nuri 19.
F.D. cartouche plaque 17-4-996 [49]. The last two signs in the cartouche may be intended for honorific *qa*, so that the spelling ÑASAKHMAQA may be preferable.
50. Ñasalsa, Queen. Buried in Nuri 24.
Daughter of ATLANERSA (7). Sister-wife of SENKAMANISKEÑ (8). Mother of ANLAMANI (9), ASPELTA (10), and Madiqēñ.
Shawabti [50, a]; F.D. tablets and cups [50, b]; stela of KHALIUT, line 13 (*ZÄS* 70, 40) [50, c]; 'Dedication Stela' (Gauthier, op. cit. IV, 57) [50, d]; Kawa Inscr. VIII [50, e].
51. NASTASEÑ (26), King. Buried in Nuri 15.
Son of Pelkha and probably of HARSIOTEF (23).
Shawabti [51, a]; mirror in Khartoum, No. 1374 [51, b]; 'Nastaseñ Stela' (Berlin 2268; Gauthier, op. cit. IV, 62) [51, c].
52. Nefrukekashta, Queen. Buried in Kurru 52.
Wife of PI'ANKHY (2).
Shawabti [52, a].
53. Pebatma, Queen. Tomb unidentified: Reisner proposed Kurru 7.
Sister-wife of KASHTA (1). Adoptive mother of Peksater.
Cairo Statue 42198 (Gauthier, op. cit. IV, 8) [53, a]; door-jamb from Abydos (ibid. 10) [53, b].
54. Peksater, Queen. Tomb unidentified: Reisner proposed Kurru 54.
Daughter of KASHTA (1). Adoptive daughter of Pebatma. Sister-wife of PI'ANKHY (2).
For evidence see above [53, b].
55. Pelkha, Queen. Tomb unidentified.
Perhaps sister and wife of HARSIOTEF (23). Mother of NASTASEÑ (26).
Lunette of 'Nastaseñ Stela' (Schäfer, *Aeth. Königsinschrift*, pl. 1) [55].

56. Peltaseñ (?), Princess. Tomb unidentified.
Daughter? of TAHARQA (5). Sister? of ATLANERSA (7).
Destroyed pylon of Barkal 700, after Felix's drawing in Prudhoe MS. (*JEA* 15, pl. 5) [56].
57. PI'ANKHARITEN, King? Tomb unidentified.
c. temp. AMANI-NATAKI-LEBTE (14).
F.D. cartouche and name-tile in Nuri 25 [57]. Nuri 25 is the tomb of Malētāral II: this may be a king otherwise unknown, perhaps her husband, who buried her. The tomb is dated archaeologically as above.
58. (Pi'ankh-arty)? Queen? Tomb unidentified.
Sister and wife of TANWETAMANI (6).
On 'Dream Stela' (*Urk.* III, 59) [58]. See *Ann. Serv.* 25, 25 ff. and name 16 above. It is possible that names 16 and 58 represent the same person: if this is so then 16, a sister-wife of SHEBITKU (4), was married after his death to her nephew TANWETAMANI (6).
59. Pi'ankh-her (?), Queen. Buried in Nuri 57.
A wife of AMTALQA (11).
Shawabti [59]. Perhaps a Napatanized Egyptian name: *Pi'-nh-hr*, 'the king is pleased' or the like.
60. Pi'ankhqēw-qa, Queen? Buried in Nuri 29.
Perhaps a wife of SI'ASPIQA (?) (17).
F.D. tablets [60].
61. PI'ANKHY (2), King. Buried in Kurru 17.
Son of KASHTA (1). Elder brother of SHABAKO (3).
Shawabti [61, a]; variants of titulary (Gauthier, *op. cit.* IV, *passim*) [61, b]. Gauthier postulates several kings of this name, while Reisner believed that there was but one PI'ANKHY.
62. Piebtetemery, Princess (with 'good name' Meresnape). Tomb perhaps at Abydos, D 48.
c. temp. TAHARQA (5).
Stela from Abydos D 48 [62]. Published in *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. 31 (cf. Schäfer in *ZÄS* 43, 50). Note that this lady, while not herself a votaress, was the (probably adoptive) mother of a votaress, perhaps Amonirdis II. On the possibility of Amonirdis II's having had more than one adoptive mother see Macadam, *Temples of Kawa*, I, 127.
63. Qalhata, Queen. Buried in Kurru 5.
Sister-wife? of SHEBITKU (4). Mother? of TANWETAMANI (6).
On walls of burial chamber [63, a]; shawabti [63, b]; 'Dream Stela' of TANWETAMANI [63, c].
64. Sakaṭaye, Queen. Buried in Nuri 31.
Mother of (presumably) MALEWIEBAMANI (19) hence (possibly) wife of ṆASA-KHMA (18) or SI'ASPIQA (17).
Shawabti [64].
65. Sakhmakh, Queen. Tomb unidentified: Reisner proposed Nuri 56.
Daughter of a king, perhaps HARSIOTEF (23), but more probably ? (24), since she is not stated to be sister of a king. Wife of NASTASEN (26).
Funerary stela from Barkal 551 (Khartoum, No. 1853) [65, a]; on 'Nastaseñ Stela' [65, b]. N.B. Nuri 56, the only queen's pyramid of NASTASEN's reign, seems clearly indicated as her tomb or that of NASTASEN's mother, Pelkha.
66. . . . salka, Queen. Tomb unidentified.
Mother of ATLANERSA (7).
Cartouche on destroyed pylon of Barkal 700 as copied by Felix in Prudhoe MS. [66], see *JEA* 15, pl. 5.

67. SENKAMANISKEN (8), King. Buried in Nuri 3.
 Son of ATLANERSA (7) and Malētaral (?) I.
 Shawabti variants [67, a]; F.D. tablets [67, b]; granite statue from Barkal 500 in Boston 23.731 [67, c]; on east face destroyed pylon of Barkal 700, as copied by Cailliaud (*Voyages*, &c. 1, pl. 61 [67, d]).
68. SHABAKO (3), King. Buried in Kurru 15.
 Son of KASHTA (1). Younger brother of PIANKHY (2).
 Altar ex chapel 19-2-673 [68, a]; shawabti [68, b]; gold band ex mummy 19-3-223 [68, c]; inscribed ivory 19-3-231b [68, d]; Karnak inscription (Gauthier, op. cit. iv, 13, i) [68, e].
69. SHEBITKU (4), King. Buried in Kurru 18.
 Son of PIANKHY (2).
 Shawabti [69, a]; variants of titulary (Gauthier, op. cit. iv, 29) [69, b]. A second prenomen  has been found associated with  in graves of his horses at Kurru, see *Bull. M.F.A. Boston*, 29, photograph on p. 33.
70. SIASPIQA (?) (17), King. Buried in Nuri 4.
 Granite stela from chapel in Merowe Museum, No. 6 (Khartoum, No. 1858) [70, a]; libation jar from chapel in Merowe Museum, No. 15 (Khartoum, No. 1861) [70, b]; shawabti [70, c]; heart scarab 17-4-142 [70, d]; F.D. tablet 18-3-900 [70, e] (the last perhaps name of a funerary endowment); offering table found in Nuri 100 in Merowe Museum, No. 14, with name and title exactly as in [70, c].
71. Tabekenamūn, Queen. Tomb unidentified.
 Daughter of PIANKHY (2). Perhaps wife of TAHARQA (5).
 Cairo Statue 49157 from Karnak (*Ann. Serv.* 25, 25 ff.) [71].
72. Tabiry, Queen. Buried in Kurru 53.
 Daughter of ALARA and Kasaqa. Wife of PIANKHY (2).
 Stela from Ku. 53 in Khartoum, No. 1901 [72].
73. Tagtal (?), Queen. Buried in Nuri 45.
 Wife of MALENAQEN (12).
 Shawabti [73].
74. TAHARQA (5), King. Buried in Nuri 1.
 Son of PIANKHY (2) and Abar.
 Shawabti [74, a]; Canopic jars in Boston 23.738 and 9 [74, b]; granite statue from Barkal 500 in Merowe Museum, No. 11 (Khartoum, No. 1841) [74, c]. See also Gauthier, op. cit., iv, 31 ff.
75. TALAKHAMANI (20), King. Buried in Nuri 16.
 Perhaps younger son of NASAKHMA (18).
 Stela from chapel in Boston (unregistered) [75]. According to inscription Kawa IX, 3-5, TALAKHAMANI died in his palace at Meroë and was succeeded by AMAN-NÊTE-YERIKE (21) at the age of 41.
76. TANWETAMANI (6), King. Buried in Kurru 16.
 Son of SHEBITKU (4) and Qalhata.
 Shawabti [76, a]; Canopic jar 19-3-324 [76, b]; two granite statues from Barkal 500, in Boston 16-4-29 and in Merowe Museum, No. 17 (Khartoum, No. 1846) [76, c]; offering table in Boston 21.3232 [76, d]; fragment from Sanam temple (*Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 9, pl. 26, 13) gives *Nbty* and Golden-Horus names which may be those of Tanwetamani [76, e].
77. Tekahatamani, Queen. Tomb unidentified: Reisner proposed Nuri 21.
 Daughter of PIANKHY (2). Sister-wife of TAHARQA (5).
 Inscription at Barkal (Gauthier, op. cit. iv, 41, XLII) [77]. Nuri 21 is dated archaeologically to the reign of SENKAMANISKEN (8), which would necessitate this lady being at least 70 at death, if this is indeed her tomb.

78. WETERIK (?), Prince. Buried in Meroë South 20.

temp. AMANIATABARQA (16) or SI'ASPIQA (?) (17).

Offering table in stair 20-4-60 [78].

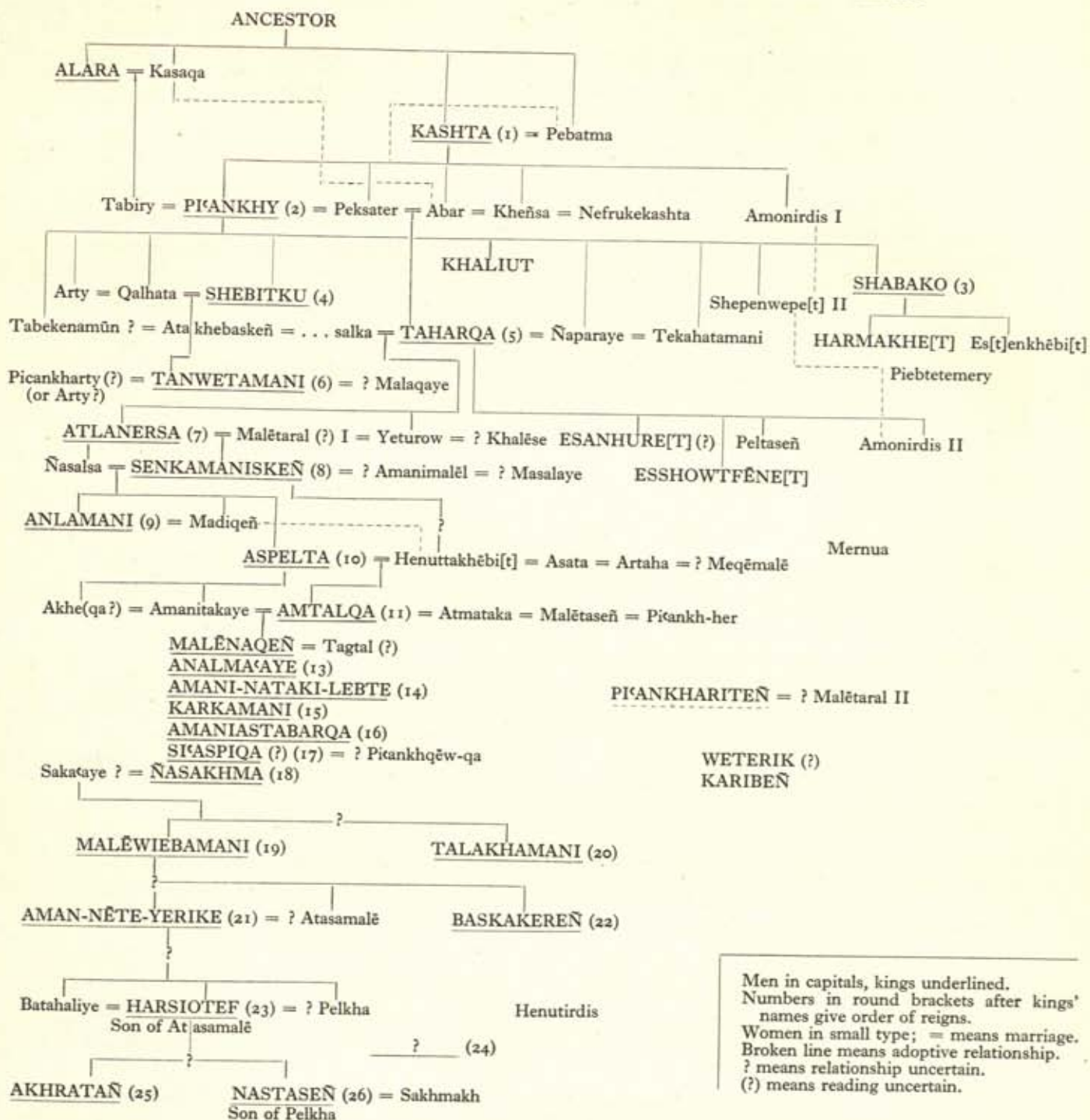
79. Yeturow, Queen. Buried in Nuri 53.

