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Full particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, London, W.1.

All communications to the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology should be sent to the Editor, R. O. Faulkner, Esq., Ebor Cottage, Old Boar's Hill, Oxford. All books for review should be sent to the Secretary of the Egypt Exploration Society, 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, London, W.1.

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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

Since the last volume of this journal appeared Egyptology has suffered a calamitous loss in the death at Oxford of Professor Battiscombe Gunn. A philologist of the first rank, witness his epoch-making Studies in Egyptian Syntax, he was also a wonderful teacher and guide, philosopher, and friend to many students. For a number of years he served our Society as a member of Committee and as Editor of the journal, while those who knew him well mourn the passing of one of the best and kindest of men. An obituary by Dr. John Barns appears elsewhere in this issue.

In America also Egyptology has undergone a severe blow in the loss of the veteran scholar H. E. Winlock. For many years Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, his chief interest always lay in matters Egyptian. Perhaps his greatest contribution to our science was the long series of most fruitful excavations on behalf of his Museum which he directed at Dêr el-Bahri, whereby he not only enriched the collections at Cairo and New York, but also made considerable additions to our knowledge. He likewise did valuable work on the Oases of Khargah and Dakhlah, and devoted much effort to the disentangling of the obscure history and chronology of the two Intermediate Periods which respectively preceded and followed the Twelfth Dynasty.

We have also, alas, to announce the passing of two well-known French scholars, M. Raymond Weill and M. Pierre Jouguet. M. Weill, who died on 13 July last, could look back on nearly half a century of Egyptological studies, for his first book, Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes du Sinai, appeared in 1904; of his later works his Décrets royaux and Chronologie égyptienne are probably those by which he will best be remembered. At the time of his death he was editor of the Revue d’Égyptologie, now in its seventh volume, and President of the Société française d’Égyptologie. Of M. Jouguet Sir Harold Bell writes: ‘The death of Pierre Jouguet on 9 July 1949 removes from the limited circle of papyrologists one of its most prominent and best loved figures. He was not only himself an expert editor (witness, for example, his work on the Magdola and Theadelphia papyri) but the organizer and inspirer of papyrological studies at Lille and Paris. He was indeed the doyen of French papyrologists. But his interests extended far beyond the field of papyrology in the strict sense, to ancient history and archaeology in many aspects and to the literary heritage of the Greece which he loved so ardently and in which, as a former student of the French School at Athens, he never ceased to take a lively interest. Genial, kindly, understanding and tolerant, with a high sense of responsibility and devotion to duty, he was a humanist for whom all who knew him entertained a warm regard, and though he had reached the age of eighty he was still actively at work, and yearly adding to the list of his publications in the sphere of classical scholarship.’

As announced in the last edition of this Foreword, Mr. P. L. Shinnie has carried out at ‘Amârah West the clearance of a small area which at the end of the preceding
season had been left incompletely explored, and with the completion of this task our work in the Sudan comes to an end. It is hoped that Mr. Shinnie’s preliminary reports on his two seasons’ work at this site will appear in the next volume of the *Journal*. On the other hand, the Society’s Archaeological Survey of Egypt has resumed the urgent task of recording the monuments visible above ground, under the direction of Professor Blackman, with the assistance of Mr. M. Apter. The site chosen was Meir, where in the past Professor Blackman has done much valuable work for us, and we are gratified to learn that all the tombs on this site which have not already been recorded have now been copied. The publication of the new material will be put in hand as soon as possible, and we look forward to a valuable addition to the four volumes already published under the title *The Rock Tombs of Meir*. In this connexion, however, we are very sorry to have to report that Professor Blackman met with a serious mishap during the voyage home; he had the great misfortune to fall and break a thigh-bone, and consequently he had to go into hospital as soon as he reached England. At the time of writing, however, we understand that he is making good progress, and we most sincerely hope that he is well on the way to complete recovery.

As regards the other publications for which the Society is responsible, the news is good. All the many difficulties which beset the editor of *City of Akhenaten*, vol. III, seem now to have been overcome, and we are approaching the final stages of its production, while the new edition of *Inscriptions of Sinai* is also well advanced. It is probable that soon work will be resumed on the publication of the outstanding material from Sir Robert Mond’s excavations at Armant, while on the Graeco-Roman side the forthcoming volumes on Antinoplis and Oxyrhynchus are progressing well.

The Trustees of the British Museum announced in *The Times* of 7 July their intention of creating a separate Department of Egyptian Antiquities. As an interim measure Mr. I. E. S. Edwards, the Honorary Treasurer of this Society, has been appointed Deputy Keeper in charge of Egyptian Antiquities in the present combined Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. We are sure that our members will welcome this development and will feel that it is a fitting recognition of the importance which the Trustees attach to both branches of the Department in our national collection. We also congratulate Mr. Edwards on his appointment and wish him every success.

In connexion with her article in *Vol. 35* of the *Journal*, Mrs. Davies has asked that the following note should be included in the present volume: ‘I regret that some of the Latin names of the birds at Beni Hasan which I have ascribed to Mr. Moreau contain errors in spelling. Mr. Moreau and Mr. Alexander are of course not responsible for these mistakes. Nina M. Davies.’
THE BAPTISM OF PHARAOH

By Sir Alan Gardiner

In a recently written but not yet published article I was concerned to show that four sandstone blocks in the Vatican Museum emanate from the temple erected at Hermouthis (Armant) by Tuthmosis III in honour of Mont, the principal deity of that important Upper Egyptian town. One of the blocks bears the remains of a scene of well-known type: Tuthmosis III stands facing left, while streams of vivifying *ankh*-signs are poured over his head by a destroyed god on either side of him. My attempt to provide a commentary led to developments which would have lengthened my article to an undesirable extent. The following pages are devoted to what had there to be omitted.

For information concerning Egyptian rites of purification one turns naturally to the important series of papers of which Blackman was the author. The ramifications of the subject are enormous, since all religious ceremonies of Pharaonic times, whether performed on behalf of a deity, a deceased noble, or the living king, were prefaced by some act of ritual cleansing of which the object was sometimes the officiant and sometimes the intended beneficiary. Happily I am not called upon to deal with this topic in more than a limited way. The royal purification in question can be segregated from the other similar rites in a manner that has not hitherto been properly recognized, and the texts accompanying the scenes where it is depicted yield a self-sufficient explanation of its purpose beyond which it is superfluous to look.

Before proceeding farther, it will be well to cast a comprehensive glance over the material available for the elucidation of this particular rite. I have here confined myself to pre-Ptolemaic representations. From various publications it proved possible to assemble eleven parallels to the Vatican fragment, these ranging from the reign of Ḥashepsowē to that of Philip Arrhidaeus. Though these sufficed to demonstrate my main contentions, it seemed advisable to seek the help of the best authority on such religious scenes. I confess my surprise at having received from Dr. Nelson a list of twenty-four still existing, though mostly unpublished, at Thebes alone, these excluding, moreover, the few scenes exhibiting deities other than those in which I was mainly interested, namely Horus, Seth, and Thoth. To Nelson's list, here printed immediately after this paragraph, I have added the nine others previously utilized by me. The same scholar has added to my indebtedness by providing prints from the Chicago negatives of seven scenes at Thebes which for my particular purpose were more illuminating than the rest. This gift was accompanied by permission from Dr. Hughes, the Field-director of the Oriental Institute, to make whatever use of them I liked. To both colleagues I tender my sincerest thanks.

1 Description in Marucchi, *Il Museo egizio Vaticano*, p. 131, No. 129a. A photograph will appear in my article in vol. 2 of the *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini*, to be published by the University of Pisa.
2 See particularly Rec. tran. 30, 44 ff., where a résumé of the previous papers is given. Also to be consulted is his article *Purification (Egyptian)* in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 10.
3 On his No. 9 see below, p. 4, n. 1.
Scenes representing the Baptism of Pharaoh

Nos. 1–24, as well as No. 6A, are those enumerated by Nelson, the indications in brackets after the serial number giving the position of the scene as shown in his work entitled *Key Plans showing locations of Theban Temple Decorations*. Nos. 25–32, together with No. 27A, are those added by myself from various publications.

A. Theban scenes of the King being purified by two gods but containing text mentioning four gods:

1. (Gur. 169) Sethos I embraced by Amun, both together being purified by Horus and Thoth. (Temple of Sethos I, Theban necropolis, rear wall of second room on right opening off hypostyle hall. Unpublished.)

2. (KB 152) Ramesses II purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, hypostyle hall, east wall, 1st reg., south-east corner of hall. Unpublished.)

3. (MH. A 270) Ramesses III purified by Horus and Thoth. (Medinet Habu, Temple of Ramesses III, west side of second court on portico, 1st register, second scene on right of central axis. Unpublished.)

4. (Kh. 368) Ramesses IV purified by Horus and Thoth. (Temple of Khons, ambulatory about bark-shrine, east wall, 1st reg. See pl. I, top.)

5. (Kh. 294) Ramesses XI purified by Horus and Thoth. (Temple of Khons, east wall of hypostyle hall, 1st reg. Leps., *Denkm. III*, 238a.)

6. (Kh. 209) Herihor purified by Horus and Thoth. (Temple of Khons, 1st court, west wall, 2nd reg., west end of portico. Unpublished.)

6A. Ramesses III. See below under E.

B. Theban scenes with text mentioning only the two deities depicted as participating:

7. (KD 458) Ḥashepsowē purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, room XII, north of granite shrine. Jéquier, *Temples Memphites et Thébains*, 1, 24, 3.)

8. Ḥashepsowē purified by Horus and Thoth. (On one of the blocks from Ḥashepsowē’s red sandstone shrine, to be published by Lacau.)

9. (KD 514) Tuthmosis III purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, westernmost of the three rooms north of the court of the XIIth Dyn. Unpublished.)

10. (KF 329) Tuthmosis III purified by two gods with small figure standing on smw-symbol immediately behind king. Upper half of the figures gone with the wall. (Karnak, Tuthmosis III’s Festival Hall, room XXVI, north wall. Unpublished.)


13. (KB 230) Sethos I purified by Horus and Seth. (Karnak, hypostyle hall, east face of north tower of second pylon, 3rd reg. Leps., *Denkm. III*, 124.)

14. (KB 293) Sethos I, kneeling on smw-symbol, purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, hypostyle hall, north wall, 2nd reg. Scene unpublished, but mentioned Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 11, 58, bottom.)

15. (KL 6) Ramesses II purified by two human-headed deities, names lost. Third scene in series of (1) king leaving palace, (2) king carried in chair by Souls, (3) king purified.

16. (KG 110) Ramesses III purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, 8th pylon, north face, 2nd reg. Scene unpublished, but mentioned Champollion, op. cit. 11, 192 for text.)

1 Nelson’s No. 9, said to be published Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, (III), 64, appears to be a mistake.
Ramesses IV being purified by Horus and Thoth. Temple of Khons
(No. 4 of the list)

Sethos I being purified by Horus and Seth. From a relief (now destroyed by fire) formerly in the Brussels Museum. (No. 27 of the list)

THE BAPTISM OF PHARAOH
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17. (MH. A 147) Ramesses III purified by Horus and Seth. (Medinet Habu (Chicago), iv, pl. 234.)
18. (Kh. 433) Ramesses IV purified by Horus and Thoth. (Temp. of Khons, room IV, north wall. Unpublished.)
19. (KG 179) Ramesses IV purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, 9th pylon, east tower, north face. Unpublished.)
20. (KG 19) Ramesses XI purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, 1st court of south extension, north wall. Unpublished.)
21. (KL 118) Taharqa purified by two deities, heads and above lost with wall. (Karnak, edifice of Taharqa by lake, exterior, north side. Unpublished.)
22. (KI 228) King (Ramesses II or Taharqa?) purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, temple of Ramesses II between great temple and east gate of temple enclosure, screen between two of the columns in north row of portico, south face. Unpublished.)
23. (KD 214) Philip purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, granite shrine, exterior, south face. Leps., Denkm. iv, 2, c, see too Porter and Moss, ii, 38 (84). Here reproduced in pl. II.)
24. (KI 140) Possibly a fragment of purification scene, Ramesside. (Karnak, small chapel of Tuthmosis III beside great temple, exterior, north end.)

C. Scenes depicting two of the gods Horus, Seth, or Thoth from sites other than Thebes:
25. Armoni, now in the Vatican Museum. Scene figuring Tuthmosis III as described in the first paragraph of this article.
27. Heliopolis? Granite block showing in the centre Sethos I between (Seth) the Ombite on the left, and (Horus) the Behdetite on the right. Capart, Recueil de Monuments, i (1902), pl. 39. Here reproduced, pl. I, bottom.
27a. Abydos, Sethos I. See below under E.
28. Abydos. Ramesses II between Thoth on the left and Ḥarsîsê on the right. Capart, Temple de Séti I (Abydos), pl. 5.
30. Wâdî es-Sebû. Ramesses II between Horus the Behdetite on his left and Thoth on his right. The nearly illegible legends of this scene perhaps indicate that it ought to have been classed under category A above. Gauthier, Le temple de Ouadi es-Seboua, pl. 38, a, with p. 149.

D. Scenes where two gods other than Horus, Seth, or Thoth are shown:
31. Thebes, Dér el-Bahri. Hâshepsîwê, small and doubtless intended as an infant, between Amûn on the right and Rê-Harakhti on the left. Naville, Deir el Bahari (iii), pl. 56, left.
32. Thebes, Luxor temple. Amenophis III, similarly as infant between Mont on the right and Atum on the left. Gayet, Temple de Louxor, pl. 75, fig. 186.

E. Scenes undoubtedly belonging to the same category, but showing only one officiating deity:
27a. Abydos, Temple of Sethos I. The king stands facing Horus wearing the side-lock, i.e. as ‘Iyâmn-metf ‘Pillar of His Mother’, who pours over him encircling streams of rankh- and was-signs out of three hes-vases. Calverley and Broome, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, iii, pl. 35.
6a. (MH 423) Ramesses III embraced by Atum receiving streams of water from a hes-vase held by Horus wearing the side-lock. (Medinet Habu, rear room 21. Unpublished.)

1 So according to Porter and Moss, vi, 6, top. Capart’s photograph extends to the right no farther than the figure of the king.
In the following discussion the individual scenes will be quoted by their serial number. Most examples comprise four separate hieroglyphic legends, one over each of the two gods and often extending behind him, and one on each side between the god and the king. The former pair are referred to by the initial letter of the name of the god in question, followed by \( r \) or \( l \) according as the god in question stands to right or left of the king. The second pair are referred to by a capital \( K \) for King, followed by \( r \) or \( l \) as before. Thus in the scene reproduced photographically in pl. I, top, the inscription over Horus is designated \( 4\, HI \), while the single column between Thoth and the King is given as \( 4\, Kr \).

The first thing to be determined is the context to which this type of representation belongs. In some cases the rite it depicts has been clearly recognized by scholars as an episode in the coronation ceremonies, or at least in a real or imaginative series where the royal prerogatives were bestowed or confirmed—in the latter event I am thinking of the \( \text{Sed} \)-festival. Owing to the piecemeal way in which our examples have been published, or in some instances (e.g. Nos. 8, 25, 27) because the picture stands on an isolated block or (No. 29) is without any informative context, it has not been realized that this generalization, at least so far as our material allows us to judge, is without exception. Blackman has failed to recognize this, and takes several of the examples above quoted (Nos. 13, 29, and even 23, where the evidence to the contrary is particularly clear) as depicting the king as in course of being purified before officiating in a temple.\(^1\) The absence of this scene from the six famous chapels in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos where the daily cult is depicted bears irrefutable witness against this contention, and if somewhat similar representations are found in the funerary cult of either deceased nobles\(^2\) or the Osirianized king,\(^3\) it is always the dead person, not the officiant, who is the recipient of the purifying streams. This does not mean, of course, that the officiant in temples had not likewise to undergo purificatory preparation for his priestly functions; all that is argued here is that the particular scene with which we are concerned in this article belongs to a wholly different set of ceremonies. It is a curious fact, for which no explanation seems forthcoming, that at these royal purifications it is the \( \text{hes} \)-vase (O.K. \( hzd \))\(^4\), not the \( \text{nemset} \)-jar or any other, which is invariably used—this has been verified in Nos. 1–7, 13, 17, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 27A, and 6A, in fact in all properly visible pre-Ptolemaic examples accessible to me either through publications or in photograph. Cerný reminds me of the magnificent inlaid models of a \( \text{hes} \)-vase found in the funerary temple of Neferirkare;\(^5\) evidently this type of vessel was specially suited to ceremonies in honour of the king himself.

The analogy of our rite to that of Christian baptism is close enough to justify the title given to this article. In both cases a symbolic cleansing by means of water serves as initiation into a properly legitimated religious life. It must not, however, be assumed too hastily that the ceremony was always enacted on the actual day of coronation. Sometimes it may have been performed far earlier; sometimes it may not have been

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\(^1\) Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch. 40, 87, n. 91; see too the caption to the Roman example, ibid., pl. 5, No. 2.

\(^2\) See the examples reproduced in the figures, Rec. trav. 39, 53–3.

\(^3\) JNES 8, 219, fig. 15.

\(^4\) Borchardt, Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-r-kes-re, 59 ff., with the accompanying figures and plates.
performed at all. It is not mentioned in the Ramesseum dramatic papyrus; the purpose and occasion of the ritual there commemorated are wholly obscure to me. In any case it must never be forgotten that temple sculptures and tomb paintings are not necessarily authentic records of real happenings, but may merely belong to the world of imagination and make-believe. Are we to accept as gospel truth that Pharaoh’s chariot was always the first to dash into the midst of his enemies and that they always succumbed at the first impact? But according to theory at least the hes-purification had its definite place in a series of ritual acts culminating in the new king’s presentation to the supreme god of the realm. Though of very late date, the four episodes reproduced from Lepsius in our pl. II admirably illustrate this conception. First comes the purification by Horus and Thoth (No. 23 of the list above). Next the same two gods place the crown of Upper Egypt upon the king’s head. Then Mont of Thebes and Atum of Heliopolis take Philip Arrhidaeus by the hand and, at the invitation of Thoth, lead him into the presence of Amen-Re. Lastly, that august deity adjusts the crown anew, thus acknowledging the coronation to have been properly accomplished, while behind him, quite unexpectedly, his spouse Amaunet suckles the young monarch, for that very purpose spirited back into babyhood. No. 13 of the list has a closely similar set of scenes, as may be seen from the publication. At Der el-Bahri and Luxor a famous sequence of reliefs traces the careers of Ḥashepsowet and Amenophis III respectively from their divine procreation to the actual accession. Here the baptism (Nos. 31, 32) is shown as performed upon the person of an infant, so that there is no pretense of enaction on the very day of coronation. Nevertheless, the accompanying words reveal that that consummation was already envisaged: both gods are accorded the same speech, as follows:

Words spoken: Be pure together with thy ka, (namely) thy great dignity of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, thou living (eternally). It is not often that the legends beside the picture of the hes-purification allude to its ultimate purpose, but they do so in one Karnak example of the time of Sethos I (13 St), where we read: I purify thee with life and dominion, that thou mayest grow young like thy father Re and make Sed-festival like Atum, being arisen gloriously as

1 For the presence of Thoth here see below, p. 8, n. 1.
2 Sethe, on p. 112 of his translation of Urk. IV, 242, renders: Du bist rein mit deinem Ka (in) deiner grossen Würde eines Königs von Ober- und Unterägypten. Since the preposition m is omitted over both gods alike at Der el-Bahri and at Luxor there can be no justification for not regarding sib-h (or sib-h-k) for as in apposition to k1-t (k1-k). The implication that the king’s ka is identical with his kingly office is less startling than some Egyptologists may find it. In my articles PSBA 37, 257; 38, 83, I pointed out that the word ka is sometimes very nearly equivalent to our ‘attribute’. Sometimes as subject of verbs like mri ‘love’ or kii ‘praise’ it seems synonymous with our ‘nature’ or ‘temperament’. And sometimes, even more strangely, the Egyptian word ka appears to stand for something as external and fortuitous as a man’s ‘rank’ or ‘fortune’; so in the phrase whose ka the lord of the Two Lands made (Urk. IV, 486, 3; Quibell, Tomb of Yuua (CCG), 2; Lepsius, Denkm. Text, III, 275): I believe too that the epithet sib-h kwa found in Middle Kingdom texts signifies linking or combining attributes, whether those taken from others (Pyr. 512) or those acquired by personal effort (e.g. Cairo 20001; Bersheh, II, 13, 14; Stütz, pl. 16, 5), if particularly the parallel expression sib-h ivet in Stütz, 1, 266. We may ask whether the English word ‘personality’ might not best embrace these various applications of the Egyptian word. The main point in which the Egyptian conception of ‘personality’ would then differ from our own is that it assumes a separation from the owner’s physical person, just as was done with the bai and sometimes even with the ‘name’ or the ‘shadow’, see Davies and Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhet, 99 ff.
3 For this rendering of the see below, p. 12.
prince of joy. In the above statements I have naturally had to confine myself to what could be gleaned from the publications and from the photographs sent by Nelson; valuable confirmation, however, is afforded by the following extract from the letter with which that scholar accompanied his gift:

'I think it is certain that the purification rite is not part of the daily temple service. It frequently, perhaps generally, occurs as part of a series of acts culminating in the king kneeling before Amun as he receives regalia, jubilees, life, or the like. The series may include all, or some, of the following scenes: (1) The king leaves the palace, its door shown behind him. (2) The king is purified by the gods. (3) The king is led by two gods into the temple. (4) The king has the crown placed on his head by some god. (5) The king enters the shrine of Amun and, generally, kneels before the deity, while Thoth may write the royal titulary and 'Iwn-mwt-f announces the good things done for the king. The king is not the officiant in these rites as he is in the temple service, but instead is the recipient of the acts and of the favours of the gods.'

I pass now to a second question concerning the rite which is of equal, if not greater, importance. What is the reason that Thoth so often appears facing Horus as the second officiating deity? Earlier attempts to answer this question have all unwarrantably assumed that Thoth is here deputizing for Seth. Since in the examples enumerated above Thoth occurs twenty-two times and Seth only thrice it might seem more reasonable to suppose that in the rare cases where Seth is found he is deputizing for Thoth. Two of the three cases (Nos. 13, 27) belong to the reign of Sethos I, whose own name shows in what favour was then held the god of his home in the north-eastern Delta; but no such explanation will account for the third occurrence (No. 17). On the evidence before us we have every ground for believing that Thoth was the normal and original deity figured in this particular scene. Our oldest representations date back no farther than the Eighteenth Dynasty, where all six cases (Nos. 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 26) depict Thoth. We have absolutely no right to assume that because Horus and Seth are the gods usually seen crowning the king therefore Seth must have been the original god in the purification ceremony; in that case the crowns to be presented were those of Upper and of Lower Egypt, and Seth was the god of the former half of the country, as Horus was of the latter.\(^1\) No such bipartite division of the country is to be assumed in the rite here discussed, and the presence of Thoth there will be seen to have been due to a different, if not entirely unrelated, reason.

The latest writer on this topic is E. Otto,\(^2\) and although he, like his predecessors, was obsessed with the notion that when Thoth is depicted he is a substitute for Seth, it seems desirable to summarize his argument. Starting from this false premiss and using inadequate material, he conjectured that the preference apparently shown to Thoth in the Eighteenth Dynasty was due to the hatred still felt for Seth as the god of the Hyksos, while the latter's return to acceptability, if not to popularity, in the Nineteenth Dynasty was accounted for by the reason mentioned in my last paragraph. Otto

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\(^1\) For these locations see my article *JEA* 30, 23 ff. The reason why in the crowning seen in pl. II Thoth is the partner of Horus is doubtless that by the reign of Philip Arrhidaeus Seth had become so detested that the depiction of him was avoided wherever possible; Thoth had served as partner to Horus in the preceding purification, and accordingly seemed quite a suitable substitute for Seth here.

\(^2\) *Thot als Stellvertreter des Seth*, in *Orientalia*, 7 (1938), 69 ff.
recognized, however, that the assumed suppression of Seth would not provide a motive for the choice of Thoth as an alternative. He argued, accordingly, that between Seth and Thoth there must be some affinity which would make this choice a natural one, and following up that idea he thought himself able to discover half a dozen different points of resemblance or connexion. All of these except the first centre around the association of Seth and Thoth in *Pyr.* §§ 163, d; 175, a as deities inimical to Osiris. The obvious objection to any hypothesis of the kind is that in our purification rite the partner of Horus, whether Seth or Thoth, is manifestly functioning as a beneficent being. Moreover, Otto’s grounds for the shadier side of Thoth’s character are speculative and improbable in the extreme—I hesitate the less to express this opinion since I have now gratefully to acknowledge that in the earlier part of his paper he had taught me what will, I hope, henceforth be accepted as the true explanation.

The presence of Thoth in the scenes of the rite is, in fact, adequately explained by that god’s status as one of the deities of the cardinal points. Having glimpsed this explanation, Otto should have halted there and have expanded his theme; to look farther afield was, as the French say, chercher midi à quatorze heures. Like Kees¹ before him, Otto quotes a formula of the Pyramid Texts (Spell 35, § 27, cf. too Spell 36, §§ 28–9) which names all four gods. This is a formula accompanying a rite of incense-burning, and its beginning reads \( \text{Thy censing is the censing of Horus, thy censing is the censing of Seth, thy censing is the censing of Thoth, thy censing is the censing of Dwen-anwey (?).} \) In the Eighteenth Dynasty the same form of words, slightly varied, is found in a rite of purification² performed before the statue of the deceased: \( \text{Thy purification is the purification of Horus, thy purification is the purification of Seth, thy purification is the purification of Thoth, thy purification is the purification of Dwen-anwey.} \) That the four gods here mentioned were the gods of the cardinal points was probable enough merely from their number, but as Otto has seen, following Kees and Sethe, Spell 217 of the Pyramid Texts (§§ 152–60) places the matter beyond all doubt. Here the arrival of the dead king before Ré-Atum is to be announced to the gods of Upper Egypt by Seth and Nephthys, while Osiris and Isis are charged to make a similar announcement to the gods of Lower Egypt; Thoth is likewise dispatched to the West, and the falcon-god \( \text{to the East.} \) Evidently each of the four quarters of the world was intended to receive the news from its own special deity or deities. Osiris is substituted for Horus in order to produce a conjugal pair parallel to Seth and Nephthys. As for \( \text{he is clearly identical with} \) in the above-mentioned Spells 35 and 36, see too *Pyr.* §§ 17, 1613. How exactly his name is to be read in its various writings is uncertain. The variant \( \text{without the standard in} \) § 159 suggests that here he was conceived of as a Horus, but in the other places in *Pyr.* the standard serves to differentiate him from Horus, the god of Lower Egypt. It is perfectly certain that he is none other than the principal god of the XVIIIth nome of Upper Egypt on the east bank, since the later form in the above-quoted formula of

¹ *Horus und Seth als Götterpaar,* 1, 58; also more positively ZÄS 58, 94.
² Not quite the same rite, I think, as that discussed in this article, since a different type of jar is employed. At all events I do not feel called upon to follow up the underlying purificatory idea into the ceremonial of the Opening of the Mouth. For references, see Otto, loc. cit., 73, n. 2.
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purification is as in the later nome-lists, while at least one Old Kingdom nome-list gives the form , which is the form in most Pyramid Text passages, as we have seen. It is possible that from the very start the name was read as Dwn-srw 'Spreader of Wings', since that epithet occurs, not only spelt out on an Assyût coffin of the Middle Kingdom, but also written in Pyr. §1098 (N). But we are not seriously concerned with the reading here; another possibility for the Old Kingdom is perhaps 'Anti'; Kees had successfully demolished Sepa favoured by the older Egyptologists. All that for our particular purpose we required to establish is that he was the eponymous god of the XVIIIth Upper Egyptian nome, and by virtue of that a fitting representative of the East. Consequently Thoth must be the god of the West. Sethe, in his commentary on Spell 217, tried to explain this by reference to Thoth's Delta cults. Otto, much more sensibly, thought it due to his position as the principal deity of Khmûn (Hermopolis magna, El-Ashmûnên). We shall see that the scenes of our rite confirm the latter hypothesis.

What convinced me from the start that Horus and Thoth, or much more rarely Horus and Seth, were envisaged in our rite as two of the four gods of the cardinal points was, firstly, the mention of all four in the legends of a published scene of the reign of Ramesses XI. Here, over Horus we read (5 Hr): Words spoken by the Behdetite: Thy purification is the purification of Horus, thy purification is the purification of Seth, thy purification [sic]; opposite, over Thoth we find (5 TL): Words spoken by the lord of Khmûn: thy purification is the purification of Thoth, thy purification is the purification of . These inscriptions will be recognized as the exact counterpart of the later purification formula discussed by Otto—the formula which imitates that of the censing in the Pyramid Texts, where the four gods have been demonstrated to be those of the cardinal points. Nelson strengthened my surmise by adding six more examples where the four gods are named (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 6A); the earliest of these (No. 1) dates from the reign of Sethos I; a better preserved one of the time of Ramesses IV (No. 4) is here reproduced, pl. I, top. I had also noticed that in certain cases (Nos. 13, 23, 26, 31) where only two gods are named the legends next the king show the words Thy purification is my purification clearly reminiscent of the same formula. Accompanying that shortened version (Nos. 26, 31, cf. too Nos. 3, 29) we sometimes find Words to be recited four times. As long ago as 1887 Maspero conjectured that this instruction

1 In the publication Chassinat-Palanque, Fouilles d'Assiout, 127, the determinatives look somewhat like the claw —, but De Buck confirms that they are certainly wings, and show the same form as in the variant with the bird on another coffin from the same site (op. cit., 187). Also Wb. v, 432 interprets 'mey as 'wings', but does not give any word as 'wing' in Wb. i, 187-90.
2 Onomastica, II, under No. 3848 of On. Am.
3 ZAS 58, 92.
4 Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altäg. Pyramidentexten, I, pp. 55, 60.
5 Op. cit. 71. On the following page, however, he appears to lose sight of this possibility.
6 The original 'mey (see above) has been changed into 'rey 'arms' doubtless because the former word had become obsolete and its meaning forgotten. The same change is found in an Edfu nome-list, Brugsch, Dict. géogr. 1385, under the XVIIIth nome.
7 Here the complete formula with all four gods stands, not only over the head of Horus the [Behdetjite, but also over the head of Thoth 'who is in Khmûn'.
8 In his article Le rituel du sacrifice funéraire, originally printed in Recueil de l'histoire des religions, 15, but later repeated Études de mythologie et d'archéologie, 1, see particularly pp. 293-4. See too Sethe, Von Zahlen und Zahlworten, 31-3.
to the officiant—for such it is—indicates a rite to be performed consecutively at each of the four cardinal points. The words to be spoken on these occasions are indubitably those with which we first became acquainted in Pyr. § 27, varied slightly whenever necessary and perhaps abbreviated at times. The fourfold performance and recitation was of widespread usage, by no means confined to the rite alone studied in this article.

A last clue to the virtual presence in our rite of all four gods of the cardinal points is to be found in the epithets accorded to three of them. Horus is often described as the Behdetite (Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 17, 23, 26, 27) and it was by reason of his connexion with the town of Behdet in the far north that he obtained his right to be the official representative of that region.¹ In all three cases where Seth replaces Thoth (see above, p. 8) he is designated Nfty 'the Ombite' in reference to his home at Ombos near the modern Upper Egyptian town of Kus. Since these appellations belong to a genuine tradition of very ancient date I see no justification for refusing equal credence to the epithets lord of Khimin (Nos. 5, 6, 26) or who is in Khimin (No. 4) accorded to Thoth, even if in regarding that god as owing his right to represent the West to his connexion with Hermopolis Magna we have to reject Sethe's verdict that Spell 217 of the Pyramid Texts was a product of Lower Egypt in his postulated Heliopolitan period.²

To sum up the results of the foregoing argument, we find that in reality the hes-purification was quadrilateral, not bilateral. Why then were not all four gods depicted? I believe it was because such a mode of depiction was not artistically satisfactory. We have, indeed, pictures of the closely analogous funerary purification performed by four priests, see the annexed fig. 1.³ But this design is exceedingly clumsy, and it is difficult to imagine that such important deities as Horus, Thoth, and Seth would have submitted to depiction in such miniature form. But if, then, the scenes we have been studying are to be considered as abbreviations and if all four gods were always implicitly present, why was Thoth given the preference over Seth as the partner of Horus? I believe it was because to an Egyptian spectator the combination of Horus and Seth would have suggested restriction to a north-south application, as in the reliefs of the crowning. In the combination of Horus and Thoth there would have been found a broad hint of the virtual presence of the two missing members of the four. We thus see that the notion that Thoth here replaces Seth is an illusion.

Lastly, the meaning of the rite as a whole. When actually performed, what was in fact poured over the king's head was water, and this we find depicted in a few rare

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¹ See my article quoted above, p. 8, n. 1.
² See the work cited above, p. 10, n. 4.
³ From the Theban tomb of Sennae (No. 968); reproduced from Rec. trav. 22, 91; two other examples of the same design, Davies, The Tomb of Kenamun, pl. 63; id., The Tomb of Two Officials, pl. 15. The priests here, of course, represented the four gods of our royal rite, and in the scene here shown four separate priests were engaged in the ceremony, two ordinary lector-priests, the chief lector, and the setem-priest.
instances (Nos. 1, 6A, 23, 32). Usually, however, it was preferred to exhibit the symbols for the benefits which the purifying streams were supposed to confer; in some cases we find only the rankh ⋃, i.e. the symbol for ‘life’ (Nos. 5, 6, 7, 13, 26), but rather more often this alternates with another symbol ⌈ (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 17, 27, 28, 29), the meaning of which is more disputed.¹ Since this is regularly seen in the hands of divinities both male and female,² it seems probable that it signifies ‘divine power’, and I propose the translation ‘dominion’ in the sense in which that word is employed in the Authorized Version of our Bible. Contexts are lacking in which the signification of this symbol, whether read as ṣēs or as ḏm, is plain, but since it is shown erect between heaven and earth on each side of many royal monuments,³ once again probably to be interpreted quadrilaterally, I believe it may there be construed as the specific power of each of the gods of the cardinal points. It would appear, accordingly, that the rite was intended to transfer to the Pharaoh a goodly portion of the power of the divinities who presided over the four quarters of the globe. Perhaps their gift to the Pharaoh was not entirely unreciprocated, since after the words Thy purification is the purification of X we often find the expression ḫts ḫhr, lit. utterance turned round, the equivalent of our and vice versa (e.g. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4). Transactions in remote antiquity between god and king were habitually conducted on a business basis.

¹ The most complete discussion is that in Jéquier, Les frises d’objets, 176 ff., where the view taken by the author approximates to that here adopted. The sense given in Wb. 1, 160, namely Wohlergehen, Glück (in both cases with a note of interrogation) seems extremely unlikely, and would render superfluous ṣet-ḥb sometimes found in the enumeration of kingly attributes.

² The only case known to me where this type of sceptre is seen in the hands of an ordinary human being is in a scene of measuring the crops, where an old man carries it while swearing to the boundaries of a corn-field, JEA 20, pl. 10, fig. 2.

³ Perhaps the oldest example is on the comb figured JEA 30, pl. 6, fig. 4. Others are Borchart, Grabdenkmal des Königs Sarhu-er, 1, 45; Anthes, Hatmb, pls. 4, 5. Since this design regularly forms a framework to the name or names of the king, to which in addition the vulture-goddess is seen offering the symbols ⌈ and ⋂, the whole may be taken to symbolize her gift to the king of all power even from the four corners of the world.
INSCRIPTION OF HUMEN AT ASWĀN
AN INSCRIPTION AT ASWĀN REFERRING TO SIX OBELEISKS

By L. HABACHI

Although the quarries of Aswān were the sole source of the larger obelisks erected in Egypt,¹ the district contains but few traces either of obelisks or of texts relating to them. The great unfinished obelisk still in the quarry, of uncertain date, is, of course, well known,² but apart from this we have but portions of a few others of quite small size; these were all found on Elephantine Island and originally stood in the temple of Khnum, who, by virtue of his assimilation with the sun-god as Khnum-Rē,³ could display these symbols of the solar religion. Of these smaller obelisks at Elephantine, a fragment in red granite with the name of Tuthmosis I is all that remains of a pair erected by that king in honour of Khnum. Another small granite obelisk (Cairo 17015) was found some twenty-eight years ago serving as a threshold of one of the Nubian houses at Elephantine; it was dedicated to Khnum by Amenophis II and formed one of a pair of which the other was long ago removed to Alnwick Castle. A third pair, also in granite, seems to have been set up by Tuthmosis IV, but of these only the lower part of a single one was discovered here (Cairo 22345, 2318).⁴ No other obelisks have been found in the Aswān district, apart from a few quite small ones in sandstone (Cairo 17034 A.B.; 17035, 6), which were found beside the cemetery of rams at Elephantine and which are apparently of Graeco-Roman date.⁵

Inscriptions referring to obelisks are even fewer. Of all the inscriptions of the tombs and temples in Aswān and of more than eight hundred graffiti in this region, there are but four which refer to obelisks. Two of these, which occur on the road from Aswān to Philae, are dated in year 9 of Sethos I;⁶ they mention that the king ordered that large obelisks be made, but give no clue either as to how many were required or as to their ultimate destination. In point of fact the only large granite obelisk known to have been erected by that king was originally set up at Heliopolis.⁷ The third inscription, on the island

1 The sole material used for tall obelisks was granite, obtainable only from Aswān. Lesser obelisks in basalt were quarried mostly in the Wādi Hammāmāt, while those in quartzite usually came from Gebel el-Ahmar and those in sandstone were usually brought from Gebel es-Silsilah. There are, however, sandstone quarries also at Aswān, where there was recently found a small unfinished obelisk of Sethos I, which I hope to publish shortly.
2 See Englebach, The Ascan Obelisk and also his Problem of the Obelisks, 25 ff., where it is thought possibly to belong to the reigns of Hātšepsut or of Tuthmosis III.
3 Ch. Badawi, Der Gott Chnum, 10 f.
4 For the references to these obelisks, see Porter and Moss, Top. Bibl. v., 244.
5 Kuentz, Obelisques, 66–8.
6 De Morgan and others, Cat. des Mon. i, 7; for the other text see Leps., Denkm. iii, 141 i and Text, iv, 118–19 [4] with a.
7 Now in the Piazza del Popolo in Rome; see Parker, The Twelve Egyptian Obelisks in Rome, 15–18; pl. 5, and Breasted, Anc. Rec. iii, §§ 544 ff.
of Sehîl, speaks of ‘the king’s true and well-beloved relative, the overseer of the work
on the two great obelisks, the chief prophet of Khnum, Satis and Anuikis, Amenhotpe’,
but gives no indication of date and does not mention for which temple the obelisks
were intended. The fourth inscription, on the contrary, is more explicit. Cut in a high
rock on the east bank of the Nile opposite the ruins of Elephantine, it depicts the famous
architect Sennemût before Queen Hatshepsut and speaks of ‘the cutting of the two
great obelisks’ of which the queen was so proud. From the foregoing it will be seen how vague and scanty are the references to obelisks
in the Aswân district. It therefore came as a great surprise to my colleague H. Riad
and myself, when collating some of the inscriptions near to Elephantine Island, when we
came upon a text which made mention of the work on six obelisks. The owner of the
inscription is a person hitherto unknown called Hûmên, and the king who ordered the
obelisks is not named, but, as we shall see below, it is possible to make a plausible con-
jecture as to his identity. This inscription is cut on the western face of a small rocky
island which is less than fifty metres east of the stairway leading to the Aswân Museum
in Elephantine. This island, which the local Nubians call Hassawanarti—i.e. the island
of Hassawa, perhaps the name of a person—is almost submerged during the inundation,
which is probably why its inscriptions have not previously been observed. The surface
on which the text is engraved is not polished, but is fairly smooth. To the right of the
inscription is the figure of a man facing left, clad in a wig and a long garment with short
sleeves; he stands with hands raised in the attitude of adoration before a well-cut
inscription of fourteen lines (see pl. III). Both inscription and figure are cut en creux,
but in order to display more clearly the sleeves and also the left arm where it crosses
the body, these are carved in relief of varying height according to the detail to be shown.
The face seems to have been intentionally mutilated, probably by the agents of Akhen-
aten, who also attempted to efface the name of Amûn where it occurred. Traces of a
figure facing right and having exactly the same size as that of Hûmên can be noticed
close by, but this was effaced, perhaps because the surface of the rock in front may not
have had enough room for the inscription. Traces of other earlier inscriptions can be
also noticed on both sides; parts of these were effaced to permit of the engraving of the
inscription of Hûmên.

The transliteration of the inscription (for which see pl. III) is as follows:

(1) Rdît isw n Hûmnw m hsrw(2)n ẖbd 3 prt" crky sn (3) tś n nbt Stt m imy-r kbt n ẖmnh (4) Hûmnn. Dd-f: ẖw pr-ni (5) thn 6 n hmr rhd-n m tān (6) tō 2 m ẖwb
hr ḫd ḫrw(l) (7) m pr n isw(7) m rmt tht 20 (8) šimt stt 50. Dd-f: ink hr pr ts-tp (9) šmy
khds t m bg (10) hr dst m hsf rdt-n nsw r it ikrt (11) r hsr n-j kbt rśt b-f mš ḫw(12)
rōn-f t śn ẖgr w m ḫrw (13) m hbrw nn ph sw m gr(14) ghw hsf imy-r kdw(15) n ẖmn Hûmnn.

1 De Morgan and others, op. cit. 94, No. 140.
2 Leps., Denkm. 111, 25 bis, and Text, iv, 116; Sethe, Urk. iv, 396-7 (125); De Morgan, op. cit. 41, No. 181
bis (De Mahattah à Assouan). One of these obelisks still stands in its original position between the Hypostyle
Hall and the main sanctuary at Karnak, while the upper part of the other was transferred to the vicinity of the
Sacred Lake.
3 The height of the figure is 71 cm.; the inscription is 119 cm. high by 61 cm. wide.
AN INSCRIPTION AT ASWĀN REFERRING TO SIX OBELOSKS

a ( is represented by a solid disc, which is also used for (.
b The name of Amûn here as in l. 14 is quite easily legible, despite the attempt to efface it.
c ( at the beginning of the line stands in the right-hand margin, as if it were a later addition.
d The sign ← very closely resembles the earlier N.K. hieratic forms, see Möller, Hier. Pal. ii, No. 519.
e The determinative of kd is the plain eye (Gardiner, Sign-list, D 4) and not the painted eye (D 5. 6).
f The sign here employed is unusual; it represents a man standing in a slightly bowing posture and extending his hands with something like a piece of mud held between them. It should be taken, as Sir Alan Gardiner suggested to me, as an abbreviation for the sign showing a man building a wall (Gardiner, Sign-list A 35) and the word thus means ‘builders’. The title ‘overseer of builders’ appears in (De Morgan, Cat. des Mon. i, Sehêl No. 35 [86]), (Wb. v, 74, 10), and more fully in (G. Daressy, Recueil des cones, no. 70).

Translation

Giving praise to Khnum at his appearing on the third month of Winter, last day, a and doing obeisance to the Lady of Sehêl b by the overseer of works of Amûn Ḥumen. He said: I controlled (the work on) six obelisks for His Majesty, and His Majesty gave me two weights (?) of gold and silver. I was favoured in the House of Rewarding c with 20 men and 50 arouras of land. He said: I was a vigilant controller d who did not sleep and who was not slack concerning what was laid in his charge; e whom the king appointed to an important office in order to control for him great works, his heart (i.e. of the king) being confident as he (i.e. Ḥumen) returned when he had achieved (his task), f for (though) this land was provided with experts and controllers, there was none who could equal him in respect of his ability, g namely the overseer of builders of Amûn Ḥumen.

a The occurrence of a festival of Khnum on this date has not been recorded hitherto. Khnum and his companion deities seem, however, to have held many festivals in the course of the year, for, according to a block found at Elephantine which belongs to the reign of Tuthmosis III, h there were during the Inundation season alone three feasts of Khnum, three of Anukis, and one of Satis.

b The epithet ‘Lady of Sehêl’ undoubtedly refers to Anukis, whose name is here determined by the figure of the goddess with her distinctive head-dress, a figure which alone can stand for her name, e.g. in Sehêl inscriptions Nos. 75, 77, 140, and 197. i This epithet can stand by itself for the goddess, e.g. Sehêl No. 36. j

c Frytee is used as a word for ‘reward’, e.g. Bull. Inst. fr. 30, 806; 34, 139, no. 10, 140 but there has the determinatives m. Here it is followed by two tall strokes, presumably the numeral 2 (for this cf. the numeral in Sehêl inscriptions Nos. 13 and 19), k so that fryt here must refer to some concrete object. The verb fit can mean ‘weigh’ (Wb. i, 573 ff.), hence our rendering ‘weights (?)’. Possibly Ḥumen was given two ingots of a standard weight, one of gold and one in silver.

1 De Morgan, op. cit. 122 (n). 2 Ibid. 89, 94, 99. 3 Ibid. 86. 4 Ibid. 85.
For *iwr* in the sense of 'reward', cf. Urk. IV, 2, 4, 9, 10 and *hwr* 'ring' as 'reward' 997, 5. *Pr n iwr* is to be taken as 'the House of Rewarding' concerned with the distribution of rewards. It would be thus one of those institutions or departments formed with the word *pr* such as *pr-ntr* 'House of Life' (JEA 24, 157 ff.) *pr-mdt* 'Library' and *prtr-md* 'The two Houses of silver'. The omission of the — is curious, but the reading seems certain.

For *hpr rs-tj* see Wb. II, 451, 9–10. It does not occur before Dyn. XVIII.

Cf. the similar expressions in the tomb of the controller of works Imunedje (tem. Tuthmosis III): ‘who was not slack concerning what was laid in his charge, who did not sleep at night, vigilant controller’, Urk. IV, 959, 14–16.

In the sentence *ibf mh iwr nfr* the suffix in *ibf mh* should be taken as referring to the king, since the expression is commonly used of the relationship between the king and a trusted official, while that in *iwr nfr* should be taken as to refer to *Humen*. *'Ir nfr* here is used pregnantly in the sense of 'to act' or 'to achieve one's duty' and as it is in the *sd m nfr* form, it expresses relative past time (Gardiner, Gramm. § 414, 2). The whole sentence can be rendered 'His heart (i.e. of the king) being confident because he used to return after he had achieved (his task)'; by this is meant that *Humen* had gained the confidence of his sovereign as he did not return from any mission before he had accomplished what he had to do.

This sentence explains how *Humen* was able to do his duty as stated in the previous passage. In it we have to take the first part: *tn pr grw w rhe m hpr* as a circumstantial clause and the second part: *nn ph sw m grw hpr* as the main clause. Thus the whole passage would mean 'This land being provided with experts and controllers, there was none who could reach him in respect of his ability'. *Nn ph sw*, which can be rendered 'there was none who could reach him', is to be taken in the sense of 'there was none who could attain to him or equal him'. Cf. *twty hpr*, Wb. I, 534, 7, meaning 'unattainable' or 'out of reach'.

The controller of works *Humen* has hitherto been quite unknown to scholars. The name does not even appear in Ranke, Personennamen, but what is doubtless another version of it, namely *Huyen*, occurs in Theban tomb No. 54. This tomb was made for *The sculptor of Amun Huyen* but was usurped by *The priest and master of the workshop of Khons Kenro*; it contains the figure of one *Huyen* who is described as the son of the usurper *Kenro*.1 The name *Huyen* occurs again on a stela from Abydos on which nothing is preserved but the names and the figures of this man and another named *Huyen*,2 but neither of these two persons named *Huyen* can be identified with the controller of works *Humen* of our inscription. The name means 'Hu is enduring'; the element

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1 This tomb was copied in its entirety by the late N. de G. Davies, and is to be published by Prof. Säve-Söderbergh, who very kindly informed me of the occurrence of the name *Huyen*.

2 Mariette, Cat. gen. d'Abydos, 395, No. 1083.
Hu\(^1\) may refer to (a) the god of that name; (b) a king Amenophis, Hu being derived from Huy which is the abbreviation of Imnḥtp;\(^2\) or (c) Tr-h the moon-god, Hu being, as Sir Alan Gardiner has suggested to me, a possible abbreviation for this also.\(^3\)

Humen appears to have lived during Dyn. XVIII, if we can judge from his name and still more from the descriptive epithets applied to him (see notes e and f above), while his costume of a long dress with short sleeves is characteristic of this period; it is intermediate between the simpler garments of the Middle Kingdom and the elaborate costumes of the Ramesside period.\(^4\) A Middle Kingdom date for Humen is excluded also by the fact that it was not until the Empire that we find Amūn powerful enough to have a controller of works of his own,\(^5\) while it is not until Dyn. XVIII that we find the king giving such costly rewards to deserving subjects, at first to soldiers only, but later also to civil or religious officials.\(^6\) Humen himself was granted 2 ingots (?) of gold and silver, 20 slaves and 50 arouras of land, equal to about 34 acres. Such a lavish reward would be given only for the accomplishment of a difficult task such as the successful quarrying of six obelisks undoubtedly was; that these obelisks were of considerable size may be judged from the scale of the award. The name of the king who ordered them is not mentioned, but he must have been one of the most important monarchs of Dyn. XVIII to have ordered obelisks in such quantity; they were presumably destined for the temples of Amūn at Thebes, since Humen was controller of the works of Amūn. It seems most probable that the monarch in question was Tuthmosis III, as he was the king who erected more obelisks than anyone else; we know of one huge obelisk and three sets of smaller ones which he set up at Karnak. On the other hand, these were not all erected at one and the same time, as Humen’s inscription suggests, and, moreover, we know of the names of the architects charged with their erection.\(^7\) Amenophis III also set up many obelisks in Thebes, none of which is now standing. Of these the fragments of some have survived, such as those belonging to the temple of Mont at Karnak,\(^8\) while we know of others only from inscriptions. Thus on the southern tower of

1 For names formed with Hu see Ranke, Personennamen, 234, 12–17.
2 See ZÄS 44, 89, 90; Ann. Serv. 35, 122, n. 5. If it were possible for his name to be written simply as in the reign of Akhenaten so as to avoid the reference to Amūn implicit in ‘Huy’, we might perhaps identify him with the chief of works Men depicted with his son Bak in the famous graffito opposite the Cataract Hotel at Aswān (cf. de Morgan, op. cit. 40, No. 174). Although, as we shall see below, Humen most probably lived under Akhenaten’s father Amenophis III, it must be admitted that this identification is not without its difficulties.
3 Cf. 𓊕𓊊𓊑𓊈𓈗𓊐 = 𓊙𓊥𓊉𓊇𓊕𓊑 Raﬄes and Gardiner, Amenemhêt, 4. This alternative is supported by the name in Ranke, op. cit. 234, 12.
4 For the style of dress current during the M.K. cf. Lange-Schäfer, CCG, iv, pls. 70–83. In Aswān there are hundreds of figures accompanying rock inscriptions, the majority of which are clad in short kilts and none have garments with sleeves, cf. e.g. de Morgan, op. cit., Nos. 144, 165, 167 (pp. 22, 24), on the road from Philae to Aswān. In Dyn. XVIII we find garments similar to that worn by Humen, e.g. in Sehîl Nos. 3, 87, ibid., p. 90, while the more elaborate Ramesside costumes occur in Sehîl Nos. 3, 6, 64, 93 (ibid., pp. 84, 88, 91).
5 For the officials of the domain of Amūn see Lefebvre, Hist. des gr. prêtres d’Amon de Karnak, 41–54. Almost all these officials lived in the New Kingdom.
6 Ahmose son of Iba was rewarded for his military exploits four times with gold and also with a grant of slaves. For similar instances, sometimes with non-military recipients, see Louvre C 213; the stela of Manahet es-Sadr (Cairo Mus. 34504) see Hamada, Ann. Serv. 38, 225, No. 4; also the stela of Mosi in Hildesheim (No. 374), cf. Roeder, Rameses II als Gott, in ZÄS 61, 65–6.
7 Hayes, Ann. Serv. 33, 13 f.
8 Varille, Karnak, 1, 5, 15.
Pylon III at the back of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak there is a reference to obelisks which doubtless originally stood before this pylon, but were presumably removed when the Hypostyle Hall was built. Again, on the great stela of this king now lying in three pieces in the fields behind the Colossi of Memnon there is a mention of obelisks.\(^1\) Though no such monuments now exist on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes, it is not improbable that Amenophis III erected obelisks before his temple, and it may be that it is to such obelisks that Ḫumen’s inscription refers; a king ordering obelisks for his own temple and the other temples would probably order the full number at one time.

One question remains: where were these obelisks quarried? There is no direct evidence on this point, but the mention in our inscription of the Lady of Sehēl may be significant, for we would rather have expected the name of Satis, Lady of Elephantine. Is it possible that these obelisks were quarried in Sehēl? It is not improbable, for there is evidence of extensive quarrying in the hill called Hussein Tagog in the southwest of the island. Furthermore, it is worthy of remark that quarrymen, sculptors, superintendents of sculptors, overseers of builders, and controllers of works have left far more inscriptions at Sehēl than anywhere else in the region of Aswān\(^2\); a fact which suggests that they worked in this island and that Ḫumen quarried his obelisks there.


\(^2\) E.g. De Morgan, op. cit., No. 1 [84], Nos. 33, 35 [86], No. 76 [89], No. 97 [91], Nos. 108, 113, 117 [92], Nos. 131, 136, 140, 141, 143 [94], Nos. 152, 157 [96], Nos. 173, 175 [97], No. 193 [99], No. 203 [100].
THE SARCOPHAGUS OF SENNEMUT

By WILLIAM C. HAYES

INCLUDED among the antiquities which in May 1931 the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art brought back with it to New York were some 1,230 fragments of the once magnificent quartzite sarcophagus of Ḥatshepsut's well-known official, the great Steward of Amûn, Sennemût. The majority of the fragments, including all of the larger pieces, were found by the expedition during the winter of 1930–1 in the subterranean burial passage at the rear of Sennemût's huge, rock-cut tomb chapel (No. 71) on the 'Ilwet esh Shēkh 'Abd el-Kurnah at Thebes. 1 To these were added 42 small fragments discovered many years earlier by Weigall2 and Davies3 in the forward portions of the tomb and numerous pieces found scattered far and wide over the slopes of the hill. Among the latter were two chips of quartzite picked up by Winlock in the tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty vizier, Dagi (No. 103), more than a hundred yards to the north of Tomb 71. The frequent occurrence in this part of the necropolis of quartzite mauls and grinding-stones evidently made of Portions of the sarcophagus and its lid helps to explain why, in spite of the complete and careful excavation of Tomb 71 and its vicinity, less than half of the monument has been recovered in a condition permitting of restoration (pl. IV). 4 Fortunately, the fragments which do exist are sufficiently extensive and well distributed to establish beyond a doubt the form, dimensions, and decoration of the sarcophagus, the form and dimensions of the lid, and the identity of almost every figure and text with which the monument was adorned (see pls. V–VIII).

The task of restoration and text identification has been greatly facilitated by the fact that Sennemût's sarcophagus was of the contemporary royal type studied in some detail by me in Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty. 5 It is particularly similar to the second of the two sarcophagi prepared for Ḥatshepsut as king of Egypt ('D' of my list), differing from the royal monument chiefly in the facts that it is rounded at both ends (i.e. is oval, not cartouche-shaped, in plan); is 12 cm. shorter than Sarcophagus D; 6 has a low, flat lid, vaulted on the underside like that of Sarcophagus B ('Tuthmosis II?'); and does not, of course, use the royal cartouche anywhere in its decorative scheme.

1 Winlock, Bull. MMA, March 1932, sect. II, 21f.
2 Six pieces of the sarcophagus, discovered apparently between the years 1905–8 (see Ann. Serv., 9, 130), were stored by Weigall in the tomb of Rekhmire (No. 100) where they were later found by Davies.
3 Thirty-six pieces were found by Davies in the forecourt of Tomb 71 during the excavations which he conducted there on behalf of Sir Robert Mond.
4 In addition to the portions of the sarcophagus shown in the photographs there are three large fragments of the head-end, three good-sized pieces of the right side, a substantial section of the floor (joining the left side), thirty pieces of the lid, and several hundred small chips of both the sarcophagus and the lid.
6 Many of the other dimensions of Sennemût's sarcophagus (width, thickness of walls, and bottom, etc.) coincide exactly with those of Sarcophagus D.
That it may be the more easily studied in conjunction with the series of monuments to which it belongs it seems desirable to list herewith the salient data on this sarcophagus (designated by the letter ‘S’) in the same form and arrangement used in the catalogue of *Royal Sarcophagi*:\(^1\)

\(^{1}\) Appendix I, pp. 155 ff.

**Bibliography:**
Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*, 47–8, 61, 131, 142.

**Owner:**
The Steward of Amün, Sennemüt.

**Tomb:**
Tomb No. 71 on the 'Ilwet esh Shēkh 'Abd el-Kurnah at Thebes.

**Material:**
Brown quartzite.

**Form:**
Sarcophagus: Oblong box with rounded head- and foot-ends, i.e. oval in plan. The curve of the head and foot is complex, being rather flat in the middle and angled at the sides. All corners on the interior are rounded.
Lid: Low, hollowed cover; same plan as sarcophagus. Upper surface flat; under surface concave. Sides of lid on exterior vertical. Under side rabbeted around outer edge.

**Dimensions:**
- Length of sarcophagus and lid: 233 cm.
- Width of sarcophagus and lid: 88 cm.
- Total height (with lid in place): 89 cm.
- Height of sarcophagus: 82.3 cm.
- Height of lid (as seen when in place): 6.7 cm.
- Total height of lid: 10.7 cm.
- Minimum thickness of lid: 9 cm.
- Thickness of sarcophagus walls: 8 cm.
- Thickness of sarcophagus bottom: 11 cm.

**Pry-bar sockets:**
No traces on existing fragments.

**Decoration:**
Figures (*relief en creux*):
Lid, upper surface: [Nūt, standing, arms outspread] (?).
Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end: Nephthys, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign. Height 44 cm.
Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end: Isis, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign. Height 44 cm.
Sarcophagus, exterior, left side: Hapy, Anubis Khenty-šeḥ-netjer, and Kebhsneḥwef, standing. Height 45 cm.
Sarcophagus, exterior, right side: Imseti, Anubis Imy-Wet, and Duamūtef, standing. Height 45 cm.
Lid, under surface: [Nūt, standing, arms outspread] (?).
Sarcophagus, interior, floor: Nūt, standing, arms outspread. Height ca. 100 cm. (The arms of the goddess extend up the sides of the box and cut into Text 60. See pl. V, longitudinal section).
1. Left side and Foot-end

2. Right side, central portion, exterior, with parts of Text 30 a and adjoining texts

3. The same, interior, with part of Text 60 (Columns 103–118)

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THE SARCOPHAGUS OF SENNEMUT

Wedjat Eyes (incised): Sarcophagus, exterior, left side, 2nd panel.
Texts (incised):¹

- Lid, upper surface
- Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end
- Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end
- Sarcophagus, exterior, right side
- Sarcophagus, exterior, left side
- Lid, under surface
- Sarcophagus, top surfaces of walls
- Sarcophagus, interior, floor
- Sarcophagus, interior, walls

[Texts 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10].
[Texts 13, 14, 15, 17].
[Texts 20, 21, 22, 23].
[Texts 26, [27], 29, 2, 30, 9, 31, 5, 32, 34].
[Texts 36, 37, 39, 8, 58, 59, 4, 40, 10, 41, 43].
[Text 44] (?)
[Texts 50, 51, 52, 53] (?)
[Text 54].
[Text 60 (139 columns)].

Colours:
Ground colour: Exterior of sarcophagus painted dark red and varnished (lid and interior of sarcophagus not painted).
Additional Colours: Inscriptions on exterior, yellow; wigs, collars, bracelets, etc., of figures, blue.
Traces of blue in brows and appendages of wedjat eyes.

Condition:
Broken in antiquity into two or three thousand pieces, approximately half of which have been recovered. The extant fragments range in size from $2 \times 2 \times 1$ cm. to $55 \times 45 \times 10$ cm., the majority of them being small. On one fragment of the lid a hollow in the surface resulting from a flaw in the stone had been patched in antiquity with tinted plaster.

Base:
No traces found.

It was probably the intention of the ancient artisans to leave the lid unpainted until after it had been set in place on the sarcophagus at the time of Sennemut's burial in Tomb 71—an event which we have every reason to suppose never took place. Unfortunately, there is no definite evidence that the lid was even inscribed, although the presence on the sides of the sarcophagus of the second halves of Texts 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, and 10 implies that the first parts of these texts were (or were to have been) written on the lid and suggests the arrangement shown in pl. V.²

In place of Chapter LXXII of the Book of the Dead, which on the royal sarcophagi occupies the second panel on the right side of the box (Text 30), Sennemut's sarcophagus carries a composite text (30 A) made up of Chapters XXXIV (30 A, i–v) and XLV (v–viii) and abridged versions of Chapters VIII (ix–xii) and LXII (xii–xiii) (see pls. IV, 2; V). In the corresponding panel on the left side of the sarcophagus we find below the wedjat eyes Chapter LXXXVI (Text 59) and, written in four horizontal lines above the eyes, the remnants of what appears to have been a shorter version of the same chapter.

Chapter CXXV of the Book of the Dead, brief excerpts from which occur on the royal sarcophagi (Texts 19, 28, 38), appeared in its entirety on the interior surfaces of

¹ For the numbering and identification of Texts 1–54 see Royal Sarcophagi, 172–6, 183 ff. To the references cited there add Blackman, JEA 21, 2, n. 7; 8 f.; Badawi, Ann. Serv. 44, 181 ff.
² See Royal Sarcophagi, 78 ff., fig. 21, pl. 18.
the walls of Sennemūt's sarcophagus, where it was written in 139 vertical columns of incised hieroglyphs, beginning at the right side of the head-end and running clockwise all the way around the inside of the box (pl. V, sections, and pls. VII–VIII). As is commonly the case with funerary texts composed to be read from left to right in columns, all the signs and groups in the individual columns face to the right—that is, away from the direction from which the text as a whole is read (see pl. IV, 3). The columns average 4 cm. in width, reaching a maximum width of 5 cm. on the left side wall of the box, but narrowing down to 3.5 cm. on the right side where the draughtsman who laid out the text was evidently beginning to find himself cramped for space. In a number of places (notably, in Colunms 106–9) the feminine form of the suffix pronoun, second person singular (= or =), appears in place of the correct form, =, a fact which suggests that the manuscript from which this text was copied had been prepared originally for Hatshepsut or for Sennemūt's mother, Ḥatnūfer. The text, in any case, occurs in Ḥatnūfer's Book of the Dead, as do also all the other chapters preserved on her son's sarcophagus.

The following titles of Sennemūt appear in the extant texts on his sarcophagus: [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (once); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (once); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (once); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (once); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (9 times); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (3 times); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (once); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (twice); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (once); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (9 times); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (once); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (3 times); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (once); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (twice); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (once); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (once); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (twice); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (once); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (once); [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (once); and [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] (once). Of these, [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]], [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]], and [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]] are not, so far as I can discover, known from any of his other monuments. \[\text{some hieroglyphs}\], which occurs at least nine, and perhaps more than twelve times on the sarcophagus, was, as Helck and others have noted, Sennemūt's principal title following Hatshepsut's assumption of the kingship. Helck, however, is mistaken in supposing that not long thereafter Sennemūt relinquished or was deprived of the important title, [\[\text{some hieroglyphs}\]]; for, aside from the damaged writings on the present sarcophagus, this title occurs eight times in the inscriptions in Sennemūt's second tomb, at Dēr el-Bahri—the latest of all his known monuments.

The sarcophagus of Sennemūt and the second sarcophagus made for Hatshepsut as king (D) were in all probability quarried and executed at the same time and under the supervision of the same person—Sennemūt himself. Neither monument can have been made before Regnal Year 8 of Tuthmosis III, for it was only during the last three months of the preceding regnal year that (a) work on Sennemūt's Shekh 'Abd el-Kurnah tomb was inaugurated and (b) Hatshepsut first assumed her titles as king. Furthermore, we know that between her assumption of the Pharaonic titulary and the execution of Sarcophagus D Hatshepsut had already had another sarcophagus (C)

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1 Two papyrus rolls found on the breast of her mummy in a small tomb immediately in front of Tomb 71. See Lansing and Hayes, Bull. MMA, January 1937, sect. II, 20. Since the publication of the Bulletin report the papyri have been unrolled and the spells which they contain identified.

2 Unters. xiv, 52 f.

3 Winlock, Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1931, 135 ff.

4 Lansing and Hayes, op. cit., 36 f.; Hayes, Ostraka and Name Stones, 21, No. 62.
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made for herself and had caused it to be altered to receive the mummy and coffins of her father, Tuthmosis I. On the other hand, Sennemût’s sarcophagus must have been finished and in Tomb 71 long before Regnal Year 16, by which time work was already in progress on his Dîr el-Bahri tomb. The latest date preserved in a series of work reports from Tomb 71 is Year 11; and we shall not be far wrong in supposing that it was in or about this year (1493 B.C.) that the sarcophagus was completed and placed in the tomb. The date is an equally plausible one for the completion of Hatshepsut’s sarcophagus (D) and its setting in place in her tomb (No. 20) in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings.

When, in or shortly after Year 19 of Tuthmosis III, Sennemût fell from royal favour, his enemies did not bother to erase his name from the inscriptions on his sarcophagus; but adopted the simpler and more satisfying expedient of smashing the monument itself into small pieces. By Akhenaten’s day not enough remained to offend the eyes of the devotees of Aten, and the name of Amûn is therefore intact wherever it occurs in the sadly fragmentary texts.

1 Winlock, JEA 15, 58 ff.; Hayes, Royal Sarcophagi, 2, 149, 158 ff.
2 Winlock, Excavations, 141, 151.
3 Hayes, Ostraka, 23, No. 80.
4 Cf. Winlock, JEA 15, 67.
5 Winlock, Excavations, 152; Heck, op. cit., 53.
VARIA SUDANICA

By A. J. ARKELL

The following article contains notes of additions to knowledge about the ancient history of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan made since 1939, with particular reference to its relations with ancient Egypt. It has been compiled at the request of the editor of the Topographical Bibliography in connexion with volume vii (now in the press).

The order in which sites are taken is that in which they are found as one progresses upstream from the Egyptian frontier.

Map Sheet 35-E

C-Group settlement at Faras West

In Ann. Arch. Anthr. 8, 5, Griffith records the discovery of a C-Group limestone bangle about 200 metres on the river side of the A-Group cemetery which he excavated; and on pp. 67-8 he indicates that no remains of C-Group habitations were found at Faras. Yet on April 25, 1946, when accompanied by Antiquities Officer Thabit Eff. Hassan, I found unmistakable indications of a C-Group settlement strung out along the west bank of a comparatively late stage of the (now dry) western channel of the Nile, just below (i.e. east or on the river side of) the A-Group cemetery excavated by Griffith. The settlement is marked by rings of stones which no doubt were placed round circular grass huts, in the centre of which are often traces of a hearth. Associated with these hut circles we found sherds, including fragments of two bowls of C-Group ware, a flint knife, two flint sickle blades, a small copper awl, a shallow stone bowl (or deeply hollowed lower grindstone), etc. The above are entered under No. 5110 in the antiquities catalogue of the Khartoum Museum. Catalogued under No. 5111 is a complete beademaker's outfit, found in one place in this settlement, and comprising a small carnelian borer, seven polishing pebbles, over thirty bone beads made from the leg bones of a large bird, fragments of similar beads, and fragments of leg bones from which these beads had been cut, fragments of ostrich egg-shell, an unfinished ostrich egg-shell disk bead, about fifty disk beads of faded blue faience, two fragments of bracelet made from shell (one fragment bored at each end), one fragment of bracelet made from ivory (?), and one lump of worked ivory.

Dibeira East

In 1938 a New Kingdom shaft tomb in a small hill about a mile east of the river was found to have been recently robbed, almost certainly by Sädis attached to the Egyptian Government survey expedition which was working in that area about 1935. A few yards to the north of this tomb was a two-chambered tomb chapel. On the north wall of the tomb chamber are painted scenes of offerings, and on the lintel and jambs of the door to the second chamber there are normal funerary prayers in well-cut hieroglyphs. In the second chamber on the east wall are four battered statues of Dhuthotpe with
1. Hieroglyph Hill from the south-west

2. Hieroglyph Hill. Graffito 2

3. Hieroglyph Hill. Graffito 3

4. Hieroglyph Hill. Graffito 5

5. Gebel Shēkh Suliman. Graffiti 12–15

   *Vertical: Showing top to left*

GRAFFITI NEAR WĀDI HALFA
the title $\text{쉬}-\text{.getInteger}$ (Serra), his wife Tentnub, his father Ruiu (same title), and mother (name illegible). For the inscriptions see the accompanying article by Miss R. Moss.

About half a mile west-north-west of this hill is another New Kingdom rock chamber tomb which was robbed at the same time, and south-west of this tomb on the edge of the alluvial ground, east of Khor Salama, near Abbassia, and just north of the house of Mohamed Amin Hasan and east of the sega of Ahmed Sadiq, in January 1939 I found traces of a badly disturbed archaic cemetery (of possibly proto-dynastic date) with black-topped red sherds showing external combing and incised decoration, a polished celt, and a rough stone palette. Khartoum Catalogue, No. 5126.

Just south and east of Dibeira Girls’ School there is a Meroitic cemetery, some of the larger graves of which have been robbed.

**Serra West. Meroitic Cemetery**

In December 1946 the ‘omda of Serra West sent in the upper half of a Meroitic grave-stela of white sandstone, with the figure of a man in high relief, and above the figure four lines of inscription in cursive Meroitic. In March 1947 a second stela of white sandstone was sent in apparently from the same site. It has the figure of a woman in high relief and thirteen lines of cursive Meroitic inscription. These stelae are published by Dr. Macadam in this volume, see pp. 43 ff.

**Map Sheet 35-I**

**Gebel Dabarossa, near Wadi Halfa**

A round-topped stela with nine lines of cursive Meroitic found by the army when road-making in August 1944 is also published here by Dr. Macadam.

**Middle Kingdom graffiti at Hieroglyph Hill, at about 21° 52’ N. 31° 07’ E.**

This site, which was reported by Mohamed Osman Hasan of ‘Abdelkadir village, was visited by car in company with the District Commissioner, Mr. J. V. D’A. Rowley, on December 14, 1941. I visited it again by camel with Mr. P. L. Shinnie from November 22 to 24, 1947. ‘Hieroglyph Hill’ is the smaller of two isolated hills of sandstone of pyramidal shape, which appear to have been quarried in ancient times (see pl. IX, 1). They stand close to one another, approximately six miles west of ‘Abdelkadir village on the Nile. For transcribing the graffiti from this site and from Gebel Shêkh Suliman, translating them and commenting on them, I am indebted to Professor Černý, and gratefully acknowledge his help.

In a cleft in the rock on the south-west side of the hill are two roughly executed male human figures facing right, the upper figure carrying a staff in one hand and a baton in the other, while level with the head of the lower figure are possibly (1) the numbers 111100. On the opposite side of the cleft is a roughly cut straight line framing a male figure wearing a peaked kilt, facing right, and carrying staff and baton, above and behind which runs the hieroglyphic graffito (see pl. IX, 2):

2. (1) $\text{ኢSSH} \text{ʒ} \text{ʃ} \text{ʃ} \text{ʃ}{(2)} \text{יר} \text{ס} \text{ס} \text{ס} \text{ס}$

‘The retainer Intef, born of Sênet, justified.’
In another cleft farther round the hill to the south are four graffiti, one in hieroglyphic script and the others in hieratic. For one of the latter, see pl. IX, 3, in which the inscription, written above and to the right of a male figure in a peaked kilt, facing right and carrying a baton in the right hand and a staff in the left, reads:

3. (i) ——.illé—íï (2) ——.illé—íï (3) ——.illé—íï
   '...... Sensūūek-Beby. Made (for) him (by) the son of his son Kameru.'

This inscription is particularly interesting, for Professor Černý considers that from the style of the writing and especially from the form of =, it is very early and may date to the Old Kingdom. It is on the back wall of the cleft. On the right-hand wall of the cleft is a one-line hieroglyphic graffito:

4. Ꜳꜱꜻꜱ (_) Ꜷꜱ (_) ꜹꜺ ꜿꜬ ऐ
   'The carrier of stone (i.e. it? or?) for offering-tables (?) Imeny.'

This apparently indicates one of the reasons why stone was quarried here. Below and to the right of graffito (4) is a male figure in a peaked kilt, facing right and carrying a baton in the right hand and a fan in the left, with a hieratic graffito (see pl. IX, 4):

5. (i) ——.illé—íï (2) ——.illé—íï (3) ——.illé—íï (4) ——.illé—íï (5) ——.illé—íï
   '...... Mentuhotep-Shemy. Made for him (by) his son Mentuhotpe.'

Immediately to the right is another male figure in a peaked kilt, facing right and carrying a baton in the right hand and a staff in the left, on either side of which is a vertical column of hieratic which reads:

6. (i) ——.illé—íï ——.illé—íï (2) ——.illé—íï ——.illé—íï (3) ——.illé—íï ——.illé—íï
   'The herald Mentuhotpe's son . . uyeb. Made for him (by) his son Imeny.'

A little farther round the hill to the south again is another human figure with a crude hieratic graffito (7) which apparently contains the name Sebkhotpe.