Daughter of TAHARQA (5). Sister-wife of ATLANERSA (7).

Painted on walls of burial chamber [79, a]; heart scarab found intruded in Nuri N.M. 4 18-2-243 [79, b]; on destroyed pylon of Barkal 700, after Felix's drawing in Prudhoe MS. [79, c]. See *JEA* 15, pl. 5, and *ibid.* 32, 62.

Six further royal names, possibly belonging near the end of the Napatan period, but more probably to be dated after NASTASEN, are referred to in a brief communication by Macadam in *JEA* 33, 93. It is possible that one of them may be the king buried in Kurru 1 which falls archaeologically between HARSIOTEF (23) and AKHRATAN (25), but this remains for the present a matter for speculation.

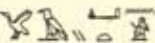








NAMES AND RELATIONSHIPS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF NAPATA



Men in capitals, kings underlined.
 Numbers in round brackets after kings' names give order of reigns.
 Women in small type; = means marriage.
 Broken line means adoptive relationship.
 ? means relationship uncertain.
 (?) means reading uncertain.

GRAPHIES DÉMOTIQUES DU MOT 'K 'NOURRITURE, RATION', ETC.

Par MICHEL MALININE


Le Pap. Rylands V contient le plus ancien exemple d'une graphie démotique cursive, encore non identifiée, tout au moins, avec certitude. C'est un acte juridique, du règne d'Amasis, en vertu duquel un cultivateur égyptien devient, de son gré, esclave d'un prêtre de Teuzoi. Comparé à d'autres documents se rapportant à l'esclavage volontaire en Égypte, ce contrat présente cette particularité qu'il contient un passage où sont produites les raisons de cet acte librement consenti par le cultivateur. C'est précisément dans cette clause 'individuelle', insérée dans le formulaire stéréotypé, commun à tous les contrats de ce groupe, qu'apparaît pour la première fois la graphie dont nous allons nous occuper. Voici ce passage: '*Je suis ton esclave pour toujours en paiement de*  *ce . . . que tu m'as donné¹ en l'an 2, alors que j'étais sur le point de mourir*' (l. 2). Le contexte suggère, pour le mot laissé sans lecture, le sens 'nourriture, approvisionnement' &c. et c'est ainsi que l'a rendu Griffith ('supplies?'), notant que cette traduction est extrêmement douteuse. En envisageant ici la présence du terme *rk*,² il observa qu'un mot ayant le même sens et écrit d'un façon tout à fait analogue, se rencontre dans le Pap. Rylands IX, ainsi que dans 3 autres papyrus démotiques de l'époque perse. Nous sommes maintenant à même de porter le nombre de ces exemples à 6 : 1—P. Louvre E.7843 (règne d'Amasis), acte de partage des revenus de choachyte, ainsi spécifiés: '*champ, ration?*—, *salaire (hṭp)*' (l. 5); 2—P. Caire 50061a (règne de Darius I?), pièce de comptabilité dont une des rubriques porte: '*Réceptions de ration(s)?*—' (II, 10); *ibid.* II, 11. 12—'*ration?*  (var.  *devin*'; 3—P. Rylands IX (règne de Darius I), contenant un passage où est employée l'expression—*tj*  (avec *n*-dat.) '*prélever une ration? (pour q.)*' (xxi, 8); 4—P. Turin 242 (même règne), acte de cession d'un quart de la '*ration?*— *de choachyte*' (l. 2); 5 et 6—P. Turin 251 et P. Louvre E.9204 (même règne), actes l'un de cession, l'autre de partage des revenus de choachyte, parmi lesquels—'*ration?*— (var.  *d'Osiris*' (l. 2; l. 2).³

Une analyse purement paléographique s'avère, malheureusement, insuffisante pour résoudre définitivement la question de la lecture de toutes ces graphies. La solution nous en vient maintenant *ab externo*, grâce à un document de l'époque de Psammétique I














¹ Litt. '*cette action de donner à moi . . . que tu as faite*', lecture absolument certaine. Pour les différents essais de traduire ce passage, par Griffith, v. *Ryl. Pap. III*, 53.409 et *PSBA* 31, 50.








² *Ryl. Pap. III*, 211 n. 7; 247 n. 5 et 411.

³ Une graphie semblable apparaît aussi dans P. Loeb 45, 2, dans l'expression '*champ*— . . . ' que Spiegelberg (*D. Pap. Loeb*, 78, n. 4) rapproche du mot, lu par Griffith *w?* dans P. Rylands IX, 17, 2 ('*u-land*'). Dans ces deux cas il faut lire probablement *rk*.



(P. Louvre E.2432), rédigé en hiératique 'anormal', où est conservé un acte juridique tout à fait semblable aux précédents (nos. 1. 4. 5 et 6). Il s'agit d'un contrat par lequel un Taricheute cède à un Choachyte l'exploitation d'une partie de la tombe en sa propriété, avec tous les revenus y afférant et auxquels s'ajoute aussi un bénéfice ainsi spécifié: '*A toi appartient (aussi)  la "ration d'Osiris" de la dame Tekhōri, ma mère, et de toutes les (autres) personnes de ma famille? (litt. qui sont à moi) qui reposeront dans ma partie, à moi (de ladite tombe)*' (ll. 4-5).

Comme on ne peut avoir, en l'occurrence, aucun doute que le revenu mentionné ici soit le même dont il est question dans les contrats nos. 5 et 6, ci-dessus, nous sommes en droit d'accepter, désormais sans réserve, la lecture *ṛk* pour les graphies reproduites plus haut.

Cette identification assure, à son tour, la lecture des graphies correspondantes employées dans les textes des époques ptolémaïque et romaine. En ce qui concerne la première, nous n'examinerons que deux expressions composées avec le mot *ṛk*, puisqu'elles sont attestées par un nombre assez important de documents, permettant ainsi de relever, pour ce terme, toutes les graphies caractéristiques de cette période: (a) expression connue surtout par les documents relatifs au mariage et dont la lecture *ṛk-hbs* 'nourriture-et-habillement' a été considérée comme incertaine, jusqu'à présent.¹ En voici quelques exemples dont le premier contenant une graphie du premier mot, très voisine de celles des époques saïte et perse, est décisif au point de vue de la lecture de cet élément:² 7—P. Bibl. Nat. 219, 3 ; 8—P. Karara I, 2  ;³ 9—P. Brit. Mus. 10591 v^o, VII, 21 ; 10—P. Caire 30601, 2. 3  ; 11—P. Berlin 3075, 3 ;⁴ 12—P. Caire 30607, 4 ; 13—P. Caire 31207, 3 ; 14—P. Bibl. Nat. 224, 4 ; 15—P. Caire 30616b, 4 .⁵ (b) Expression *tj ṛk n*—'prélever une ration pour q.' (cf. no. 3), dans P. Lille 29, 18 attestant la forme: 16— (var. ). La lecture est assurée ici par les P. Caire 30606, 16 et 31179, 17. 18 où, dans la même expression, est employée la graphie = nos. 12-13.⁶


Enfin les formes caractéristiques du mot *ṛk* à l'époque romaine sont:⁷ 17—; 18— ; 19—; 20—; 21—; 22—.

¹ Thompson, *Family Arch. Text*, 16 n. 45. Pour *ṛk* et *hbs*, produits de première nécessité, fournis par le mari à sa femme, v. Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, Commentaries 24.

² Le second élément *hbs* y est écrit , partout sauf no. 8 où il revêt une forme plus développée dont la transcription est embarrassante. Le signe final —  détermine toute l'expression, cf. aussi no. 14 et P. Caire 50128, 14.






³ Spiegelberg (*Veröff. a. badischen Pap.-Samml.* 1, 30) rapproche, à tort, cette graphie de celle d'une autre expression, lue *hbs-it?* (*hḳ?* ou *ṛk?*), cf. Griffith, *Adler Papyri*, 75, n. 4.

⁴ Les graphies du premier élément, dans nos. 10b et 11, sont identiques à celles qui sont employées, dans un contexte différent, dans P. Rylands X, 2; Louvre 2433, 2 et Philadel. 14, 2. Dans P. Leiden I, 373a, 4, la graphie correspondante est la même qu'ici nos. 12-13; ce qui rend très probable, dans tous ces cas, la lecture *ṛk* pour le mot en question.

⁵ Pour la ligature initiale, cf. P. Caire 50129, 7. 8. Le déterminatif , secondaire dans l'orthographe de ce mot, aussi dans les nos. 21-2.

⁶ Pour cette expression, v. aussi I Kham. IV, 25; cf. Sottas, *Pap. Lille*, 69-70, n. 18.

⁷ 17—Spiegelberg, *D. Texte a. Krügen*, Gloss. no. 237; 18—id. *Petubast*. Gloss. no. 443 (sim. P. Insinger 6, 12); 19—Volten, *Traumdeut.* Gloss. s. v.; 20—Griffith, *Dodecasch. Vocab.* no. 370; 21—Möller, *Pap. Rhind*,

Nous en arrivons ainsi à la question finale: quelle peut être la valeur hiéroglyphique de ces graphies? Spiegelberg, remarquant au sujet de la graphie no. 17 qu'un groupe identique est employé, dans le même document, comme déterminatif du mot *hr* 'provision' etc., en a conclu qu'elle doit représenter l'orthographe abrégée, sans l'élément initial, du mot en question. En faveur de cette interprétation se prononcèrent aussi Sethe et Thompson.¹ Cependant, l'examen de l'ensemble des variantes réunies plus haut, ne permet de considérer, comme représentant certainement une graphie abrégée du mot *rk*, que les nos. 10b. 11. 20-22. Spiegelberg lui-même — frappé, sans doute, par la ressemblance que présente le premier signe de la graphie pleine avec celui qui sert à écrire en démotique  — a, par la suite, changé d'opinion, puisqu'il a rendu par  l'élément initial du groupe attesté dans le Décret de Canope (sembl. aux nos. 12-13). Jusqu'à preuve du contraire, nous pouvons considérer cette transcription    comme la plus probable.