On the north side of the hill are apparently the ruins of several rock shelters cut in the sandstone hill, which have been destroyed, probably by subsequent quarrying. In them are a few scattered and unintelligible hieratic graffiti. In one shelter on a rock which is being weathered away and will probably collapse before long there is (8) the following:

Near it are (9) and (10), two unintelligible hieratic graffiti; and on the slopes of the hill below were found two pieces broken from a slab of sandstone, which may once have formed the wall of a rock-cut shelter. Each of these fragments had part of an inscription in small hieratic characters.

I am indebted to Professor Černý for the transcription of graffiti (2) to (6) from my hand-copies and very indifferent photographs, and for the translations which are

1 Or possibly corrected into ——.
attached. In his opinion they all date from the Middle Kingdom, except (3), which may well be earlier.

When the discovery of the names of Intef and Mentuhotpe in graffiti on Hieroglyph Hill was reported to Miss Rosalind Moss, she drew my attention to a record by Colonel Lyons in *Bessarione*, 1st Ser., 9 (1900 and 1901), p. 428, of hieratic graffiti with the names of Mentuhotpe, Sebekhotpe, and Amenemhab ‘seen in hills round Buhen’; and this led to Mr. Shinnie and myself giving such time as we could spare in November 1947 to a hurried examination of the hills west and south-west of Buhen, for it did not seem that Hieroglyph Hill could fairly be described as one of the hills round Buhen. Our search was by no means exhaustive, and it is highly probable that other graffiti than those now to be described will be found.

*Buhen*

On the south side of a small sandstone hill west-north-west of the temples, and immediately west of another small sandstone hill in which are three cave graves that were excavated by Randall-MacIver and Woolley, are a few crude hieroglyphic graffiti which apparently contain the phrases ‘beloved of Horus’, ‘beloved of Isis’, and a place-name.

*Gebel Shēkh Suliman*

This is a small sandstone hill north of ‘Abdelkadir village and about half a mile immediately west of the site of Buhen South (known locally as Kor), which was described by Somers Clarke in *JEA* 3, 163, and pl. 27, but to which it seems that despite its eroded condition more attention should be paid than has been given hitherto. Its situation at the end of the easily navigable Shellal–Wādi Ḥalfa reach of the Nile and its huge extent indicate that it must have been the Middle Kingdom *TKN* of the Sennah boundary stele, while surface finds suggest that it must have been an important base in the New Kingdom as well. Features not mentioned by Somers Clarke that were noticed on our recent visit include:

(a) Traces of a large building, perhaps an administrative building or official’s house, on a gravel ridge overlooking the town site, about 30 yards north of the extreme north end of the walled town, and close to the modern survey mark S 205. In it are four sandstone column bases *in situ* in line, parallel to the river, at the north end of the building, then a gap, and then one more column base slightly out of line, while a little to the south are several displaced column bases.

(b) A cut in the neck of sandstone that juts into the river below the town which is probably artificial, intended to make a harbour for boats.

(c) Immediately to the west of the walled town, a cemetery of dynastic date, which has been considerably disturbed.

Gebel Shēkh Suliman is the name by which the inhabitants of ‘Abdelkadir village know a small hill with a cairn on it immediately behind the site at Buhen South.

In a shelter on the east side of this hill is the Karian graffiti published by Sayce in *PSBA* 32, 261 and pl. 40, 1. My copy differs in several letters from that published by Sayce and was submitted to Dr. C. Zylahrz. He was unable to decipher it but considers
it important as indicating that the sign ψ is not the same as the well-known Karian letter ψ (资产重组).

In another shelter at the top of the hill on the east-south-east side are the traces of the outline of a female figure associated with (i) an illegible (?) hieratic graffito.

On the top of the hill is the modern survey mark 'Aux 205 W'. At the south end of the top of the hill is a large block of sandstone which has fallen from the top stratum of the hill. On this block is what must be a First Dynasty record of the conquest of Nubia (the Shellal–Wadi Halfa reach). The scene, which has been to some extent defaced by Middle Kingdom graffiti, has already been somewhat inadequately published by Sayce in PSBA 32, 262 ff. It is almost impossible to photograph in daylight; pl. X shows two of a number of photographs that were taken by night on a rapid visit in January 1949 by the light of a lamp very kindly provided at short notice by Mr. Cooper of the Sudan Railways. Fig. 1 is a drawing most kindly made from a number of these photographs by Mrs. N. de Garis Davies. It shows what seems to be the original scene and omits the Middle Kingdom and later graffiti which can be seen in pl. X. It was very difficult to make a composite drawing from photographs in which the varied lighting makes the same object look very different in different photographs, and it is very good of Mrs. Davies to have undertaken it at all. Considering all the difficulties her reconstruction is most successful.

In the right-hand upper corner of the scene is a boat with a vertical stern and high sloping prow. The boat seems originally to have been in low relief, and the prow, possibly but not certainly, to have been lengthened subsequently by incised lines. It is, however, in any case of a type which is characteristic of the First Dynasty; compare the boat on the slate palette of Nafrmer in the Cairo Museum (Capart, Primitive Art in Egypt, fig. 184) and that on the ivory tablet of Nafrmer in PSBA 28, pls. 1 and 2, and Ann. Serv. 33, pl. 1 (opposite p. 234); also the graffiti of First Dynasty boats on pot fragments from Abydos (Petrie, Abydos, ii, pl. 12, 266 and 279). Other somewhat similar boats are earlier rather than later; compare the boat (with a sail) on a decorated predynastic pot (Capart, op. cit., fig. 91) and the boat with a cabin but no sail in the predynastic 'tomb' at Hierakonpolis (Quibell and Green, Hierakonpolis, ii, pl. 77); also the rough outline of a boat scratched on a predynastic pot in Petrie, Diospolis Parva,
RELIEF OF KING DJER AT GEBEL SHEKH SULIMAN

Above is the left-hand half and below the right-hand half
pl. 21, 52. See also H. Frankfort, Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East, 1, 140, and Petrie in Ancient Egypt, 1917, 28 and 35.

In front of the boat is a larger human figure, presumably a Nubian chieftain, seated facing the boat with his arms tied behind his back. A rope passes round his neck, with the end apparently attached to the prow of the boat, and another rope similarly passes round his chest, as drawn by Mrs. Davies in fig. 1; a break in the rock first led me to think that he had been transfixed by an arrow, but on re-examination of the original I have come to the conclusion that Mrs. Davies’s interpretation is probably right, see pl. X. Between the chieftain and the boat is a smaller human figure, presumably dead, and below it is another human figure on its back and in its death agony. Farther to the right and below the boat are two other human corpses. For the general scene of death compare the statues of Khasekhem in Quibell, Hierakonpolis, I, pls. 39–41, and on the Gebel el-Arak knife handle (Petrie, Egypt and Mesopotamia in Ancient Egypt, 1917, p. 27). Just above the rope which binds the neck of the sitting chief is a round-topped (?) hut with a round-topped door, on which are one vertical and two horizontal lines perhaps indicating details of construction.

To the left of the seated figure of the chieftain at the bottom of the scene are incised two city (?) signs (cf. Petrie, Royal Tombs, II, pl. 5, 1), one of which Sayce describes as ‘a four-spoked wheel supporting a crescent-shaped object which seems to be the body of a cart’. Actually above the left-hand sign there is without doubt a hawk in characteristic First Dynasty form; above the other sign is a sack-like object, which may perhaps represent the Royal Placenta, in which case we apparently have here in unusual form two of the four signs that recur on royal standards in groups of First Dynasty palettes, etc.

Farther to the left is a standing human figure in low relief facing right with its arms bound behind its back and apparently in its hands the sign indicating that the figure represents Ta-Zeti (Nubia) conquered; compare Quibell and Green, Hierakonpolis, II, pl. 58 and Petrie, Royal Tombs, II, pl. 3, 3 and perhaps 2. In front of the human figure are incised lines representing water. Behind the figure at the left end of the rock is a serekh which gives the name of King Djer, the third king of the First Dynasty. The façade of the palace is in low relief. Above it are three rows of incised dots, and above that (incised) a crude form of what is undoubtedly the hieroglyph dr, not unlike that under the right-hand hawk on the red limestone vase fragment from Abydos (Petrie, Royal Tombs, I, pl. 5, 12). At the top of the serekh is a crude representation of the hawk facing right, to which may perhaps be compared the crude figures of hawks from First Dynasty pottery in ibid., pls. 44 and 45. At a later date someone has tried to turn the dr-sign into an antelope by adding a head at the top left.

I am indebted to Professor Černý for drawing my attention to the dots as an essential part of the serekh (see Petrie, Abydos, II, pl. 9, 205, now in the Cairo Museum, and Borchardt in ZÄS 41, 85–6), and thus confirming not only that we have here the name of King Djer, the third king of the First Dynasty, but that some of the incised parts of the scene date from the First Dynasty as well as the parts that are in low relief. The rock is of soft sandstone, and easily marked. No doubt some of the incisions are of
later date. Part of the original central scene, as well as that above the boat and at the extreme right of the rock, has probably been deleted by the easy process of rubbing out with another piece of sandstone.

On the original scene have been cut several Middle Kingdom hieratic graffito, viz.:

2. (1) $\text{glyph}$ 'The Master of the Hounds Ra-heba's (or Kheheba's) (son) Hetepe.'

already published by Sayce.

In the bottom right-hand corner of the block is another hieratic graffito, also published by Sayce, but copied by him inaccurately:

3. $\text{glyph}$...

'The Master of Hounds Ra-heba... (or Kheheba...).

Above and between the two city (?) signs, and below and to the right of the incised figure of a man mentioned by Sayce, is a vertical hieratic graffito—not mentioned by Sayce, unless it corresponds to his figure of an Egyptian sitting above the cart (?), below whom the name of Mentuhotpe is written—

4. $\text{glyph}$

'Mentuhotpe's son Mentuhotpe.'

On the back of this same block of rock, facing south, are outline drawings of human beings, an archer, a cow, etc., and the following graffito, which are considered by Cerny to date from the Middle Kingdom unless otherwise stated:

5. $\text{glyph}$ 'The scribe Sonb.'

6. $\text{glyph}$ 'Wadj(?)-hotpef.'

7. $\text{glyph}$ 'Nebamun' (New Kingdom).

8. $\text{glyph}$ 'Anena Pendhout' (New Kingdom).

Apparently associated with (7) is the largest outline of a man, facing left and possibly wearing on his head a crested metal helmet.

On a rock above the block with the scene in relief on it are the following Middle Kingdom graffito in hieratic:

9. $\text{glyph}$ 'Intef.'

10. $\text{glyph}$ 'Montuy.'

11. $\text{glyph}$ 'Mentuhotpe's son Intefi.'

Nearby, on another weathered rock to the right of the foregoing, are traces of short hieroglyphic and hieratic graffito.

1 The animal, judging by its ears and up-turned tail in (3) and (19) can only be a dog (tsm), although it is not found elsewhere jumping up as in (3) and (19). The first sign of the title, which is not clear here or in (19) seems undoubtedly to be mntw in (3). For the title mntw tsm see Wb. II, 75, 7.

2 Clear, but probably for $\text{glyph}$, $\text{glyph}$, being a not infrequent element in New Kingdom proper names.

3 See Ranke, Die äg. Personennamen, 112, 15.

4 So far not attested; formed from Mntw like $\text{glyph}$ from Hr.
On another slab of rock, close to that with the river fight scene on it, are the following
Middle Kingdom graffiti (see pl. IX, 5):

12. Unintelligible.

13. \[\text{Unintelligible.}\]

14. ‘The excellent scribe Mentuhotpe’s son Oker.’

15. (1) ... (2) ... ‘Amenemopet’s son Hotep.’

16. Unintelligible.

18. ‘......Mentuhotpe.’

19. ‘The Master of the Hounds Khemi.’

20. ‘The royal......Djedu......yeb.’

For graffiti 19 and 20 see pl. IX, 6.

On the back of this block is (21) a very weathered hieratic graffito which seems to
contain the name Imeny.

On the west side of the hill on a block of sandstone near the top of the hill is the out-
line drawing of a large figure killing a smaller with a club and the hieroglyphic graffito:

22. (1) ... (2) ... (New Kingdom).

‘The Scribe Patjuw. His sister Nubersetyt.’

The occurrence of graffiti at Hieroglyph Hill and Gebel Shekh Suliman indicating
people with names as closely associated with the Eleventh Dynasty as Intef, Mentuhotpe,
and Sebbhotpe, employed in the vicinity as officials on such settled pursuits as quarry-
ing stone for offering tables, hunting, and clerical work, suggests that we may have here
evidence for the occupation of Nubia as far as the Second Cataract by the Eleventh
Dynasty. The even earlier scene in relief depicting a fight round a ship must have been
carved to commemorate the original First Dynasty conquest; and these occurrences
so near the Middle Kingdom base of Tkn suggest that that base too may date back to
Dyn. XI or even earlier.

Atiri Island

In November 1945 a fortified Christian settlement was found on the island, with a
small mud-brick church at the top, in which are traces of paintings including a robed
human figure. Sherds include a coarsely glazed ware, possibly of local manufacture.

On the east bank of the Nile there appear to be four X-Group mound graves, the
tops of which are said to have been levelled during the reoccupation, to enable officers
to pitch their tents on them.

Akasha East

In the gravel on the 100 (?) ft. terrace, south and south-east of the old officers’ mess,
have been found sherds of A(?)-Group rippled black-topped red ware, and fine ware

\[\text{It is hardly possible to read anything else than ipt; if the latter is correct, this is so far the only Middle}
\text{Kingdom example of this common proper name.}\]
incised with herring-bone and other decorations, also a green stone celt with a fish tail butt (Khartum Catalogue, No. 4753). This indicates an early occupation of the site.

**Gebel Furer, Dakka (Dakki on map)**

On Gebel Furer there are petroglyphs of several boats of ancient Egyptian type, cattle, and a giraffe.

At the foot of the hill to the east, and on the eastern slopes of the hill itself, fine sherd decorated with herring-bone and incised lines of dots and also with combing have been found, indicating an early site probably contemporary with the rock pictures. A chert crescent microlith and a small stone palette were also found (Khartum Catalogue, Nos. 3887, 5263, and 5264).

**Map Sheet 35-M**

*Amarah East*

A few sherds of protodynastic (?) black-topped red rippled ware have been found on the gravel south of the village.

*Amarah West*

There is a robbed Nubian cemetery with Kerma-Culture sherds about a quarter of a mile north of the temple.

**Gebel Abri**

On a slab of sandstone which has fallen from the cliff at the south side of Gebel Abri there are rock engravings—an upright human figure facing left wearing the Double Crown and carrying a *wes* sceptre, and to the left a bull or cow with spreading horns, one of which has been utilized (by a later artist?) to give an upraised arm to the head and shoulders of another human figure, the head of which suggests a Roman style. Behind the Egyptian figure are two smaller figures, one of an antelope or cow with horns growing forward, and the other with spreading horns. On the extreme right edge of the slab are two concentric offering tables. Possibly the whole group is contemporary with the Meroitic temple of *'Amarah East* that no longer exists.

**Abri Town**

In the District Commissioner's office at the Police post there has been for some years the base of a double statue in black granite, with an inscription on the back containing the name of Amenophis III. It is believed to have been brought here from Sadenga (Suwarda?) by Crowfoot, and it has recently been moved to Wadi Halfa by the District Commissioner. It is hoped that the inscription will shortly be published by Professor Fairman.

Over the door of a house near Abri school I found part of a sandstone lintel broken off where the cornice begins, measuring $132 \times 34 \times 17.5$ cm., on which is a scene in which the Viceroy Ḥekanakht holding a fan kneels to right and left with hands raised in adoration of the cartouches of Ramesses II. I am indebted to Professor Fairman for deciphering the Viceroy's name and for transcribing the inscription as follows:
In another part of the same house was found the lower part of a right-hand doorjamb of sandstone, measuring $117 \times 34 \times 19.5$ cm., containing the name of Harnakht, deputy of Kush, in the following inscription (for transcribing which I am also indebted to Professor Fairman):

These historic fragments are on their way to the Khartum Museum. At first I thought that they had probably come from one of the temples on Sai Island, which are known to have been quarried for building material, and from which came a lintel and some blocks of the same Harnakht, now in the Khartum Museum, Catalogue No. 446; but the recent discovery of the name of the Viceroy Hekanakht at 'Amarah West by the Egyptian Exploration Society's expedition under the leadership of Professor Fairman makes it possible that they came from that site.

Sai Island

On the watershed of the island about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile south of the end of the hill there is a group of large low mounds, each covered with uniform white quartz pebbles and surrounded by a ring of black stones. On one mound the black stones predominate, and the white pebbles are arranged like rays radiating from the centre. These mounds are clearly contemporary with the Dyn. XII–XIII tumuli at Kerma excavated by Reisner. They were all robbed in antiquity and at least one, which measures about 130 ft. in diameter, was robbed again by the robber 'Abdelsamad from Upper Egypt, who did
so much damage to tombs in this area in 1922. Sherds of Kerma ware occur where the mounds have been disturbed. To the north of these mounds is an extensive Nubian cemetery, of probably contemporary date, which also has been much disturbed by robbers.

In the sandstone south of the citadel is a New Kingdom shaft grave and a number of dynastic cave graves, all that are obvious having been robbed in antiquity. In a modern graveyard a short distance south of these graves I was shown by the 'omda in 1939 a cache of fragments from a number of statues which had been broken to pieces, burnt and buried, and disclosed recently by people digging a grave. The fragments, which are very incomplete and have been taken into the Khartūm Museum, include pieces from a large black granite statue of a king, a small group of two figures facing inwards (possibly two goddesses protecting someone on a central block) also in black granite, a small statuette in dark-green stone of a kneeling man, a double statue of a man and his wife in painted sandstone, etc. With them was a fragment of charred wood with the hieroglyph \( \frac{1}{4} \) on it.

In 1937 Professor Blackman and Mr. Fairman found in the citadel the lower portion of a silcrete sandstone statue of Amosis I enthroned intact from the waist down, the feet placed on the Nine Bows. The front of the throne bears a hieroglyphic inscription on either side containing the king's cartouches. The statue was reburied in situ, pending opportunity to remove it to the Khartūm Museum. A head, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, in the same material, and no doubt belonging to the same statue, was found by the 'omda about 100 yards farther south. It has an inscription on the back of the plinth containing the Horus-name of the king, and is now in the Khartūm Museum (Catalogue No. 3828).

In the modern Moslem cemetery of Adu, well north of the hill, was found in 1947 a sherd of rippled proto-dynastic? A-Group ware (Khartūm Catalogue, No. 5265).

Wawa

Fine sherds with incised herring-bone and impressed dot decoration indicate an early occupation-site on the gravel terrace north-east of the Rest House.

Agula

In March 1947 O. H. Myers and P. L. Shinnie found two Kerma-Culture sites (settlement and cemetery), the cemetery just east of a gravel ridge west of Agula village, and the settlement nearer the river and to the south of the cemetery.

Gebel Delgo

At the south end of the hill, where basalt scree falls over the sandstone, and graves, possibly Ancient Egyptian or Christian, seem to have been cut into the sandstone, there are slightly lower down the slope a number of flat-topped cairns of basalt. From one of these cairns, which had been disturbed, had come sherds from a black-topped red pot with incised decoration reminiscent of Kerma Nubian and suggesting that the cairn may be contemporary with Kerma-Culture. Sherds of a red ware decorated with impressed dots and some microliths suggest that there is here also an occupation-site of even earlier date.
Sabu, near Geddi

There are petroglyphs of Ancient Egyptian boats, cattle, etc., all over the sandstone cliffs which overhang the motor road where it passes between these cliffs and the river bank. At the northern end of the cliffs are several hieroglyphic graffiti, two of which refer to ‘the Scribe Dhatmosé’ and another scribe. Near them is a petroglyph of a giraffe, possibly earlier than the cattle pictures, which suggest C-Group. There are later petroglyphs, medieval horsemen with swords and dogs, and crude camel men (probably the latest of all). A lion with λεων εγώ ... εγραψetre presumably dates from the Christian period. In the valley to the west sherds and late stone artifacts suggest that the whole area would repay exploration. A piece of worked sandstone, apparently from a doorway, suggests the possibility of cave graves.

Tumus

On the north side of the ridge of granite boulders east of the quarry in which lies the well-known royal statue with a shattered head is an extensive cemetery, to which attention was drawn by three uninscribed (Meroitic?) offering tables which had recently been excavated from a grave in this area by a local native. The cemetery must be partly New Kingdom, two Mycenean sherds being picked up by Dows Dunham and myself on a visit in December 1946 (Khartum Catalogue, No. 5171).

Argo. Hag Zummar

Sherds of typical Kerma fine black-topped red pottery and of Kerma Nubian ware are to be found coming from the lower levels of the occupation-site a short distance south-east of the temple site with the colossal statues, indicating Kerma-Culture occupation of this site.

Kerma Basin and Wadi Khowi

There are sporadic occupation sites probably belonging to the Kerma-Culture all over the Kerma Basin and the Wadi Khowi east of Kerma. They are easily recognized by piles of burnt red earth from the site of the hearth, which has been left slightly higher than the surrounding country by erosion of the latter.

Bir Shetilat

Just where the new Sikkat el Maheila motor track crosses the Wadi Khowi north-east of a group of date-palms there is an extensive Kerma-Culture occupation-site.

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Argi

In the ‘khalwa’ (bush-school) of Wad Shabbo there has been lying for many years an offering table of dark-grey stone measuring 130 by 60 cm. There are traces of a hieroglyphic inscription along each long side, and between them the usual representation of loaves, baskets, joints of meat, and in the centre a wine jar: but the stone has been much worn, possibly from use as a grindstone. That it comes from a grave in the vicinity and that Argi was a site occupied in Napatan as well as in New Kingdom times is suggested by the discovery of some robbed graves perhaps 2 miles east of the Nile
and not far west of the domed tomb (kubba) of Wad Idris, where fragments of pots, bronze awls, and a fragment of a scarab with a representation of a sphinx and Amen-Re and ‘Menkehefer[rēr]’ in crude hieroglyphs (probably Dyn. XXV) were found, that had been left on the surface by the tomb robbers (Khartûm Catalogue, No. 5123).

Map Sheet 45-F

Gebel Barkal

For traces of four colossal royal figures cut in the side of Gebel Barkal in probable imitation of Abu Simbel, with a pair of cartouches (probably of Taharqa 688–663 B.C.) and an inscription in hieroglyphs on the head of the left-hand colossus, see Illustrated London News, February 15, 1947.

Map Sheet 45-C

Hagar el-Merwa (‘Hagar el Meroë’), Kurgus

In Sudan Notes and Records, 9 (2), 22, H. C. Jackson in 1926 reported the occurrence of rock pictures, a hieroglyphic inscription and cartouches, stated by F. Addison, the Conservator of Antiquities, possibly to be that of Tuthmosis III but more probably to be that of Shebitku (Shabataka), on a quartz rock near the railway line at Kanisa Kurgus. In June 1939 Dr. M. F. Laming Macadam wrote to me suggesting that this might indeed be the cartouche of Tuthmosis III; I therefore visited the site and spent three days there in December of that year.

The inscription is on the north-east side of a conspicuous quartz boulder just east of the railway line; the name means ‘quartz rock’ in Arabic and has nothing to do with Meroë. The inscription, which is not easy to see at first, has been hammered into the hard quartz rock. Fig. 4 shows what I was able to record of it, but there is no doubt that much more could be made out by one well versed in hieroglyphs. The rock is, however, difficult of access, and since no expert has been able to find time to visit it in the eleven years since my visit, it is considered advisable to publish what can be made out of it now, pending a more thorough study in the future.

There is little doubt that it is a boundary inscription of Tuthmosis I, reduplicated by Tuthmosis III.

In the centre Amen-Re, facing left, ram-headed and wearing tall plumes, seated, holds ♂ and presents ♂ to the beak of the royal falcon, facing right, wearing tall plumes. The falcon surmounts the Horus name of (apparently) Tuthmosis I, KI-nht-mry-M3rt. There is an undeciphered column of hieroglyphs behind the Horus name. Below are four lines of inscription. Dr. Macadam, who has not seen the original, suggested on seeing my transcription that the reading might be somewhat as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{MAP SHEET 45-C} \\
\text{HAGAR EL-MERWA ('HAGAR EL MERŒ'), KURGUS} \\
\text{IN SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, 9 (2), 22, H. C. JACKSON IN 1926 REPORTED THE OCCURRENCE OF ROCK PICTURES, A HIEROGLYPHIC INSRIPTION AND CARTOUCHES, STATED BY F. ADDISON, THE CONSERVATOR OF ANTIQUITIES, POSSIBLY TO BE THAT OF TUTHMOSIS III BUT MORE PROBABLY TO BE THAT OF SHEBITKU (SHABATAKA), ON A QUARTZ ROCK NEAR THE RAILWAY LINE AT KANISA KURGUS. IN JUNE 1939 DR. M. F. LAMING MACADAM WROTE TO ME SUGGESTING THAT THIS MIGHT INDEED BE THE CARTOUCHE OF TUTHMOSIS III; I THEREFORE VISITED THE SITE AND SPENT THREE DAYS THERE IN DECEMBER OF THAT YEAR.} \\
\text{THE INSCRIPTION IS ON THE NORTH-EAST SIDE OF A CONSPICUOUS QUARTZ BOULDER JUST EAST OF THE RAILWAY LINE; THE NAME MEANS 'QUARTZ ROCK' IN ARABIC AND HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH MERŒ. THE INSCRIPTION, WHICH IS NOT EASY TO SEE AT FIRST, HAS BEEN HAMMERED INTO THE HARD QUARTZ ROCK. FIG. 4 SHOWS WHAT I WAS ABLE TO RECORD OF IT, BUT THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT MUCH MORE COULD BE MADE OUT BY ONE WELL VERSED IN HIEROGLYPHS. THE ROCK IS, HOWEVER, DIFFICULT OF ACCESS, AND SINCE NO EXPERT HAS BEEN ABLE TO FIND TIME TO VISIT IT IN THE ELEVEN YEARS SINCE MY VISIT, IT IS CONSIDERED ADVISABLE TO PUBLISH WHAT CAN BE MADE OUT OF IT NOW, PENDING A MORE THOROUGH STUDY IN THE FUTURE.} \\
\text{THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT IT IS A BOUNDARY INSRIPTION OF TUTHMOSIS I, REDUPLICATED BY TUTHMOSIS III.} \\
\text{IN THE CENTRE AMEN-RE, FACING LEFT, RAM-HEADED AND WEARING TALL PLUMES, SEATED, HOLDS ♂ AND PRESENTS ♂ TO THE BEAK OF THE ROYAL FALCON, FACING RIGHT, WEARING TALL PLUMES. THE FALCON SURMOUNTS THE HORUS NAME OF (APPARENTLY) TUTHMOSIS I, KI-NHT-MRY-M3RT. THERE IS AN UNDECIPHERED COLUMN OF HIEROGLYPHS BEHIND THE HORUS NAME. BELOW ARE FOUR LINES OF INSRIPTION. DR. MACADAM, WHO HAS NOT SEEN THE ORIGINAL, SUGGESTED ON SEEING MY TRANSCRIPTION THAT THE READING MIGHT BE SOMewhat AS FOLLOWS:} \\
\end{array}
\]
As for any Nubian who shall disregard this notice, my father Amûn hath granted for me that...Amen-Rê and Atum...his cattle. He shall have no heirs (?)....' Dr. Macadam comments that the word translated 'disregard' is used both of actual damage to monuments and of the overstepping of boundaries; and it seems therefore very probable that this is a boundary notice.

Below the four lines are apparently the cartouches of Tuthmosis I, ḫr-hpr-ḥr-rr, and at equal distances to right and left of the cartouches and slightly below them are (right) a lion facing left and before it 'the Good God ḫr-hpr-ḥr-rr', and (left) a bull facing right forming part of the inscription 'Amen-Rê, the Bull of his Mother'. All the foregoing makes a symmetrical layout.

The reduplication of the inscription by Tuthmosis III has spoilt the symmetry of the original, for owing to faults in the rock the subsequent scribe had to put the second version wherever the rock was good enough for inscribing.

Immediately to the left of the central group, with the first two lines of the second version of the inscription appearing to form a continuation of the last two lines of the earlier inscription, is an almost exact copy, showing Amen-Rê ram-headed facing left, and before him the royal falcon surmounting the Horus-name of (apparently) Tuthmosis III K3-nht-hr-m-ḥ3t. Immediately to the left of the boundary inscription is the repetition of the Bull ('Amen-Rê Bull of his Mother'): but the corresponding lion facing left with 'the Good God Mn-hpr-rr' is asymmetrically placed some distance above and to the right of the rest of the group (owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the rock), and the symmetry is further spoiled by two vertical columns of hieroglyphs immediately to the left of the cartouche Mn-hpr-rr. Dr. Macadam was not able to decipher these two columns.

In the left-hand figure of Amûn enthroned, and in the upper lion (i.e. those of Tuthmosis III) the traces of red lines with which the scene was outlined by a draughtsman before it was engraved in the rock are clearer than in the rest of the scene.

Another interesting point is that the technique and style of the cutting of the cartouches here is very like that of the cartouches of Tuthmosis I at Tumbus (cf. Leps., Denkm. III, 5), where also the craftsman had to deal with a hard rock (granite).

In the extreme left-hand corner is a small inscription, probably a later addition, which appears to say something about 'Nine (Bows?)'.

On the east side of Ḥagar el-Merwa are several other inscriptions and graffiti, mostly much destroyed by weathering. Low down on the north-east side is a small very well executed graffito in red.

On the western side of the rock (facing the river) are also several graffiti, traces of pink pigment indicating that there had once been a large inscription or possibly two, of which now only one or two signs are legible. To the right of this are traces of another
graffito in red, in which it is possible to distinguish the cartouche of Queen 'Aḥmosē, presumably the queen of Tuthmosis I, viz.: 𓊆𓏏𓊍𓊯𓊭𓊯 𓊥𓊬ʼ𓊪‘the great Queen 'Aḥmosē repeating life’ in one line, and immediately below 𓊦𓊽𓊭𓊫𓊦𓊭‘accompanying the King in his goings.’

Down on the river bank, exactly opposite Hagar el-Merwa, and situated where it could control the passage of boats through a bar of rocks, are the remains of what must have been an Ancient Egyptian mud-brick fort, presumably constructed by Tuthmosis I. The site is known as Kanisa Kurgus (i.e. Kurgus church) and judging from a mound of red brick fragments and Christian period sherds it did contain a church at a later date. But the size of the mud bricks (15 x 8 x 3 3/8 in.) in the massive mud wall—the north wall was 18 ft. thick where measured—leaves little doubt as to the real origin of the edifice. The fort was approximately a rectangle, and measured 85 yards on both the river side (W.) and the land side (E.). It is about 75 yards long on the north side and 70 yards long on the south side. There was a large entrance on the east side and a small entrance in the north wall, the latter protected by a curtain wall; and outside the north wall there seems to have been glacis protection. The west wall is protected from the river by stone facing, although it is now some distance above high flood level.

Judging from sherds on the surface some of the cairn graves to the east and north of Hagar el-Merwa would be well worth excavating and may represent a Nubian cemetery of the period, if not earlier. The fort site itself has been much damaged by people digging soil for top-dressing.

This is an important discovery, for it seems to prove that Tuthmosis I advanced farther upstream and occupied more of the Nile valley than has hitherto been realized. Further, the occupation was probably maintained or repeated by Tuthmosis III. The strategic importance of the site is obvious, for not only would it control the passage of boats by river, but the land route from Egypt via Korosko to this part of Kush.

**Map Sheet 55-C**

*East of Isnabir*

A scarab of steatite (?), somewhat weathered, measuring 50 mm. in length, and inscribed with the cartouche of Amenophis III Nb-mst-rc mry-.Imn-Rc, the — in 'Amūn’ being shown as a horizontal line, was presented to the Kharṭūm Museum (Catalogue No. 3861) in December 1941 by Šeḵh Sadik Mohamed Talha, šeḵh of the Batahin khut of Abu Deleig. It was found a few miles east of Isnabir (Lat. 15° 52’ N. Long. 34° 12’ E.), i.e. approximately 100 miles east of Kharṭūm, and although it has not been possible to visit the place where it was found, it sounds as if there were ancient graves there.

**Map Sheet 45-N**

*Naḥatan (?) scarab from the Wādi Mugaddam*

In April 1945 Shēḵh Mujedid Mohamed Mujedid, wakil’omda of the Geriat, presented to the Kharṭūm Museum two scarabs found near Umm Harot on the Wādi Mugaddam. Catalogue No. 4969/1 is of glazed steatite, and has on the back a reduplicated design
in which two barques containing the rope sign $\&$ are separated by two lotus flowers back to back, the whole surrounded by a border representing a rope. Catalogue No. 4969/2 is damaged but appears to have on the back a crude version of mry-Imn-Rc in hieroglyphs.

Map Sheet 55-J

Napatan (?) scarab from Kosti
When the new district headquarters was being built on a sandhill at Kosti in February 1939, it was discovered that the site chosen was a somewhat eroded occupation site with Gebel Moya pottery dating probably from the Napatan period.
In 1940 when the foundations of the new police stables were dug, a scarab was found and presented to the Khartoum Museum by the then District Commissioner, Mr. A. S. Oakley (Khartoum Catalogue, No. 3562). It is a worn steatite scarab, with $\equiv \equiv \equiv \equiv$ on the reverse, surrounded by a border, and may well be of Napatan date.

Map Sheet 55-K

Scarab of Shabako from Sennar
A fine steatite scarab showing slight traces of blue glaze and measuring 37 mm. in length was found by Col. Topham, R.E., in October 1940 at the water's edge on the west bank of the Blue Nile just downstream of the Sennar Dam. In this area (between the protection wall of the Sennar garden and the old river channel) various graves have been exposed and destroyed by erosion caused by the water from the dam sluices, and there is also an occupation-site with potsherds of the Gebel Moya culture. It is probably from this site that this scarab came: and it is important as indicating a settlement of Dyn. XXV date at Sennar. The design consists of a recumbent sphinx facing right with two feathers on its head and the sign $\equiv$ for 'protection' (?) between its paws: above its back 'Amun' in hieroglyphs. Below is the cartouche of Shabako Nfr-k3-rC with a uraeus on either side, above $\equiv$ (Khartoum Catalogue, No. 3643). This scarab is similar to, but rather finer than, the scarab (Khartoum Catalogue, No. 1762) from Napata published in Ann. Arch. Anthr. 10, 113 and pl. 42, 20.

Map Sheet 66-J

Doleib Hill
Two fragments of alabaster which fit together and appear to form the base of a small cup were found at Doleib Hill, which is near the junction of the Sobat river with the White Nile south of Malakal, approximately 400 miles south of Khartoum, and were sent to the Khartoum Museum in May 1943 by the Rev. Don McClure of the American Mission (Khartoum Catalogue, No. 4709). There is obviously an ancient site at Doleib Hill, and it is not impossible that future examination may prove that imports from Ancient Egypt reached as far south as this.
THE ANCIENT NAME OF SERRA (SUDAN)

By ROSALIND MOSS

In Mr. Arkell's article on new discoveries in the Sudan in the present volume of this journal, he mentions a New Kingdom rock tomb at Dibeira East, north of Wadi Halfa, which belonged to Dhuhotpe, prince of Serra. When I visited this site in the autumn of 1946, I made a rough copy of the inscribed lintel and jambs, and the following year Professor Fairman and Mr. Iversen kindly paid a special visit to it on their way to 'Amarah, and recopied and collated the texts as given above (fig. 1). The owner of the tomb, Dhuhotpe called X\(\text{X}\) Paitsi, and his father Ruiu were both princes of Serra, here written \(\text{X}\)\(\text{X}\); the style points to the middle of the
Eighteenth Dynasty, and the feminine in 下 on the lintel strongly suggests Ḥatshepsut. This Dḥuḥtötepe is evidently the same person as the owner of a stela found by Professor Griffith in the village of Serra East a few miles farther north, where he is described as the Scribe of the South ‘P-atsi’, or Dḥuḥtötepe, son of Ruiu, chief of Teḥekhti, and Rena (Ann. Arch. Anthr. 8, 99, pl. 29, 2). A statue of a scribe Amenemḥêt, presumably his brother, with the same parents, was found at Buhen (Randall-Maclver and Woolley, Buhen, pl. 37 and p. 110), and is now in the Khartūm Museum, No. 92. Finally, on a block found at the same time as the stela, and now also in the Khartūm Museum, No. 3739, is the figure of a [chief? of Teḥekhti Dḥout, associated with the worship of (ramids) Menkheperreḥ the great god in Teḥekhti, identified as the site now known as East Serra (Ann. Arch. Anthr. 8, 99–100, pl. 29, 4). But when the block and the stela were re-examined recently at Khartūm, it was found that the sign given as  in the publications is really a plain circle  as in the Dibeira text; the variants of the name are therefore  (Dibeira tomb),  (Serra block), and  (Buhen statue). I have not been able to find any other examples of this place-name, but in an inscription in the tomb of Penne, temp. Ramesses VI, at Aniba, we find a region on the east bank of the Nile near Aniba described as  (Leps., Denkm. III, 229 c, II. 9–10; Steindorff, Aniba, II, pl. 101; cf. p. 243), and it is tempting to connect this with Serra. Is it possible that the  is an alternative reading for  or  with the phonetic value of  or  ? Professor Fairman tells me that in a stela of the time of Ramesses III at ‘Amārah, the name of Pesiūr’s father Pennē is written  , which would seem to support this theory, and it is rather unlikely that there would be two different places with such similar names in the same district. I suggest tentatively that the name of Serra should be read Teḥnut rather than Teḥekhti.
1. Khartûm 5162, from Serra West

2. Khartûm 5261, from Serra West

3. Khartûm 3725, from G. Dabarûsah

4. Khartûm 3732, Lintel from Argin

MEROITIC INSCRIPTIONS AT KHARTÛM
FOUR MEROTIC INSCRIPTIONS

By M. F. LAMING MACADAM

The four Meroitic inscriptions published together in the present note are in the museum at Khartum. The first three were originally meant for inclusion in an article for this journal by Mr. A. J. Arkell, recently retired from the post of Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology, and I am grateful to him for having, when he decided to recast the form of his article, permitted me to publish them instead, and for supplying me with photographs and details of provenance. The last item was noted at Khartum by Miss R. L. B. Moss, who kindly called my attention to it, and all the inscriptions come from sites just north of Wadi Halfa. For permission to include this I should like to thank the present Commissioner for Archaeology, Mr. P. L. Shinnie, who also supplied the photograph. The texts here given are in my handwriting; they are not facsimiles.