Gloss. no. 413 (sim. Lexa, *D. Totenbuch*, Gloss. no. 280); 22—Griffith-Thompson, *Dem. Mag. Pap. III*, no. 978.

¹ Sethe, *Urk. Bürgschaft.*, 428; Thompson, *Family Arch. Text*, 16 n. 45.

A SOUVENIR OF NAPOLEON'S TRIP TO EGYPT

By JOHN D. COONEY

IN 1939, just after the outbreak of World War II, the statue published here in tribute to Sir Alan Gardiner's vast contribution to Egyptological studies appeared for sale in the hands of a New York dealer. It was purchased by the Trustees of the Brooklyn Museum from the income of the Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund and is registered under No. 39.602.

The statue, of brown quartzite, stands 0.68 m. high and represents a man, Senwosret-Sonbefni, in the form of the so-called cube statue, mounted on a roughly dressed stone base. In front of him, on a very much smaller scale, stands the statue of his wife. The style of the face, the form of the inscription, and the personal names in it limit the period of its origin to Dyn. XII. The statue of Senwosret-Sonbefni is, in most of its details, typical of Middle Kingdom cube statues originating before the last few reigns of Dyn. XII. The body is placed in the cube or squatting position, and is wrapped in a garment of which the only details indicated are the slits through which the hands protrude; no hem, edging, or other functional details of the garment are indicated. The hands are crossed at an angle, resting flat, palms down. The feet are exposed. He wears the plain lappet-wig which is found on a majority of Middle Kingdom squatting sculptures and has a plain beard, a detail likewise common to this group of sculptures. Across the front of the statue in two lines and two columns is incised a conventional offering formula arranged so as to suggest the outline of a stela. In the centre of this inscription stands the figure of Senwosret-Sonbefni's wife in very high relief, practically sculpture against a background. No trace of paint remains, and probably on this fine stone the surface was never covered.

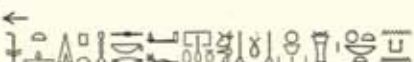
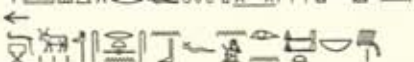
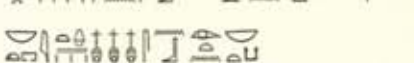
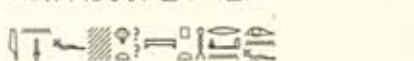
The statue, exclusive of its interest as an early specimen of a squatting sculpture, has two claims to importance in the history of Egyptian art. The chief of these is the quality of the sculpture and its greatness as a work of art, a claim which can be shared by few, if indeed any, other squatting sculptures of the Middle Kingdom. As a class, Middle Kingdom squatting sculptures are not works of art and seem to have been produced by inferior sculptors. Senwosret-Sonbefni was apparently a man of humble rank in the Egyptian bureaucracy, and his social position is more or less reflected in the broad, peasant-like face, but the idealized treatment of this face, with its slightly upturned gaze, places this statue among the great private sculptures of Dyn. XII. It would be much more satisfactory if it were possible to say why this face is so fine. The quality of workmanship alone does not explain this achievement, and it is one of the defects of art criticism that this quality must be expressed rather than explained. Something of the same sensitivity is felt in the handling of the body on the sides and back. Without indicating a ripple of the drapery, the sculptor has succeeded in indicating through the texture of the garment the mass, the softness, and the variations in plane of a human body. This he achieved by avoiding the tautness common to the

entirely covered bodies of squatting sculptures and breaking the surfaces into a series of slight depressions and swells. The exposition of the human body through draperies is usually credited to the Greek sculptors of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. It was achieved by them in part by very skilful imitation of the actual folds of drapery. But in the Brooklyn sculpture the same effect is achieved without breaking the surface of the garment.

The second point of interest that this sculpture presents to the art historian is the solution of the problem of including a figure of the wife with the squatting sculpture of her husband. The Memphite sculptors of the later Old Kingdom had solved the same problem in standing sculptures by composing the lady on a very small scale kneeling or standing by the feet of her husband. That precedent could not be followed in this case, for a small figure placed at the side of the sculpture would be awkward and would break the general mass in which the Egyptian sculptor always tried to confine his composition. The solution adopted here, placing the woman within the inscription in front of the man, is not entirely successful, for not only does she have a doll-like appearance, but she distracts slightly from the lines of the man's body. An attempt was made to overcome this difficulty by reducing the details of her body to a minimum. She is of far sketchier workmanship than the figure of her husband. It is difficult to suggest any other placing for her. So far as I am aware this is the only squatting sculpture of the Middle Kingdom in which this experiment was attempted. In the New Kingdom the same problem was solved by representing members of the family in sunk relief on the sides of the sculpture, but in such cases the sides of the sculpture have to be treated as flat areas. There is probably no ideal solution of the problem that confronted this sculptor, for the squatting sculpture does not lend itself to combination with other forms.

The Inscription

The inscription is lightly incised across the front of the sculpture in two lines and in two columns.

- (1) 
 (2) 
 ↓ (3) 
 ↓ (4) 

(1) *Htp di nsw-t Pth-skr di-f prt hrw m ts hnkṯ kṛw ṣpdw šš mnḥ-t šntr mrḥ-t ḥt nb-t n kṣ n* (2) *imy-r pr ḥsb ihw Snwšr-t-šnb-f-n-ī ir-n Dd-t nb(-t) imḥ* (3) *nb-t pr It-nfr-w-šnb(-w) ir-t-n Nb-t-kṣ* (4) *in šn-f Rdi-ni-Pth ir-n-f(?)*

'An offering which the king gives (to) Ptah-Sokaris that he may give an invocation of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster, clothing, incense, ointment and (every) good thing to the ka of the overseer of reckoning of cattle, Senwosret-Sonbefni born of Dedet, mistress of reverence (and to) the lady of the house It-noferu-sonb, born of Nebet-ka. (Done by) his brother the . . . Rediniptah born of f. (?)'.



STATUE OF SENWOSRET-SONBEFNI
Brooklyn Museum No. 39.602



STATUE OF SENWOSRET-SONBEFNI
Brooklyn Museum No. 39.602

The inscription is the routine offering formula, and in form calls for no comment. The names of both Senwosret-Sonbefni and his wife It-noferu-sonb are exceptional, being recorded from this statue by Lieblein¹ and in no other case so far as I can determine. It is possible to read the man's name as Sonbefni-Senwosret, and as the name probably would be abbreviated in short texts, it is possible that I have overlooked existing monuments of his, but I have not succeeded in finding other references to him or to members of his family.

The reading of the column recording the brother's name is far from certain. As a whole, the inscription is not well cut and in this column just where the brother's title was recorded there is a defect in the stone which probably was remedied by a filling now lost. The sign \equiv is clearly part of this title. It is possible to read *Pth* as part of the lost title, but I have been unable to reconstruct it on this basis and I think it is more probably part of the name. The reading of *f* seems reasonably certain, but is very strange. It cannot be read as a complete name, and if read correctly it is certainly an abbreviated writing. Lieblein did not record or discuss this portion of the inscription; possibly a complete copy of it was not available to him.

The History of the Statue

When the statue was acquired by the museum, nothing of its history was known other than the dealer's statement that he had purchased it in the summer of 1939 during a trip to Paris. Actually the statue was purchased not in Paris but in New York, where it had been in the collection of William Randolph Hearst, but this was not known to me until long after research on the statue was completed. To trace it back to the Amherst Collection² was a simple task. This catalogue, compiled, I believe, by Howard Carter, gave no information on the provenance or history of the statue, yet the surface of the stone was so grimy, almost black, that it seemed certain the sculpture had long been exposed and so must have a modern history.

It seemed impossible that so large and important an object could be in European hands during a period which displayed so keen an interest in ancient remains without any printed record. My first inquiry was directed to Professor Percy E. Newberry, who was well acquainted with the Amherst Collection decades before it was scattered at auction. He replied that he had copied the inscription in his catalogue of the Amherst Collection in 1894, but had no record of where or when Lord Amherst had acquired it. But even before receipt of this letter, the information it contained was superseded by locating the name in Lieblein's publication of 1892, where the statue is credited to the Amherst Collection. And here for a long time the search was halted.

After the catalogues of many collections had been examined, it was in one of them, the Pourtalès-Gorgier, that, on the second search, the history of the sculpture was recovered.³ This collection was vast and famous, but included only a small selection of Egyptian antiquities, most of them amulets and bronzes of very minor interest. The failure to locate the Brooklyn sculpture on the first reading was due to the curious

¹ Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques*, Leipzig, 1892, II, 638, no. 1617.

² *Sale Catalogue, Amherst Collection*, Sotheby, London, June 1921, no. 248, pl. xvii.

³ *Catalogue des objets d'art . . . de feu M. le Comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier*, Paris, February 6, 1865, no. 4.

arrangement of the catalogue, where there is a section for 'Monuments égyptiens' (Nos. 907-1020), while some half-dozen Egyptian statues and stelae are scattered, almost hidden, among classical objects under 'Sculptures' at the beginning of the catalogue. The reason for this segregation was clear when the statue was again located in an earlier guidebook to the Pourtalès-Gorgier collection¹ prepared by Dubois for visitors to the famous house in Paris. The guide follows the arrangement of the collections within the house, and apparently the statue of Sonbefni stood in the great entrance hall. The guide as written by Dubois was reprinted with additions for the sale of 1865, where the statue was purchased by Amherst.

Dubois was for many years assistant curator of antiquities in the Louvre, the compiler of many catalogues, particularly sale catalogues, and was of a bibliographical turn of mind, giving references to earlier catalogues and, when available, the modern history of the pieces. It is thanks to his care that the romantic history of the Brooklyn sculpture has been, at least in part, recovered. In the *Description* of 1841 (reprinted in the sale catalogue of 1865), after describing the statue, he writes: 'Cette sculpture, qui est très-bien conservée, faisait partie des sept objets d'antiquité apportés d'Égypte en France par le général Bonaparte, et qui furent l'origine de la collection réunie plus tard au château de la Malmaison', adding a footnote in which he lists the six other objects with their location as known to him in 1841. So far as I have been able to discover, no catalogue of the Egyptian material assembled at Malmaison was ever printed, though detailed catalogues of the classical collection and of the paintings appeared at an early date. There are, however, numerous contemporary references of an extremely general nature to the fine Egyptian collection assembled by the Empress Josephine, seemingly with the advice of Denon, but the writers who made passing mention of the Egyptian objects were interested in painting and included antiquities only as a gesture to the catholicity of Josephine's taste. Napoleon was generous, particularly with art objects acquired on his travels, and he very probably gave this statue to Josephine as an exotic souvenir for their newly acquired house, La Malmaison, to which she moved just after his return from the ill-fated Egyptian campaign.

It would be interesting to know the circumstances under which Napoleon acquired this great sculpture in Egypt, as the story might yield a clue to its provenance. I have made a few ventures into the morass of Napoleonic literature searching for the story of the formation of his collection, but for one ignorant of that vast field the task is formidable, and after acquiring a considerable body of interesting but totally irrelevant facts, I gave up the task. Somewhere in the contemporary literature there must be a mention of some of Napoleon's acquisitions in Egypt. The statue may be listed in a rare sale catalogue of which I have been unable to locate a copy in this country,² but it is improbable that this book would contain much information even if it lists the Brooklyn statue. The publication of Napoleon's seven Egyptian objects would make an interesting article, and with the information provided by Dubois,³ there is no doubt

¹ J. J. Dubois, *Description des Antiques, faisant partie des collections de M. le Comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier*, Paris, 1841, no. 1.

² (Sale Catalogue) Paris, March 24, 1819, M(almaison) (Joséphine), Direction C. P. Lacoste.

³ An early reference to one of these pieces, a huge red granite scarab, was also made by Dubois in *Description*

they could be located (at least two are in the Louvre). Other souvenirs of the Egyptian trip brought back by Napoleon in 1799 are still at Malmaison. The contemporary paintings of Egyptian notables, probably by members of Napoleon's entourage, are perhaps the most interesting of them. A survey of his Egyptian loot would give us a chance to estimate his taste in a field then almost totally new. Though the collection contains the inevitable mummy, it sounds far better in Dubois's brief listing than the accumulations of many later visitors to Egypt. Probably Napoleon brought the Egyptian collection back to France on the ship which so narrowly escaped capture by the British. If that capture had been effected, Sonbefni would long since have reposed in the British Museum. It is one of the minor ironies of collecting that this statue again was lost to the British Museum when that great institution was an under-bidder for the sculpture at the Amherst Sale of 1921, but apparently the bidder did not realize that history was repeating itself on this occasion.

Despite this long modern history, going back to the very beginnings of Egyptology, the Brooklyn statue apparently has never before been published, and the only illustration of it ever printed, so far as I am aware, was in the Amherst sale catalogue. It seems incredible that the finest known squatting sculpture of the Middle Kingdom could be in Western possession for a century and a half without publication and appear on the New York market without documentation, but other Egyptian objects which have appeared in the New York art market have even longer pedigrees.

A sequel to this article tracing the origin and development of the cube statue in the Middle Kingdom will be published in a later volume of the *Journal*.

des objets d'art qui composent le cabinet de feu M. le Baron V. Denon, Paris, 1826, no. 160, with the explanation 'Ce débris précieux a été apporté d'Égypte par Napoléon, et faisait autrefois partie de la magnifique collection réunie à la Malmaison'.

ANASTASI, SALLIER, AND HARRIS AND THEIR PAPYRI

By WARREN R. DAWSON

THE name of Sir Alan Gardiner is so closely associated with nearly all the most famous or 'classical' of the Egyptian papyri, as well as with others that are not so widely known, and of so many of which he has been the editor or interpreter, that it has occurred to me that particulars of the persons whose names are attached to some of these papyri might be of interest to him and to other readers of this *Journal*.

For many years I have, in the intervals of other work, been engaged in compiling a kind of 'Who's Who' of Egyptology, my scheme including in its scope not only scholars, excavators, and Egyptologists *de métier*, but also travellers, collectors, consuls, dealers, and others whose names occur in the literature of our science. In compiling this record I have made use not only of the published sources of information, but also of a very large number of letters and other documents in various libraries and collections, public and private, to which I have from time to time had access. As the conditions of the present day are so difficult it may be a long time before I am able to complete or publish my materials as a whole; I therefore take this opportunity of composing from my notes some account of three persons whose names are attached to papyri that have become historic and are documents which have played an eminent part in the development of scientific Egyptology. The names I have selected are Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris.

Anastasi

Giovanni Anastasi was an Armenian by birth and he assumed the name by which he is generally known about 1801, when resident in Egypt: his real name I have been unable to discover.¹ He was born in 1780 and was the son of a merchant of Damascus who went to Egypt during its occupation by Napoleon, where he carried on a large business as a purveyor to the French Army. His son, then a youth, accompanied him and assisted in the conduct of the business. The defeat of Napoleon and the evacuation of the French troops brought ruin to Anastasi's father, who seems to have died about the same time, and it fell to his lot to rebuild the family fortunes and re-establish himself in mercantile business. In this, after strenuous endeavour, he was eminently successful: he paid off his father's creditors and by 1825 he was one of the most considerable merchants in Alexandria with a high reputation and much influence. He was *persona grata* with the Pasha whose favour he enjoyed, and in 1828 he was appointed Consul-General in Egypt to the kingdoms of Norway and Sweden,² an office which he held until his death.³

¹ There is some variation in the spelling of the name. That which I have used I believe to be the correct one, for it is that employed in the official consular records.

² Not Denmark, as stated in *JEA* 22, 1 and 24, 14, based on an error of Leemans.

³ I have this information from the Swedish F.O. records. Hayes, *JEA* 24, 14, is wrong in stating that the appointment dated from before 1820.

The scientific commission sent by Napoleon to Egypt had created a taste for Egyptian antiquities in Europe, and not only were wealthy amateurs eager to enrich their cabinets, but the national museums (which up till then had been under the classical spell that despised everything 'barbarian'), decided to enlarge their scope and exhibit Egyptian antiquities in their galleries. Anastasi was sharp enough to perceive that whilst still developing his normal mercantile interests a valuable side-line was thus opened to him capable of producing a considerable revenue, as it was already yielding to Drovetti, the French Consul. He accordingly employed agents,¹ both in Lower and Upper Egypt, to buy and collect antiquities, which he had no difficulty in exporting to Europe on account of his influence with the Pasha and the shipping facilities his business connexions provided. It is very unlikely that Anastasi himself did any field-work: he was fully occupied with his business in Alexandria, far from the sites of Saqqārah and Thebes, though he may have visited these localities from time to time.

When Champollion arrived in Egypt in 1828, he had a friendly reception by Anastasi, and wrote appreciatively of him.² Anastasi had already been in communication with Champollion before they met, for when the latter was in Italy in 1824, Anastasi wrote to say that he had used the *Précis du système hiéroglyphique* to such good purpose that by its help he had been able to decipher some of the names inscribed upon objects in his collection.³

Some years later, when Lepsius arrived in Egypt with the Prussian expedition, Anastasi introduced him to the Pasha and secured many facilities for his party.⁴

The collections brought together by Anastasi were immense. Besides private sales made in Egypt, he exported to Europe several large shipments. The first of these was made in 1826; the second was bought by the Dutch Government in 1828 and is the basis of the great Egyptian collection in the Leyden Museum;⁵ and a third was exhibited at Leghorn in 1838. Many of the antiquities from the last-named consignment were sent on to London and sold by auction in September 1839.⁶ It was at this sale that the Trustees of the British Museum acquired the nine famous hieratic papyri which were published in facsimile a few years later in the *Select Papyri*, as well as some funerary, demotic, Coptic, and Greek papyri and many stelae and monumental antiquities.⁷

According to Budge, a collection was shipped to Leghorn in 1846, and Samuel Birch was sent by the Trustees of the British Museum to inspect it.⁸

Giovanni Anastasi died in Alexandria at the age of seventy-seven, early in 1857, and in recognition

¹ The name of one of these agents who operated in Upper Egypt, Piccinini, a native of Lucca, is known to us. Champollion, *Lettres*, ed. Hartleben, II, 149. See also Winlock, *JEA* 10, 232.

² *Lettres*, II, 25.

³ *Lettres*, I, 94. Champollion here wrongly calls A. 'Consul général d'Autriche'. Other references to letters from A., *ibid.* 210, 326, 346.

⁴ Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt* (English ed.), p. 39.

⁵ *Lettres*, I, 346, n. 1.

⁶ The catalogue bears the title: *Catalogue / of the very / Magnificent and Extraordinary / Collection / of Egyptian Antiquities / the Property of G. Anastasi*. A copy of it was lent to me in 1930 by the late Seymour de Ricci.

⁷ At the Anastasi Sale of 1839, the B.M. purchased more than 50 papyri: 22 funerary, 13 demotic, 11 hieratic (including the 9 Anastasi Papyri *par excellence*), 5 Greek, 1 Coptic, and some unopened rolls and fragments. These are enumerated, together with the 5 Sallier papyri, in *Cat. Additions to MSS. 1839*, 17-22. After 1839, the Egyptian papyri were transferred from the Dept. of Manuscripts to that of Antiquities, and thereafter no annual lists of accessions were published. Some further papyri were bought at the Sale of 1857, but in the absence of a published list, I do not know how many.

In the *Life of Lepsius*, by Ebers (transl. Underhill), it is stated (p. 135, note): 'At this time [i.e. 1842] the famous Anastasi papyri were also offered for sale in Berlin through Lepsius, and for a comparatively low price. Yet at the same time there were no funds forthcoming for the purchase.' This is clearly wrong, as the papyri had already been acquired by the B.M. several years earlier.

⁸ Budge, *Memoir of Samuel Birch*, p. 10.

of his long association with Sweden he bequeathed, by his will, one-fortieth of his property to the city authorities of Stockholm for charities, together with a large granite sarcophagus for the museum there. His remaining antiquities were sent to Paris and dispersed there by auction. A catalogue was drawn up by François Lenormant and it comprised 91 pages and 1,129 lots, consisting of statues, stelae, mummies, and other large objects, together with multitudes of smaller antiquities including 58 papyri and 21 ostraca.¹ Of the papyri, the *pièce de résistance* was the great magical codex in book-form and containing no less than 3,274 lines, which went to the Bibliothèque Nationale (Lot 1073). Nearly all the principal museums of Europe as well as many private collectors acquired valuable additions at this sale.²

Sallier

François Sallier was a municipal official corresponding to the English 'Borough Treasurer' (Receveur des Finances) at Aix-en-Provence, and was mayor of the town in 1802 and 1806. He rendered many public services to his native place and reformed the local financial administration. He re-established the École Secondaire (since called Collège Communal) at Aix, the free school which had been founded by the Duc de Villars many years before, but which was then in a languishing condition, and he also played a part in the reorganization of the public library.³

Sallier in private life was a collector of Egyptian antiquities, and at the time of his death, which occurred at Aix, February 20, 1831, he had a small but choice collection. The stelae were acquired from his heirs for the museum of Aix in 1832, and some further objects that had not been otherwise disposed of were added in 1840.⁴ The gems of Sallier's collection, however, were the papyri which have been made historic by Champollion, and these were purchased by the British Museum in 1839.⁵ It is highly probable that all Sallier's collection emanated originally from Anastasi.

There are five papyri, the four famous hieratic documents known as P. Sallier I-IV, and one demotic (B.M. 10226). Champollion had studied these important texts with enthusiasm, and he twice enjoyed Sallier's hospitality at Aix for this purpose—once on his way to Toulon where he embarked for Egypt, and again on his return. He spent two days at Aix (July 22-3, 1828) on his outward journey, and in that short space of time he had already recognized the nature of the contents of the four hieratic papyri, which he defines in a letter to his brother written two days later.⁶ His second visit to Aix was in January 1830, when he made a longer stay.⁷

¹ *Catalogue / d'une Collection / D'Antiquités Égyptiennes / par / M. François Lenormant. / Cette Collection / Rassemblée par M. D'ANASTASI / Consul général de Suède à Alexandrie.* Paris, 1857. A copy of this also was lent to me by de Ricci. The sale occupied five days, June 23-7, 1857.

² Dr. Wijngaarden, *JEA* 22, 1, seems to be under the impression that all the objects of the 1857 sale were bought *en bloc* for the B.M. It is true that many of the lots at this and the 1839 sales were acquired by the B.M., but there were many other buyers.

³ Rollard, *Notice de la Bibliothèque d'Aix*, p. 81, and information supplied by letter by M. Marcel Arnaud of Aix.

⁴ Devéria, *Mém. et Fragm.* 1, 223-56.

⁵ Gardiner's statement in *L.-Eg. Misc.* xvii, that the papyri were 'purchased from M. Sallier of Aix in Provence, in the year 1839' is not quite accurate, for Sallier had then already been dead for several years. It is significant that the papyri were sold in the same year as the Anastasi collection, and it seems probable that Sallier's heirs took advantage of the opportunity to dispose of the papyri in London.

⁶ *Lettres*, ed. Hartleben, II, 8-11. Champollion was introduced to Sallier by a mutual friend, Artaud, Conservator of the museum of Lyons.

⁷ *Ibid.* 473-9.