1. Stela Khartum 5162 (Pl. XI, 1)

Upper half of a Meroitic funerary stela of white sandstone, said to have been found at Serra West, 2 metres from the boundary of Sâhiyah No. 122, and 10 metres north of the north-west corner of house No. 375. The stela is partially cut away, leaving a flat, unmodelled figure of a man, on which the ears, breast, and tunic have been roughly indicated by incised lines. The upper part of the stone contains five lines of cursive Meroitic of late style.

\[\text{No. 1}\]

The revered Aretebiqar, abrs mtele, the hbi, the dtrp in Pat. beque (?). May the great and beneficent (?) god ever grant to him abundant offerings.

Line 1. The writer has transposed the signs :\textit{w}. \textit{Abrs} is a title applied to Akinidad in his stela (\textit{JE}A 4, 159 ff.), ll. 4, 8, 14, again in \textit{Mer. Inscr.} No. 92, l. 6, and to Tañi-damani in his Gebel Barkal stela (Boston 23,736, ll. 4–5, from photographs kindly supplied by Mr. Dows Dunham).
Line 2. For mte Griffith suggested the meaning ‘second’ in Karanog, No. 17. Zyhlzarz, Nub. Gram. 27, connects it with the title ḫ持 in the Nubian Sale of a House (P. Berl. 11277 = Griffith, Nubian Texts, 54). The variants 13, 48/4 of the definite article appear so regularly after nouns and verbal forms in the enumeration of titles that one suspects them of being ‘appositive’ forms, i.e. that they indicate a noun in apposition or the conclusion of an attributive verbal phrase.

Line 3. Tūyin is an epithet of Isis in Mer. Inscr. Nos. 85 and 133 and again in Karanog, No. 76, variously introduced by 55 or 5/3. It qualifies mkr ‘god’, but without prefix, in Meroe, No. 7, l. 13, with reference to Amûn of Napata. See also No. 4 in this article, l. 1.

Line 4. Atepê is thought to be the Eg. 𓍁𓍁 ‘funeral offerings’, occurring in the terminal formula J (Karanog, 53; Zyhlzarz, Anthropos, 25, 442). Mke, var. mhe, applied to both bread and water, is now well known as an adjective meaning ‘abundant’ or the like. In the formula J another word takes the place of mke, but this is preceded by 𓍁𓍁, as mke is here.

𓍁 is one of those all-too-numerous verbs for which we can at present render no more precise meaning than ‘give, grant’. At least it has the virtue of resembling the Eg. 𓍁, 𓍁.

The particle 𓍁𓍁, often written 𓍁 (numerous examples in Karanog, 47), is considered by Zyhlzarz (op. cit. 444), following Meinhold, as expressive of continued action. Its separation here from the final 𓍁𓍁 is understandable if unusual. In support of this durative sense one may quote the final word berkèle in Mer. Inscr. No. 121 which Zyhlzarz (op. cit. 435) has shown to correspond closely to the common type of demotic graffito containing the words rnsf mn dy m-bih X (deity) ‘his name remain here before X’. I take this opportunity of pointing out that the root ber looks uncommonly like mkr ‘be, remain, endure’, in Sahô and ‘Afar.

2. Stela Khartûm 5261 (Pl. XI, 2)
"The revered Lapakhidaye, patronized by the prince in Meroe, begotten of ...r, patronized by Naya ...ri in ...khē (?), wife of the great pre of Amani (?) K ...bēkeñaye, sister of ...ni ...kh (?) the King’s Son in Atēkhe, patronized by Shapari (?), ...of the strategus of the water (?) ...... The mle.”

Meroitic funerary stela of white sandstone found in March, 1947, apparently from the same site (Griffith records the discovery of Meroitic remains in rock-cut shaft graves of the New Kingdom at Serra West, Ann. Arch. Anthr. 13, 18). The stela has the figure of a standing woman in relief, wearing a skirt, coloured red above the waist. The base is 1 ft. wide and the stela 1 ft. 5½ in. high. On either side of the figure are 13 lines of cursive Meroitic, of late style and difficult to make out.

Line 4. Apart from the usual expressions of filiation on the father’s and the mother’s side there is commonly a third relationship signalized by yetmdele. This, if it is a family relationship at all, is not a close one, for if so it should be deductible from the numerous partially interlocking genealogies which can be constructed from the funerary inscriptions of Shablūl and Karanog. Accordingly, Griffith used to translate it ‘kin of’ or ‘related to’. With the root mde one may compare mde-s, a word commonly appended to the names of deities to express a relationship between these and the person to whom the epithet refers. Thus on the columns of the temples of Naga and Amara (Mer. Inscr. I, pl. 23; II, pl. 6) King Natakamani and his family are variously called mde-s-l with respect to Amani, Ariteñ (the Sun), and the god Makedeke. Zyhlraz (op. cit. 436) has postulated the existence of a suffixed s which refers backwards, and which is perhaps the same as the suffixed s used in Meroitic as one method of expressing possession. Thus Amni mde-s-l, Ariteñ-l mde-s-l, Mhedeko-l mde-s-l, may be taken to mean ‘the one who has Amani, the Sun, or Makedeke respectively as mde’. The same notion seems to be expressed by ye-t-mde-lē, the latter being applied in funerary inscriptions to deceased persons with respect to mortals of high rank and importance. The idea of patronage comes immediately to mind. Whether Zyhlraz is right in following up his idea by connecting mde with the Nubian mámnāy(γ) ‘servant, service’ (Griffith Studies, 195) is not yet clear, but I feel sure that ‘patronized by’ is the best attempt to translate ye-t-mde-lē that has up till now been produced.

Line 10. Premnith, perhaps ‘great pre of Amani’, nearly similar to wēmnith ‘great wē of Amani’ in Karanog, Nos. 47, 72, 75. However, in one of the photographs which I have used the word looks like ḫr šnws premn-lē ‘great premn’.

Line 13. For smle ‘wife’ see Griffith in Karanog, 68.

Line 15. Pestē, var. peste, like pqr (l. 2), is a princely title. A certain Abratoye, apparently the son of King Teqērideamani, is one holder of the title, and this appears in the Meroitic inscriptions (Karanog, Nos. 51, 52) in which he is mentioned. It has been pointed out by Griffith (Mer. Inscr. II, 47, n. 5; Dodecaschoenus, I, 118) that in Leps., Denkm. vi, 91, Gk. 317 this title is rendered φετής βασιλεύς Αιθιοπίου; but since in the demotic graffito Philae 416, I. 15, this same Abratoye is called ‘the King’s son’ it is worth considering whether pestē can be a Meroitic corruption of the Egyptian pn ṣḥ nsw. This I think is highly probable. In the first place let it be remembered that
ss nsw, more exactly ss nsw n Kiš, was a title conferred in ancient times on the Egyptian viceroy of Nubia as a special mark of favour. To Egyptians in Nubia the viceroy would have been simply ps s nsw, pronounced, as can be fairly established from cuneiform transcriptions of these words separately in other contexts, psiinsi or psiensi. The Greek transcription Σιονισος (Spiegelberg, ZAS 64, 135 f.) does not render the argument invalid, for in Greek transcriptions is a vowel of very indefinite colouring. That ψεντης should transcribe the Meroitic peste may perhaps require a little explanation. Meroitic seems to nasalize its vowels before dental and guttural consonants (Zyholzarz, op. cit. 418) in certain circumstances, and in such cases writes no n. Thus the Meroitic equivalent of Ἀπεηδονης becomes Arette, i.e. Are(n)dtē, while Kundakē transcribes kthe, kake. In the former case the omission from the Meroitic of any indication of the accented vowel (to which the Greek falsely gives the value o) will be noted. It is thus quite in order to assume for peste some such pronunciation as pse(n)the and to postulate its equivalence to ψεντης. The addition in the Greek text of the words βασιλεως Ἀδημων very strongly suggests that ψεντης means ps ss nsw ‘the Son of the King’; the only real difficulty is to account for the change of s to t. Without the explanation of this the conjecture must remain unproven, but it may quite possibly be forthcoming from some as yet unformulated rule of Meroitic Lautlehre.

It may be added that the existence of local pesteis (e.g. in Aki in Karanog, Nos. 47, 77) does not detract from the probability of the equivalence of peste, ψεντης, and ps ss nsw. In the times of Egyptian dominion over Nubia the title was not meant to be taken literally, and we should perhaps be over-hasty if we assumed that the Meroitic title necessarily implied royalty.

Line 18. For κασις > κασι ‘sister’ see Griffith, Karanog, 66.

Line 26. For mlēlē, of uncertain meaning, but especially common at the end of funerary inscriptions see Griffith, op. cit. 41. It is usually preceded by the terminal formulas ABC, but I am unable to discern them here.

3. Stela Khartūm 3725 (Pl. XI, 3)
'Isis! Osiris! The revered Qēyi...i...āmakas, born of...ikhlakhil, begotten of...etashibale, mother of the envoy Kadi...i in Q...beqe, patronized by the mesn.' Formula AB.

Thick, round-topped, sandstone stela, found at Gebel Dabarōsah by the army when making a road in August 1941. Nine lines of incised cursive Meroitic, of late style, below a roughly cut disk and uraei.

Line 2. All the recorded holders of names ending in mk- of whom the sex is known are women.

Line 5. One expects the holders of names beginning Kdi to be women. Probably we have here a female envoy such as Zyharlou (op. cit. 435) supposes to be the author of Mer. Inscr. No. 121.

Line 7. For šielē 'mother' see Griffith, Karanog, 68. 'Mesn of Amanī' is a title in Karanog, No. 105.

4. Kharțūm 3732 (Pl. XI, 4)

Half of a Meroitic sandstone lintel from Argīn, showing one side of a winged disk with uraeus, and inscribed with a funerary text in five lines of cursive Middle Meroitic. Various considerations indicate that the text is only half complete and that it formerly continued for the whole length of the lintel.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Line 1. } & \text{ Qē-tīnīn-qe-li, see No. 1, l. 3. The second qe, absent in No. 1, appears also in Mer. Inscr. No. 133, Karanog, No. 76, and Faras (Recueil Champollion, 570), No. 4.} \\
\text{Line 3. } & \text{ Dske is a title in Karanog, Nos. 9, 37, 94b, 103. Since three of these instances are 'of Mash' (Bes?) it is perhaps this word that follows ds[ke] later in the line. For tētēk 'west' see Mer. Inscr. II, 12.}
\end{align*}
\]
NOTES ON THE INSTRUCTION TO KAGEMNI AND HIS BRETHREN

By WALTER FEDERN

Sir Alan Gardiner's republication and translation of the *Instruction to Kagemni and his brethren* in vol. 32 of this journal have once again drawn attention to this difficult text. With his general interpretation I find myself in entire agreement, but offer the following notes as a further contribution to the problem.

I, 1. *Snsw*; Gardiner's translation 'submissive' in Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmire*, 88, seems preferable to 'timid'. The laudatory epithet of a nomarch, *swf; snsw*, suggests that a superior to whom the *snsw* owes his prosperity was mentioned before the line first preserved. *Wn ln n gr*; according to Sethe, 'Open is the tent for (not "of") the silent', i.e. he is received as a friend.

I, 2. For *wsh st* cf. Pt. 225. The sense seems to be 'He is influential'.

I, 3. *Thi mtn* is the counterpart of *mdh mtn*. In the latter expression, the way of someone else, not the subject's own way, is referred to; the same should be true for *thi mtn*. 'Refractory' seems the best translation. I would render the whole sentence literally as follows: 'Talk not! Ready are knives against the refractory, without proceeding, except for his fault', i.e. they always lie in wait for him, but strike only when he commits himself.

I, 6–7. *Tr* in 1, 7 means, in my opinion, the time allotted for a course of the meal. The temporal clause *sws tr* may close, not open a sentence. The *wdm-n.f* form of *smh* may have had present meaning, like that of *rhy* and *shf*; and, it seems, *hm*? 'Wretched is he who is greedy for his belly when the (allotted) time has passed. He forgets those . . .', etc. Retarding the orderly winding up of the meal, the glutton shows lack of consideration for his hosts—is evidently a major social offence.

I, 7–9. *shf* seems to denote the condition of body and mind after much eating.8 The two pieces of advice run in the same direction; seeing a companion eat will stimulate the appetite of a glutton, and seeing a companion drink will please a drunkard. 'If you sit with a glutton, eat, and his surfeit will have passed. If you drink with a drunkard, accept, and he will feel satisfied.'

1 Urk. vii, 17, 19 = Janssen, *De traditionelle Egyptische autobiografie voór het Nieuwe Rijk*, ii Dq.
2 Komm. Pfr. iii, 126 (ad § 607b).
3 Wb. i, 364, 12.
5 The meaning 'the right way' assigned to *mtn* in our passage by Wb. ii, 176, 5 is insufficiently supported by the references there given; in Brit. Mus. 572, 13, *sms hr mtn un qm*; *dh*, the force of *sms* marks the 'way' as primarily that of someone else who leads, and makes it 'the right way' only by implication.
7 Cf. Erman, *Äg. Gramm.* (4th ed.), § 393, n. 2; Lefebvre, *Gramm. Ég. class.*, § 482, Obs.
8 Cf. the late word *shf*; 'to fill with, be swelled with', Brugsch, *Dict.*, *Suppl.* 905; *shf*, id., *Dict.* 1078; *Suppl.* 516; *shf* 'meal', Wb. iii, 271, 11–12.
9 Who is not necessarily stingy, as the interpretation 'Eat only when his appetite is past' would imply.
I, 9–10. *M :dw r ḫwfr ḫ-g  ḱn seems to me advice not to speak out in an aggressive manner against the eating of meat when in the presence of a gourmand. It may be presumed that in Egypt, as in other ancient civilizations, eating of meat was restricted by religious considerations. ‘Accept when’ he gives to you. Reject it not (sc. meat).’ Compare the story of the Coptic monk Paphnutius, who converted a robber by drinking the repulsive wine to satisfy that sinner’s whim. For the lack of an object after *ssfr an exact parallel exists in *Sh. S. 20–1, *swrd ḫw ḫḏ  ḱk.

I, 10. The 48 passages with *sw m in Janssen, op. cit. vi J, show that in the language of the M.K. the lack of an evil activity or bad habit was denoted in this manner, not freedom from subjection to the adverse actions of others. *Sfr ‘reproach’, therefore, should be taken here in an active sense, ‘He who is free from the habit of reproaching on account of food, no word can prevail over him’. Not the words of other people are meant, but the words that rise up in him but are left unspoken. He who has learned to repress his desires (ll. 3–7), his aversions (ll. 7–9), even his sense of propriety (ll. 9–10), in the matter of food (where feeling is most elementary), will retain self-control always.

I, 11. *Hrr need not be emended into *htr, in view of the possibility that Sethe was right in distinguishing the word *Hrr (Wb. II, 438, 4. 5) from *Hfr (Wb. V, 313–16), and in view of the use of *r as a phonetic determinative (*r) — perhaps to be discounted, as a secondary N.K. development, in *pri, *nri, and *t-mri, but sufficiently attested for the M.K. in certain personal names. *Htr would be a hapax legomenon; *hrr, though of unknown meaning, is not; it occurs in the form ḫwrr in the Pyramid Texts and in the Book of the Dead, where it denotes a quality that can be attributed to a calf. Grammatically *hrr is probably Old Perfective, attached to the preceding *lmfr. N-*hr-r ‘onward to’ may be compared with *gr-r-r ‘right down to’, Gardiner, Eg. Gramm. § 179. Dfs-lb, which cannot be separated from wdf ‘to lag, delay’ (Wb. I, 388), is the counterpart to hšh-lb ‘to be quick-witted’, a quality warned against in Pears. B 1, 212; dfs-lb ‘slow-wittedness’, therefore, could be a good quality. The resulting translation ‘meek (?) to the degree of slow-wittedness’ may be more than a mere guess.

I, 11–12. *Im n ‘pleasant to’ seems in the language of the M.K. to mean only ‘dear to’; there is no evidence for its meaning ‘kind to’ like *im-lb. *Im n f ḫšs ḫ mwtr-f,

1 The form *dfs, so far from needing to be emended into the participial *ditf, may be significant, ‘when he gives you . . .’, regardless of the propriety of the invitation.
2 Zoega, Cat. 308–9 = Steindorff, Kopt. Gramm. (2nd ed.), p. 9*.
3 Janssen’s translation of his No. 4, *sw m r (Hatunb. x, 10–11) as ‘free from being hated’ (11, 205–6) does not seem necessitated by the two parallels referred to, viz. Cairo 583, 5, hrrw r *in: *fr *nbt *n frfr *wnta, and Pt. 244, *dfs hfr f *fr f mwtr-f; for hfr in *hfr ‘the dislike for him, inspired by him’, is no more intrinsically passive than mwtr in the mwtr-f of the Ptahhotep passage.
4 ‘Reproach(ing)’ seems the right rendering of *srfr likewise in Siušt, III, 42 (Janssen, op. cit. VI G 9), *n srfr hfr ‘there was no reproach of (by) a hungry one’ (cf. Pyr. 386 a,b, n srfr ‘rfr ir’ etc.) and Brit. Mus. 1671, 5 (Janssen, op. cit., VI D 26), *n srfr r *fr ‘I did not reproach the great ones’.
5 Doubted by Gardiner, op. cit., p. 469, M 6, 1.
6 Kom. Pyr. 111, 141 (ad § 553 b); 197 (ad § 649 b).
7 Wb. 1, 532, 1; 11, 279, 11–14; V, 223.
8 Ranke, Personennamen, 1, 82, 21; 293, 17; 308, 23; 397, 21.
9 Spr. 218, § 1614 ff.
10 Ch. 109, 11; ZAS 59, 19–37 (21).
11 The two earlier references of Wb. 1, 79, 11 for the latter meaning do not prove it; they are *imr-lb *mwt-f ‘I was dear to my mother’, Rue de Tomb. 11 = Urk. 1, 199, 6 = Janssen, op. cit. 1 E 1; *imr-lb *Sfr-Hr ‘I was . . .’
therefore, probably is to be rendered 'Dearer to him is one who is harsh (or "who scolds") than his mother'. This is another sign of self-control.


II, 2. The true meaning of the verb ḫ-n seems to have been 'to be discontented'. ḫ-n (Wb. 1, 146, 1–3) means: "discontented" passages, i.e. 'difficult passages, unsatisfactorily explained by earlier interpretations.'


1 Cf. Suys, *Fellah Plaudit*, 133, ad Paheri, pl. 3. The translation 'to chide' or 'to scold' fits all passages in which ḫ-n occurs. *Pelas*. 1, 213–14, m 胸怀 ḫ-n tm spr bw-ḏw ḫ-n (a passage that has never been rightly understood) warns the hearer not to scold a complainant in order to avoid hearing something bad, but to listen to the end (cf. the stela of Mentuhotpe, 11–12 = Janssen, op. cit. ii Bq 1).

2 Cf. Janssen, op. cit. ii, 21; he interprets it, however, as 'cheerful'.

3 Not only in Pt. 52, m ḫ-n ḫ-n ḫ-n, but likewise in Pt. 178–9, ḫ-n ḫ-n ḫ-n ḫ-n ḫ-n ḫ-n, if interpreted as advice to the underling not to feel confident of success merely because he knows that his master and model once started in as low an estate as his own is now. For ḫ-n ḫ-n, too, the rendering 'self-confident' always gives good results.

THE THIRD DISTRICT IN TUTHMOSIS III'S LIST OF PALESTINO–SYRIAN TOWNS

By S. YEIVIN

A very large literature has grown up round the various lists of Palestino–Syrian localities engraved by the orders of Egyptian Pharaohs on different monuments erected by them, beginning with Tuthmosis III and ending with Sheshonk I. ¹

Noth in his analytical and comparative discussion arrives at the conclusion that it is impossible to find in these lists any traces of territorial divisions, since as he puts it ‘Namen aus nachweislich derselben “Gegend” an sehr weit voneinander getrennten Stellen ein und derselben Liste auftreten können’. ² The last statement seems quite correct at first view; however, such inconsistencies should have led scholars either to a reconsideration of the identifications proposed, or to a revision of their ideas about the territorial divisions of the area under discussion.

The author hopes to prove soon in a separate study the system of territorial divisions underlying Tuthmosis III's shorter list (119 localities) of Palestino–Syrian towns as a whole, but this note has a much more limited purpose, to discuss only one of the medium territorial units included in that list, namely, the third district, comprising Nos. 31–49. ³

However, some general introductory remarks cannot be avoided. On a detailed analysis of the whole list it becomes quite clear that it includes what was to be later known as the Egyptian province of Canaan stretching from Wádt-I‘Arîš in the south probably to the frontiers of the Syrian kingdom of Ḥamath (El-Ḥammeh) in the north inland, but apparently excluding the Phoenician coast from (north of) Acre northward, which formed part of another Egyptian province, Đithy. ⁴ It becomes equally obvious that the Egyptian territorial divisions of their newly acquired Asyrian empire were based on political units found by them in the conquered territory. The Palestino–Syrian part of the Hyksos empire, based on a quasi-feudal system, ⁵ was apparently headed by the ruler of Kadesh on Orontes (Tell Neby Mind) ⁶ as the most important subject-prince of the Hither-Asyrian portion of the Empire. Under him came smaller units, which later became Egyptian provinces; thus the province of Pâš knûn (Canaan) was originally, it seems, the vassal kingdom of Megiddo. Hence, we find Tuthmosis III's shorter list headed by the names Kadesh, the most important subject-state, and Megiddo, the centre of the vassal kingdom next to it in rank. This kingdom in its turn

¹ The latest collection of these monuments in J. Simons, Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia, Leiden, 1937; the latest analytical discussions in M. Noth, Die Wege der Pharaonenheere in Palästina und Syrien, ZDPV 60, 183 ff.; 61, 26 ff., 277 ff.
² Noth, op. cit., 192.
³ Sethe, Urk. iv, 782 f.
⁴ On the possible interpretation of this term as Pardia, sea-shore province, based on the Hurrian ša₂₂₂₃ ( = water, stream), see my article on The Sepulchres of the Kings of the House of David, JNES 7, 41. I thus take a rather different view of the extent of Djahy from Gardiner, Onomastica, 1, 145 ff.
⁵ See, for example, K. v. Gall, BRL, s.v. Hyksos.
⁶ Pézard, Qadesh, p. 27.
Map of Tuthmosis III's 'Third District' of Palestine-Syria.
was divided into several districts, some of which may not appear in the list, either because they were not conquered by force of arms or because they did not take part in the confederacy which originally decided to oppose the Egyptian invasion, or some other reason. The districts in their turn seem to have been divided into sub-districts, each containing a number of towns, every one of which was the seat of a minor vassal, a "wr (a 'great one') in the Egyptian terminology.¹

In the shorter list itself we find that the first district, comprising Nos. 3-12, apparently includes Syro-Lebanese territories, for such names as can be definitely identified in it are in the inland Bak'ah. Such are Dhbw (No. 6), which is most probably the Biblical שבט or תְּבֻּשׁ;¹¹⁷ R-bi-ni (No. 10), most probably Biblical לא減少, in the form in which it appears in the El'-Amarnah letters, later by less than one hundred years than the list.³ The second district (Nos. 13-30) includes the anti-Lebanon, the Damascus, and Transjordan; Ty-ms-s-q-w (No. 13) — שלמה; Ḥm-m-t-w (No. 16) most probably El-Hammah, c. 10 km. north of Damascus, on the way to Bērût;⁴ R-l-tn-t-s (No. 19), which seems to be the Biblical בֶּן-יוֹר (2 Kings 8, 25) and then a long list of names associated with the northern part of the Transjordanian plateau (including the Bashan, Gaalan, and Hauran). It includes Nos. 20 (21?)—30.⁶

We now come to the third district, which comprises Nos. 31-49 of the list, in the following order:

31. R-w-y-s (rawisa) = שלמה.⁷

¹ This term seems to correspond to the Akkadian-Cuneiform political term 'awālu, the man-ruler of a town, a city-state, very prominent already in the Mari documents (see, for example, G. Dossin, Les archives épistolaires du palais de Mari, in Syria, 19, 117—1. 25 of document. The author owes this parallelism to the courtesy of Dr. B. Maisler), and occasionally also in the EA correspondence, less than a century later than the list in question. It is quite probable that this term (wr) gave rise, by a process of 'degeneration' and scaling down — so common in titles and official functions, to the later Hebrew term לֹאcrease (2 Kings 5, 1; Job 1, 3), נֵבִי הַנַּעַר (2 Kings 4, 8). It should be noted that Tuthmosis III's longer list originally contained about 400 names of towns, while the Gebel Barkal stela speaks of 330 chieftains who took part in the battle of Megiddo (Yeivin, JPOS 14, 104 ff.; more especially p. 200).

² 2 Sam. 8, 8; 1 Chron. 18, 8. Albright, ARI 212; identifies it with modern Ba'albek. This identification, however, raises many difficulties.

³ Maisler has lately published a very detailed study on the problem of Lebō'-Hammāt, in which he supports the conclusion that it is a separate place-name, to be identified with modern љ in the n. Bak'ah. He then rightly identified it with Rūb' (E 31) of Posener's excavation texts, labpana of the EA letters (Nos. 53-4) and Rūb' in-the-Forest of Amenophis II's stela, mentioned also by Rameses II. He did not, however, notice this possible identification (Maisler, BJPPS 12, 51 ff.; and more especially pp. 166—7). The problem of the province of Canaan is also discussed in that article.

⁴ Nothing is so far known of the archaeology of this place and its immediate vicinity. R. Dussaud, Topographie historique de la Syrie ancienne et médiole, 291, mentions the place, but does not say anything about its connexions with antiquity.

⁵ Mentioned together with Ḥm-mt-w (2 Sam. 8, 8) as a city of Hadadezer king of Ɔa, from which King David took much copper. Possibly Bereytān, south of Ba'albek; see Abel, Géographie, 11, 7. This seems to be identical with Ḥammat mentioned in Ezekiel's description (Ez. 47, 16) of the northern boundary of Palestine, and associated there with Ḥammat and Siγrayim. This association, however, raises some doubts about the probability of Abel's suggested identification.

⁶ For a detailed discussion and identification see B. Maisler, Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas, 1930, 43 ff. and JPOS 9, 80 ff. (Nos. 21-30); see also Abel, op. cit. 11, 8 ff.

⁷ Jud. 18, 4 ff. Later renamed Dār by the Danites (ibid., 29), modern Tell-l-Kaft on the spring from which flows the Nahr Leddān, one of the three streams that join to form the Jordan. It seems rather doubtful
32. Hw-dî-r (haṣura) = הָזֵר.
33. Ph-hw-rs (pihura) = הפָּרֹשִׁים.
34. K-n-n-r-r-t-w (kunnarat) =اكַנְנָרִית.
35. Sî-m-m(y) [or: 2î-nî (šam'ana) = see below.
36. 'ty-m-m ('tammm) =ṭãmãm.
37. K-r-r-s-m-n-i (kasuna) = קְסָנָה.
38. Sî-n-i-m-(my) (šunama) = שָנָמã.
40. 'k-t-p ('aksp) = קְסָן.
41. K-b-r-s-m(y)-n (kb'sumn) = see below.
42. T-r-r-s-n-i-k (ta'anaka) = תָּאָנה.
43. 'y-b-r-s-r-m (yabra'amu) = יֲבָרֲשָן.
44. K-n-t-w'-s-n-i (kntu 'asna) = see below.
45. R-rs-m(y)-r-t-k (ritmaraka) = רִתָמַר.
46. rî-r-y-n-i ('ayana) = see below.

to the author whether the place named in the exegesis texts (E59) as 'ayn can be interpreted as a transcription of 'ayn, as suggested by G. Posener, Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie, 92, and accepted by Maisler, Bull. des ét. hist. juives, 1 (Cairo, 1946), 62. The transcriptions quoted in brackets are made in accordance with the rules suggested by Albright, The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography.

1 Jos. 11, 1; Jud. 4, 2 and elsewhere. Modern Tell Wâkhâs (Tell-l-Kâjah); see J. Garstang, Ann. Arch. Anthr. 14, 35 ff. The place is also mentioned in the exegesis texts (E15); see Posener, op. cit., 73 and Maisler, op. cit., 50.
2 Modern Tabâbât Pahl. The place is mentioned in the Bible, but plays a part in the EA correspondence (letter No. 265). It is also mentioned in the exegesis texts (E8); see Posener, op. cit., 68–9 and Maisler, op. cit., 47.
4 Jos. 19, 33. Modern Ḥirbat-i-Dâmîeh. Talmudic sources already divide between 'Addâ and Hannelshab (Jer. Meg. 1, 1). For the possible connexions with the Ugaritic epos of Kereth see R. de Vaux, RB 49, 362 ff. and BJPS 6, 34 ff.; 11, 3–4; 33–4. Whether the Hebrew form reflects a status constructus (of a plural?) as suggested by de Vaux (ibid., 36–7) or the m of the Egyptian form reflects a survival of m locativum or m of an old tamyn is a question which cannot be dealt with here in detail.
5 Jos. 19, 20. The equation is already established by M. Müller, MVAG 12, 16. Various identifications have been proposed; for the latest attempt to identify it with El-Hirbeh, or Hirbet Kayûnî, on the headwaters of Wâdî Bireh, see N. Zimballist, BJPS 13, 31 ff. One thing is quite clear, however, whatever identification is adopted Kišûn must be located somewhere in the plain surrounding Mount Thabor on the north-east, east, and south-east.
6 Jos. 19, 18 and elsewhere. Modern Sûlem. Also mentioned in the EA letters (No. 250). This division explains the enmity between Shunem and Megiddo so well illustrated in EA correspondence; cf. Alt, PJB 20, 35 ff.
7 Jos. 19, 26. According to Maisler it should be identified with Tell-n-Nâki in the southern part of the Plain of Acre, north-east of Haifa (see Bull. des ét. hist. juives, 1, 49, n. 3). The place is mentioned also in the exegesis texts (E13), see Posener, op. cit., 71 f. and Maisler, op. cit., 49.
8 Jos. 11, 1; 19, 25. According to Maisler it must be identified with Tell Harbaj in the south-east corner of the Plain of Acre (near Kfâr Hâsâlim); see BJPS 6, 158. The place is mentioned also in the exegesis texts (E11); see Posener, op. cit., 70 f. and Maisler, op. cit., 49.
9 Jos. 12, 21; Jud. 5, 19 and elsewhere. Modern Tell 'Timmâk.
11 Jos. 19, 26 (in the territory of Asher). The place is so far unidentified, but the context of the above-mentioned verse excludes any location which is not in the Plain of Acre. The equation of the names has already been proposed by M. Müller, MVAG 12, 17; and see below, p. 58.
47. $ct-sr-k$ (aka) = שָׂרָה.
48. $Rw-sr-kd-d-s$ (ruse kds) = [or: שָׂדָה] שָׂדָה.
49. $Kr-yn-mn$ (kriyanna) = see below.

Proceeding to analyse this short list of nineteen localities we find that the first four are all situated along the Jordan, starting with Laish in the north up to Pehal, Hellenistic Pella, in the south, and including Kinnarot, just above the south-west tip of the Lake of Tiberias.

Nos. 36–8, [ם], [ם], [ם], [ם] take us along the Wadi Fejjas (Khirbet-d-Damiheh) to the foot of Mount Thabor, near the head waters of the Wadi-l-Bireh (Hirbet Kaysün?), and farther south to the foot of the Lesser Hermon (Solem).

It seems to the author that No. 35 ought to be a place connecting the two lines mentioned above: (a) Laish, Hāsor, Pehal, Kinnarot along the upper Jordan Valley, and (b) 'Adommi, Kīyyōn, Shunem—branching off line (a) towards the south-west. Indeed, we have such a locality in No. 35—Šamana (Šam'ana?). Looking for a likely identification on the ground we find that a short distance south of where the Wādī Fejjas falls into the Jordan there stands on a high tell the modern village of El-'UBEYDIYYEH ('Abeydiyyeh) guarding a ford over the Jordan on the famous Darb-l-Ḥawārneh, the highway which connected the Hauran, up the Wādī Fejjas, with Acre.

It seems likely that the tell of El-'UBEYDIYYEH covers the remains of ancient Šam'ana of Tuthmosis III's list. It should be noted that this Šam'ana is probably identical with the Smīwum (E 55) of Posener's execution texts. The latter contain quite a large proportion of settlements located in the Jordan Valley.