Harris

Anthony Charles Harris¹ was born in London in 1790. He was engaged in eastern trade and as a young man he established himself in Alexandria where he resided for the rest of his life, though he revisited England in 1848 and probably also on other occasions. In Egyptological literature he is almost always spoken of as British Consul in Alexandria, but this is an error, for Harris was never in the consular service, but was for some time attached to H.M. Commissariat Department, from which he retired on a pension a few years before his death.²

Harris must have been a very young man when he first went to Alexandria, for he was already well established there by 1828, as the following letter to James Burton shows.³ Burton some years before had discovered, or rediscovered, a trilingual inscription on a stone built into the structure of a mosque in Cairo. He was most anxious to obtain possession of the stone, a matter on which Harris was consulted.

Dear Sir,

M^r Barker⁴ has today shewn me a letter from your Father to the Secretary of State and another from the Secretary of State to the Consul Gen^l respecting the moving of your Trilingual [*sic*] Stone & having asked my opinion of the best plan to accomplish this object, I have advised him not to introduce the subject at Alexandria lest the French Consul⁵ should become acquainted with it. But as Colonel Cradock⁶ is going to Cairo & will probably leave on Monday and as the Pacha is going tomorrow, it will be better to leave it to be introduced by a private interview between the Colonel and the Pacha at Cairo. The Pacha can make a merit of the sacrilege by repairing the Mosque & remove the stone during the operation. . . .

Yours very sincerely

A. C. HARRIS

Wednesday 14 Feb^y 1828

It was ultimately found possible to remove the stone, which is now in the Louvre, but a cast of it was soon made, for Harris wrote to Burton informing him of its arrival at Alexandria in a letter dated August 29, 1829.⁷

During the whole period of his residence in Egypt, Harris was a collector of antiquities and to some extent also a dealer in them.⁸ He, however, took an intelligent interest in the subject and was in touch with various scholars in Europe and travellers in Egypt, with many of whom (such as Birch, Chabas, and Hincks) he regularly corresponded. Birch communicated many of his letters to the Royal Society of Literature. Thus, on January 14, 1847, he read a letter from Harris describing excavations made in 1845 on the site of Fort Julien, the locality of the Rosetta Stone, when drawings

¹ In my *Life of Goodwin*, p. 132, n. 1, I gave his first name as Augustus in error, owing to a confusion in my notes between two persons, both Harris, with the same initials.

² Information kindly supplied by the F.O.

³ B.M. Add. MSS. 25659, f. 21.

⁴ John Barker (1771-1849), British Consul at Alexandria from 1825. He acted as Consul-General after the death of Salt in 1827 but was not formally appointed till 1829; retired 1833. He was himself a collector of antiquities and his collection, 258 lots, was sold (anonymously) by Sotheby, Mar. 15-16, 1833. The B.M. and Dr. John Lee of Hartwell were the principal buyers.

⁵ Bernardo Drovetti (1775-1852), French Consul-General under the Empire till 1814, and again, 1820-9; the implacable rival of Salt, Champollion, Anastasi, and all other collectors of antiquities.

⁶ The Hon. John Hobart Cradock (Caradoc), only son of the 1st Baron Howden; born 1799; an officer in the 29th Regt. of Foot; sent on a special mission to Egypt 1827-9; died 1873.

⁷ Add. MSS. 25659, f. 54. As to the original stone, see Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* iv, 73. It passed into the Mimaüt Collection at the sale of which, in 1837, it was bought for the Louvre (C. 122). The cast was Lot 382 in the Burton Sale, and it was purchased for 21s. by the well-known dealer Joseph Sams.

⁸ Harris sold antiquities from time to time to visitors to Egypt as well as to other collectors such as Abbott and Anastasi.

of six other inscribed stones found there by Harris were exhibited; at the same meeting another letter was read commenting on an inscription found by Salt at Kōm Ombo, and of researches of his own at Bubastis.¹ At the next meeting a letter was read announcing the discovery at Benha el-ʿAssal of a granite lion bearing the cartouches of Ramesses II, a Greek inscription, and an inscribed stone of Psammetichus II.² In December of the same year Harris announced that he had found, on the supposed site of the library at Alexandria, a stone inscribed ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ Γ ΤΟΜΟΙ. He also related that he had purchased at Thebes 156 leaves of papyrus books containing texts from the Old and New Testaments, Acts of Martyrs, Homilies, etc., written in Coptic,³ and the Greek papyrus of Hypereides,⁴ of which he promptly published a facsimile,⁵ and he also communicated to the Royal Society of Literature (of which he had been elected a Member in 1846) an account of the document.⁶ Joseph Bonomi acted for Harris as distributor of this publication.⁷

Harris himself was present at the meeting of the Royal Society of Literature on June 22, 1848, when he gave an account of his excavations in the neighbourhood of Saqqārah and Gīzah. At the latter he discovered an avenue of Sphinxes, some of which had been previously taken to Alexandria.⁸ His collection, even as early as 1846, contained many things of interest and importance, and Prisse d'Avennes published an account of it.⁹

In 1852 Harris published his *Hieroglyphical Standards supposed to be the Nomes or Toparchies*, a quarto with 8 plates, now a curiosity in the history of Egyptology and very rarely met with, but nevertheless an effort creditable to its author when we consider the state of knowledge that existed at the time.¹⁰ As early as 1836, Harris was president of the Egyptian Society at Cairo.

It is stated by Professor Newberry¹¹ that the tombs of Dēr el-Gebrāwi were discovered by Harris in 1850 and revisited by him in 1855, a statement repeated by Davies in his publication of those tombs.¹² It is further stated by Davies that 'in Roman times a Pretorian cohort of the Lusitani was quartered at the capital of the province, and a relic of this occupation was discovered by Mr. Harris in the village of Deir el-Gebrāwi. It is a black stone inscribed with a dedication of the camp to its

¹ *Proc. RSL* 1, 243-4.

² *Ibid.* 249. This lion is now B.M. 857.

³ *Ibid.* 262.

⁴ Now B.M. Pap. Gr. 108. There is reason to believe that this and the two *Iliad* papyri found on the same occasion were bought by Harris from the Luxor dealer Castellari. The story told by Brugsch (*Mein Leben und mein Wandern*, pp. 121-2) that Harris himself found the Greek papyri on a mummy deposited in the crocodile-grotto at Manfalūt is obviously untrue. All three of the Hypereides papyri (those of Harris, Arden, and Stobart, *vide infra*) were obtained at Thebes, and Harris himself expressly states that his papyrus came from a Theban tomb (*Proc. RSL* 1, 262; *Trans. RSL*, 2nd ser., 3, 178). The two papyri containing parts of the *Iliad*, found at the same time, are now in the B.M. (Pap. Gr. 107, 126). It is stated erroneously in *Cat. Additions to MSS. 1888-93*, p. 391, that both were obtained by Harris 'in the Crocodile-Pit at Ma'abdeh'. See also Sayce in Petrie, *Hawara*, p. 24.

⁵ *Fragment of an Oration against Demosthenes published by A. C. Harris*, London, 1848. Joseph Arden, F.S.A. (1800-79), of Cavendish Square and Clifford's Inn, barrister-at-law, visited Egypt in the winter of 1846-7, and while at Luxor, Jan. 13-20, 1847, he obtained some valuable antiquities from native diggers, including another Hypereides papyrus which was secretly sold to him on the express understanding that he should not disclose the transaction to Castellari, of whom the natives stood in fear (letter from Arden to Lord Londesborough, Feb. 14, 1853. Dawson MSS. 23, f. 143.)

⁶ 'Description of a Greek Manuscript found at Thebes', *Trans. RSL*, 2nd ser., 3, 178-82. This paper, which is dated Rosetta, Sept. 11, 1847, was read Jan. 13, 1848. In Nov. 1849 Churchill Babington discussed the date and authorship of the text. *Ibid.* 377-84.

⁷ Add. MS. 38094, f. 189.

⁸ *Proc. RSL* 1, 273.

⁹ *Rev. Arch.* 2, 1846, 729 ff.

¹⁰ Brugsch says that Harris's interpretation of the 'standards' formed the basis of all his own later geographical work in Egypt. *Mein Leben*, 123.

¹¹ *EEF. Arch. Report*, 1892-3, p. 14.

¹² *Deir el-Gebrāwi*, I, 1-2.

deities, and it is now built into the interior of the village church.¹ I am informed by Dr. J. Grafton Milne that this is erroneous, for the inscription was known a century before Harris's time.²

The winter of 1854-5 was a momentous one for Egyptology, for it was then that many important papyri, including a batch relating to the Theban tomb-robberies, were disposed of by the native and other dealers. Harris made a journey to Upper Egypt in that winter and he was accompanied by a London business friend who happened to be visiting him at Alexandria. I have seen the letters written by the latter to his wife during his stay in Egypt, and from the indications therein as well as from other evidence, it seems clear that a considerable part of this find was bought by Harris from Castellari,³ though he afterwards resold some of the papyri. According to Budge, the Great Harris Papyrus, the literary P. Harris 500, and the Harris Magical Papyrus were all found together 'in a box hidden under the ruins of the Ramesseum at Thebes'.⁴ Even if this be true, the judicial papyri could hardly have been found with the others in the box. It would seem that Castellari had the disposal of the 'box' papyri and also some of the judicial documents, for Harris secured at least four of the latter, one of which he resold to Dr. Henry Abbott of Cairo, the other three remaining in his own possession. Some other papyri of the tomb-robbery series escaped the clutches of Castellari and were disposed of by the natives to various buyers. Luigi Vassalli, afterwards assistant to Mariette, secured two of them,⁵ and the Rev. Henry Stobart two more.⁶ Other parts of the find soon made their appearance: a papyrus bearing the name of Vanbrugh (*alias* Van Burgh, de Burgh) was presented to the British Museum in 1856,⁷ and another, divided by the natives horizontally into two parts each of which was separately disposed of, went eventually to Lord Amherst and the Brussels Museum.⁸

The papyri in Harris's possession, according to a letter from Hincks to Chabas of December 26, 1863, at that time numbered thirteen, but in a letter to Renouf written in March 1866, Goodwin informed him that he had seen Harris's papyri when in Egypt the previous year and that there were '18 or 20' of them. This may be no more than a vague approximation, but if it is correct, Harris or his daughter must have parted with some of the papyri, for only twelve ultimately reached the British Museum—nine Egyptian, and three Greek.

Harris died in Alexandria at the end of November 1869, in his eightieth year.⁹ He left an

¹ Ibid., 34-5.

² Published in *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* III, 22. In Baedeker's *Egypt* (ed. 1908, 224), the discovery is again credited to Harris, and the additional error is made of calling it a Greek inscription.

³ The letters mention 'an Italian antiquity merchant', and Arden's letter, quoted above, states that 'an old man, an Italian of the name of Castellari, who dealt in antiquities, had established himself for many years past in a dwelling constructed upon a portion of the roof of the Temple of Luxor; and this man, as I was informed, was in the habit of compelling the poor Arab excavators to surrender to him whatever treasure they happened to find for some very insignificant amount; he himself afterwards disposing of it to travellers for an enormous sum'. See also Romer, *Temples and Tombs of Egypt* (1846), I, 148, 280.

⁴ Budge, *Eg. Hieratic Pap.*, 1st ser., p. xv; 2nd ser., p. 23. Breasted says these papyri were found in a shaft 20 ft. deep at Dêr el-Medînah, and wrongly gives the year in which Harris acquired them as 1857 (*Edwin Smith Surg. Pap.*, p. 25). Eisenlohr, on the other hand, says that the Great Harris Papyrus 'was discovered by the Arabs, with a great number of other papyri, in the rubbish of a tomb behind the temple of Medinet-Abu' (*TSBA* I, 368).

⁵ Vassalli sold them to the B.M. in 1856 (10068; 10383).

⁶ The Rev. Henry Stobart (1824-95) collected some valuable antiquities during his visit to Egypt in 1854-5. The two hieratic papyri (*Mayer A* and *B*) and some miscellaneous antiquities were purchased by Joseph Mayer of Liverpool. The Greek and Coptic papyri and parchments (including a third Hypereides text) were acquired by the B.M.

⁷ B.M. 10403.

⁸ For the romantic history of the union of these two portions of the same papyrus, see *JEA* 22, 169.

⁹ On Nov. 26, 1869, Eisenlohr wrote to Chabas that Miss H. had shown him the papyri a day or two before, and added: 'le vieux Harris est très malade: je ne pouvais le voir.' On the 29th, Miss H. herself wrote to Chabas announcing her father's death (*Virey, Notice Biogr. de Chabas*, p. 101).

unmarried adopted daughter, a negress, Miss Selima Harris, into whose possession his Egyptian collections and all his property—said to be very considerable—passed under the terms of his will. She continued to reside in Alexandria (except for a visit to England in 1872), where Wilbour called upon her in December 1880, when he wrote: 'very bright and lively she is with her fifty years.'¹ Miss Harris resolved to sell her father's antiquities as an entire collection and refused to part with any objects separately, although she had many offers for the Great Harris Papyrus. Mariette, for instance, tendered frs. 50,000 for it on behalf of the Bulak Museum: she declined to accept the offer and demanded between frs. 300,000 and frs. 400,000 for the whole collection, but the Viceroy would not sanction so large a sum.² She accordingly took the collection to England for the purpose of selling it in London, and Eisenlohr, hearing of this, promptly went to London in the spring of 1872, perhaps with the intention of procuring it, if possible, for Heidelberg University.³ The Trustees of the British Museum, however, agreed upon a price that satisfied the vendor, and the whole collection (which comprised a number of stelae, a stone sarcophagus,⁴ many small objects, and nine papyri) was handed over to Dr. Birch. In addition to the Great Harris Papyrus (B.M. 9999), there were the Magical Papyrus published by Chabas (Harris Inv. 501, B.M. 10042); the literary texts (500; 10060); three judicial papyri dealing with the tomb-robberies (499; 10052-4);⁵ a small demotic fragment (10442); a fragment of a hieroglyphic Book of the Dead, Dyn. XIX or XX (498; 9990), and a long Dyn. XXI hieratic Book of the Dead (506; 10203). The Greek Papyri, No. 107 (*Iliad*) and 108 (*Hypereides*) were also bought from Miss Harris in 1872.⁶

It has often been stated that serious damage was caused to Harris's papyri by the explosion of a powder-mill near his house in Alexandria. The earliest mention of this known to me is the statement by Maspero, when he published the text of P. Harris 500 in the *Journal asiatique* in 1878,⁷ where he says: 'On dit que le manuscrit était intact au moment de la découverte; il aurait été mutilé, quelques années plus tard, par l'explosion d'une poudrière, qui renversa en partie la maison où il était en dépôt, à Alexandrie d'Égypte. On pense qu'une copie, dessinée par M. Harris avant le désastre, a conservé les parties détruites dans l'original; mais personne ne connaît pour le moment l'endroit où se trouve cette copie.'⁷ Goodwin, who saw the papyrus as soon as it arrived at the museum, in publishing his *editio princeps* of the text⁸ in 1873 makes no allusion to the explosion,

¹ Capart, *Travels in Egypt* [Wilbour Letters], pp. 6, 7. Brugsch gives a full account of Miss H., who, in spite of her unattractive appearance, seems to have been a lady of great accomplishments, speaking English, French, Italian, and Arabic, and playing a prominent part in Alexandrian society: she had been educated in England. Brugsch adds that towards the close of her life Miss H. lost the fortune she had inherited and was reduced to want (*Mein Leben*, pp. 122-3). During her visit to England in 1872 she was elected, on the proposal of Birch, a Lady Member of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology.

² Letter from Mariette to Chabas, Sept. 15, 1871 (Virey, op. cit., p. 120). Lepsius had also endeavoured to procure the papyrus when he visited Egypt in 1867, but was unable to offer a price satisfactory to Harris (*ibid.*, p. 72, n. 5).

³ Letters from Eisenlohr to Chabas (Virey, op. cit., p. 120).

⁴ B.M. 857, 961, 968-70, 982, 1001, etc.

⁵ Published by Peet in his *Great Tomb Robberies*. Newberry (*Amherst Papyri*, p. 29) states wrongly that one of these judicial papyri ('Harris A', B.M. 10053) was found about 1860 and acquired by the B.M. in 1885. All three papyri were acquired together in 1872, and they were evidently treated as one lot, since they had a single inventory number.

⁶ The second *Iliad* papyrus (B.M. Gr. 126) was not acquired until 1888. It was then in the possession of Hilton Price.

⁷ Reprinted in *Études Ég.* 1, 1-2 (1879); the story is repeated in all the editions of Maspero's *Contes Populaires*. Observe the indefinite 'on dit que', 'on pense que'.

⁸ *TSBA* 3, 340. Goodwin examined the papyrus during his visit to London in 1872, and he then made a hand-facsimile of the text in one of his notebooks, which is amongst his papers in the B.M. (Add. MSS. 31278, ff. 91-113). In view of the damage since sustained by the document this copy may be of great value in restoring the text.

but describes the papyrus as 'much rubbed and broken' and as 'worn and frayed': evidently he attributed its condition to the same causes which account for the present mutilated state of so many papyri, namely, wear and tear in antiquity and careless handling in modern times. Budge, however, repeats Maspero's story with more elaboration. After mentioning the alleged discovery of the papyri in a box, to which reference has already been made, Budge proceeds:

'The greater number of the rolls of papyrus in the box were bought by Mr. Harris, and were kept by him for some years in his house at Alexandria. During these years he made copies of the texts inscribed upon them, so that the contents of these precious documents might be preserved even if the papyri were burnt or otherwise destroyed; unfortunately none of these copies was subsequently forthcoming. What Mr. Harris feared actually happened. An explosion took place in the powder-mill near which his house was situated, and wrecked the greater part of it and seriously damaged his papyri and the other Egyptian antiquities which he had collected in it. Soon after the explosion, several of his papyri were purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum, and among them was the mutilated roll commonly known as "Harris 500".'¹

I do not know what authority there may be for Maspero's story or for Budge's account of Harris's premonition of disaster and for the statement that he made copies of all the texts as a precautionary measure. But the explosion must indeed have been a very extraordinary one and it had the most diverse effects on the various papyri in the wrecked house. The Great Harris Papyrus was entirely undamaged, so was one of the three judicial papyri, and, likewise, the long funerary papyrus is intact, but the explosion's effect on the Magical Papyrus was the total disappearance of one half of it and the intact preservation of the other half.² On Harris 500 the effect was quite different, for instead of half of it being blown to limbo, the whole of it remains with some damage to the upper margin, and numerous small cracks and breaks that mostly follow the direction of the fibres. In short, the state of Harris 500 is that with which we are familiar in many other papyri and is clearly no more than the result, on a rather fragile and brittle roll, of wear and tear, of excessive thumbing, of unrolling without previous relaxation, and of careless handling before it was mounted.³ The effect of the explosion on one of the judicial papyri (Harris A)⁴ was of yet another variety, for in this case the lower quarter of each page was lost so that the severance took place horizontally along the whole length of the papyrus instead of vertically across the middle as in the case of the Magical Papyrus. With regard to the second judicial papyrus (B.M. 10054), the explosion caused a still more curious phenomenon, 'the upper layer of papyrus from part of the recto having been stripped completely

¹ *Eg. Hierat. Pap.*, 2nd ser., p. 23. Are we to infer that the explosion happened after Harris's death in 1869? A few days before, Eisenlohr had seen the papyri in Harris's house, but he makes no allusion to any damage by an explosion. Budge himself makes no reference to it in describing the Magical Papyrus (op. cit., 1st ser., p. xv).

² The photographic plates in op. cit., 1st ser., pls. 20-5, show that the first six pages are still quite perfect except for a small break at the top of the third which affects only a few signs in the first line.

³ See op. cit., 2nd ser., pls. 41-52. It is known that in Birch's time many of the papyri in the museum were not always adequately mounted and protected by glass, nor treated with the care and respect they receive to-day. See Budge, *Nile and Tigris*, I, 26. The late Sir Ernest Budge told me in 1931 that when the Harris papyri arrived at the museum in 1872, they had already been cut into lengths and were laid between sheets of paper in cardboard covers, and added that they were probably not mounted and glazed for some time afterwards. He also told me that he remembered seeing Goodwin at work on them, and in a letter, Mar. 13, 1931, he wrote: 'His skill was quite marvellous: he literally read the stuff at sight. I looked on as a youth and gaped!'

⁴ Newberry in describing Harris A (*Amherst Pap.* 29) makes no allusion to the explosion, but Peet does so (*JEA* 11, 47) and so does Maspero in reviewing Newberry's book (*Ét. de Myth.* VII, 134). The tracings, according to Newberry, were made by Miss H. and not by her father, as suggested by Budge. Chabas's plates of the Mag. Pap. were lithographed not from tracings, but from photographs that Harris himself had sent in Sept. 1858 (Virey, op. cit., p. 19).

off and gummed over the corresponding page of the verso'.¹ The gumming was apparently Harris's method of repairing the damage, for it can scarcely be suggested that the explosion did the gumming as well as the stripping. I submit that no explosion could have the effect of separating the two layers of a papyrus without reducing both to fragments, and that this separation can only be due to the loss of the adhesive property of the gum that originally united the layers, probably owing to the roll having been kept in a damp place at some period in its long history, presumably in ancient times. If the papyrus had been found to be wet and had been dried by a fire, the evaporation of the moisture would account for the two layers coming apart.

Personally, I cannot help regarding the explosion story with the utmost scepticism. I have found no reference to the matter in contemporary letters of Egyptologists: surely the news of such an accident would have evoked some interest and solicitude as to the fate of the valuable papyri Harris was known to possess. But apart from this negative evidence, information I have met with from two independent but equally credible sources leads me to believe that the missing portion of the Harris Magical Papyrus disappeared in a much less violent manner than is generally supposed, and that, if this is indeed so, the explosion story must have been deliberately circulated as a smoke-screen to cover the loss, and the damaged condition of some of the other papyri would then be supposed to lend some support to the story. An explosion which wrecked a house and spared some of the papyri in it and affected four others in such totally different ways is of such a singular kind as to raise doubts; if *all* the papyri had been shattered to fragments, the tale would be easier to believe.

¹ Peet, *JEA* 11, 45. He adds: 'We may conjecture that the papyrus suffered in the same explosion in Alexandria which played such havoc with Harris A.'

A NOTE ON P.S.I. 1160

By SIR HAROLD BELL

THIS papyrus, first published by Vitelli and Norsa in the *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'archéologie d'Alexandrie*, No. 25 (1930), has been much discussed. It consists of what is obviously the last column of a considerably longer document relating to an embassy from Alexandria to 'Caesar', the main purpose of which was, as I believe, to ask for the establishment of a senate, but according to the editors to plead against the abolition of an existing one. 'Caesar' was understood by the editors as Octavian and the papyrus dated in the first century B.C., the date of the proceedings recorded in the text being taken as shortly after the Roman conquest and while Octavian was in Egypt but temporarily absent from Alexandria. Mr. James H. Oliver, in an article published in *Aegyptus*, 11 (1930-1), 161-8, adduced arguments in favour of a later date. They are not conclusive and did not convince the editors, but they are certainly weighty, and the editors' view cannot be regarded as more than possible. The hand is of an early type, but might be as late as the reign of Tiberius, or perhaps Gaius. Even if the papyrus really dates from later than the reign of Augustus it may, of course, still relate to events in that reign, but this cannot be assumed, and 'Caesar' might in that case be Tiberius or Gaius, possibly even Claudius; not, however, a later emperor.