It is true that Saarisalo does not mention among the sherds he found during his examination of the tell of El-'UBEYDIYYEH anything earlier than LB, but he himself

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1 Jud. 1, 31. Modern Tell Fābhrā; see J. Garstang, op. cit., 313 f. The place is mentioned in the execution texts (E 49); see Posener, op. cit., 87 f. and Maisler, op. cit., 59. The ending of the name as rendered by the execution texts may represent some dialectical peculiarity; cf. the Greek transliteration of Acee.
2 This has been identified with Ṣal-'n-NAKBIRAH or some other point on the Phoenician coast; see Noth, ZDPV 61, 65; also Müller, MVAG 12, 17. For the author's proposed identification see below, p. 59.
3 G. Posener, op. cit., 91. Since this equation seems practically certain it vindicates the transcription of version b of Tuthmosis III's list (definitely $St-m-r$-, using the proper hieroglyph D 36 of Gardiner's list to transcribe the $r$) as against versions $a$ and $c$ ($S-
$m-m(y)-n$, using hieroglyph D 38, which is commonly used as a mere iterative or alternative of the $m$ proper expressed by G 17) (see Sethe, Urk. iv, 782). The form given in the execution texts supplies us also with the etymology of the name. Smīwum is a toponymic name on the pattern of Ḥobr § (though these are n. pr. p. and not n. pr. l.), compounded with the name of the god $n$ (‘An), the male counterpart of Anath (already suggested by Albright). This would also explain why the name of this place did not survive in Israelite times. Its pagan association led the Israelites to change it (cf. the shift from ŠEPH to $n$ in Western Judaean). This may possibly be the Biblical $bn$ (Jos. 19, 33). Saarisalo's observations on the name [The Boundary between Issachar and Naphtali (Helsinki, 1922), p. 125] seem to be unwarranted. The spelling Smīn also dispose of the objections of M. Müller to the equation with Simonias (see MVAG 12, 11), partly supported by the author (BTPES 2, 1, 29), though he already stressed the presence of the deviating spelling of version $b$. Müller's objections were advanced against the equation of No. 18 of Tuthmosis III's list with Simonias, but the same applies to No. 35 (under discussion), since the spellings are equal but for the added determinatives in No. 18. In the case of the latter both versions $b$ and $c$ read Smīn (with sign D 36 of Gardiner's list).
4 An analysis of the historico-topographical aspect of the execution texts published by Posener is given by B. Maisler in his above-mentioned article in Bull. des Ét. hist. juives, 1, 33 ff.
5 Saarisalo, op. cit., 71 ff.
observes that his examination of the scar of the tell was rather cursory, and in view
of the archaeological contents of all the tells in this part of the Jordan Valley it is very
unlikely that this tell does not go back at least to the EB period, if not to the Chalcolithic
period. If the proposed identification be correct we now have five localities in a sub-
district stretching from Laith in the north to Šam'ána (?) (W. Fejjas), west of the
Jordan, and Pehal, east of the Jordan, in the south, comprising the broad strip of
valley enclosed between the Transjordanian plateau on the east and the mountains of
Galilee on the west. One wonders whether this sub-district is not to be identified with
חָרֵב mentioned in the story of the conquest, as part of the territory owing allegiance
to the king of Ḥasör, 2 or חָרֵב mentioned as part of יִשְׂרָאֵל among the areas
devastated by Ben-Hadad during his invasion of Israelite territory in the days of
King Baasha. 3

Years ago Maisler identified this Šam'ána with Semúniyyeh. 4 This identification,
agreed to by Albright, 5 has much to support it. Its main advantage is the continuity
of references to it in Biblical and post-Biblical literature. 6 This position can also be
reconciled with the analysis given here of the third district in Tuthmosis III's list.
For this purpose one has to assume that the enumeration of the cities belonging to
the Kinnarot sub-district ends with the town of Kinnarot (No. 34), and Šam'ána heads
the enumeration of the cities belonging to the second sub-district, giving first its
westernmost town (No. 35), then its easternmost town ('Adomi—No. 36), followed by
the two intermediate settlements, Kišyón and Shunem (Nos. 37–8). On the other hand,
the identification proposed here has the advantage of naming a site which marks the
southern boundary of the sub-district of Kinnarot on the west side of the Jordan, just
as Pella marks it on the east side of the Jordan. That the neighbourhood of the Wadi
Fejjas was actually the southern border of this sub-district is shown not only by the
location of its second sub-district along the Wadi Fejjas westwards, but also by the fact
that the fourth district discernible in Tuthmosis III's shorter list seems to comprise
the territory later occupied by the tribe of Issachar (Nos. 50–8 or 50–9); and the
northern boundary of that territory runs along the Wadi Fejjas. 7 The equation with
Samhúna (which supports again the reading Simn, with a 'ayim) mentioned in the EA
letters can be reconciled with both locations. For all that we know of Samhúna is that
letter No. 225, written by Šum-Adda king of Samhúna, reaffirms its writer's allegiance

1 For surveys of the Jordan Valley between the Wàdî Subbáš and Jisr'l-Í-Majání on both banks of the
river see Ruth Kalner and A. Bergman, BÍPES VIII, 85 ff.; the triangle between the Jordan, the Yarmûk, and
and for the eastern Jordan Valley south of the Yarmûk—N. Glueck, BASOR Nos. 91 (Oct. 1943), 7 ff.;
97 (Feb. 1945), 10 ff.; 100 (Dec. 1945), 7 ff.; 101 (Feb. 1946), 3 ff.
2 Jos. 11, 2.
3 Jos. 15, 20. See also Yeivin, 'Éres Kinnarot, 15 ff.
4 Maisler, BÍPES I, 4, 1 ff.; following Albright and Alt he also equated this Šam'ána of Tuthmosis' list
with the Šmarina of the exorcism texts (id., Bull. des ét. hist. jüdes, 1, 60 f.).
5 E.g. Albright, BASOR No. 81 (March 1941), p. 19, n. 15.
6 See note 4 above; and cf. the LXX version in Jos. 10, 15, which reads Συμὼν for חָרֵב, associated with
the north-west part of the Plain of Ezdraelon.
7 Saarisaalo, op. cit., 154. He actually identifies the boundary line with the high ridge separating the Wàdî
Fejjas from the Wàdî Serràr to the south.
and obedience to Pharaoh, and requests the sending of an Egyptian rābî; another letter of the same vassal (No. 224) explains his failure to supply corn as due to the destruction of the crop (through drought?). Neither of these supplies any clue to the location of Šamhīnā. The mention of Šum-Adda in association with Šutatna of Acre (EA No. 8) as the plunderer of a Babylonian caravan passing through Ḥinnatāni (Ḥannātān) in Canaan may be due to accidentally similar names. But even if we assume the identity of the two Šum-Adda’s this association of the ruler controlling the entrance to the Wādi Fejjās, who would know of every caravan entering this part of the route, with the ruler of Acre, at the terminal of the route, would be just as likely as the association of the two closer neighbours if we assume the identification of Šam’āna with Simonias-Šimrōn.

The second sub-district, already outlined above by the mention of the three localities Nos. 36–8, comprises apparently the fertile valleys lying among the mountains of lower Galilee in the east, the Sahl-l-Åhmā and the plain around the north-east, east, and south-east foot of Mount Thabor, as well as the northern part of the Plain of Ezdraelon.\(^1\) If the sub-district ever had some particular name we are ignorant of it at present.

The next three names, Miṣšāl, ’Ağšāf, and Khr Swmn, take us to the next western part of the third district, lying in the south-eastern portion of the Acre plain. The first two are to be identified with Tell-n-Nahl\(^2\) and Tell Harbaj,\(^3\) respectively. As to the last-mentioned locality it undoubtedly represents one of the numerous Geba’s of Palestine compounded with a second name for purposes of differentiation.\(^4\) In view of its association with the two preceding localities the author is inclined to identify it with Tell ‘Amr, lying at the entrance of the gorge through which the Kīšōn emerges into the plain of Acre. This has been identified recently by Maisler as Gaba (of the Cavalry) mentioned by Josephus.\(^5\) It is not known how it came to lose its predicative indication of Swmn, nor is the exact connotation of the latter known. It may possibly be a transcription of ṣīw, alluding to the olive oil, for which the whole of Galilee was so famous in later days.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) See below, p. 60.
\(^2\) See p. 54, n. 7.
\(^3\) See p. 54, n. 8.
\(^4\) Cf. Ṣūmrān (Jos. 19, 45), Ṣūmrān (Jos. 19, 13), Ṣūmrān (Josh. 13, 19), and the like.
\(^5\) The history of this town and its localization have been discussed in great detail by B. Maisler, BTPES 11, 3–4, 35 ff. He, however, identifies it with Gbr, No. 114 of Tuthmosis’ list. This identification is unlikely because of the other localities mentioned with it (Nos. 109–19). A detailed analysis of this group of names and their identifications and localizations (mainly in the Valley of Beth-She’ān and the south-west part of the Plain of Ezdraelon) will be given in the author’s forthcoming detailed study of the whole list. Maisler, with whom this article has been discussed, accepts now the identification proposed here.
\(^6\) Cf. Deut. 33, 24 describing the domain of Asher (in which this territory was to be later included). In later times the whole of Galilee was renowned for its olive oil; see S. Klein, יִשְׂרָאֵל וּלְבָנָה, p. 143 (quoting post-Biblical sources). Note that the map of Carmel in E. v. Muel, Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmel (ZDPV 31, f. p. 258), shows near Tell Harbaj, between it and Tell ‘Amr, a very small mound (in the plain) marked as Tell-l-Semen. The author dismisses it with half a line, ‘... Harbadzah, neben dem der kleine Tell es-Semen sich befindet’ (p. 121). Abel, Geographie, II, 13, thinks of a possible identification with Khr Swmn; this, however, is out of the question, since the site represents only a late (Byzantine) settlement (Dr. Maisler, orally). The mound is not marked on some recent maps, nor is it in the latest list of archaeological sites published by the Dept. of Antiquities [Palestine Gazette, No. 1375 (24 Nov. 1944), Suppl. 2, 1219 ff.]. Nevertheless, the name seems to point to a survival of the old predicative indication Swmn in the neighbourhood.
The fourth sub-district, comprising three names, namely, Taanach (No. 42), Ibleam (No. 43), and Knit'sm (No. 44), encompasses the south-east corner of the Plain of Ezdraelon, at the headwaters of the Kišon, contiguous with the second sub-district on the south-east, just as the third is contiguous with it on the south-west. The first-mentioned two localities, marking most probably the north-west and south-east limits of the sub-district respectively, have been identified long ago. ¹ The third-named town presents, however, some difficulties.

It is not mentioned in the Bible, but its name occurs in the EA letters (EA 319, 5) as Gintiaša.² Two more place-names are mentioned in the same vicinity in connexion with the former name, namely, Ginti Padalla and Gina. Gina is most probably to be identified with the post-Biblical /datatables (= ṯun), which is the Biblical Beth-Hagga, modern Jenin.³ It seems to the author that the first and third names refer to one and the same place.⁴ This may be due to an original bipartite (or tripartite) division of the locality, analogous to those proved by Maisler to have existed in some Palestinian and Syrian settlements.⁵ It is possible that at the time of the Egyptian conquest the principal settlement, the seat of the local feudal chieftain, was Ginti-Ašna, and that therefore the locality appears under this name in Tuthmosis III's list. Later, another of the component settlements, namely Gina, rose to power, and its headman was made the local feudal lord. This could have been done by the Egyptians as a result of the untrustworthiness of the Ginti-Ašna chieftain,⁶ or may have been due to some other reason. In any case, with the rise of the Gina 'quarter', the town came to be called Gina = Beth Haggan, and in the course of time with the fusion of the separate 'quarters', the other name dropped out of use and was forgotten.⁷ If this assumption be correct, the third place-name in the fourth sub-district is to be identified with Jenin in the south-east tip of the Plain of Ezdraelon, the centre of a fief embracing that part of the plain and the ascent of Gur, between the territories of Shunem, Taanach, and Ibleam.

The fifth and last sub-district of this district comprises five localities, Nos. 45–9.⁸ Of these only one is definitely identifiable, namely, No. 47—'Aka, which must be the well-known port of Acre.

This takes us to the shores of the Mediterranean. It would seem, therefore, that the last sub-district of this district is also situated in the Plain of Acre, but does not include the south-east triangle formed by the third sub-district discussed above.⁹

Indeed, the first place-name in this sub-district, No. 45, has long been equated with 'Allammelak, a town in the portion of Asher.¹⁰ Some years ago Maisler rather hesitatingly suggested a possible identification with Tell-i-Sabat.¹¹ The author would prefer to identify it in a more northerly situation with either Tell Kisran or Hīrbel Da'ūk.

¹ See p. 54, nn. 9 and 10. ² Knudtzon, op. cit., 1352. ³ Ibid., 1311. ⁴ Albright's recent attempt to identify Ginti Padalla with Jāt (see Albright, BASOR No. 104, pp. 25 f.) probably identical with Ginti-Kirmil, receives now new support in Gruseloff and Maisler's study of Sheshonk's list. ⁵ Maisler, Hebron, Dinaburg Volante, 310 ff. ⁶ Cf. EA 250, which speaks of the treachery of the chieftain of Ginti Padalla (Knudtzon, op. cit., 1311). ⁷ As, for example, in the case of Hebron; see Maisler, Dinaburg Volume, 316 ff. ⁸ See above, p. 54 and n. 11; p. 55 and nn. 1–2. ⁹ See above, p. 57. ¹⁰ See above, p. 54 and n. 11. ¹¹ Maisler, BIFES VI, 158.
No. 46 represents a place called something like יאר, hence obviously situated on a rather substantial spring.

The large springs in this part of the Plain of Acre are those associated with Tell Kurdâneh, feeding the Nahr Nu’mân and the extensive marshes on its banks. The author has little hesitation in proposing the identification of No. 46 with Tell Kurdâneh. It is true that Maisler has already proposed a very plausible identification of Tell Kurdâneh with Aphek (of Asher). But such change of names need not surprise us; there is a case of a reversed change in the Sharon, where Aphek of pre-Biblical and Biblical days is known now as Ra’s-l-'Ein.

No. 48—Rusa Kds, which must correspond to a form like שְׁיֵן שְׁקָר (or perhaps שְׁיֵן שְׁקָר)—has long ago been identified with Ra’s-n-Naqûrah, the bold promontory jutting out into the Mediterranean, where the present frontier divides Palestine from the Lebanon. It is true that so far no ancient tell has been reported from the neighbourhood, but on the one hand western Galilee is one of the archaeologically least-explored regions of Palestine, while on the other hand such a locality may not have been a large settlement; it may have been a small fortified place occupied by the local chieftain responsible to the ruler of the sub-district, whose centre would have probably been at Acre. Another possibility which should be considered, and is more likely, is an identification with the north-west tip of the Carmel range, to which sanctity had been attached from the earliest times. This, too, has already been proposed long ago. In this case there is at least one tell which may be identified as the settlement bearing that name, namely, Tell-s-Samak, on the sea-shore, where the shore line of the Bay of Acre takes a turn to the south. The current identification of Tell-s-Samak with Šikmônâh of the post-Biblical texts need not necessarily militate against the identification proposed here, for the name Šikmônâh is not mentioned before the first century A.D., and the earlier name of Rōs-Kodeš may have been changed by any one of the new conquerors who possessed themselves of this area in the course of the intervening years.

The last name on the list (No. 49) of the sub-district under discussion is Kriyym. As far as the author knows, no identification has ever been proposed for this place. With all due hesitation he would like to suggest an equation with a name which, although occurring only in one late text, seems to be of Semitic derivation. This is Calamon, mentioned in the list of road stations of the fourth century A.D. It is stated there to precede Sycomona, when proceeding from Acre southwards, and to be situated at a distance of 3 miles from it. If Sycomona is to be identified with Tell-s-Samak, Calamon must be located somewhere in the easternmost part of modern Haifa. No tell

1 Jos: 10, 30. See Maisler, BYPES 6, 151 f.f.
2 This Aphek appears in Tuthmosis' list in the form of 'phn (No. 66) in its appropriate place.
3 See above, p. 54 and n. 2.
4 Abel, Geographie, 11, 13; and others.
5 M. Avi-Yonah, Map of Roman Palestine, 7.
6 It is true that Abel does not report any sherds earlier than Ir II on this tell (on the basis of Jirku's statement in ZDPV 53, 163), but without proper excavations it is difficult to be sure that the site was not occupied before that period. Thus, for example, Garstang reported MB finds in a small trial trench outside the city wall of 'Ay, while the excavations of the tell have definitely established the fact that the site had not been occupied between the end of EB and the early phase of Ir I.

7 See above.
is known in this neighbourhood, unless it be Tell Abū Hawām, which seems archaeologically unsuitable since its occupation begins only e. the fourteenth to thirteenth century B.C. It has been assumed that the name derives from a Semitic ולילך, mainly because in the neighbourhood of its assumed location there is a Wāḍi Šalamān, which was thought to have preserved traces of the original onomastic tradition. If, however, the author's suggestion be correct the original name must have been ולילך (from the מלבנה = reeds), a name quite appropriate to the flora of the rather marshy vicinity.

In summarizing it is possible to say that the third district in Tuthmosis III's shorter list probably corresponds roughly to what was later the kingdom of Ḥāšor; and it would be safe to assume that the ruler heading this province was the king of Ḥāšor. His kingdom-district comprised five sub-districts, the first and the fifth having each five fiefs, and the second, third, and fourth having three each; that is, if we accept the author's identification of Sam'ana. If we accept Maisler's identification then the first and second districts contained four fiefs each, the third and fourth three each, and the fifth five.

Proceeding from the north-east southwards and westwards the first sub-district was apparently all Kinnarōt, with its sub-district chief—the king of Kinnarōt. The local fiefs were Laish, probably ruling over the northern valley of the Ḥūleh; Ḥāšor (as a local centre, apart from being the metropolis of the whole district), lording it over the southern Ḥūleh and the plateau about the modern Jewish settlements of 'Ayyla-ḥasāḥar, Maḥanaim, and Roš-Pinnāh; Kinnarōt (as a local centre, apart from being apparently also the centre of the sub-district), dominating the valley later known as Ginnēsār and the coastal strip on the west of the lake to the effluence of the Jordan from the lake; Peḥal-Pella, the centre of the eastern part of the Jordan Valley from the lake southwards as far as the Wāḍi Yābis most probably including the lower valley of the Yarmūk; and Sam'ān, ruling the western Jordan Valley between the lake and the Wāḍi Fejjās.

The second sub-district stretching across Lower Galilee included three (or four) fiefs: 'Adōmī(m), which from its naturally fortified prominence dominated the fertile lands of Sahl-l-'Aḥmā; Kišyōn, ruling the fertile plain round the foot of the Thabor and the head of the Wāḍi Bireh; and Shunem, which lorded it over the northern part of the Plain of Ezdraelon.

If, however, Maisler's identification of Sam'ān be accepted in preference to that proposed here by the author, then the western part of the Jordan Valley between the lake of Gennesareth and the Wāḍi Fejjās is to be assigned to the territory of Kinnarōt,
in addition to that assigned to it above, while the northern part of the Plain of Ezdraelon is to be divided between Shunem (the north-east plain) and Šam’an-Simonias (the north-west plain, round modern Nahalal together with the valley of Netofah).  

The third sub-district embraces the south-eastern part of the Plain of Acre in a line stretched more or less along the right bank of the lower course of the Kīšōn, with Gaba of the Cavalry (at Tell ‘Amr), in the east, defending the western entrance to the gorge of the Kīšōn and ruling the eastern extremity of this part of the maritime plain; ’Aḵšāf, leaning on the foot-hills of the western range of Lower Galilee and ruling the northern corner of this stretch of plain; and Miš‘al (at Tell-n-Naḥl?), dominating the central stretch of this part of the plain between the river and the first patch of marsh some distance to the north of the tell.

This was probably the kingdom of ’Aḵšāf, for though both Miš‘al and ’Aḵšāf are mentioned in the excration texts and in the Bible, only ’Aḵšāf is indicated as a royal residence both among the vassals of the king of Ḥāšōr as well as in the final enumeration of the conquered Canaanite kings.

The enumeration of the sub-districts so far proceeded from the east westwards, from the first sub-district to the second, and from the latter to the one next adjoins it on the west—the third. Before proceeding, however, to the westernmost sub-district, the list puts on record another sub-district (the fourth) adjoins the second—on the south, for which purpose it has to return to the south-east corner of the Plain of Ezdraelon. Here we have the kingdom of Taanach, with the fiefs: Ta‘nāk, in the north-west corner of that stretch of the Plain of Ezdraelon, ruling the lands on the upper Kīšōn; Ibleam, in the south-east part of that territory, dominating the north-east corner of the Plain of Dōṯān (Sahl-l-Arrābah); and Knṭsn = Jenin, north of it controlling the south-east tip of the Plain of Ezdraelon and the territory later known as Ma‘aleh Gūr.

The fifth and last sub-district is the paralia of the province formed by two triangles based on the western foot-hills of Lower Galilee and western Carmel respectively, and meeting with their apices at Acre. Thus we begin with ’Allammeleq (probably at Tell Kisān), between the Nu‘mān and the Halazūn ruling the central plain of Acre. Next on the list is a certain ṣ(i)n ( = ’Ayana), which the author has identified with Tell Kurdañeh, dominating the basin of the Nu‘mān. These two points mark the basis

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1 See above, p. 60.
2 This valley (Sahl-l-Baṭtau) contains some tells which seem to contain LB and also MB remains. If Tell Bedawiyeh is really the site of Hannatōn then we know by name at least one of these settlements, since Ḥinnatūn is mentioned in an EA letter (No. 8; Knudtzon, op. cit., 85 ff.; 1027) as the site of a breach of international law, where the caravan of a Babylonian merchant was attacked by subjects of the kings of Acre and Šam’ān (?), its owner killed, and the goods stolen (see also above, p. 57).
3 Jos. 11, 1.
4 Jos. 12, 20b.
5 Cf. Jud. 5, 19, where בתננ י ר ב שונים seems to denote a territory rather than a name of a town, which is to be compared with Ps. 85, 10–11, where the defeat of Sīnārā and Yābīn is vaguely localized on the brook of Kīšōn ( политик) as contrasted with a definite indication of place-names in the localization of the defeat of the Midianites by Gid‘ōn ( ‘Ein-Dōr and ’Adamāh).
6 2 Kings 9, 27; possibly to be identified with the Qurra mentioned in the Taanach letters; see B. Hrozný, Tell Ta‘anek, 113. 121; pl. 10; Maisler, Sefer Klausner, 1937, 56–8.
of the first of the two triangles to which reference is made above. Next comes the apex of this triangle at Acre, the great maritime port, and undoubtedly the centre of the sub-district, which is to be identified with the vassal kingdom of Acre. From there the list proceeds to the westernmost point of the second of the two triangles to which reference is made above, namely, to Ṛōṣ Ḳodeš [or: Ḳādōṣ; Ṛws(i) Ḳdš], at the north-west tip of the Carmel range, possibly to be localized at Tell-s-Samak, which lored it most probably over the strip of plain west of the Carmel (and the tip of the plateau?), perhaps as far south as the Wādī Ṭīreḥ. Last on the list is the eastern end of the base line of the second triangle, at Ḳalamon (Ḳriyymn), which ruled over the coastal plain at the southern end of the bay of Acre and the strip of plain south of the Ḳiṣîn, perhaps as far east as the gorge of that brook.

This survey brings out most plainly the fact that the Bronze Age population of Palestine kept to the plains and valleys of the country with incursions here and there into the larger valleys between the mountains contiguous with the plains (as in the case of Sāḥl-l-‘Āḥmā in the east, or the Valley of Dūṭān in the south). It was left to the Israelites to reclaim the mountainous districts, settle them, and draw them into the orbits of the civilization of the country. And thus we find later that such districts are named after them; for we find in the Bible Ḳā` Šēmâl, Ḳā` Ḳīn, Ḳā` Ḳūmm, Ḳā` Eﬀ-rîm, but we never find Ḳā` Ṭībā`î, Ḳā` Ṣēmâl, Ḳā` Ṭābî`î, Ḳā` Shēmâl, Ḳā` Ṣēmâl, Ḳā` Ṭābî`î, Ḳā` Eﬀ-rîm, for these districts were settled in pre-Israelite times, and were probably known by their older appellations.

It would be a very instructive study to compare the list of kingdoms figuring in the narrative of the Israelite conquest (in Joshua and Judges) with this list of Tuthmosis III, with a view to finding out the changes in the political map of Palestine during the fifteenth to thirteenth centuries B.C. under the Egyptian domination and during the early penetration of the Israelites into the country. This must, however, be reserved for some other occasion, following on a complete analysis of the political-administrative aspects of the whole of Tuthmosis III's shorter list of towns.

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1 See above, p. 59.
2 Perhaps this place is to be identified with Ḥirbet-=username, at the head of Wādī ṬāmilYYYeh, where the archaeological context is favourable to this suggestion (as against the identification proposed above, p. 60, n. 3).
3 Deut. 34, 2; Jud. 12, 15; Jud. 21, 21; Sam. 13, 7; Is. 8, 23; Kings 15, 20 respectively, and many other references.
4 Cf., for example, the above-mentioned case of Taanach (p. 61).
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CEREMONY *HWT BHSSW* IN THE TEMPLE OF HORUS AT EDFU

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

**COMMENTARY**

1. This passage and Text 3, D, l. 2 (JEAA 35, 100, 8) indicate that for the due carrying out of the rite as originally performed, i.e. when it was a purely pastoral and agricultural one, the image of the harvest-god was carried in procession to a threshing-floor that he might provide over an actual and not merely a symbolical threshing. This accounts for the fact that an important feature of the ceremony in its earlier form is the killing of snakes, which would not be found haunting a temporary ceremonial threshing-floor.

   *bis.* Read [T††] instead of [T††].

2. Both here and Text 1, D, the sign [T††] is probably to be read [h††] and not [hur] (see below, n. 67) unless the scribe in both these instances has wrongly written [T††] for [hur] .

3. To be read [h††], see Wb. III, 349, 13, and E. IV, 26, 5, quoted below, n. 10. As our text and that just referred to indicate pretty clearly, [h††] means unthreshed corn, i.e., the still unseparated grain and straw.

4. See below, n. 34.

5. We know nothing about the ‘four *but*. Have they any connection with the *bt-w†ht* of Anubis (see Wb. I, 176, 4) whom a number of Edfu texts definitely connect with cattle, see below, n. 14. See also [T††††††], de Morgan, *Ombos I*, 59, No. 61; unfortunately the context contains nothing illuminating.

6. We know nothing about the *phati*-snakes, which Wb. I does not record and we are very dubious about our rendering of [T†††††††††]. With regard to the ceremonial killing

a) For the hieroglyphic texts and translation see JEA 35, 98-112.
of snakes in this harvest rite, we must remember that in Egypt these reptiles are a potential danger to animals engaged in threshing, for just as snakes live in old brick walls, so one expects to find them in crevices in, or at the edge of, the threshing-floor, or in the straw and grain heaped upon or around it. In modern Egypt cattle, donkeys, etc., are regularly tethered near the threshing-floor to eat husks, sugar cane and the like, and so, no doubt, they were in ancient Egypt also. Thus snakes could threaten the calves when treading the corn or when feeding. Hence the reference in Text 1.c, to the royal herdsmen's watchfulness over his calves and small cattle. It is, we feel, not out of place in this connection (see also below, n. 35) to refer to Pyz §§ 225-6 (see Sethen, Kommentar, I, 173-180): 'A snake (n-š) is enveloped (šmr) by another snake (n-š) when the toothless calf (ḥš š3 brw) which has come from the pasture (ḥšrp) is enveloped.' With regard to the 'Binder-snake' (dmt), for which see Text 3.D, and n. 35 below, it should here be pointed out that Sethen has a note on 'Reuenochlangen', op. cit. I, p. 115, and reference should be made to Keimer, Histoires de Serpents dans l'Egypte ancienne et moderne (Mém. Inst. d'Egypte, Tome L, Cairo 1947) who points out that though there are no pythons in Egypt now, there were in predynastic times (see figs. 25-8 in Keimer, op. cit., p. 28, showing pythons attacking elephants), and fossil python-like remains (the length of the snake is estimated as having been about 30 feet) have been found in the Fayyum (ibid., 32, n. 4). The Python Sebae (average length 6 metres) still exists in the Sudan. The interesting point is that Python Sebae is water-loving and Keimer rightly stresses that the disappearance of pythons from Egypt must be connected with the steady drying up of the land as a result of the introduction and development of agriculture. The references to pythons in our texts — surely the two words carried by the king are also reminiscent of a python cut in half — are suggestive of predynastic rites and predynastic conditions; see below, Conclusions. What is puzzling is that normally 'good' snakes, ḫmr, ḥš, are here treated as dangerous. This is possibly because all snakes were regarded as potentially dangerous, and here note that Sethen, ibid., 115, points out with reference to ḫmr, considered in the text in question as both 'good' and 'bad', that in ZAS. 18, 89, ḫmr is the snake in ḫmr = Echidna.

7. Štšf = older Štš, see Wb. IV, 242.

8. For the meaning of ḫmr see nn. 3 and 10; ḫmr, therefore, seems to be a word denoting grain after its separation from the ṣṭrub.

9. ḫmr-š, the 'Careful' or 'Cautious One', is usually a name, or an epithet of, Thoth,
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CEREMONY HWT BHSW

sec. e.g. E IV, 76, 2; D II, 17, 1; 32, 8; IV, 161, 14; see also D III, 24, 5; 186, 13; and perhaps E II, 63, 10. The sign  til here reads neither for nor for but it acquires the value in by phonetic change; see Bull. Inst. IX 43, 111, 4 (a). Another instance of 'thy-til' as an epithet of Horus occurs E VIII, 105, 8. Finally for the use of the expression in ordinary parlance see the exhortation addressed to the priestly bearers of Horus' shrine: 'Be ye careful while carrying the Falcon-god.' E I, 5 71, 10.

10. But it is hardly an error for that, for in E IV, 24, 5-6, we find: 'He brings thee the Territory of the Unanointed (?) with its grain. The small cattle cannot throw their (quota of the) corn-crop.' This passage both confirms the reading and supports our view that the word means corn in its unthreshed state.

11. See Wb IV, 38. But does s  here mean 'urging on' of Wb. IV, 39, 8-9?

12. See below, n. 34. 13. Lit. 'directs'; see n. 2.

14. The 'Sober of the wst-cattle' is Anubis, see, e.g., E IV, 241, 17; D II, 105, 2; III, 69, 9. According to M, 163, 5-6 this god is 'son of the Hsdj-cow, lord of nbl-cows, with wst-cattle in plenty'. He is therefore for some reason or other - was it because of his canine form? - closely associated with herds of cattle. How definite this association is appears clearly in the following passage: 'Anubis, lord of minq (wst), chief of the herdmen (?), under whose authority are all small cattle, who offers cows to his mother Isis on that day of putting her head on again.' E II, 168, 8-9. This is evidently an allusion to the legend of the she-cow of Isis by Horus. In the version, however, to which this passage refers it seems to have been Anubis not Thoth who gave the goddess a cow's head in place of her own.

According to Mariette, Dend., III, 52 & c, the King is  .

a) Though n  would be more normal, see Wb II, 272, 2.

b) W  (?), the territory (w) of the sixth Lower Egyptian nome, see Gardiner, Anc. Eg. Nom., II, 185. We are not convinced, however, that the suggested reading of the name is correct, but consideration of this point must be deferred to another occasion.

c) A for an error for A. d) See Wb I, 295, 6; also E IV, 242, 6; V, 54, 17; M, 143, 17. e) See Wb III, 339, 15.

f) See Gardiner, Chester Beatty Pap. No. 1, 20, n. 2.
lord of the cow, who nurtures (or perhaps 'breeds') the cattle. As we have already learnt, nb. snb, 'lord of kine', is a title of Anubis. The King, therefore, is not only designated 'son of the Sovereign of the webb-cattle', D.II.105.2, but also 'trusted envoy (spwy. cth) of the Lord of Kine (wit)', Text 6.c. = E.IV.242.c. However, in the two formulae Text 6.a. = E.IV.241.17 and Text 12.a. = E.V.313.16, the King goes so far as to assert that he himself is 'Sovereign of the webb-cattle', and in E.VII.105.8, he is addressed as such by Harsomtus, the providing god. What purpose the 'House of the Sovereign of the webb-cattle served - was it the name of a sanctuary of Anubis? - or where it was situated, we have no idea.

15. The only meaning assigned to the verb wpy.m by Wb. I, 377.9, is 'grind' (mahlea). But here, as in Text 2.G. = E.IV.87.7, as well as in Text 3.A, if our restoration is correct, the word must mean 'thresh'; clearly so, too, in the passage E.IV.26.5-6, quoted in n.10. See also E.VII.242.13.

16. Perhaps restore nb. [Mon], which does occur with nb. alone. Nb. [t] is impossible, for the phrase nb. + nb. + nb. + t to the best of our knowledge never occurs.

17. So in the present context is to be rendered 'villages', and not 'villages' (see JEA 27, 57, n.2, and more fully Gardiner, Anc. Eg. Onom., Text I, 205; The Willows Papyri, II.32,33, and also Fairman's discussion of the sources of wine in Pendlebury, City of Akhetaten, III.165). Wherever at Edfu and B we occur in parallel (e.g. E.III.107.9, 114.11, VII.17.17) these terms seem to be employed to draw a distinction between the (town) mounds of the Delta and the villages of Upper Egypt. Thus in E.III.169.10, below = Text 1.a., it is the nswy.t (see also E.I, 158.6, E.II.125.4) is used as a synonym for 'iuw nswy.t', 'iuw nswy.t' (E.II.125.3, JEA 21, 34, n.4), the district in the centre of the Delta (cf. Schott, Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre fur König Merikare, p.28). That the iuwt were not mere 'mounds' but inhabited town mounds is shown by the fact that they are provisioned (E.III.155.10, E.II.44.11) or restored when found desolate or abandoned (gm w5 E.III.114, 4-5). Of course what was not a term applicable only to Upper Egypt, an Edfu text in fact speaks of the cities (nswy.t) of Upper Egypt and the villages (spwy.t) of Lower Egypt (E.III.118.15), but where iuwt and spwy.t occur in parallel, our experience in that they

\[\text{a) Cf. E.IV.272.15.} \quad \text{b) The King is also 'spwy.t nb. w5', P.I.115.3.} \quad \text{c) Emending} \]

\[\text{i for d.} \quad \text{d) Cf. 'the villages (E.III) which are in the Western River' on an Amarna wine-jar (Pendlebury, op. cit. III, pl. xxxv, 19 and p.165; and cf. ibid. p.166 (11)).}\]
invariably refer to the Delta and Upper Egypt respectively.

18. This must be the meaning here, though W6 I, 567, does not record it; see also the
duplicate passage Ex. III, 83, 10.

19. **JASTÉ**: We do not think that Wb I, 442, 58, and Gauthier, Dict. géog. II,
12, are correct in reading *b3*, *b3w*. Our view is that the word is a dual from *b3* 
'bush, shrub', Wb I, 416, and that the correct rendering in the 'Two Plants', the reference being
to the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt. For this word see JASTÉ.

To look at it is like the bushes round about the child, safeguarding
Horus in Pet and Dep.* Ex. VI, 16, 14. Other exx. are JASTÉ, Ex. IV, 282, 8-9, 7; Ex. III, 226, 2;
Ex. III, VI, 250, 7.

Here are the spellings of the word in question that are known to us: *JASTÉ*, Ex. VI, 11, 9;
JASTÉ, Ex. III, 88, 10; JASTÉ, Mar. Dend. IV, 19; JASTÉ, Rec. inv. 35, 95, 7, 2; JASTÉ,
Ex. II, 225, 7; JASTÉ, Ex. III, 14, 14 (wrongly listed by Gauthier, op. cit. II, 2, as 'la ville des buissons -
localité non identifiée, consacrée au dieu Horus'); JASTÉ, D III, 117, 10; JASTÉ, Ex. VI, 133, 4; JASTÉ,
Ex. IV, 10, 11; JASTÉ, Bouchou, Dict. géog. 1143; JASTÉ, Mar. Dend. IV, 19; JASTÉ, Ex. III, 178, 13; JASTÉ,
JASTÉ, ZAS, 46, 64, 49; JASTÉ, E I, 533, 8. Note that in all but one of these there is no feminine ending. We
ought, therefore, to transliterate *b3wy*. For the play between *b3* and *b3* compare the spellings of
*b3* 'copper'. It is significant that in spite of the Ptolemaic preference for an invariable place-

name ending *s*, it so very rarely occurs in this name.

In addition to the above these occur spellings with *s* and no phonetic complements. Here
we are not certain and consider these may possibly be two readings. In *s*, Ex. III, 14, 2, 16, 5,
277, 15 (both exx. preceded by *R*) we would read *b3wy*, so too in *s*, Ex. III, 80, 16. But
in the inscriptions we are as yet uncertain as to whether the reading is *Wd* (of *TT*, Egypt.
Ex. VII, 200, 1; JASTÉ, D III, 44, 12) or *B3wy*. The exx. in the texts aforesaid are *s*, Ex. III, 177, 2; VII, 99, 16;
*s*, Ex. III, 195, 11, 196, 2; I 153, 16 (which Gauthier quotes under his exx. of *B3wy*, Egypt.

20. An instance of substitution-aposition introduced by *m*.

21. It is *s*, despite the determinative, to be read *s3d* (Wb IV, 567, 9) here rather than *s3wy* (ibid.
567, 9), and can the word in this context mean 'water-channels', 'rills'? 22. *s* is hardly a suffix, but rather the first radical of a word now lost, which may be *s*.

a) Of the parallel passage, Ex. VI, 1, 2, where *s* of *s3wy* 'papyrus -thicket' replaces *s3wy*.

b) In a duplicate version of our passage.
23. For this spelling of #H$m$mb see Weil II, 484; Belegstr. II, 736. Additional references are E II, 130; apparently Dürmchen, Temp. Inser., I, 62 (quoted Belz II, 736, 7); 277, 12 = 111, pl. cccxxxviii; III, 145, 6; VI, 311, 2; D IV, 7, 16-17, 136, 1-7.

24. $\tilde{m}$ occurs as one of the $\tilde{m}$ in the name (guardian) snakes of Edfu, E IV, 214, 5. These guardian snakes (Elym mara, bully) are also called $\tilde{m}$ in W.K. I, V, E IV, 98, 11. See also WII, 113, 5, where E IV, 237, 8. Note the phonetic change, $\tilde{m}$ to $\tilde{m}$ both in the name of the snake and in the verb $\tilde{m}$, WII, 113, 4. For the writing $\tilde{m}$ in the case of the verb, see E IV, 98, 12; 141, 1; 292, 14. The killing of snakes is discussed above in n. 6.

25. A not uncommon name for Edfu temple, see E I, 346, 5; 554, 3; 579, 11; IV, 301; 289, 3; V, 313; VI, 115; 58, 12; VII, 319. Ndm- $\tilde{m}$ also occurs exceptionally as a name of the chamber usually called Man or Hwt- $\tilde{m}$, E IV, 13, 7 (Room 1 according to Chassinat's lettering: the room on the main axis of the temple immediately behind the Sanctuary). For the supposed origin of the name see E VI, 112, 4-5. Another instance of Ndm- $\tilde{m}$ as a name or attribute of Horus occurs E VI, 58, 15.

26. We think Weil is mistaken in citing this word under $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$- and are of the opinion that we have here a compound noun with $\tilde{m}$ as its first element. But $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$- seems a strange combination! The exx. known to us, all referring to the King are: (i) $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$- E III, 142, 3; (ii) $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$- EIV, 207, 5; (iii) $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$- EII, 249, 3; (iv) $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$- EII, 289, 6; (v) $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$- EII, 103, 13; (vi) $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$- EII, 152, 15; (vii) $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$- DII, 140, 5; (vii) $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$- E, 199, 5; (viii) $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$- E, 122, 16. They are all, except no. 8 (EIV, 5) and possibly no. 11, writings of the type $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$-, ex. no. 1. The writing $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$- is significant and suggests that the true reading is $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$- and various spellings being only written as a sort of phonetic complement. In the case of no. 11, $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$-, $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$-, either $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$- or, much more likely, is an error for $\tilde{m}m\tilde{m}$-.

27. Restoring $\tilde{m}$. 28. Hwt-$\tilde{m}$.

29. Of $\tilde{m}$, lord of land, begotten of the Prince of the Gods; with cunning hands when doing the work of the fields, who opens the flooded basin and there is no lack of his corn, D I, 136, 9-9, and especially $\tilde{m}$, it (i.e. $\tilde{m}$) having been ploughed at the season of opening.

a) Though what follow is destroyed, the suffix $\tilde{m}$ (my heir) shows that the word is complete.
the flooded basin,' E II, 226, 8. The latter passage shows clearly that w355 is a technical term referring to a specific time in the agricultural year, the season when ploughing became possible. See Lyons, JEA 12, 242, who says: 'When the whole of the alluvial plain of the Nile Valley was flooded annually, as was the case up to about a century ago ... the flood water was retained on the land by dykes for about six weeks until the soil was thoroughly soaked ...; it was then run off into the falling river.' Hence the reference to 'cattle' (w3-ww) in our text, who were, of course, to be used for the ploughing (cf. P. d'Orbigny, 2.2-3) of the newly recovered land, and later for the threshing of the grain.

30. Another instance of substitution and ascription; see above n. 20.

31. Reading $\tilde{s}$? Possible traces of $\overline{s}$.

32. Traces only of $\tilde{m}$. One expects the det. $\tilde{m}$ with $\tilde{m}$ for the employment of which word here e.g. $\tilde{m}$, E III, 150, 3. Cf. also the similar use of $\tilde{m}$: ... $\tilde{m}$. ‘He (the King) has filled the field with millions and hundreds of thousands in order to stock his barns with grain,’ E II, 261, 3. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility of a change from $\tilde{m}$ to $\tilde{m}$ here; cf. $\tilde{m}$ = KN and Ann. Sect. 4.3, 276, note XVII.

33. We take the much discussed fa-ns of Min to be a shrine at the top of a flight of stairs, like the fa-ns shrines in the precincts of Djoser's pyramid-temple at Sakkarah.

34. The ropes in question, also alluded to in Text 1, A, are clearly shown in the Karnak relief (JEA 35, pl. VII), in fact in all reliefs known to us depicting the ceremony.

35. We know of no other occurrence of $\tilde{m}$ as name of a snake. We suggest that the word is a derivative of dm 'find', the snake being so called because it would curl itself round its victim; see above, n. 6. $\tilde{m}$, we suggest, is for $\tilde{m}$. ‘The destroyer of the corn-crop’ can hardly mean that this reptile destroys the corn, but rather that it is the destroying, deadly snake that lurks in the corn. A probably better translation, therefore, would be 'The Binder of corn-crop, the destroyer in the corn-crop.'

36. Reading ikn [tā] $\overline{s}\tilde{s}$?

37. In the Karnak relief (JEA 35, pl. VII) the wavy rod held along with the rope-ends in the King's left hand clearly represents the tail portion of a snake, whereas the straight rod in his right hand equally clearly represents the head portion.

38. For serek 'summer-crop, harvest', see Gardiner, Without Pap., II, 24. Gardiner quotes as unequivocal exx. Griffith, Sij, and Der Pefch, pl. 8, ll. 309-10; Pap. Sall I, 4.11, 5, 3.

a) See, e.g., Gauthier in Kemi, II, 41-82.
Of these Paps. Sall. I, 4, 11 = L. E. M., 819, is very close to our Text 3, 8, and uses the term every year.


40. Shnt: see Gallabie, Fêtes du dieu Min, 142 ff.

41. Did the last line of E. 1, contain a garbled version of ntr. 51, rir., "revered lord, greatly dreaded?"

42. For prl. shnt see E., IV, 156, 13; VII, 108, 1; 137, 15-16; D. II, 66, 10; III, 4, 4.

43. For the verb ñy, "flood," see Wb. III, 13, 7. In the preceding sentence we would restore [57] or possibly [57] after ntr. rir. here rather than mtr.

44. Emending [51]. We cannot restore the missing noun which forms the direct object of ñ. For our reading of the other damaged signs see JEA, 35, 100 with pl. VIII. The sign read < is fairly certain, it is rounded at the left end and straight at the right and cannot be ñ. Clearly is the verb the ñ, written without determinative, to which Fairman, contrary to Wb. I, 331, 2 and 335, 7, would like to assign the meaning, "drive away." For the passage under discussion we can quote two very close parallels: [57] [57] [57]; [57], "The two (pairs of) flagstaffs are beside them, in their form < of > the Two Sistars, driving away (?) these storm-clouds of the sky," E. XIII, 67, 14-15; [57] [57] [57], "The two obelisks stand firm outside (m-nir.) them, driving away (?) the storm-clouds of the sky," E. XIII, 19, 8.

45. No other instance is known to us of "green" and "pale blue" being included among the colours of the four calves.

46. See Wb. III, 248, 9.

47. See below, Conclusions.

48. We assume that ñtr. has been omitted by either the ancient scribal or the modern scribe.

49. For ñtr. see Wb. III, 323, 18. 50. Emending [57].

51. The numerous examples collected by Fairman show that the compound ñtr. ñtr. is employed frequently in connection with Min and the epithet Amin, has the following usages: (a) As a noun it means "terror," "constipation." (b) As a verb, usually a participle, it means "inspire fear," "arouse constipation." (c) Followed by the preposition ñ it means "inspire fear in" enemies. (d) Used with the same preposition and followed, except in ca. 20, by a word of phase, it means "inspire fear with" or "through" that member, or, as in the exceptional instance just mentioned,
another agency. The examples are as follows:

(a) 1. \[\text{Lord of terror} (= Min)\] \(E\,I,\,270,\,15\); 2. \[\text{I give thee the dignity of the Living Soul of Re, the terror of Min, the most vincible of the gods}\] \(E\,I,\,270,\,10\); 3. \[\text{I put terror for thee into the focus of Thy Majesty}\] \(E\,I,\,393,\,13\).

(b) 4. \[\text{strong lion, avowing fear upon the desert-plateau}\] \(E\,I,\,168,\,10\); 5. \[\text{thou inspirst fear like Him with the outstretched Arm}\] \(E\,I,\,102,\,11-12\).

(c) 6. \[\text{a sovereign rich in cultivated land, who avores dread in Dreds and Knmi}; E\,II,\,132,\,15\]; 7. \[\text{avoring consternation in thine enemy}; Misc. \,G.\, 406, Text \,G.\, I,\,15\]; 8. \[\text{great lion, avoring fear in his fess}; E\,II,\,87,\,14\], see also \(E\,I,\,28,\,8,\,11,\,pl.\, ccxl\); 9. \[\text{avoring fear in the game upon the desert-plateau}; E\,II,\,197,\,9\].

(d) 10. \[\text{inspirst fear with his strong member}; E\,I,\,28,\,11,\,pl.\, ccxl\]; 11. \[\text{avoring consternation with his erect member}; Misc. \,G.\, 404, Text \,F.\, 8\]; 12. \[\text{He with the uplifted Arm, of whose phallus men boast, who avores alarm with his erect member}; E\,II,\,85,\,2-3\]; 13. \[\text{I give thee strength to smite thine enemies and thou inspirst fear with thine erect member}; E\,I,\,28,\,10,\,pl.\, ccxx\]; see also \(E\,I,\,24,\,10-11,\,III,\,122,\,4,\,IV,\,24,\,13\); 14. \[\text{King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Bull who presides over his court, who with his phallus inspirs fear in the gods}; Ombes \,I,\,21,\,No.\,16\]; 15. \[\text{who avors consternation among the gods with his phallus}; E\,I,\,375,\,14-15,\,pl.\, ccxxix\]; 16. \[\text{He with the uplifted Arm, of whose beauteous member men boast, who inspirs fear with his own phallus}; E\,I,\,374,\,3-4\]; 17. \[\text{the Falcon who holds aloft the whip and avors fear with his own phallus}; E\,III,\,97,\,8-9\]; see also \(III,\,83,\,9,\,V,\,24,\,15\); 18. \[\text{who inspirs fear with his live member}; E\,IV,\,71,\,7-8\]; see also \(M,\,15,\,12\); 19. \[\text{beneficent hero, King of Eternity, who in very truth inspirs fear with his beauteous member}; E\,IV,\,271,\,4\]; 20. \[\text{with strong hands like Him with the outstretched Arm, inspirs fear with his Handwork}; E\,I,\,375,\,10,\,pl.\, ccxxix\].

\(a\) The epithet is written \(E\,II,\,222,\,4\), \(E\,IV,\,271,\,3\). \(b\) See Misc. \,G.\, 418, n.\,70.
\(c\) Emending \(\text{?}\).
Can the reading of be 3m, as we proposed in Misc. Gr. 423, n. 126, when dealing with , E. T. 17 (25) = Misc. Gr. p. 408, Text G. II, 13? In the light of the evidence we have produced we now think this idea must be abandoned and the passage in question translated: 'The flail, that inspires fear, in thy right hand, the crook, ruler of the earth, in thy left.'

52. Emending sw [f m] Mnw;

53. The words sound more like an utterance of Isis than of Horus!

54. The bull-detem is an error found again in Texts 7, A, and D; 10, D; 11, A; also D.I, 114, 17; 147, 7.

55. See also M. 145, 17; D.IV, 92, 13-93, 1. Mnnty is definitely Anubis according to E.IV, 276, 8. See perhaps also Sethe, Pyr. Übersetzung und Kommentar, I, p. 24.

56. Also a designation of Anubis; see above n. 14.

57. Dnw is probably a word for enemies, lit. 'red ones.' Seth himself is designated , We. v. 493, 1, and in Myth D he is , a red hippopotamus, E.I, 216, 2.

58. Note also in the Edfu Calendar the reference to the making of a hippopotamus in red wax, E.V, 133, 8; and to the 'two red goats,' E.I, 135, in the list of offerings, E.V, 133, 8.

59. Note that Prep. Chester Beatty, No. III, 15, represents Seth's followers as red.

60. = zwt ybr nπ yπ. The Lord of Nine is Anubis, see E.I, 169, 8 (quoted above in n. 14); M. 146, 2-3 = Text 9, D; perhaps E.V, 54, 17.

61. For the King as 'son of the Nile-god, born of the Tilth-goddess' see also Text 9, D. For the Tilth-goddess see E.I, 464, 1-2; 467, 8; 555, 8-6; E.V, 103, 2; 133, 13.

62. For ḫbt-sīt see also E. v. 293, 11; also IV, 35, 2-3; M. 146, 3 = Text 9, D.

63. For Mdw-ḥr see also E.I, 212, 12; D.III, 69, 9.

64. For Mdw-ḥr again. With text ḫ-br n it t f. E.I, 138, 1.

65. For kh of D.I, 61, 9 = XI, pl. ccxxxiv; VII, 155, 13 = Text 8, A.

a) Chassinat's restored sign is, we think, incorrect. It should almost certainly be ḫ.
66. Emend $\theta \rightarrow \phi$

67. Ht $\rightarrow$ Jt, as simply a writing of the sob. resw 'drive', the Upper Egyptians already in Ptolemaic times making no distinction between $\hbar$ and $\hbar$; see our comment on this point; JEA 30, 21, middle of page.

68. See Bull Inst. 40, 69 (6).


70. See JEA 29, 29, n. 16; E. III 188, 14; VI 65, 2; 317, 6.

71. $\ddag$ for $\ddag$

72. Restoring [his $\ddag$] why $\ddag$.

73. $\ddag$ wrongly used for $\ddag$

74. The words $\ddag$ have been omitted in the copy of the text in JEA 35, 103.

35, 103. P-h.y is both a name of the royal palace and also a name of the place in which the Hb-sd was celebrated (WB III, 49). The term appears first in the late Eighteenth Dynasty (as a name of the palace of Amenophis III at Malkata) and at el-Amarna, see Ann. Serr. 42, 491, 492; Holmberg, The Excavation of Medinet Habu, II, The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty, fig. (q) on p. 7; and furthermore Fairman’s remarks in Pendlebury, The City of Akenaten, III, 193, 195-7. The word occurs in the following contexts in the Edfu inscriptions:

a. As a name of the Hb-sd building, of which there are very clear examples.

b. I am the many jubilees of Tanen within his canopied throne in the House of Rejoicing, E I 25, 17.

c. It is his House of Rejoicing for celebrating his jubilees, E I 52, 10.

d. I give thee the House of Rejoicing containing thy canopied throne, that thou mayest celebrate the jubilee in it, E I 57, 16.

sovereign, lord (mB) of as many jubilees as Tanen upon the canopied throne in the House of Rejoicing, E I 257, 9-10, pl cccxv, of D I 41, 10.

Draw near to the sanctuary of the Holy Winged Or (B) that thou mayest acquire a jubilee in the House of Rejoicing, E IV 205, 7.

I magnify thy jubilee (or perh. 'multiply thy jubilee') in the House of Rejoicing, E IV 229, 15.

The Ayt are represented as $\ddag$, shouting for joy to the great prince (Horus) in his sanctuary, rejoicing over the Lord of the House of Rejoicing, E V 39, 3-4 (the context shows clearly that here also P-h.y refers to the Hb-sd building).

a) Emend $\ddag$.

b) Emend $\ddag$. 
b. As a name for the royal palace, or uncertain.

8. Δι βασιλείας καὶ Βασιλείας, 'I place for thee (?) the awe of thee among the gods in the great seat in the House of Rejoicing,' E II, 4, 2-3; 2. Εἰς τὰ δυναμικαὶ τὰ δυναμικαὶ, E III, 110, 3-4, 10. Δι βασιλείας [ὁ θεός], 'I give thee the palace pure for thy ἱερον, the House of Rejoicing clean for thy Diadem,' E III, 114, 11-12, 11. The King is upon his throne, rejoicing in the House of Rejoicing, E V, 160, 17; 12. Δι βασιλείας, 'upon thy throne in the House of Rejoicing,' E V, 217, 5; 13. Εἰς τὰ δυναμικαὶ, 'He gives him the House of Rejoicing joyful at holding His Majesty,' E V, 18, 14; 14. Δι βασιλείας, "[the House] of Rejoicing purified from pollution, the Great Seat cleansed from defilement,' M, 133, 12; 15. Δι βασιλείας, 'I give thee the Great Seat compassed about with happiness, the House of Rejoicing joyful at holding Thy Majesty,' M, 149, 6. 16. The ex. which evoked this note, E XII, 156, 6; 17. Δι βασιλείας, 'I give thee the House of Rejoicing joyful at holding Thy Majesty, furnished with every good thing,' E XII, 92, 5-6.

It is most difficult to decide to which building exx. 8-17 refer, the royal palace or the 'Mansion of Jubilee' (Hust Hb. 26, see E X, 39, 2). On the whole our feeling is that in exx. 9, 13, 14, 15 and 17, 'πρ. βασιλείας means almost certainly 'palace', whereas about the other instances we have an open mind.

75. For ταῖς μέσοις see also E I, 183, 12; VII, 154, 8; D I, 147, 7; II, 141, 2; 145, 13.
76. See Wb. I, 130, 4.
77. ἔπειτα ἐπάνω.
79. See E IV, 242, 5, Text B, C.
80. Rõw, s. lit. 'its efflux', 'its evacuation'.
81. = Coptic κνόος.
82. Emend τὸ τὸ κνόος τὸ κνόος τὸ κνόος.
Fairsman will shortly publish in JEA a note on the infrequent τὸ = ἄν and on another hitherto unnoted alphabetic value of the same sign.
83. τὸ must be an error for κνόος (w), cf. the spelling of ταῖς μέσοις (E IV, 122, 16) quoted above in n. 26; a similar epithet is applied to Homus in E VII, 82, 3. For our error for τὸ see Bull Inst., fr. 43, 81, (c).
84. See Wb. I, 242, 6; E I, 575, 14; II, 47, 8; V, 297, 19, 298, 7; 293, 15; 395, 12. Cf. also the minor and protector gods designated Ἀναφίμα, E III, 33, 12.

a) Reading δι ὑ睡 βασιλείας? b) A word like ἄν seems missing here, cf. ex. 9.
85. I + I: does the first I = sign as phonogram, I being phonetic complement and the second I determinative?

86. For hh-tj hh-ti etc. see Sethe, Amun und die Acht Urgötter, §150, where he renders
hh-tj 'unendlich'; but here the context seems to demand the meaning 'remote'.

87. Not cited by WB nor by Gauthier, Dict. géog., but the four following passages suggest
that Ikhés is a name for the Netherworld:  

\[\text{Ikhés, son of Ré, Ptolémeeus, shall be upon his throne, rejoicing in Re and Mesen, receiving his insignia, acquiring years, pouring water for those who are in Ikhés,} \]
\[\text{E. X. 83, 9-11;} \]
\[\text{Ikhés, arriving at Ikhés in the course of the year annually as Living Soul,} \]
\[\text{E. X. 111, 2;} \]
\[\text{Ikhés, He (Sokar) is the son of Ré,} \]
\[\text{King of Upper and Lower Egypt, rules of Ikhés, sovereign of the gods of the sky,} \]
\[\text{E. X. 114, 6;} \]
\[\text{Those who are in Ikhés rejoice and the Westerners are joyful, their arms (raised) in adoration when Horus rests in the inaccessible (st.;) mountain,} \]
\[\text{E. I. 346, 4.} \]

However, in yet another passage it seems to bear a much more restricted meaning, that of
'burial-place' or 'burial-ground': 'The god of the great temple of Edfu..... who emerged afterward
in his form of m. Isy (Thoth), E. X. 103, 10-11, the bier of the Souls in their burial-place.'

It is possible that this may also be the meaning of Ikhés in
\[\text{E. I. 278, 6;} \]
\[\text{E. X. 103, 11;} \]
\[\text{E. I. 162, 12;} \]
\[\text{E. X. 103, 11;} \]
\[\text{The protection is the protection of him who put an end to mourning in Ikhés,} \]
\[\text{E. X. 301, 6, and in the} \]
\[\text{above quoted E. I. 93, 9-11.} \]

88. See Sethe, Urgeschichte, §§ 62; 67, n. 1.
89. See M. W. 400, Text E. I. (2); 426, n. 127.
90. E. I. 162, 12, suggests that hity is a more likely reading of these two signs than nbyg.
91. Emending \[\text{Ikhés.} \]
92. See JEA, 30, 16, n. 34.
93. For hity, lit., 'covering', 'clothing', see E. I. 278, 6; see also E. I. 270, 11, XI, pl. cccviii.
94. See also M. 37, 8.
95. See WB I, 127, 10; Gauthier, Dict. géog., I, 106; E. X. 114, 4; D. II. 43, 14; III, 62, 3.
96. The rest too much broken to translate.

a) For n.ntyjw m.
CONCLUSIONS

The earliest representations of the ceremony of Driving the Calves cited by Wb. 1, 469, 8, Belegstellen, date from the Eighteenth Dynasty, and are to be found at Dér el-Bahri (Nivelle, Deir el Bahari, v, pl. 134; vi, pl. 164) and Luxor (Gayet, Temple de Louxor, pl. 9 = Bonnet, Bilderatlas, fig. 91). The ceremony is depicted also in the temple of Hatshepsut at Buhene (MacIver and Woolley, Buhene, xi, pl. 35, top), and on a New Kingdom coffin (ZÄS 39, pl. 5). It almost certainly appeared in one of the reliefs adorning the pyramid-temple of Sāhur-Rē (see Sethe ap. Borchardt, Grabdenkmal des Königs Sāhu-re, 115 f. and pl. 47). Thus its performance can be traced back anyhow to the Fifth Dynasty.

All reliefs of this ceremony show the king driving four calves, a white, a black, a red, and a speckled one, into the presence of a male divinity, who is sometimes accompanied by a goddess (only in Ptolemaic examples). In the Sāhur-Rē relief this male divinity is unfortunately destroyed, but was presumably Min; at Buhene also the head and name of the god are missing, but he was not ithyphallic; at Luxor the god is the non-ithyphallic Amen-Rē, but in both Dér el-Bahri scenes the divinity is the ithyphallic Amen-Rē. On the portal of Euergetes I the divinity is Min-Amen-Rē, at Edfu he is Horus the Behdetite, Min, Amūn, or, exceptionally, Osiris (Text 4). Osiris is also the presiding god in the painted scene on the New Kingdom coffin.

The feature common to all representations of the ceremony is that the King, who wears the atef-crown, holds in one hand the coiled ends of four ropes (each terminating in an ᾧ-symbol and attached to the leg of a calf), and at right-angles to the ground what appears to be a wavy rod. In the other hand he carries a straight rod, usually terminating in a snake’s head, held parallel with, or at a slight angle to, the ground. The wavy rod and coiled ropes are always in the hand farthest from the beholder, i.e. in the left hand when the King faces right, and vice versa. The relief on the portal of Euergetes I (see JEA 35, pl. 7) and its accompanying Text 3, D make it clear that the two rods represent a snake that has been cut in half, and this is apparent at Buhene, Dér el Bahri, and in several of the Edfu reliefs (see E. ix, pls. 17, 64; E. x, pl. 92; E. xi, pl. 244; E. xiv, pl. 633, and see also D. i, pl. 83). In E. ix, pl. 40g the wand ending in a snake’s head has been omitted, and in Gayet’s line-drawing of the Luxor relief and in E. ix, pls. 17 and 32, the snake’s head is not shown, while in M, pl. 25, the wand is replaced by a mace with pear-shaped head.

In all the early reliefs, from that in Sāhur-Rē’s pyramid-temple to that in the temple at Luxor without exception, each of the four ropes is attached to a calf’s foreleg. In Euergetes I’s relief likewise the four ropes are fastened each to a foreleg, the King being on the left, in faithful conformity with ancient usage. At Edfu, however, the rope is

1 At Luxor and in Text I (E. ix, pl. 64), however, the King wears a wig and fillet surmounted by an atef-crown.
2 All these exceptional features may be due to errors or misunderstandings on the part of the modern copyist.
3 In D. 1, pl. 83, the ropes are attached to the right forelegs, the King being on the left. Note that the accompanying text, though belonging to Category II (see below, p. 78), preserves traces of the earlier pastoral character of the rite.
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CEREMONY *HWT BHSW*

 normally fastened to one of the hindlegs, and only in the relief to which our Text 5 belongs (see E. ix, pl. 40g) is the older usage preserved and the ropes attached to the left forelegs.¹

The scenes on the New Kingdom coffin² are exceptional. The 'driving of the calves' is depicted on the extreme left of the panel as an addendum to *Heb-sed* scenes in which the King performs what Kees has termed the 'Hebsedlauf' and the 'Ruderlauf'. The King stands on the left and wears a wig only; behind him is an upright *dnb*-sign (α). He drives the four calves towards the fetish of Abydus, which faces towards him and behind which come the *Heb-sed* scenes. In his left hand the King holds the wavy wand and the coiled ropes, each terminating in an ω-symbol and each attached to the left hindleg of a calf. In his right hand is the straight wand, which passes behind his body; the head of the wand is now missing. The scene shows marked late characteristics, and we doubt whether Möller's early dating is justified, although it cannot be later than the Twenty-first Dynasty. Compare the garbled version of the driving of the calves on another coffin from the second cache at Dér el-Bahri³ in which the *Iun-mutef* priest, clad in a panther-skin, drives the four calves towards two deities bearing on their heads [ɔ] and the emblem of Nefertum respectively; in this scene there are no ropes and the head of the straight wand is indeterminate but may have been intended to represent a snake's head.

A study of our texts clearly shows that *hwt bhsw* was in the first instance a harvest-rite, a ceremonial threshing of corn conducted by the King in the presence of the harvest-god, originally Min (see *Wb.* iii, 47, 1), later the ithyphallic Amûn (cf. *Wb.* i, 469, 8), at Edfu often replaced by Horus the Behdetite, Min having already at a comparatively early date been identified with Horus son of Osiris and Isis (see Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, 138 ff.). Like most Egyptian religious ceremonies it underwent a process of Osirianization and in consequence of this it was supposed to represent the 'treading on' (*hnh*) the grave of Osiris by the four calves (see below, p. 78) with a view to hiding it and so to preventing its violation and profanation at the hands of the god's enemies.

At Edfu the reliefs depicting the 'driving of the calves' fall into three categories, the texts of two of them representing the older version of the rite, those of six others the newer, while those of three display a confusion of ideas or a complete misunderstanding of the significance of the ceremony whether in the form of Category I or II.

**Category I.** As already stated, only two of the Edfu reliefs, Texts 1 and 2, are concerned with the earlier version of the rite. We were thus only too glad to avail ourselves of the kind permission of the Oriental Institute of Chicago to make what use we pleased of their admirable photograph of the relief on Euergetes I's gateway, especially as it supplies us with information that seems to occur nowhere else. To the inscriptions accompanying the relief we have given the number 3 and assigned them to Category I where they clearly belong. They will henceforth be referred to as Text 3, A, 3, B, etc.

¹ No photographs or drawings of Texts 2 and 14 have been published.
² Georg Möller, *Das Iib-śd des Osiris nach Sargdarstellung des Neuen Reiches* (ZÄS 39, pp. 71 ff.; pls. 4, 5).
³ Cairo 6016; Chassinat, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 5.
From the group of texts forming Category I we learn that the site of the ceremony was the presiding god's threshing-floor (Texts 1, A and 3, D), and that the threshing was done by the calves (Text 1, A and 1, C). The main object of the ceremony was to secure plentiful harvests (Text 3, C), for in return for filling the god's own granary to overflowing (Text 3, A and D) the King is promised an abundant corn-crop year by year and fruitful fields (Text 3, E, I, E, 2, and G).

It should not be overlooked that the King plays a pastoral as well as an agricultural role (Text 1, C) and so is associated with Anubis, sovereign of the wasb-cattle (Text 1, D and see Commentary, n. 14). Accordingly, the presiding god promises that his calves shall be well fed and his herds numerous beyond count. Furthermore, the god undertakes to nurture 'thy (the King's) youths' (Text 1, E, 3), this suggesting that an agricultural rite has been attached to a yet older one, the object of which was to ensure the fertility of a pastoral people and their cattle, see below, p. 80, n. 3. In all these three representations of the ceremony the presiding divinity is obviously a fertility-god, and the officiating King is either equated with him or likened to him, i.e. is the god's living embodiment (Text 3, C), is Horus himself (Text 1, C), or the latter's heir and successor (Text 2, G).

Category II. In each of the six Osirianized versions of the ceremony one reference at least is made to the 'treading of the grave' (||| with variant spellings) of Osiris, the 'treading' being certainly performed by the four calves (Text 4, D; cf. E. II, 51, 12) with a view, as we shall see, to concealing the grave. In five out of the six reliefs the presiding divinity is either Horus or the ithyphallic Amün, with both of whom Min had for centuries been identified. Though the secreting of his grave had become the object of the whole performance, only once in the eleven representations of hat bhsr at Edfu does Osiris replace the old fertility-god Min or his equivalents Horus and ithyphallic Amün, the reason for this being the intense religious conservatism of the Egyptian priesthood.

The meaning we have assigned to the verb hh in the above-mentioned context requires some consideration, and we herewith cite all the Edfu examples known to us: (1) The King directing the ceremony is 'like Min on his stairway (bhyw) ||| who trod the grave of him who begat him, Text 4, C. (2) In an account of the funerary rites performed at Abd's command on behalf of the dead gods of Edfu it is stated that the calves were driven to tread their grave, E. II, 51, 12; cf. E. V, 131, 8. (3) The officiating King is like Horus, who drove the calves to tread his (Osiris') grave, Text 5, D. (4) The King is upon his throne, driving the calves, protecting Bb-bw (Osiris), Bb-bw treading the grave of him who begat him, Text 6, D; see also Text 7, D. (5) Of Min who drove the calves in Heliopolis it is said, thou didst put thy creator together again and didst tread his grave, Text 7, A. (6) A formula to be pronounced during the performance of our ceremony states that Horus son of Isis has put his father together again and has trodden his grave in Behdet, Text 8, A.

1 In Text 1, C, for example, the presiding divinity, Horus the Behdetite, is 'lord of grain, who created corn'.
2 We are dealing in another article with the cult of these dead gods, to whom there are several references in the Edfu texts.
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(7) Text 9, d informs us that the King as son of the Nile-god and child of the Tilth-goddess is he who protects B3-bsw and treads the grave of his sire. (8) Finally, it is said of Horus of Edfu *Thou art he who did tread the grave of his father in Heliopolis beside Rć, lord of Hwt-bnbn, E. viii, 7, 14.

As well as the verb *λα 'seek', Wb. iii, 152, 6 cites another word *λα (var. "λ") meaning 'tread' or 'set foot upon' a place (einen Ort betreten). It is this latter verb, we suggest, that appears in the above-quoted passages, and the evidence seems to favour our suggestion. The texts in Category I certainly speak of a ceremonial threshing of corn on the presiding god's threshing-floor. In the Osirianized version of the rite the threshing-floor, we venture to think, was regarded as the site of the grave of Osiris in his role of dead corn-god, and the calves by their treading of the corn and trampling on the floor were supposed to hide the grave from Osiris's enemies. Certain texts belonging to Category II and one in Category III seem to support this notion. The calves are driven by the King to hide thy burial-place, thy vault being sacrosanct, none knowing its portals, Text 10, d. The King addressing Osiris asserts that he drives the calves so that thy Hallowed Land is free from all that is evil, thy place of burial hidden from all foes, Text 4, a. Or, again, his object is to hide thy upland tomb and in the guise of Horus to turn away enemies from the sepulchre, Text 4, d, turn away the steps of the Perverse One from the graveyard, Text 5, a, or conceal the vault of his father (Osiris), Text 8, d. Finally, the King is likened to Horus who buried his father in Heliopolis and hid the body of His-nose-liveth, Text 7, d, and is described as driving the calves and hiding the crypt of his creator, Text 7, c.

The officiating King is sometimes equated with or likened to Min (Text 4, c [cf. Text 4, e, i], Text 7, a and 7, c) or Horus (Texts 5, c and 7, d). That he impersonates one or other of these two gods, Horus in particular, is implicit in every representation of the Osirianized ceremony.

Despite its Osirianization the rite still shows traces of its original pastoral and agricultural character. Thus the presiding divinity can still be regarded as a fertility-god, the giver of an abundant harvest and full cattle-sheds (Text 6, e, i and g; cf. D. i, 147, 15), while the King in the role of herdsman is Sovereign of the wsb-cattle (Text 6, a; Text 9, a), trusty envoy of the Lord of Kine, son of the Nile-god and child of the Tilth-goddess (Text 6, c; Text 9, d; cf. D. i, 115, 3). Note also that in Text 7, d the King is described as driving the calves, treading the grave of his father, and trampling down those hostile to his sire, where perhaps the 'trampling' is reminiscent of what was originally the main function of the performance, the treading of corn on the threshing-floor by the four calves; cf. the symbolical trampling on fish by the prophets, fathers of the god and scribe of the sacred books, one of the ceremonies performed at the great festival at Edfu on the occasions of Hathor's annual visit, E. v, 134, 2-3 and 5-6.

In the Osirianized versions of *hwt bsw Horus and Min are now and then assigned the attribute who drove the calves in Heliopolis (Texts 5, c and 7, a; cf. Text 11, d) and in Text 7, d, it is definitely stated that Horus buried his father in Heliopolis, while the passage E. i, 51, 13 informs us that the sepulchre of the dead gods of Edfu is the like of

1 See also the passage E. viii, 7, 14, quoted above, (8).
that which is in Heliopolis. This claim on the part of Heliopolis to possess the tomb of Osiris may be older than the similar claim put forward by Memphis (Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, 76), a claim which Junker (*Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, 8) would date back not earlier than the Third Dynasty. The Heliopolitan claim, though found in a Ptolemaic text, may nevertheless be derived from an ancient source and date, if not, as Sethe might have maintained, from predynastic times, anyhow from the First to Second Dynasties.

Because the rite was given an Osirian significance and performed to protect Osiris's grave, it was eventually employed as a funerary ceremony for individuals other than Osiris, such as the dead divinities of Edfu, and possibly, in view of the fragmentary relief in the pyramid-temple of Saḥurê (see above, p. 76), dead kings of the Old Kingdom. Apart from the paintings on the two coffins mentioned above, p. 77, we have no indication whatever that the ceremony was performed for private individuals, and it probably never was. In short, the paintings in question may be just the pictures of a rite that it was considered desirable to have portrayed on a coffin, such pictures possessing magical qualities, being in fact substitutes for an actual performance.

Why does the King in all these representations of our rite appear regularly wearing the atef-crown? According to Scharff, *Die Ausbreitung des Osirisrituals in der Frühzeit und während des Alten Reiches*, 14, that crown is a combination of two Lower Egyptian crowns and is not to be regarded as an older form of the historic double diadem. If this view is correct, the answer to our question is that, like the Running of the Apis (see Blackman, *Studia Aegyptiaca*, 1, 7 ff.), this is a Lower Egyptian ceremony. Now Scharff, *Das Grab als Wohnraum*, 14, maintains that agriculture was practised in the Delta at an earlier date than in Upper Egypt. Accordingly, the corn-growing peasants of Lower Egypt may well have been the originators of this ceremony, which would naturally have been performed in the presence of a Lower Egyptian fertility-god. Later on, after the final union of the Two Lands, the dynastic Upper Egyptians took over this Delta ceremony and identified the presiding divinity with their own fertility-god Min. The officiating King, however, continued to wear the two old Lower Egyptian crowns in accordance with that conservatism which Egyptians were ever wont to display in all matters appertaining to the outward observance of a religious rite.

**Category III.** Perhaps Text 10 should have been included in Category II. It has been assigned by us to Category III because the priestly compiler of the passages composing it seems to have altogether lost sight of the true significance of the ceremony, assigning the hidden grave to Horus, the presiding god, instead of to Osiris! With regard to Text 11, though the King says to Min Thou art Horus who drove the calves in Heliopolis, the purport of the ceremony is completely disregarded. Not only have all the pastoral and agricultural allusions vanished, but no reference whatever is made to the
grave of Osiris, while Min, the presiding divinity, appears not as a fertility-god, but as a desert-ranger and explorer of the marvels of Pwâne. Text 12 is quite anomalous and once more the original meaning of the ceremony has been forgotten. It is true that in a much abbreviated ‘formula’ the King claims to be Sovereign of the wšb-cattle, but the driving of the calves is not mentioned, nor again is there anywhere a reference to the grave of Osiris. The King merely offers Horus and his consort Ḥathôr the four cords of the entire earth and is content to receive in return a vague promise that the inhabitants of the south, north, east, and west shall be his servants! Thus in this and the preceding representation the rite has become practically meaningless, which may possibly be accounted for by the fact that for a long period of time it had fallen into disuse\(^1\) and survived mainly as a pictured ceremony that tradition demanded should have a place among the reliefs adorning the walls of a great Egyptian temple.

Postscript

When this paper was already in proof Dr. H. H. Nelson, who is preparing a study of all the reliefs and inscriptions in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, drew our attention to a relief of Sethos I (No. 33 [237] in his manuscript) depicting the offering of milk. The title of the scene reads ‘Making offering of the milk of the cows of the estates of Tjeni (\(\frac{3}{4}\))’. This god Tjeni, Dr. Nelson points out, occurs as \(\frac{\text{š}}{\text{n}}\) in a list of gods at the Pyramid of Pepi II,\(^2\) and in the names of two domains in unpublished scenes from the Causeway of Unis. Dr. Nelson has also shown us an unpublished scene in the Festival Hall of Tuthmosis III at Karnak\(^3\) in which the King stands before the ithyphallic Amen-Rê with, between them, two bulls and two cows, the name of one of the latter, and also in a parallel scene, apparently being wšbt. Behind the King stands a human-headed god \(\text{š}||\text{t}\) (\(\text{t}\) ‘Tjeni, Lord of Kine’. Dr. Nelson is of the opinion that Tjeni was associated with cattle, especially milch-cows. What connexion, if any, existed between Tjeni and Anubis and Rmnty we cannot yet say, but it is to be hoped that more information will be available by the time Dr. Nelson publishes this scene and his interesting comparative material.