I have, however, no wish to re-open a subject of controversy on which, in the present state of our evidence, certainty is impossible, but rather to call attention to a material factor which has not previously provoked much comment. The surviving column is preceded by scanty remains (the ends of several lines) of a previous column; and it is itself headed $\mu \kappa \beta$, letters which are naturally taken as numerals, 40, 22. These, the editors held, may be a reference to the source from which the text was taken, a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος* or composite roll numbered 40, and the column or document there included which bore the serial number 22. There are some difficulties in this view, since one can hardly suppose the number of the roll (40) would be repeated over every column of this copy, and if this is the sole reference, one would rather expect it either at the beginning of the text in question, that is, in a lost earlier column, or at the end, that is, at the foot of this column; but it is not easy to find a convincing alternative explanation.

The striking feature of the papyrus is that, whereas the last column is written *across* the fibres, the preceding one was written *along* them; in other words, this sheet is attached to the other in the reverse way, the fibres vertical instead of horizontal. It was the (so far as I know all but invariable) practice, in making up rolls of papyrus in the factory, to join the single sheets in such a way that all the horizontal fibres were inside (the recto), all the vertical ones outside (the verso). There was one exception: the first sheet (*πρωτόκολλον*) was attached to the roll in the reverse way, vertical fibres

inside. A *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος*, formed by joining together a number of related documents in an archive, might, of course, show varying arrangements of the fibres, since individual documents incorporated in the composite roll might have been written on the verso of a previously used sheet of papyrus, and therefore across the fibres. The editors, as I have said, held that P.S.I. 1160 was copied from a composite roll, but they did not suggest that it was itself such a roll; indeed, this hypothesis would not help, for the surviving column is not an independent document but the continuation of a long text. Why, then, is there this difference in the direction of the fibres?

I have said that in making up various documents into a composite roll for purposes of custody (as was done in the public record offices) it might happen that one or more of these documents had been written on the verso, and would therefore show the vertical fibres on the inside of the complete roll. But it was also possible for private persons, wishing to copy a long text and anxious to save expense by using second-hand papyrus, to form a composite roll out of used sheets, which on occasion might include one with the writing on the verso, the recto being either blank or containing so little writing that it could be used again. There is, moreover, one apparent example, the only one I can recall, of a sheet of papyrus being attached the reverse way of the others to the original roll. This is P. Lond. II. 256, a composite roll made by a private owner out of separate documents in order to use the verso for a copy of some orations. Kenyon states: 'One *σελίς* of the papyrus, in the middle of the roll, has been arranged in the reverse way to the rest, so that its *verso* side lies with the *recto* of the rest of the roll; the writing is continuous across the junctures of this *σελίς* on both sides.' It is thus clear that this discrepancy was original and not due to the fact that a single document used in making up the roll had been previously used on the verso.

The form of P.S.I. 1160 may be attributed, then, either to the accidental attachment of a *σελίς* to the roll in the wrong order, as in P. Lond. II. 256, or to the fact that the document was copied by its owner on to a roll which he had himself made up from sheets of used papyrus. In favour of the second hypothesis may be urged the facts that the hand, of an informal literary character, does not look like that of an official clerk, but suggests some literary or semi-literary purpose (the text may well belong to the class of *Acta Alexandrinorum*), and that according to the editors there are a few lines of an account on the back. I have, however, another suggestion which it seems worth while to make.

There is an excellent facsimile of the papyrus in Signorina Norsa's *Papiri greci delle collezioni italiani*, II, pl. XI, which, for those to whom this publication is accessible, will probably be more useful than that published with the *editio princeps*. The space between the two columns is unusually small; after the surviving column there is a broader piece of blank papyrus at the top (from which the upper layer of fibres appears to have disappeared), and the text seems to reach a natural conclusion with the last line of the column. We may therefore reasonably conclude that this is the end of both the document and the roll. I have said that the first sheet of a papyrus roll was regularly attached the reverse way to the others. Thus the fibres of the *πρωτόκολλον* were vertical on the inside. Suppose a roll of papyrus had for some reason, perhaps in order

to cut off portions of it for separate use, been unrolled and then accidentally re-rolled in the reverse way and turned upside-down, as would be necessary if it was to be used in that form, the *πρωτόκολλον* would come at the end, not the beginning, of the roll.

Is it possible that we have in P.S.I. 1160 an example of such use of a reversed roll; that the surviving column is the (originally) first *σελίς* of the roll? The fact that there is writing on the other side ('Nel rovescio infatti dell' estrema parte dei rr. 4 sqq. compaiono alcune poste di conti . . . in scrittura anche essi attraverso le fibre': P.S.I. 1160 intr.) is irrelevant to the question, but if my suggestion is correct we may probably conclude that the accounts were later than the other text, not anterior to it. In that case, too, we have a proof (hardly, indeed, necessary) that at this period the *πρωτόκολλον* bore no such official inscription as the Byzantine protocol, not even in the most embryo form.

The narrowness of the margin between the columns might perhaps be taken as an argument against my suggestion, but I do not think it can be pressed: getting near the end of the roll and forced to use the *πρωτόκολλον*, the copyist was perhaps uncertain whether his space was adequate and began his last column as close to the preceding one as possible.

I am aware that the suggestion I have made is uncertain, aware, too, that even if correct it is a very minor point, but it has at least some slight interest, and I hope that this note will not be taken as altogether too trivial a tribute to the eminent scholar in whose honour the present number of the *Journal* is prepared.

PHARAONIC SURVIVALS BETWEEN LAKE CHAD AND THE WEST COAST

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

DURING the last thirty-five years quite a literature has grown up pointing out scraps of Egyptian culture that survive scattered all over Africa. Here it is proposed to confine the inquiry to one area, and that is the country both about Lake Chad itself and stretching westward therefrom.

There must have been two main routes to the west. The following pages contain much evidence that the Benue River provided the one into southern Nigeria, but the survivals in the far west and north-west must have come across the open country due west of the Lake and a long way north of the Benue. There was also quite another route by which some relics of Egypt reached the western and north-western lands. This did not go past Lake Chad, but came from the north and north-east via Libya.

We start with the Bushongo, for the information which they provide gives the kind of date and road by which influences, ultimately from Egypt, spread westwards across Africa. The Bushongo are a tribe now living very far away to the south, but with the tradition of having come from the north and actually showing signs of having originated from the Shari River which flows into Lake Chad from the south.¹ Before leaving the old homeland tradition tells how they acquired a complex of certain cultural elements. Among the rest was the iron-smelting industry which they still work with the ancient Egyptian bowl-bellows that are shown in the paintings of Rekhmirē,² and which were still used as late as 1837 in southern Kordofan³ on the road from the Nile to the Shari. Tradition says that the art was revealed to the Bushongo by a 'white man',⁴ their first king whom they afterwards deified.⁵ He was not alone among the Negroes on the Shari River, for at his death he divided the kingdom among the three best men, of whom one was 'white' while the other two were black.⁶ The 'grandson' of this second 'white' man is described by tradition as being a 'mulatto', and it was to this mulatto

¹ Torday and Joyce, *Les Bushongo*, p. 43.

² Ibid., fig. 272 and pl. 22, and Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmirē*, pl. 52, lowest register and p. 53. The only change is the improvement of using a rigid stick grasped in the hand instead of the workman's treading the bellows and raising the covers with a string.

³ J. Russegger, *Reise in Egypten, Nubien und Ost-Sudan*, II, pt. 2, p. 292.

⁴ The Negroes regularly apply the term 'white' to anyone paler than themselves, and it has often been applied to men from the Nile valley. The slave-hunters from Khartūm earned the name 'white devils' from their victims (F. Werne, *Expedition to Discover the Sources of the White Nile*, I, 183). Similarly, the Azande called the Egyptian troops who occupied their country by a name 'Azudia' which implies 'paleness' (A. de Calonne-Beaufaict, *Azande*, p. 31).

⁵ Torday and Joyce; Bumba (the first king) was white, p. 20; was deified, pp. 20, 21; taught the iron-industry to the 'mulatto' Woto, pp. 21, 235.

⁶ Ibid., p. 21. The two black men were commanded to pay tribute to the 'white' man.

that the original deified 'white' man made the revelation. The recipient of the revelation was reigning about A.D. 510.¹ The date at which the knowledge of the iron-industry and the use of the Egyptian bowl-bellows was taught on the Shari is significant. It is just a century and a half after 'Ezana's devastation of the country of Meroë and final destruction of the city with its vast iron-smelting industry, which took place about A.D. 350.² Clearly, then, the original 'white' man moved out from the Nile valley and drifted away to the west, and, as has been seen, he was not alone.

Besides all this the 'mulatto' himself introduced the practice of circumcision,³ which again is Egyptian. Over and above the iron-industry and circumcision the Bushongo have acquired at least one religious belief from Egypt. It is that in multiple souls, which, of course, is derived from the Egyptian belief in the *ka*.⁴ Hence, it is very clear that it was a strong infiltration of Egyptian, actually Meroitic, culture which originated that of the Bushongo. It is also clear that the disaster to Meroë resulted in an increase of civilization in the country of the Shari on the south of Lake Chad. In fact the increase was such that to later generations it appeared as the creation of the world.

On the Pharaoh's public appearances part of his state consisted in the great semi-circular ostrich-feather fans by which he was attended. Similar ones prove to be the regular appanage of royalty in the country round Lake Chad, more especially to the south of it. On the east side of the Lake the king of Wadai has three of them, and in south-eastern Wadai the king of Sulla has nine.⁵ In Bagirmi, along the eastern bank of the River Shari and so a little south-east of the Lake, the king has a number of them. When Barth visited him in 1852 he only had six,⁶ but at the time of Nachtigal's visit in the 1870's he was attended by twelve.⁷ The king of Chekna in the same country was on one occasion attended by 120 of them.⁸ West of the Shari and even of the Logone, and due south of the Lake, they are in use again at Mora.⁹

It is self-evident that these state fans must have been derived ultimately from Egypt, no doubt through Meroë, though curiously enough no pictures of them survive from the latter place. However, great ostrich-feather fans, though apparently only for private personal use in the hand, were known in Nubia in comparatively early days and no doubt continued long in use. Some sixty were found at Kerma dating to the Hyksos period,¹⁰ and in the reign of Tutankhamūn two of the usual sort on long staves were

¹ The Bushongo have an official keeper of the traditions, and the long list of kings makes it possible to calculate these dates, Torday and Joyce, pp. 19, 36, 37.

² For the vast slag-heaps at Meroë see Garstang, Sayce, and Griffith, *Meroë*, p. 21; Sayce, in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* (Liverpool), 4, 55. The present writer has discussed all this in detail in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 26, 19-24. For 'Ezana's destruction see E. Littmann, *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, IV, 33-4, Inscr. 11. The evidence for his date is given by Budge, *A History of Ethiopia, Nubia and Abyssinia*, 147-51.

³ Torday and Joyce, p. 21.

⁴ Seligman in *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, p. 106. The belief is widespread among the Negroes.

⁵ G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, II, 605, pl. facing p. 600, and fig. on p. 604.

⁶ H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, III, 402 and pl. facing p. 405.

⁷ Nachtigal, II, 604.

⁸ O. Macleod, *Chiefs and Cities of Central Africa*, p. 169 and photograph facing p. 168.

⁹ Wainwright in *Bull. de la soc. sultanieh de géogr.* (Cairo, 1919), 9, pl. 8, no. 53 and p. 187.

¹⁰ Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma*, IV, 315-17 and pl. 68.

brought by the retinue of the Nubian princess, while she herself had a similar sort of thing which was presumably attached to her chariot.¹

Stretching south-westwards from the western shore of Lake Chad lies the country of Bornu, and from the southern border of this country the Benue River flows away due west until it joins the lower Niger. In Bornu itself and in western Nigeria canoes are used for burial, a custom which seems unreasonable in itself but is explicable by reference to Egyptian views on the After Life, where boats were so necessary.