\(^1\) Except possibly for its yearly performance at Edfu on the first day of the New Moon Festival in the third month of Shômû (E. v. 125, 4), when Ḥathôr paid a visit to Horus the Behdetite, where it occurs in what after all may be a purely conventional list of ceremonies. It may also have occurred on the second day of this New Moon Festival (E. v. 131, 8) among the ceremonies performed for the Dead Gods, if \(\text{hs is mnt-nfr}\) (see above, p. 78) means that the prophets ‘trod the grave’ by driving the four calves over the place where these divinities were supposed to be interred.

\(^2\) Jéquier, Le monument funéraire de Pépi II, 111, 15 and pls. 24, 25.

\(^3\) Nelson, Key Plans showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations, pl. 7. KF. 284.
NOTE ON A PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTION OF
PTOLEMAIC DATE

By G. R. DRIVER

Professor Honeyman in his discussion of the long inscription of the Ptolemaic age
from Laraxas Lapethon (JEA 26, 57 ff.) has greatly advanced the interpretation of
this interesting document, but he seems to me to have erred on one point. This concerns
the prepositions in l. 11, on which a historical problem of some importance hangs.

The author of this text, one Yaton-ba'al, says that he has erected the monument on
which it is inscribed in the fourth year of Ptolemy (ll. 3–8) and has established offerings
לארץ אשר לי מלך ר... על כי עלה ורני יי ונצרו
‘to mine own lord Melqart... for the sake of my life and that of my seed, day by day, and
to the rightful scion and to his wives [sic] and to his blood’ (ll. 9–11). Professor Honey-
man thus translates this crucial passage, saying in a note on the prepositions in l. 11
that ‘the preposition [ל as distinct from עלי] quite explicitly signifies sacrifice “to” and
not merely “on behalf of” the rightful scion &c., and thus none other than Ptolemy
himself can be intended’ and claiming in the text ‘that the curious expression
לארץ אשר לי מלך ר... applies not to the deceased Soter but to the reigning Philadelphus’.

Does Zemah Zabakh in fact refer to either of these kings? If this interpretation is correct,
it makes the writer jump from the last mention of Ptolemy (in ll. 7–8), across the two
statements of the dedication of the offerings to (ל) Melqart (in ll. 9–10) and of their
intention for or on behalf of (ל) the life of the donor and his seed (at the beginning of
l. 11), to the issue of the same Ptolemy to (ל) whom and to (ל) whose family the
offerings must ex hypothesi also be given (at the end of l. 11). The order also of the
persons thus mentioned is strange: the offerings are made to Melqart for Yaton-ba'al
and to Ptolemy, who thus comes in as an afterthought. Further, the omission of the
person whose Zemah Zabakh is meant, namely ex hypothesi Ptolemy, makes the construction
intolerably harsh and the passage hardly intelligible without an explanatory note.

I suspect therefore that לארץ and ל in l. 11 have the same connotation and that is
loosely caught up by ל instead of being repeated, as if is caught up by ל in Zemah
‘lo! the eye of the Lord is toward them that fear Him,
to(ward) them that look for His loyalty’ (Ps. 33. 18; cp. Eccl. 3. 17). Thus the clause
may be translated ‘on behalf of my life and on behalf of the life of my seed, day by day,
and (on behalf of) any lawful scion (thereof) and (on behalf of) his wife and (on
behalf of) my kin’; the offering is for the life of the donor and his issue and for those
of the lawful family and his kith and kin. The Zemah is any descendants that the Zemah
of the donor may have, and the two clauses taken together are a loose way of describing
posterity to all generations, for ever and ever, in the direct and legitimate line.
PICTORIAL COIN-TYPES AT THE ROMAN MINT OF ALEXANDRIA
A SUPPLEMENT

By J. G. Milne

A coin recently shown at the Ashmolean Museum by Mr. R. L. Sandys-Wood of University College, Oxford, has enabled an interesting type to be added to the list contained in the article dealing with the activities of the Alexandrian mint in the reign of Antoninus Pius which appeared in volume 29 of the Journal. The type had been published previously, but with an error in the date which led to its being overlooked in the survey of the pictorial types which were initiated in the fourth year of that reign. The coin is a bronze drachma of the eighth year, with the obverse type ΑΥΣΚΤΑΙΑΓΔΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥΚΩΣΕΒΥΣ Head of Antoninus P. laureate, and on the reverse the triumph of Apollo over Marsyas. The surface of the coin is rather worn, but the main details are clear: Apollo is seated to right on a rock, with drapery over his legs, playing on his lyre; at his feet his Scythian slave kneels to left, wearing a cap and short chiton, sharpening his knife on a stone; Marsyas hangs suspended by his wrists from a tree, facing Apollo; between them is the date ΛΗ.

The previous publications of this type are by Zoega and Mionnet: the specimen quoted by Zoega was at Florence, and he read the date as ΛΒ: Mionnet repeats Zoega’s description, and also describes a second specimen, which he says is undated. Probably they were both working on worn examples: Mionnet illustrates the second, which is from the same dies as Mr. Sandys-Wood’s, and there can be no doubt that the reading ΛΗ is correct, as the obverse type is one which belongs to the eighth year, and there are two coins with different reverses of the eighth year in the Ashmolean which are

1 JEA 29, 63. A selection of pictorial coin-types is illustrated on pl. 4.
both struck with this same obverse die. So this type of Apollo and Marsyas may certainly be added to the pictorial series which began in year 4.

It strengthens the argument that this series shows signs of an artistic relation with Western Asia Minor. The nearest analogy, both in choice of subject and of treatment, is to be found in the scene of the judgement of Paris, which is found on the bronze drachmas of years 5 and 7: this was naturally at home in the Troad, where it was used on coins of Ilium in the reign of Gordianus III and on those of Scipios in the reign of Caracalla: it also occurs at Tarsus under Maximinus. The Marsyas legend belongs to Lydia, and a group of Apollo and Marsyas appears as a type at Germe in the reigns of Caracalla and Gordianus III, though only the second has reference to the episode of the flaying which is the Alexandrian reverse type.¹ It may be noted that in all these cases the dates of the coins are later than those of Alexandria with the same subjects, and that the treatment is much less elaborate. Borrowing of coin-types by the mint of Alexandria from other places was not unknown under the Empire: one of the earliest and clearest instances was under Augustus, when two types, the temple of Mars Ultor and a Triumphal Arch, were taken directly from silver cistophori struck at Ephesus to serve as reverse types for Alexandrian bronze.² But there is no trace that the two types discussed here, or indeed any of the exotic types found in the pictorial series of the reign of Antoninus Pius, were derived from coins struck elsewhere.

As noted in the former article, two artists seem to have been employed in designing the types for the bronze drachmas at Alexandria during the issue of this series with types taken from Greek legendary sources. The first, the more robust in his handling of the figures, was at work in years 4, 5, and 6; and he dealt solely with the labours of Heracles. The second came on the field in year 5, with his scene of the judgement of Paris, and was possibly responsible for the designs of most of the drachmas from year 7 to year 10: at any rate the exotic types, Orpheus charming the beasts, Apollo and Marsyas, an improved rendering of the judgement of Paris, and a fresh set of the labours of Heracles, struck in these years, are certainly from his hand, and the series of Zodiacal types issued in year 8 also look to be in his style: as noted above, two Zodiacal types occur struck from the same obverse dies as the Apollo and Marsyas type. The first artist, in his treatment of the figure of Heracles and the simple grouping of his scenes, suggests that he belonged to a school trained in bas-relief: the second obviously drew his inspiration for his earliest mythological scenes from paintings, and the reverse types of the Zodiacal series may have been derived from a fusion of a double Zodiacal circle.

Possible reasons for the innovation in the Alexandrian mint marked by the appearance of this series of drachmas with purely Greek types and of unusually good execution were discussed in the former article; but a further suggestion may be made. It is only in the large bronze drachmas that the innovation is found: there is nothing of the same character, either in the choice of types or in the artistic style, to be traced in the base silver tetradrachms or in the smaller denominations of bronze. Even in the drachmas,

² See JEA 13, 136.
the issues of the coins with Greek mythological types must have been very small: apart from the Heracles types, there are only one or two in each year, and of all these specimens are distinctly rare. It is possible that the Roman officials at Alexandria were still under the influence of Hadrian’s policy for the revival of Hellenic culture in the Nile valley, which had been marked by the foundation of the town of Antinoë in Middle Egypt with a constitution of Hellenic pattern: the bronze drachmas were the chief units of currency outside Alexandria amongst the natives, and so might serve as instruments of education in Greek ideas. The issue was clearly tentative and short-lived: it had no lasting effect, any more than the foundation of Hadrian; and, though half a dozen isolated instances of Greek mythological types are found later, there was no systematic grouping like that in the fourth to the tenth years of Antoninus Pius.

After this article was in proof, I was informed by M. Henri Seyrig that he had found a fresh addition to the Alexandrian pictorial series at Bērūt; the type is, like several of the others, taken from a legend with connexions in Asia Minor, Bellerophon attacking the Chimaera, though it is not known as a coin-type there. Another new type has just been acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, a coin of the sixth year of Antoninus Pius with the Rape of Persephone; this is interesting because the type is found on one of the medallions of the Ionian League mentioned in my previous article. The artist of the Alexandrian coin seems to have drawn his inspiration from the same source as the Ionian, and it is evident that the source was in painting, not in statuary. It will, I hope, be possible to discuss this in more detail at some future date.
POPULAR RELIGION IN GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

II. THE TRANSITION TO CHRISTIANITY

By B. R. REES

In his recent article Sir Harold Idris Bell discussed the religious attitude of the pagan period from the Greek occupation until the end of the first century of our era, when Egyptian, Greek, Oriental, and European deities appeared side by side in Egypt and jostled each other in competition for the popular favour. It is the purpose of this article to make a rapid survey of a cross-section of the papyrological evidence for the transition to Christianity, with particular emphasis upon the period in which the new religion was in the ascendant and which extended from the early fourth to the seventh century, and, on the basis of this survey, to attempt a statement of the essential differences and resemblances between the old and the new popular Religiosité. For the early Christian period spanning the second and third centuries the evidence of the documentary papyri is so weak and uncertain that it must not be handled except with extreme care and by expert hands, and it will be mentioned only en passant and where there is little or no doubt of its authenticity. Of course, the theory that Christianity was an insignificant quantity in second-century Egypt has now been entirely discredited by the discovery of palaeographically datable Biblical papyri, so that the reader of this article must be warned that it deals with evidence, not of a struggling but of a conquering, even triumphant, Christianity.

In the first place, it goes almost without saying that there were some customs and institutions of a popular kind which Christianity adopted from paganism. It was not working in vacuo; it was presented with certain material to work upon and a certain social framework within which to work. Nor was it merely destructive of existing institutions. Its history is a history of assimilation, adaptation, and improvisation, with sometimes one, sometimes another, as the dominant partner. So it was in Egypt. Here, as elsewhere, there were many respects in which it differed, both in its outward forms and in its inner spirit, from the pagan creeds which it fought and conquered. But, if one examines early Christianity side by side with some of its great pagan rivals, one is struck more by the similarities than by the differences, at any rate in outward forms. Of course, many of the resemblances were pure resemblances, attributable above all to the desire of the really great religions of the time to satisfy the same contemporary needs.

1 I wish to express my gratitude to Sir Harold Idris Bell for his kindness in reading the rough draft of this article and making valuable criticisms and suggestions.
2 Popular Religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt: I. The Pagan Period, in JEA 34, 82 ff.
3 See Bell, Evidences of Christianity in Egypt during the Roman Period, Harvard Theological Review, 37, 185 ff.
4 See Bell, Recent Discoveries of Biblical Papyri (Oxford, 1937), 28 f.
5 Nock, Conversion (Oxford, 1933), 92 f., notes some important differences.
The fact of resemblance in itself must not be pressed too closely. An effort must be made to penetrate the externals to the inner spirit which informed them and made them what they were.  

A good example of this difficulty, that of deciding what is due to pure coincidence and what to imitation, is provided by the custom of seeking oracular responses from a particular god or gods. Of the pagan usage there are numerous instances in the papyri. The questions asked were of a practical nature and the deity to whom they were addressed was named at the beginning. When composed, the petitions were deposited in the temple of the deity concerned. For the most part, they were written in illiterate Greek. They emanated not only from the upper classes but from the lower as well and they testify to the existence of a real need among all sorts and conditions of men, the need for supernatural advice and guidance in approaching the practical difficulties of everyday life.

Christianity found that the removal, to all intents and purposes, of polytheism and pagan monotheism did not necessarily imply the removal of the popular needs which they had tried to satisfy and often succeeded in satisfying. These needs formed part of its legacy from paganism and, for the lack of any novel solution, it found itself using the old, which had already proved its worth. The same kind of problem was posed. The deity—now the Christian God, with whom a saint was often invoked as well—was addressed at the commencement of the petition. The petition, when completed, was presumably deposited in a church. One petition, addressed to the ‘god of our protector, St. Philoxenus’, asks whether Anoup should be taken to hospital and then invites God to ‘show His power by accepting the prayer’. Another, addressed to ‘God Almighty’, inquires whether it is the Divine Will that the writer should make a certain journey and whether success will attend the venture. Another is both interesting and amusing, as the writer seems to wish to give some indication of the answer he wants, or at least expects, a conception which chimes in better with the pagan idea of a contract made with the oracle than with the orthodox Christian idea of resignation to the will of God. Here too St. Philoxenus is coupled with the Deity in the invocation and a negative answer seems to be expected, so that it might almost be said that the petition is presented so as to give God a last opportunity of preventing the petitioner from committing an indiscretion or injustice, a negative function of the moral conscience having affinities with Socrates’ δαινον. Finally, the fact that one petition is addressed to the ‘Father of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ’ and the association of St. Philoxenus in the invocation, combine to suggest that its efficacy would be increased by the inclusion in it of some mediator, an idea which has been common to religions of all creeds and of all ages.

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2 Bell, *JEA* 34:95.
3 E.g., PFay. 1137–8; BGU 229–30; Wessely, Script. Gr. Spec. no. 26; PLond. 11267d; WChr. 122.
4 POxy. VIII, 1148; 1149, with which cf. vi, 923; IX, 1213.
5 PFay. 137–8.
6 See especially POxy. XII, 1477.
7 POxy. VIII, 1150.
8 POxy. VI, 925.
9 POxy. XVI, 1926.
The papyri provide our fullest and most trustworthy evidence for the magical beliefs and practices of the early centuries of our era. Apart from the corpus of Preisendanz and other, less comprehensive, editions or collections, isolated specimens occur passim and yet comprise a mere fragment of those which were in existence from time to time. We are fortunate that Egypt has preserved such a wealth of illustrations of the practice and significance of magic at that period of antiquity when it was most rife. But, as Professor Nilsson has emphasized, the importance of the magical papyri is not confined to their usefulness for the study of magic. They are valuable for at least two other reasons: because they throw light upon the Greek religion of their time and because they are instructive about the religious syncretism of Graeco-Roman Egypt, its nature and implications. It is with the last point that this article is concerned, and especially with the Christian attitude to magic as revealed by the papyri.

'There were no such watertight compartments dividing the religions of late antiquity as we are apt to suppose.' It is, therefore, not surprising to find that Christian and Jewish prayers, quotations and sacred names appear cheek by jowl with their Egyptian, Greek and Babylonian counterparts. The author of one particularly interesting example of this syncretism is plainly anxious to include as many δυνάμεις as possible in the briefest possible compass, for he includes a selection of heathen, Jewish and Christian elements in his brief invocation. For us the insertion of an appeal to Jesus Christ is of especial interest. St. Michael too appears, as he does in a number of magical papyri, in which long lists of saints, angels and archangels are always comparatively common, as they are in other spheres of religion. 'The names of angels', writes Professor Eitrem, 'possessed great magic powers amongst heathen as well as Christians', and he goes on to compare their importance with the epithets of God amongst the Mohammedans, ninety-nine of which had a particular efficacy. In a fifth-century amulet designed to ward off fever and 'other ills', several ἄγιοι are appealed to: Sts. John the Divine, Serenus, Philoxenus, Victor, Justus. But not satisfied with the completeness of the list, the writer added 'and all the Saints', so as to be on the safe side! The occurrence of the Virgin Mary and the Holy Ghost is also frequent. One Gnostic charm consists entirely of a symmetrical arrangement of the elements Ἰησοῦς πατὴρ, ὦ θεός, μητρὶ Χριστοῦ, and πνεῦμα ἄγιος [sic], joined by a cross and augmented by the Greek vowels, except, possibly, ε, with the Gnostic title of the Supreme Being, Ἀβρααμίς, at the bottom to round it off, as it were. The πνεῦμα ἄγιον is used in conjunction with δ θεὸς τοῦ θεοῦ in the purely Christian formula already mentioned, in which the opening verses of St. John's Gospel are cited, the Virgin and Saints invoked, and the evil spirit exorcized.

It is clear, then, that the main formal difference between Christian and pagan magic was one of nomenclature, a substitution of Christian for pagan both in the δυνάμεις invoked and in the automatic charms utilized. As examples of the latter we have already noticed the Gospel of St. John, the symbol of the Cross, and the seven mystic vowels,

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3 Ibid.
4 POxy. viii, 1152; cf. vii, 1060.
5 Cf. PGM iv, 3019 ff. (I, 170).
6 PSoI, p. 79, on col. vi, 171 ff.
7 POxy. viii, 1151, 41 ff. Cf. PPrinc. iii, 159, addressed to 'the good angels who rule over us all'.
8 POxy. vi, 924, 15 ff.
9 POxy. viii, 1151, 41 ff.
the last-named, of course, not being peculiar to Christianity. The XC Psalm¹ and the Lord’s Prayer² were also regarded as having considerable efficacy, for obvious reasons, and so, to a lesser degree, were St. Matthew’s Gospel³ and the Book of Proverbs.⁴ The papyrus mentioned as containing the XC Psalm is one of the worst spelled and most carelessly written of all the magical fragments, many of which were not above reproach in this respect and betrayed many faults of illiteracy and ignorance, faults intelligible enough if it is remembered that it is for the lower classes that the magical arts have greatest appeal. It ends with ἀληθῶν and an invocation of the four evangelists.

But, for all this, it must not be assumed that the Christian attitude to magic⁵ was mainly friendly and conciliatory. What is surprising is not that Christian elements are discoverable in the magical papyri but that they are so few, considering that Christianity was the predominant religion of the period. Nilsson⁶ has explained this apparent paradox by attributing it to the innate hostility of Christianity to magicians, right from the beginning, and its essential unproductivity for their purposes, which was even more important. It accepted the belief in δαίμονες but it called them ‘evil’ δαίμονες and sought only to exorcize them and combat their power for evil by arraying the powers of good against them. To the magicians, Christ was only one among many δαίμονες and the Christian God was to be ranked alongside Zeus, Helius and others of the lesser magical deities; to the Christians, Christ was the most powerful of mediators and there was one God. Gnosticism and orthodox Christianity must not be confused in their treatment of magic, for Gnosticism had in this respect more affinity with Hermeticism than with Christianity. It stood on that narrow border that separates religion from occultism and into its magical formulae it drew all the powers of darkness that true Christianity sought to overcome.⁷ In one badly spelled Gnostic invocation⁸ the Deity is evoked under various names, of which several are non-Greek and some quite unintelligible to us—Ἐλων, Ἡλων, Σαπεψίτς, Ταρακαμπένε έτος.¹⁰ In the text also appear Ἡλων and Ὑπάπανος and the undisputably Gnostic Ἀβράαζ.¹¹ But in another example,¹¹ the relationship with Christianity is much more easily discerned: in a charm against reptiles and ‘other ills’, which begins with τὴν πόρον τὴν Ἀφροδίτην and continues with the gradual diminution of Ἀφροδίτην,¹² there is an invocation of Ἰων ἱντερ ἀλιος¹³ and a reference to St. Phocas, the Syrian Martyr. Thus, there are degrees, so to speak, of Christianity in magic, and a line over which Christians would not pass, and could not, if they were to remain in the body of the Church. Magic was a means, not an end, to Christianity, and as a means it was accepted—but only so long as its acceptance did not

¹ POxy. xvi, 1928. Cf. PRyl. 3; Stud. Pal. xx, 294; PSI 719; PPrinc. ii, 107. For the use of psalms in magical papyri generally see Collart, Aegyptus, xiii, 209 ff.; Préaux, Chronique d’Égypte, xx, 395 ff.; Kortenbeul-Böhlig, Aegyptus, xv, 418.
² BGU 954; PPrinc. ii, 107.
³ POxy. viii, 1077.
⁴ PSI 1297. Isaia vi, 3 is also quoted in PPrinc. ii, 107.
⁵ Christians did not deny its powers but they condemned its use by members of their own sect. See, e.g., Tert. Apol. 35.
⁶ Die Religion in den griechischen Zauberpapyri (Lund, 1948), 35.
⁷ Cf. Duchesne, Early History of the Church, 1, 125.
⁸ POxy. xii, 1566.
⁹ Cf. BGU 1026, xiii.
¹⁰ Cf. POxy. xii, 1566.
¹¹ POxy. vii, 1060.
¹² Cf. BGU 956.
¹³ See Nock, op. cit., 62, 63, 111.
involve a denial of the fundamental beliefs of the Christian faith. The attitude of the
Gnostics represented a compromise which cost them their membership of the Church.¹
The subsequent history of the influence of magic, particularly demonology, on that
Church lies outside the purview of this article, and it is sufficient for our purpose to
notice that this influence began with the beginnings of the religion and is well testified
to by the magical papyri, those monuments to popular religious syncretism.

From earliest times, Greek deities, both Chthonic and Olympian, had been invested
with healing powers and, in addition, cults arose in connexion with certain deceased
physicians. The most powerful of these was the cult of Asclepius, a deified hero. Now
the syncretistic cult of Sarapis borrowed the healing function of Asclepius as one of its
divine attributes and, like Asclepius, Sarapis was the God of Health—though he was
much more besides—and operated in very much the same way.² He too worked miracles
of healing;³ he too, in order to effect his cures, made use of incubatio or Tempelschlaf,
so well known to us from the cult of Asclepius, and Strabo⁴ testifies to the Serapeum
at Canobus, in which it was the custom to sleep, in order to obtain a cure for one’s own
sickness or that of another. So close was the connexion between Asclepius and Sarapis
that Imouthes,⁵ the Egyptian Imhôtep, commonly identified with Asclepius, having
been also a historical person before his death and deification, formed one of the circle
of deities round Sarapis at Memphis. Farnell points out⁶ that, whereas such cults com-
bined the scientific with the miraculous, ‘it was easier for the new religion (sc. Chris-
tianity) to adopt and foster the miraculous than the scientific tradition’.

However that may be, Christianity found here again a clamant popular need which it
had to satisfy. Papyri show two ways in which it set about the task. First, the Christian
God and His Son became the only Gods of Healing. A Christian amulet,⁷ already cited
in another connexion, invokes the ‘Son and Word of the Living God, who heals every
sickness and every infirmity’. To us, immersed in the Christian tradition, this is no
novelty; the New Testament bears ample testimony to the belief in Jesus Christ as a
healer of the sick. But it is interesting to remark how, once again, Christianity found
itself trying to supply the deficiencies caused, or likely to be caused, by the removal or
displacement of the pagan gods. This deficiency, a theological deficiency which was sup-
plied by clothing the new objects of worship in the attributes stripped from the old,
was not as important as the practical one, the need for medical practitioners and hos-
pitals, both of which had derived naturally from the cults of Asclepius and Sarapis.
Some of the more important shrines of healing continued to exist even after the estab-
ishment of Christianity.⁸ But the majority would disappear as competition increased.⁹

The answer presented itself along with the problem; the material was again ready to
hand. Just as the temples of pagan healing deities had their sanatoria to which the sick

¹ For other typical Gnostic amulets cf. Poxy. xi, 1478; CPR 2, 12; PPPrinc. ii, 107; iii, 159. For Christian
charms cf. BGU 944–5, and for their pagan counterpart see BGU 956 and PTebr. 275.
² RE, s.v. Sarapis, v, c, 5.
³ Suet. Vespi. 7; Tac. Hist. iv, 81; cf. Plut. Alex. 76.
⁴ XVII, 1, 17.
⁵ For his healing powers see Poxy. xi, 1381; cf. 1382 for Sarapis.
⁷ Poxy. viii, 1151.
⁸ E.g. the Asclepieum at Cos. Farnell, op. cit., 274 f.
⁹ For Christian incubatio see Deubner, De Incubatione (Leipzig, 1900), ch. iv; M. Hamilton, Incubation etc.
could resort for treatment and attention at the hands of the priests of the god, so the counterparts of these institutions sprang up alongside the Christian churches and monasteries, and the Church undertook a responsibility for essential social services which it has never since relinquished. νοσοκομεία was the name given to these ‘hospitals’ and we find reference to one, situated near to the (presumably) church of St. Nilus, in a receipt acknowledging a charitable benefaction by the heirs of Flavius Apion. In other fragments, written by the same hand, dated the same day and in the same manner, a charitable foundation described as the ‘widows of St. Michael’ is mentioned, together with the ‘widows of St. Victor’ and the ‘widows of Sts. Cosmas and Lamianus’, as the recipient of a quantity of wine. It might be objected that these illustrations are too late in chronology to have any bearing upon the development of the history of Christian νοσοκομεία. But surely it is more reasonable to hold to a gradual evolution or Christianization of νοσοκομεία in answer to a current need than to assume their sudden emergence out of the blue at a time when Christianity was already the dominant religion. There is, in fact, ample evidence, both within and without the papyri, for the attribution of healing powers to anchorites. For example, the letters to Paphnutius contain several appeals addressed to that holy recluse by men and women of the highest station in life and entreating his help in sickness of mind and body. ‘Remember us in your prayers; for if your holiness continues so to do, it will be our lot everywhere to be in good health’, writes an Athanasius, who may conceivably be St. Athanasius. Another asks through an amanuensis not only for prayer but also for διαμαντία, a practical approach which might suggest that the anchorite’s powers were not confined to the realm of spiritual measures. All this provides adequate testimony for the importance of the ascetic as healer and, moreover, leaves more than a suspicion in the mind that the Christian ‘hospital’ may have developed from the ever-growing circles of adherents who gathered about the cella of the anchorite to seek his help for the cure of their bodily infirmities.

With the growth of Christianity in Egypt, as elsewhere, there came, then, a corresponding growth in the responsibility of the Church. The administration of ecclesiastical property became an especial problem, to which there are many references in the papyri. A contract, dated A.D. 573 and made by the προορητής of the ‘holy church’, arranged for the management of an entire village, evidently included in the church’s domains. A sixth-century letter to a man named John from his friend entreats his help

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1 Sophocles cites six examples in Byzantine authors. The earliest example in Preisigke’s Wörterbuch is late fourth or early fifth century—PSI 84, 16.
2 POxy. xvi, 1898, 19, 20. Cf. SB 4869, 3; PLond. 1028, 16; PAmh. 154, 2, 8.
4 For an estimate of their place in Byzantine life and thought see Baynes, The Thought-World of East Rome (Oxford, 1947), 7 f., 34 ff.
6 PJews, 1929.
7 In PJews, 1928.
8 The text is too badly mutilated to admit of certainty.
10 POxy. xvi, 1894.
11 A secular term adopted, cf. POxy. xvi, 1950. For the elaborate organization of church property see Bell on PLond. 1782, 1.
12 POxy. vi, 941.
in obtaining a piece of ground for brickmaking from the ὀλενόμος, or steward, of the
Church of St. Justus. Earlier than that, there is an extract\(^1\) from a receipt addressed to a
chief steward from a labourer on one of the Church's holdings at Colotes near Oxy-
ryynchus. All this points to a semi-feudal administration and the impression is stren-
thened by the endowment, maintenance, and even control of churches, monasteries, and
other ecclesiastical property by the greater families, e.g. the Apion family, dating, for
the most part, from the sixth century.\(^2\) Bequests made by this family to the church-
controlled institutions have already been noted, and on the verso of a papyrus\(^3\) probably
belonging to the Apion archives there is an account of the general expenditure on the
Tarousebt estate, which includes a payment εἰς τὴν ἑκκλησίαν Ἀββᾶ Ἰερακλίωνος. Else-
where,\(^4\) the 'gatekeeper of St. John', which is either a church or a monastery, comes in
for a payment of wine from the butler of a comes.

By this extension of its sphere of influence the Christian Church now bade fair to
rival even the most powerful of the hieratic systems of the past. In Egypt, of course,
the seeds of power had been there all the time—amongst the priests of Pτα in Memphis,
of Amen-Rē\(^5\) in Thebes, of Horus in Apollinopolis, for example—and, under the
tolerant policy of the Ptolemies and encouraged by their lymphatic indifference of later
days, the priests had increased their secular power and with it their influence through-
out Egypt.\(^6\) It was only the central authority, at once strengthening and controlling its
members, which was needed; this the Christian Church\(^7\) was not slow to provide. And,
as the great families became more and more entangled in ecclesiastical affairs, so the
dominion of the Church itself widened, until we find it entrusted with the most secular
aspects of local administration. The Church came to be regarded, for instance, as
generally responsible for the maintenance and organization of the bread supply to the
poor.\(^8\) This tendency to invest the Church with secular powers blunted the distinction
between the religious and secular authorities. 'Clerics occur not infrequently in secular
occupations', as Bell and Roberts point out,\(^9\) and this was not altogether a desirable
development for either side.\(^10\) Bishops and other dignitaries are commonly mentioned
in connexion with the trivial affairs of everyday life; one is even asked to give his ruling
on the price of transport for camels.\(^11\) They assumed various judicial functions,\(^12\) some

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1 POxy. xvi, 1900.
2 See Bell, Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest (Oxford, 1948), 121 ff.; id., The Byzantine
Seresile State in Egypt, in JEA 4, 86 ff., passim.
3 POxy. vii, 1053, 23.
4 POxy. I, 141, 3.
5 Murray, The Splendour that was Egypt (London, 1949), 214.
6 For bibliography see Wallace, Taxation in Egypt (Princeton, 1938), 238 f.
7 N.B. There was no Mithraic, no Isiac Church. The efficiency of church organization, itself based on the
imperial system, may be gauged by the attempt of Maximin to imitate it in his abortive scheme to reinstate
paganism in the Eastern Empire.
10 Attempts were soon made to prevent it, e.g. by the ἄντιγραφον of Licinius in Eus. HE x, 7, and Constant-
tine's letter to the proconsul of Africa quoted in A. H. M. Jones, Constantine the Great and the Conversion of
Europe (London, 1948), 83.
11 POxy. xvi, 1871. Cf. 1848; 1911, 52, 92, 94; PPrinc. II, 82, in which a bishop, two presbyters, and a
deacon are parties to a διάλεκτος.
12 PLips. 43. Cf. Cod. Theod. 1, 27, 1, and Jones, op. cit., 99, 217 f. For clergy as arbitrators see PMon. 1, 14.
of which would seem to have been delegated to their subordinates. Coming events cast their shadows before them in one papyrus of the fifth century[2] which records a marriage ἐν παρωνίᾳ τῶν ἐπαρκόντων. So, even at this early stage of its history, the hands of the Church’s officials are becoming soiled with the dirt of everyday life and the way is made clear for the warrior-priest and the ecclesiastic-politician.

Finally, it is worth noticing that Christianity often took over the temples themselves. There is good evidence which shows, in reality, converted temples, at Oxyrhynchus.[3] Even more significant perhaps is the practice of naming the new churches after the old temples,[4] and, sometimes, after the deities who were worshipped in them.[5] The process of assimilation was not confined to the institutions and customs of paganism but extended to the field of religious terminology. Now religions, in their early stages, do not seek to express a precise theology. Their concern is with the strengthening of the ties of belief and communion, their primary aim to win the struggle for existence. Formal theology is a later development, the child of established religion, belonging to the phase of consolidation, not of formation, and it consciously avoids, wherever possible, resemblances with the older religions which surround it and tend to impress themselves upon it. Its aim is exact definition. To achieve that aim, it creates a fresh terminology which will distinguish it from lesser creeds without the law. Our concern is not with the creation of this theological vocabulary by a handful of scholars but with that earlier, popular phraseology familiar to the humblest Christian and handed on from one generation to another, so that traces of its survival are still clear in the papyri of a much later period. Here too we find Christianity borrowing, appropriating. It was most natural that, when early Christians tried to describe their God, they turned to the pagan cults for their modes of expression. This is not imitation in the strict sense but inevitable similarity.

The ancient cult of Apis had supplied one of the Egyptian elements in the syncretistic cult of Sarapis,[6] and the Apis Bull had been buried at Memphis in its burial-ground west of the city from the time of Amenophis II. The excavations here of a later Serapeum revealed inter alia the name ‘Apis, the Living, Osiris’ for a Bull buried in the reign of Amenophis III; under Dyn. XXV the description ‘Apis the Living’ again appears. Christianity, another religion centred upon a resurrected God whose death was at once a symbol and an act of redemption for His followers, employed the same term; one example of its use has already been quoted.[7] Another occurs in a Christian charm[8] of distinctly Gnostic flavour, in which the petitioner describes herself as ‘servant (lit. slave) of the Living God’. In fact, the expression becomes more common in Christianity than in paganism and admits of further extension, for the phrase ξύλ κόρων, which

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1 Cod. Theod. iv, 7, 1. Cf. Cod. Just. 1, 13, 1, and see Lietzmann in CAH xii, 694.
2 POxy. vi, 923.
3 POxy. i, 43, verso l, 22; xiv, 1683, 19, 20.
4 P.Merit. 1, 41, 12. Cf. POxy. viii, 115—ἐν τῷ ἔρει Ἀγαθοῦ (at Alexandria)—and the editors’ note ad loc.
6 Recent articles on the origin and nature of this cult are: Youtie, Harvard Theological Review, 41, 9 ff.; Kiessling, Chronique d’Egypte, 48, 317 ff. See too Jouguet, Trois études sur l’hellénisme (Cairo, 1944), 120 ff.
7 POxy. viii, 1151, 24.
8 POxy. vi, 924, 11.
appears frequently in the Septuagint, is often found in the papyri as an asseveration inserted parenthetically, almost conventionally. Another variation on the original theme is ἐν θεός. Of course, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the influence of the Septuagint itself explains the popularity of this phrase in early Christianity, but the similarity in the ideas fundamental to both Christianity and certain pagan cults is undeniable illustrated by it.

The word κυριός was universally adopted by Christians, who seem to have had no aversion to the use of a word so commonly employed to describe pagan deities. Nor is there any valid reason why they should have had, since Jesus Christ was their Lord, just as Sarapis was the Lord of his worshippers. κυριός, therefore, in the papyri is, like the singular ὁ θεός or even θεός, not a reliable indication of the religious beliefs of the writer, despite Ghedini’s assumption to the contrary. The use of the compendia κκ, βε, however, puts us on much more certain ground. For example, Grenfell and Hunt were quite prepared to accept as of Christian origin a letter of the late third or early fourth century on the strength of παρὰ τῷ κω θεῷ; whereas a similarly phrased letter from parents to son of the fourth century, which has παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ in full, falls between two stools. Of course, even here anomalies must be expected, since the Jews may possibly not have been quite as antagonistic to such nomina sacra as κκ, βε as to ϊ, and an additional warning against the too ready acceptance of them in letters of an early period as a priori Christian (or vice-versa) is given by an examination of the verbose letter to Apa Païéous, dated c. A.D. 330-40, in which they are subjected to strange treatment. The standard contractions are absent but the horizontal stroke is there all the same, sometimes duplicated, suggesting, as Traube hinted, that the compendia were not perfectly understood at this stage by less literate writers.