In Bornu sheikhs used to be carried to their burial in a canoe, and until recently at any rate such a burial canoe could be seen at the tombs of the sheikhs at Kukawa.² Across the Niger and south of the junction of the Benue the corpse of an old man is carried to the grave 'in a shallow trunk hollowed out like a canoe' in the Uzaitui country.³ Due south of that, in the Sobo country, a small canoe is carved and buried in a grave alongside that of the corpse, and if for any reason the body cannot be recovered two of these canoes are buried.⁴ Due east of Uzaitui and on the Niger itself is situated the town of Idah. Here the Ata (king) is buried in a canoe-shaped coffin.⁵ Elsewhere, it is probably the Egyptian's hope that he would sail over the Heavens in the boat of Rē, the Sun-god, that is responsible for the view of the Hereafter held by the Upoto on the northern curve of the Congo. They consider that the moon is in a huge boat which sails across the whole world picking up the souls of the dead and conveying them to Libanza the Sky-god.⁶

Not only are Egyptian influences to be found beyond the two ends of the Benue, but all down its length they are very strong. The Kilba live between its upper course and Mora, one of the places where the Egyptian state fans are used. The new chief of the Kilba is formally presented with the royal crook, which he holds on his right shoulder, while a three-tailed flail is carried by one of his officials as the symbol of the chief's power.⁷ It needs no emphasis that these are of Egyptian origin. Farther along the river both of these implements appear again but they have got separated, a process that was already beginning with the Kilba. Thus, not far away the Bachama live at the junction of the Gongola with the Benue. Among them the crook is carried on the right shoulder by each elder of the tribe at the ceremonial hoeing of the ground,⁸ but nothing is said about the flail. Ceremonial hoeing is, of course, an important fertility occasion. Farther down the river it is the duty of the third senior official to place on

¹ Nina de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Huy*, pls. 28, 29. The one on her chariot is generally spoken of as a sunshade to which use it was no doubt put, but surely it could hardly have been attached to her headdress as it certainly looks and is sometimes supposed to be.

² Palmer in *Man*, 1937, p. 183.

³ N. W. Thomas, *Anthropological Report on the Edo-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, 1, 43. Young people, on the other hand, are carried on a framework or flat bier of bamboo.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 44, 45.

⁵ Monckton in *J. African Soc.* 27 (1927-8), 164, Appendix A (iv) and figs.; Clifford in *J. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* 66, 428 and fig. on p. 430. The two authors give very different versions of a story about the body of the father of the first Ata having been brought to Idah in a canoe which was then used as a coffin. No doubt this actually happened, but it is clearly not the origin of the custom of canoe-burial.

⁶ J. G. Frazer, *The Worship of Nature*, p. 148 quoting M. Lindeman, *Les Upotos*, p. 43.

⁷ C. K. Meek, *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria*, 1, 184 and n. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 33, 34 and pl. 6 where it is shown alongside a Pharaonic one.

the shoulder of a new chief of the Chamba of Donga the hippo-hide whip which is the emblem of chieftainship.¹ After this we come to Wukari where the new Jukun king is 'offered a whip with several tails (flail)',² which is placed on his shoulder.³ At his death the whip has to be returned to the priestly official along with the other emblems of royalty.⁴

It is well known that attempts at mummification in one form or another are widely practised by the Negroes.⁵ The following are newly reported cases and they occur along the Benue.

The Kilba, who have just been mentioned as retaining the crook and flail, also have an elaborate method of dealing with the corpse, which, as Mr. Meek says, must with little doubt be a derivation from the Egyptian custom. They even give such a burial to a commoner.⁶ Next to them live the Fali, and they swathe the corpse with as many bandages of cotton and leather as can be afforded. The author very naturally describes the wrapped body as a 'mummy'.⁷ Farther down the river at the above-mentioned Wukari the body of the Jukun king is desiccated, disembowelled, smeared with butter and salt, massaged, and then tightly bandaged with strips of cloth;⁸ a very complete process.

On the Niger a little north of the junction of the Benue lies the country of Nupé, whence the god Shango came southwards and south-westwards into Yoruba-land,⁹ i.e. the hinterland of Lagos, and his derivation from Amūn is unmistakable. He is the sky-god and, as a sky-god should in those regions, he sends the rain and hurls the thunderbolt.¹⁰ His sacred animal is the ram, and one lives in the palace at Oyo in charge of a Shango priestess.¹¹ Rams are sacrificed to him at his great festival in November and by those who can afford it in great numbers.¹² His image at Oyo has a ram's mask,¹³ the cover of the casket which holds his 'fire medicine' is in the form of a pair of rams' heads,¹⁴ and the energy of a fresh horse is compared to the vigour of 'Shango's rams'.¹⁵ All this is very suggestive of Amūn, as was seen originally by Frobenius and more recently by Dr. Meyerowitz.¹⁶ Not only was Amūn a ram-god, as is well known, but the present writer has recently shown that he was a sky-god as well and almost certainly had a meteorite as his sacred object.¹⁷ Fortunately, we can be even

¹ Ibid., 334.

² Sir Richmond Palmer, *The Bornu Sahara and Sudan*, p. 131.

³ C. K. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p. 137.

⁴ Ibid., p. 172.

⁵ N. W. Thomas in *Ancient Egypt*, 1921, pp. 7-10; Seligman in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, pp. 458-60, and pl. 73, fig. a; Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, pp. 169 f.

⁶ Id., *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria*, 1, 196-8, 220; id., *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p. 170.

⁷ Lebeuf in *J. soc. des Africanistes*, 8, 111 f., and pls. 4-6. No mention is made of any attempt at preserving the body.

⁸ Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, pp. 167-9.

⁹ L. Frobenius, *The Voice of Africa*, 1, 210.

¹⁰ Frobenius, op. cit., p. 205. Neolithic axes are sacred to him, and in Yoruba-land, as elsewhere, they represent the thunderbolt (Dwyer in *Man*, 1903, pp. 183, 184; Scott Macfie, *ibid.*, 1913, p. 170; Frobenius, op. cit., pp. 217, 218).

¹¹ Meyerowitz in *Man*, 1946, p. 26, n. 8.

¹² Frobenius, op. cit., p. 212.

¹³ Ibid., p. 218.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 210.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 218.

¹⁶ Loc. cit., p. 26, though much of the Egyptology requires editing.

¹⁷ *JEA* 20, 139-52; *ZAS* 71, 41-4; *Ann. Serv.* 42, 183-5. His original from whom he was derived, Min, had the thunderbolt as his symbol (Wainwright in *JEA* 17, 185-95) and was a sky-god like Amūn (*ibid.*, 21, 152-70).

more definite in ascribing Shango's derivation to Amūn, for we have material evidence that it was so. It is provided by the badge of the Shango priest¹ which is a crudely made replica of the quite common ram's head symbol of Amūn wearing the *wsh* collar. In fact, the Egyptian *wsh* collar had quite a vogue among the Yoruba for that of the priest of Olokun was of that shape also.² This one was clearly intended to be hung round the neck, for it has loops for suspension at its ends. The Shango badge seems to have a hook at the top.

The identification of the ram with the storm is, however, by no means confined to the Yoruba, but is widespread throughout West Africa. Far to the east in Calabar and the Cameroons it is said that thunder is a great ram which marches across the sky,³ and in the same neighbourhood another tribe sacrifices a ram to the thunder-god.⁴ Farther away still, this time to the north-west of Yoruba-land, the idea is found again in northern Togo-land, also among the Mossi of the Upper Volta Province, and very much farther on again among the Mandé in Senegambia.⁵

It is curious that just as the crook and flail have got separated along the Benue, so does the ram there represent, not the storm, but that other side of Amen-Rē, the Sun.⁶ In this identification the tribes of the Benue agree with the Hausa to the north of them,⁷ and the Hausa agree with the solar side so commonly given to the Amūn ram in Libya farther north again and north-east.⁸ In Libya the rock graffiti are well known which show the ram with the sun's disk on his head,⁹ and it will not be forgotten that Amen-Rē's worship spread out into Libya via Siwah.

Another belief that is widespread in West Africa and also occurs in the country south of Lake Chad is that in the Beginning the sky either touched the earth or at least lay very near it, and in due time it was lifted up or lifted itself up. Thus, near Marwa, south of Mora, it is said that the sky was pushed up by the exuberant growth of the trees.¹⁰ Some fifty or sixty miles west of Marwa the Margi suppose that the sky was originally so near the earth that men could touch it.¹¹ On beyond the Benue, in the Niger Delta and the northern Cameroons, the Sun and the Sky felt that as Man had obtained fire he could warm himself so that there was no need for them to remain so close to the earth. So they withdrew to their present distance.¹² The belief in the original closeness of the sky is widespread throughout the Gold Coast Colony and the Northern Territories, and also Liberia. In the country of the Gold Coast and its hinterland the belief is held, for instance, by the Krachi, Dagomba, Ashanti, Adele,

¹ Meyerowitz, pl. I-J, fig. 3, facing p. 129 of *Man*, 1940.

² P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, III, 969.

³ Id., *Tribes of the Niger Delta*, p. 24.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 221 ff.; Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p. 192.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 223, 225, where, however, it is all mixed up with some very unfortunate Egyptology, as is so much of this chapter.

⁶ Joleaud in *J. soc. des Africanistes* (1933), 3, 197-282, has an important study on these Saharan graffiti, and on pl. II, figs. 4, 5, 6, shows some fine examples of these rams. Frobenius shows one from Oran on p. 225. O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 195-200, has a useful collection of information and reproduces several of the graffiti.

⁷ Fourné in *J. soc. des Africanistes* (1938), 8, 172.

⁸ Meek, *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria*, I, 221.

⁹ P. Amaury Talbot, *Tribes of the Niger Delta*, p. 342.

¹⁰ Ibid., pl. I-J, fig. 1.

¹¹ Frobenius, op. cit., pp. 219-21.

¹² Frobenius, op. cit., p. 221.

Ewe, and Kassena,¹ and in Liberia by the Kpelle.² Each tribe gives a different reason for the Sky's removal, but they all agree that it was because humanity kept getting in the way of the Deity. Either the smoke of their fires got in his eyes, or he was continually getting hit by the long pestles of the women who were pounding yams or other things, and so on, until in disgust he removed himself from such troublesome people.

The Lifting up of the Sky is very prominent in the religion of Ancient Egypt, and many gods are shown in the act, and festivals were held in its commemoration when kings performed the ceremony.³ It was specially performed for Amen-Rē after which came the Festival of his Entry to the Sky.⁴ A hymn to him of the Eighteenth or early Nineteenth Dynasty says 'Thou hast lifted up the sky and pushed back the soil',⁵ and, again, another hymn of a date not later than Ramesses II addresses Amen-Rē with the words 'thou who (?) hangest up the heaven'.⁶ The idea also passed into the religion of Ethiopia,⁷ whence Negro Africa obtained so much of its culture. One thing the Negroes did not accept was that curious Egyptian view that the Sky was female. With them the Sky is male, a role much more suitable to its usual violence.

¹ A. W. Cardinall, *Tales Told in Togoland*, p. 15; J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, p. 423.

² D. Westermann, *Die Kpelle*, p. 533, no. 28.

³ Wainwright in *JEA* 20, 145; 21, 168.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 20, 145, and cf. p. 151.

⁵ Bakir in *Ann. Serv.* 42, 87, l. 13.

⁶ Gardiner, *Hierat. Pap. Brit. Mus.*, 3rd ser., p. 96, and for the date see p. 78.

⁷ Leps. *Denkm.* v, pl. 13, figs. *b, d*, where Tirhakah upholds the sky at Barkal; pl. 55, figs. *a, b*, where King Natakamani and Queen Amenitere assisted by deities do the same at Ben Naga to the south of Meroë.



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