An equally ambiguous term common to both pagan and Christian is σῶν θεῶ. It is usually safe to assume that the great majority of instances occurring in letters, etc., dated to the sixth century or later are Christian. From an examination of fifty-three such instances in the Oxyrhynchus papyri it would appear that there are three ways in which σῶν θεῶ is used. Twenty-eight of these examples of its use have what one might call the purely conventional meaning of ‘by the grace of God’ and are employed almost as an additional name or title. In a business letter of the sixth century, the phrases σῶν θεῶ ἄδελφῳ and Βίκτωρ σῶν θεώ are found with this meaning; in another, a physician is

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1 E.g. Judges viii, 12.
2 E.g. P.Oxy. vi, 943.
3 P.Oxy. xvi, 1874, 12.
4 For its pagan use cf. PPar. 574, 1038.
6 SB III, 7242; PMich. III, 213.
7 SB III, 6222.
8 In his Lett. Cristiani, in the papiro greci del III e IV secolo (Milan, 1923), on which see Bell, Harvard Theological Review, 37, 192 ff.
9 P.Oxy. xii, 1493. Cf. 1495, where both κυριός and θεός are contracted; xiv, 1774, 2 for ἐν κω.
10 P.Oxy. x, 1299. So 100 PPrinc. II, 73 (third century).
12 Nomina Sacra, 49 ff.
13 Often σῶν θεῶ, of course, in pagan usage, as in P.Oxy. xii, 1482, 9; xiv, 1760, 15 For the pagan σῶν θεῶ cf. P.Oxy. ix, 1220, 24; xiv, 1763, 11.
14 Viz. 1, 138; 8; 138; 15; 140, 11; 156, 5; xvi, 1835, 10; 1838, 6; 1844, 6; 1845, 6; 1846, 5; 1847, 6; 1848, 9; 1849, 4; 1850, 3; 1851, 5; 1852, 4; 1853, 9; 1854, 13; 1855, 19; 1856, 8; 1860, 16; 1861, 3; 1869, 21; 1937, 9; 1997, 2; 2002, 1; and the exx. in the two notes following.
15 P.Oxy. vi, 943.
16 P.Oxy. i, 126, 23.
referred to as Μαρκός σὺν θεῷ ἱερός. Also conventional but with a slightly altered connotation, like our ‘D.V.’ or ‘with God’s help’, is another example in the same letter, τῆς σὺν θεῷ εἰσούσις ἔκτης ἐπημετάσιος. With this, the usual meaning in pagan associations, nineteen similar cases may be compared. But there is yet a third shade of meaning which σὺν θεῷ can bear and which is more significant as evidence of true religious feeling. It can be seen in a phrase like ὁφελοῦσε σὺν θεῷ παραγίνεσθαι, which the editors translate ‘being obliged, by the grace of God, to arrive’. The difficulties of the translator are here obvious, but this instance is, for all that, not to be classified with either of the conventional uses described above; it is not an additional title nor is it equivalent to ‘D.V.’ It refers to a past event necessitated by the will and action of God. Amongst our examples, there are four more which fall outside the two main categories. One of them, in a letter of deeply religious tone, is σὺν θεῷ ἐξομένου or ‘praying with God’s help’, which cannot by any stretch of the imagination be called conventional. Here we have an expression of real piety.

Other expressions, for the greater part conventional and equivalent to our ‘D.V.’, are almost identical with their pagan counterparts, e.g. θεῷ ἁλοντος, θεῷ βοηθοῦντος, βουλησι τεοι. But, in one early Christian letter, the first is given a conditional sense—εἰ ὐστος θεῷ ἁλοντος τάχα τει πρατιστὸν γενέσται—and conditional too is the use of the second in another fourth-century letter—εἰδότες ὡς ἔχετε μὲ γα τή ἄν πάκητε, θεῷ βοηθοῦντος. Speaking generally, however, such phrases are taken over as a heritage from paganism and fall into automatic use without emphasis upon, or analysis of, their fundamental significance.

Pagan terms were also employed to designate some Christian festivals. Naturally enough, the word ἑορτῇ itself is frequently borrowed, with the addition of ἄγια to denote its essential difference from the pagan festival. Again, the Θεοφάνεια (sc. ἑορτῇ) was originally a Delphic festival at which the statues of Apollo and other gods were ‘shown’ to the people; in Christian usage, it reappears as the Epiphany, as in a business letter, apparently enclosed with a present of fish for consumption at the feast, which is described as πανήγυρα τῶν ἄγιων θεοφανίων. An interesting example of this process of assimilation is the word γενέλθα. In pagan papyri, unlike the Greek literature of the classical period, it is used almost exclusively of the birthday of a god or semi-divine personage, as opposed to γενέσια. Transferred from its pagan associations, it may be used of Christmas or the birthday of a saint, or of the anniversary of his or her birth.
death. In an account of expenditure\(^1\) γενέθλια Ατα ιωάννου and γενέθλια Εὐτροπίας are cited, and the editors supply cogent arguments for regarding both as the festivals of saints, in the former case St. John the Baptist and, in the latter, the St. Eutropia who perished in the Decian Persecutions. It is clear that the word was adopted by Christianity and used in approximately the same sense, mutatis mutandis, as it had been in paganism.

Some of the contrasts and new features introduced by Christianity have already come to our notice, but the question of vocabulary in general has not been exhausted. One point calls for especial mention, leading on, as it does, to discussion of the new (Christian) conception of the divine-human relationship. In the papyri which were written by Christians the new vocabulary acquired from the Septuagint and the New Testament is everywhere reflected. Nor is the similarity entirely explicable by the use, in both papyri and scriptures, of the same dialect, the κοινή, giving to both the same general framework of language. The current dialect, wedded to the idiom of the New Testament, in particular, is enriched by the infusion of new metaphors, combinations of phrase and modes of thought. Pagan intellectuals had been able to express themselves in terms of their relationship with their god or gods. But between them and the uneducated masses had been fixed a great gulf, which the one section did not desire, and the other did not know how, to cross. The chief reason for this dichotomy was the lack of a sacred book which would link the learned and the ignorant. Of course, there were contributory factors: cults like those of Isis and Mithra tended to be esoteric and expensive. The leaders of the Christian Church, on the other hand, made no distinction between rich and poor, educated and uneducated. Their purpose was the conversion, first of Jewry, then of the world, and, as a potent aid in its achievement, they had a collection of beautiful, but simple, literature which the preacher’s voice could make available to even the humblest.\(^2\) The scriptures became popular and everyday vocabulary was leavened with scriptural terms.

Thus presented with a ready-made terminology, the common man found himself able, if admitted to the Christian brotherhood, to express even ‘thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears’ in words not unworthy of the emotions by which they were inspired. The most precious possession which this newly acquired ability conferred upon him was a vastly improved technique of prayer, the spiritual medium through which the true worshipper is united with the object of his worship and the most satisfying of all religious experiences for those who can avail themselves of it. At this early stage, unfortunately, Christians did not commit whole prayers—except the Lord’s Prayer, of course—to writing, so that our evidence is confined to the content of the sometimes conventional prayers inserted in private or business letters. The customary formula is ἐπροσόβαλε σε (or ὑμᾶς) εὔχομαι,\(^3\) which, although it does not often occur before the third century,\(^4\) is pagan in origin for all that.\(^5\) In Christian letters it is variously expanded by

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\(^1\) PMert. 1, 40, 5, 6.  
\(^2\) For a Christian homily whose author evidently knew his Bible by heart see PBour. 3, and cf. PBour. 4.  
\(^3\) PFay. 125, 14; 129, 9; 133, 16; 135, 17; 136, 11.  
\(^4\) But cf. PFay. 117, 27, dated to A.D. 108.  
\(^5\) Cf. PGIss. 76, 11; 41, 8.
the addition of scriptural phrases, such as διὰ παντός καὶ ἐν παντί in one of the earliest,\(^1\) which contains other typical Christian phrases and in which the writer twice addresses his son as ἵππος υἱὸς. Another equally illuminating short prayer is ‘Ο God of the crosses which are laid upon us, help thy servant’,\(^2\) explained by Moulton and Milligan\(^3\) as a reference to God as ‘at once the sender and mitigator of trials’ and an intriguing development of the command of Jesus Christ\(^4\)—ἀρέτο τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καθ’ ἡμέραν.\(^5\)

Nor is the influence of biblical phraseology confined to prayers. A badly mutilated letter of condolence,\(^6\) written in extremely vulgar Greek, erratic in spelling and employing a coarse semi-cursive, also presents many echoes, e.g. ‘He gave and He hath taken away’, ‘to sing amongst them in paradise, when the souls of men are judged’, and ‘for they are gone away into Abraham’s bosom’. Expressive too are business letters, particularly those of a later period; one,\(^7\) dealing with the non-fulfilment of leases, a most unspiritual topic, ends with ‘But with God’s help and by the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ your darling son is in good condition’. The mere admission of sentiments such as these in business letters speaks volumes for Christian influence and its gradual permeation of every aspect of everyday life. But it was a practice that could lend itself to excess, and there is much that we find nauseating in many documents of the Byzantine era,\(^8\) so packed with compliments, pious reflections and effusive greetings that any message they might contain is, to all intents and purposes, obscured or altogether forgotten.

This gift of self-expression had a corollary in a new understanding of the personality of God and His relationship with man. Greek religion had been primarily a religion of local and national cults; only in the mystery-religions had there been evidence of real religious feeling and that had not been of the kind to admit of analysis. The pre-eminent conception in Egyptian religion seems to have been that of a strictly business relationship between the two parties to an agreement, a ‘peculiarly Egyptian’\(^9\) attitude which, no doubt, persisted long after the triumph of Christianity, as in the fifth-century letter\(^10\) in which God is regarded as having rewarded human charity with divine and the lucky beneficiary is congratulated. But this aspect of the relationship was no longer the sole, or even the dominant, factor governing human action.

The unique contribution of the new religion to religious thought was its creation of the idea of a family of which the centre was God and the radii Christ and the Holy Spirit, whilst at the periphery stood the whole Christian community. The idea of universal brotherhood had been a commonplace of later Greek philosophy but that of divine fatherhood was a Christian development of Hebraism. One could not love an abstraction as a father; so, when Christianity preached the Fatherhood of God, it

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\(^1\) POxy. xii, 1492. Cf. PGrenf. ii, 73, 21; SB i, 4323, 22; POxy. iii, 527, 9; BGU 892, 96; POxy. vi, 939, 28.

\(^2\) POxy. vii, 1058.

\(^3\) Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, s.v. σταυρός.

\(^4\) Ev. Luk. ix, 23.

\(^5\) For the efficacy of the Σταυρός τῶν Χριστιανῶν and its frequent affixation to letters, etc., cf. Pland. i, 16; PLips. i, 90, 10; and the ed. note on PJews, 1917, 6.

\(^6\) POxy. xvi, 1874. Cf. PPrinc. ii, 102—οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐθάνατος ἀθάνατος εἰ μὴ ὦδος ὦ ἥθελο.

\(^7\) POxy. xvi, 1868.  

\(^8\) E.g. PJews, 1917, 1919.

\(^9\) See Bell, JEA 34, 96.

\(^10\) POxy. xvi, 1870. Cf. POxy. xvi, 1832, 5.
invested Him with a father's qualities, in addition to the philosophical attributes. The evidence of the papyri is eloquent upon this question.

God the Father is full of compassion\(^1\) but He is also capable of displaying great displeasure at the errors and follies of His children. A formal deed\(^2\) repudiating a betrothal speaks of 'actions which are pleasing neither to God nor to men'. The Meletian soldiers who were in the camp invaded by Athanasius's adherents hid in the store-chamber, 'having the fear of God in their hearts'.\(^3\) But God also shows the greatest possible forethought in directing the affairs of His children;\(^4\) his πρόνοια becomes proverbial: τὰ τὰ γὰρ ἐστὶν τὰ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ πρόνοιᾳ,\(^5\) says one letter, and another, which is Christian at least in its phrasology,\(^6\) recommends the belief that (sc. ἴπτο τὸ θεὸν πρόνοια) παρέχει τὸ μετὰ τὰ ὀλοκληρωμένα σε τὰ ὀικεία ἀπολαβεῖν.\(^7\) Again, He assists them in practical undertakings: one correspondent invokes the help of 'God who comes to their aid' for the workers in his vineyard.\(^8\) But God can be the opposite of helpful, even capricious: so the writer of a receipt\(^9\) seems to think when he promises to transport the sums received to Alexandria 'apart from accidents from Heaven'—διὰ τῶν ἁβῶν διαστήματος, the use of βία giving a most intimate touch.\(^10\)

Intimacy is the salient feature of the conception of the divine-human relationship as revealed to us by these few glimpses, intimacy best illustrated by an affectionately worded letter\(^11\) from a slave to his master. The impression given is one of the closest possible understanding, resembling that between master and trusted dependent, than which there was no closer bond of affection in late antiquity: 'now is displayed still more clearly the regard\(^12\) of the Lord God for you.' Like a Father and a kind master, God is depicted as responsible for each individual. ὡσε καὶ ὅνε, 'protect them each one individually', asks a short fifth-century prayer\(^13\) written in a rude hand and illiterate Greek.

The 'man in the street' attributed to God exactly those qualities which he considered to be fatherly. But he did not strip Him at the same time of those basic attributes which, qua god, he held in common with the gods of pagan philosophy. He was omnipotent and, in the name of the Son, could vanquish the mightiest of pagan deities, for even the Nile, a god of great antiquity and potency, succumbed to the power of Christ.\(^14\) Similarly, the Lord of All\(^15\) was pre-eminent, taking precedence over all other beings, superhuman or human. Not even the mightiest seigneur might challenge His primacy.

One petition, from a man of Jewish descent, is addressed παῖ παί θεῶν ἁγαθὴ δεσπότης\(^16\) and the phrase μετὰ θεῶν becomes the conventional, but necessary, qualification of mere mortal greatness.\(^17\)

\(^1\) P\(\text{Oxy.}\) \(\text{i}, 120, 15, 16, \) but the letter is not definitely Christian.

\(^2\) P\(\text{Oxy.}\) \(\text{i}, 120, 5, \)

\(^3\) P\(\text{Jews}, 1914, 12, \)

\(^4\) P\(\text{Jews}, 1914, 36 f., \) is perhaps the best example, though the writer's view about the functions of Providence cannot be said to be disinterested!

\(^5\) But see Bell, \(\text{JE}\) \(\text{A} \) \(\text{34, 99, citing P\(\text{Oxylo}\) \(\text{iii}, 148, 4, \) which carries the phrase back to the first or second century and confirms its pagan origin, viz. in Stoic doctrine.}\)

\(^6\) P\(\text{Oxy.}\) \(\text{xiv}, 1682, 6.\)

\(^7\) P\(\text{Oxy.}\) \(\text{xvi}, 1859, 5.\)

\(^8\) P\(\text{Oxy.}\) \(\text{vi}, 939.\)

\(^9\) P\(\text{Oxy.}\) \(\text{i}, 144.\)

\(^10\) The phrase is legal in origin and should not, perhaps, be pressed too far.

\(^11\) P\(\text{Oxy.}\) \(\text{vi}, 109.\)

\(^12\) γάρ ωσιν. \)

\(^13\) P\(\text{Oxy.}\) \(\text{vi}, 1830, 6.\)

\(^14\) P\(\text{Oxy.}\) \(\text{xvi}, 1868, 10, 11.\)

\(^15\) P\(\text{Oxy.}\) \(\text{xi}, 131, 1.\)

\(^16\) P\(\text{Oxy.}\) \(\text{vi}, 1857, 6; 1858, 7; 1861, 11; 1865, 15; 1939, 5; 1940, 6.\)
Whilst not at all depreciating His divinity, the increased understanding of God’s personality brought in its train the idea that God was more closely connected and concerned with the daily round. Religion ceased to be remote, something to be sought, when needed, in temples or local shrines. It became a living reality, close at hand, accessible. It pervaded everyday routine, yet not as early Greek religion had done with its primitive, animistic approach. Christianity was not, like that and other forms of numinism, seeking to placate the unseen spirits with which the air and all around was filled; it was trying to introduce a personal God into the world of human persons. God could, as we have seen, be a powerful helpmate in dealing with such ordinary operations as vine-tending and irrigation, and He was not interested solely in the control of Nature, but even in business transactions as well. His name became a power to invoke, an Eidesgarant. ets theos, the endorsement on the verso of a fourth-century business order, is hardly conceivable as a reference to a pagan deity; men might acclaim Sarapis thus after the manifestation of some miraculous power but they were unlikely to use his name as a kind of password on business documents. The Christian God, however, is frequently invoked as witness: μαρτυριον ἔχω θεόν τοῦ ἰδος is the cry of a harassed tax-official to his superior. In the same letter, θεὸς ὀδεύ is inserted almost parenthetically, as it commonly is from the fourth century onwards, becoming as conventional as ἀνθρωπος. Sometimes it appears in full as ταύτα δε ὀδεύ δ θεος or ὀδεύ δ θεος, but more often as above in virtual parenthesis, with or without γάρ. By the time the process of vulgarization is complete it is no more or less than our ‘God knows!’, although it is perhaps not fanciful to detect in its longer forms a remnant of real piety. Other assertions, e.g. τὸν θεόν σου and τὸν βοηθοῦς τοῦ θεος, are just as conventional, and it becomes increasingly clear that God is regarded as taking the place of a human witness and is liable to just as cavalier treatment in the end. So too, in an account in the George-Victor series, the ‘Mother of God’ is invoked almost as casually as Zeus is in the comedies of Aristophanes.

One usage is especially common, the symbol χβγ, the exact meaning of which is not settled but is agreed by all to be in some way derived from Christian theology or hagiology. It is employed in all possible settings. In five examples, out of sixteen examined, it heads an account, in two, a lease. Other documents in which it appears are a receipt for corn, a note of commons supplied to singularii, a letter concerning payments to a βοηθος, an inventory, a letter to a cleric, a liturgical fragment, a Christian
tian oracular prayer, as well as the letter about the vintage already quoted and a badly spelled letter from son to mother.

But perhaps it is wrong to lay too great an emphasis on this kind of evidence, *vis-à-vis* the abundant testimony for the introduction by Christianity of a new spirit of comradeship. Although we find often, in matters of universal, as of purely domestic, interest that the new religion has sown seeds of bitter schism, this fulfilment of its Founder's prophecy is more than offset by the numerous acts of kindness and affection which illuminate all but the most prosaic papyri of this period and many of which would have been unthinkable under a pagan dispensation. It is significant that this sense of the word ἀγάπη does not seem to occur in the papyri before the sixth century. It was a new ingredient or, at least, one whose essence and potency earlier religions had overlooked. For Christianity, for all its adoption of pagan institutions and ideas, had also infused a good deal that was new into the old mixture. By kindling arid formalism into warm life and bringing its God into a closer relation with mundane matters, it encouraged the adoption of a religious attitude that was to stand the test of time and mitigate the worst effects of human folly and wickedness. For the early development of this attitude the evidence of the papyri is not the least important.

1 P.Oxy. xvi, 1926, where it is triplicated. 2 P.Oxy. vi, 940. 3 P.Oxy. x, 1300.
4 P.Jews, 1914. 5 P.Oxy. vi, 903, 19 ff. 6 Ev. Matth. x, 35.
PERCY EDWARD NEWBERRY, M.A., O.B.E.

The passing of Professor Newberry on August 7, 1949, at the age of eighty, severs the link between the members of the Egypt Exploration Society of to-day and the original founders of the Egypt Exploration Fund—Amelia Edwards and Reginald Stuart Poole. Percy Edward Newberry, the son of the late Henry James and Caroline Newberry of Ealing, was born April 23, 1869. He spent his boyhood in Chelsea and was educated at King’s College School and King’s College, London. Such was his formal education, but to a far greater degree he educated himself in all those subjects on which he later left his mark—botany, Egyptology, oriental textiles, and glass. He was drawn into Egyptology, as he told me recently, by his introduction in 1884 to Reginald Stuart Poole (1832–95), one of the founders and honorary secretaries of the Egypt Exploration Fund, who asked his assistance in the secretarial work of the Fund. Newberry readily responded, and he carried out his duties between 1884 and 1886 in Poole’s official residence at the British Museum. Here he met and frequently conversed with Poole’s mother, Sophia Poole (1804–91), who had lived many years in Egypt and was the sister of the famous Arabic scholar, Edward William Lane; here, too, he met Amelia Edwards, Flinders Petrie, and Griffith, so these early years were spent in a thoroughly ‘Egyptianized’ atmosphere. Newberry’s knowledge of botany was immediately useful to Petrie, who had discovered many ancient floral remains during his excavations in the Fayyûm, and Newberry undertook the determination of the species and made a communication on the subject to the Bath meeting of the British Association in 1888 and contributed chapters to Petrie’s Hawara (1889) and Kahun (1890).

Griffith had, at the annual meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1889, formulated his scheme for an Archaeological Survey of Egypt (Ann. Rep., 1888–9, 11–24). The plan was immediately adopted by the Committee, and Miss Edwards, Poole, and others, having a first-hand knowledge of Newberry’s enthusiasm and ability, at once placed him, young as he was, in charge of the expedition that began work at Beni Hasan and carried out surveys at El-Bershah and other sites. He had as assistants George Willoughby Fraser and John Newberry (his brother), both of whom were architects, together with Marcus Blackden and Percy Buckle as draughtsmen. The well-known volumes which resulted, Beni Hasan and El Bershah, are mainly Newberry’s work, though Griffith, the editor, contributed largely to the inscriptiveal matter.

From 1895 to 1901 Newberry as a free-lance carried out a survey of the Theban Necropolis and superintended excavations financed by Lord Amherst of Hackney, the Marquis of Northampton, Miss Margaret Benson, Theodore M. Davis, Mrs. Emma B. Andrews, Mrs. Tytus, and others whose interest and support he had enlisted. He formed a grandiose plan to publish the principal Private Tombs, but the projected series began and ended with The Life of Rekhmara, which records about one-third of a single tomb. Newberry’s work at Thebes continued for many years, but latterly he
was not attached to any particular expedition but gave his advice and assistance to many—those of the Earl of Carnarvon, Theodore Davis, and others. To the publications of these and other excavators he made valuable contributions.

In 1906 Newberry was appointed Brunner Professor of Egyptology at Liverpool University, and he held the chair until 1919. During that period he enrolled in the ranks of Egyptology many young students, including the late Professor Peet whose brilliant career was thus originated and who succeeded his professor in the same chair. On his resignation Newberry was appointed Honorary Reader in Egyptian Art at Liverpool, and in 1908 he had been elected a Fellow of King’s College, London.

During the First World War Newberry sacrificed the comforts of his home and all his leisure to work at gauge-making in the workshops of the Goldsmiths’ College at Deptford. Here he worked at the bench and took lodgings in the neighbourhood as an ordinary mechanic. After the war he resumed his old activities and commenced new ones: he was President of Section H of the British Association in 1923 and was a Vice-President of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1926. In 1929 he accepted the chair of Ancient History and Archaeology in the Egyptian University at Cairo, and continued in this post for four years. Shortly before his death he was elected a Vice-President of the Egypt Exploration Society.

Throughout his life Newberry was an indefatigable worker and he collected masses of material on the various phases of archaeology in which he was interested, but comparatively little of this valuable hoard has been published, and it must be confessed that his output is disappointingly small for one who had such wide knowledge and such ability to communicate it. This is not the place to set out a bibliography of Newberry’s writings, but in addition to the works already mentioned and to contributions to various journals, reference may be made to his Amherst Papyri, to his Scarabs, to his three volumes on Scarabs, Seals, and Funerary Figurines in the Cairo Museum Catalogue, and to the chapters he contributed to the publications of Miss Benson, Lord Carnarvon, Theodore M. Davis, and Howard Carter. Towards the end of his life, the large quantity of valuable material that lay stored up in his book-notes (and in his head, I may add) began, as he said, to weigh on his conscience. In a letter of May 1946 he wrote: ‘I hope to survive long enough to produce one more book which will consist of Essays dealing with the Archaic Period and the history and archaeology of Egypt generally. It will have to be written out by hand like so many of Sethe’s works and I am looking round for a clear calligraphist to do it.’ How far this work had progressed in the meantime, I know not, but I hope a means may be found of publishing it, if the materials are in a sufficiently forward state.

Newberry was always most kind and helpful to all who came to him for information and advice, particularly to beginners and to Egyptologists at the outset of their careers. By travellers and collectors in Egypt his advice and assistance were also much in demand and always accessible. Many useful undertakings have been carried out and many valuable collections formed under his guidance. Indeed, far too much of his time when in Egypt was taken up by acting as guide, philosopher, and friend to many eminent visitors. The Consuls of the European Powers and the high officials of
the Egyptian Government constantly requested him to do the honours of the Nile Valley for distinguished visitors. He acted, for instance, as guide to Princess Beatrice and her party when they visited Egypt in 1904 and accompanied them as far as Aswān by river, and overland to the Red Sea Coast. One cannot but regret that the time so spent on these numerous expeditions could not have been devoted to productive research. But Newberry was too courteous and too kind-hearted to refuse any request that it was in his power to fulfil. He had profound knowledge of almost every notable collection of antiquities in Europe and America, both public and private, and was in constant touch with the movements of antiquities whether at public sales or in the hands of dealers.

To the very end of his long life Newberry maintained his enthusiasm and activity, and nothing but ill health or the conditions imposed by war could restrain him. In the Second World War, despite his advancing years, he again sacrificed his time and his comforts to National Service, first in the Ministry of Food and later in the Home Guard. He also gave up his house for a Nurses’ Hostel and it was not until he regained possession of it after the war that he could have access again to his books and papers and return to his studies.

Newberry will occupy a lasting place in the annals of Egyptology and in the memories of his colleagues and friends: he was an Egyptologist *sui generis*.

Warren R. Dawson
BATTISCOMBE GEORGE GUNN

By the death on February 27 of Professor Battiscombe Gunn, Editor of this journal from September 1935 to December 1939, those who were privileged to know him well have lost a most beloved friend, and Egyptology one of its greatest men.

Of the position which Gunn held in his study one might say, with Sinuhe, 'his face was set toward it since he was born'. The fascination of Egyptian writings won his mind while he was still at school; already at fourteen he had begun to read hieroglyphs. His early enthusiasm received no encouragement, and it was to be many years before circumstances would allow him to devote his full attention to the study to which he was to contribute so much. After a period of unhappiness in uncongenial work he found, in 1908, as private secretary to Sir Arthur Pinero, employment better suited to his tastes and temperament. Three years later he went to Paris, where for some time he worked as a journalist. There, to the literary and artistic circle in which his talents enabled him to live so easily, he must have seemed entirely in his element. But it had long been apparent that neither discouragement nor the diffusion of interest which is the besetting danger of versatile minds could divert him from his chosen study. Already in 1906 he had published his first book, The Instruction of Ptahhotep, which, although in the adventurous confidence of youth it attempted too much, was a great advance on previous attempts to translate that discouragingly difficult text. Its preface is most revealing; in it we see just which aspects of his subject were the first to appeal to him, and the spirit in which he approached it. No finer approach could be conceived.

Before he went to Paris he had made the acquaintance of the man with whom his name will always be linked. His connexion with Dr. (later Sir) Alan Gardiner was to be a most fruitful and lasting partnership. Henceforward, whenever the two friends were separated, frequent correspondence enabled them to collaborate; it continued when, in 1913, with the encouragement of Flinders Petrie, Gunn at last realized his ambition and visited Egypt. Here he worked with Engelbach at Harageh as epigraphist.1 Having been invalidated out of the army after a short period of service in 1914, Gunn joined Gardiner in London and worked there with him for some years. This work culminated in the production of Gunn’s great contribution to the study of Egyptian grammar, Studies in Egyptian Syntax. Before its publication in 1924 Gunn had left again for Egypt; after working with Woolley and Peet at Tell el-Amarna in 1921–2, he was appointed to a post in the Service des Antiquités; it was during this period that he co-operated with Firth at Saqqârah (in 1924).3 He was Assistant Keeper in the Cairo Museum from 1928 until 1931, when he went to the Philadelphia Museum as curator of the Egyptian section. Here he remained until 1934, when, upon the death of Professor T. E. Peet, he was elected as his successor to the Chair at Oxford.

It may be asked why, after such brilliant promise of production, Gunn’s written

1 See Harageh, B.S.A.E., 1923.
2 See The City of Akhenaten, 1, 1923.
3 See Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, 1926.
BATTISCOMBE GEORGE GUNN

Photo: Gillman & Soame, Oxford
contributions to his science were henceforward confined to brief but masterly articles and reviews in this journal and elsewhere. The answer is twofold. Firstly, he felt that as a University teacher his chief duty was to his pupils. As the sole senior representative of his subject at Oxford he sometimes gave as many as a dozen classes a week, beside supervising the studies of advanced pupils. This was hard work, but no burden to Gunn; in his correspondence from Philadelphia we already find that he has made a new discovery—the secret of successful teaching. In this he was incomparable. His pupils never left him for long; they returned to him from the ends of the earth; and scholars visiting England were always glad to join his classes. Gunn's devotion to teaching was not the only way in which he showed himself unselfish; no scholar ever spent more time in assisting others to solve their difficulties and perfect their work. But those who submitted work to him did so on one condition: they must be prepared to conform to his standards of exact scholarship; and this was hard discipline. Egyptology has suffered much in the past from the crank and the amateur philologist. Gunn represented a salutary reaction from this. Speculation presented as fact, smooth approximate translations, wrong references, and inconsistencies in typography were all hateful to him; if he had a fault as a scholar it was a tendency to regard all sins against accuracy as equally atrocious. The standards of criticism which produced detailed, penetrating, and unmerci-
ful reviews of other men's work were applied with even greater rigour to his own, and this too affected his output of publication. It is for these reasons that a bibliography of his work would at present be premature, for a considerable body of unfinished material remains to be worked over.

Gunn's scholarship was so stern and thorough, and his grasp of every branch of his study so complete, that it would not have been surprising if his contemporaries had found him narrow and rigid in his interests and relationships; but this was not so. His dry and acid wit was the delight of those who knew him. He spoke French, German, Italian, and Arabic fluently; even his closest friends do not know how many other languages he read. One might try, and fail, to find a subject on which he could not speak, and speak well, such was his interest in the whole world about him. He was ever receptive; the love of music he developed late, but it became one of his chief interests, and he did much to promote it in his College, which, fortunately for him, has long enjoyed a musical tradition. Most men gather prejudices as they grow older; Gunn only shed them. His was a fine example of the open mind. One wondered at the humility of this profound scholar, who, while he could be so brusque to any one whom he suspected of trifling, could yet give long and patient attention to a suggestion from his youngest pupil when once convinced of that pupil's sincerity. To those who had thus won his confidence he was kind and indulgent almost to a fault; the only favour they could not claim from him was the comfort of fair words; for he could not deceive even for mercy's sake. His passionate honesty only endeared him the more to his friends.

It would be hard to find an epitaph for a man of such varied talents and qualities; perhaps one might do worse than quote his own earliest work: 'As for the lover of all old and forgotten things, it may justly be said of him, as of the poet, Nascitur non fit.'

JOHN BARNS
BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1948–9)

By MARCUS N. TOD

The present Bibliography, which continues that for 1945–7 published in this Journal, 34, 109–13, gives a short account of books and articles which came to my notice in the years 1948 and 1949, and incorporates a few items which, though published earlier, were still unknown to me when my preceding survey was written. I indicate by an asterisk works of which I have no first-hand knowledge.

During the period under review J. and L. ROBERT have issued two further instalments of their indispensable ‘Bulletin Épigraphique’, both of which contain sections relating to Egypt (Rev. ét. gr. 61, 207–10; 62, 155–9).

I mention first some works in which epigraphical evidence plays an important role, though in some cases subordinate to that of papyri. A continuation of F. PREISIGKE’s valuable Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden, based upon all new publications accessible to the author down to the close of 1939, has been undertaken by E. KISSLING, who in 1944 issued a first instalment (Band IV, Lieferung 1), containing the general word-list from δ to ὀργος (reviewed by M. HOMBERT, Chron. d’Ég. 23, 223–4). The second volume of R. TAUBENSCHLAG’s The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri (Warsaw, 1948) deals with political and administrative law and contains on p. 116 a list of the inscriptions utilized. In his exhaustive discussion of ‘The Paramone as General Service Contract’ (Jour. Jur. Papy. 2, 9–50) W. L. WESTERMANN examines the evidence of the Delphian manumission-records and of Egyptian papyri and ostraca, from which he concludes that the παραμόνως was ‘a contract of services which were of a general, or unspecified, kind in contrast to work agreements entailing specified sorts of labor’ (p. 37). M. T. LENERG devotes an article (Rev. intern. des droits de l’antiquité, 1, 119–32; cf. Chron. d’Ég. 24, 165–6) to the προσάγωμα of the Lagid kings, with the aim of pointing out the interest which a general study of these laws might have, and of emphasizing the main results in the juridical sphere to which the authoresses has been led by a work dealing with one specific class. The summary of a paper by O. W. REINMUTH on ‘The Ephebate and Citizenship in Attica and Egypt’ (Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. 78, 433–4) deals briefly with the Egyptian aspect of the subject, but this section does not appear in the article as revised and published in extenso (Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. 79, 211–31).

To J. TONDRAU we owe a series of three studies (cf. J. and L. ROBERT, Rev. ét. gr. 62, 155–6) on the question of the identification of members of the Lagid house with various divinities. One of these concerns ‘Rois Lagides comparés ou identifiés à des divinités’ (Chron. d’Ég. 23, 127–46) and includes an appendix (pp. 144–5) on ‘Souverains en déesses’; the second is entitled ‘Les souveraines Lagides en déesses au IIIe siècle avant J.-C.’ (Études pap. vii, 1–15), and the third ‘Princesses ptolémaïques comparées ou identifiées à des déesses’ (Bull. Soc. R. d’Arch. d’Alex. 37, 12–33), ending with a list of the goddesses concerned (pp. 32–3). The joint work of M. HOMBERT and C. PRÉAUX on the duration of life in Graeco-Roman Egypt from the third century B.C. to the Arab invasion (Chron. d’Ég. 20, 139–46; cf. J. and L. ROBERT, Rev. ét. gr. 61, 207–8) deals with 813 cases in which we learn from inscriptions or mummy-labels the age at death of the deceased, and provides some interesting results, though the authors draw attention to the possibly misleading nature of these statistics and call for caution in their acceptance.

I now turn to a geographical survey of new discoveries and of renewed discussions of previously known texts.

P. JOUGUET, whose death in 1949 was a severe blow to epigraphical, and even more to papyrological, studies, devoted an article to the Alexandrian assemblies in the Ptolemaic period (Bull. Soc. R. d’Arch. d’Alex. 37, 71–94), usefully summarized by J. and L. ROBERT (Rev. ét. gr. 62, 156) and by J. BINGEN (Chron. d’Ég. 24, 369–70), in which he pays special attention (pp. 72–7) to a decree now in the Alexandria Museum (BRECCIA,
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Israziom, 164). He also examined the Hellenization of the Serapis-cult under the early Ptolemies (Homages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont, 159-66), investigating the fresh evidence regarding the great Alexandrian Serapeum afforded by recent excavation, while a brief account of the temple and the adjacent shrine of Harpocrates, together with their foundation-plaques (cf. JEA 34, 110), appeared in The Times for August 29, 1949. A. Rowe’s article on ‘A Painted Pottery Situla from “Pompey’s Pillar”’ (Bull. Soc. R. d’Arch. d’Alex. 35, 59-62) includes a stamped Rhodian amphora-handle and other vase inscriptions, and his report on the excavation of the site includes (ibid. 151) an inscription which he regards as an epitaph, but which H. Seyrig interprets as part of a welcoming and apotropaic formula (Rev. ét. gr. 62, 157). C. H. Roberts re-examines (A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of W. Merton, I, 157-61) the evidence for the ἑναυδατίς Claudius Firmus contained in an Alexandrian inscription (OGI 711; cf. JEA 27, 154), re-edited by J. G. Winter in Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection, III, 292-4. Under the title ‘Alexandria ad Aegyptum again’ P. M. Fraser shows, by reference to a Delian decree (IG xi, 588), that in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus the Delians regarded Alexandria as in, and not merely close to, Egypt (JR 39, 39).

A. Zaki edits with a full commentary, prefaced by a general account of Naukratis, a fragment built into the village-mosque of Nebeira, dating, to judge by the script, from the third or early second century B.C. and containing portions of two columns of names, probably of soldiers (Études pap. vii, 73-92; cf. Rev. ét. gr. 62, 158); this leads to an examination of three inscriptions from Hermopolis Magna (SB 599, 4206, 8066) recording the troops which formed the Ptolemaic garrison there in the first century B.C. In an article on the phrase ἐν ὅψε ἐν ὅτι ὁ Ἐρικτός G. Björck cites a dedication (SB 176) from Pachnemunis, between Rosetta and Damietta (Eranos, 46, 72-4).

K. H. Dittmann’s discussion of the sailing wagon discovered at Medinet Mâdi includes a reference to a passage in the fourth hymn of Isidorus (SEG viii, 551, II. 35-40), which tells how Portranneres ἐπλει ἐν ὅτι ἐν ὅτι ἐν ἑσοφι ἐν ὅτι (Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo, 10, 71).

To V. B. Schuman we owe two previously unpublished inscriptions from the south temple-area of Caranis (Hesperia, 16, 267-71; cf. AfArch. 52, 392, Rev. ét. gr. 62, 158); one is a new fragment of the inscribed lintel, of which the lower part was published by D. G. Hogarth (Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, 32-3), recording the dedication of the north propylon of the temple of Pnepheros, on August 29, 95 B.C. [ὑπὲρ ρωμαίους Πτολεμαίου [καὶ ἰδι] ἔστερον θεοῦ [Φιλομιχυρί]οι καὶ βασιλεύσης [βερεινίος δέας Φιλάδελφου καὶ τῶν] τέκνων, and the second is a dedication, dated June 16, A.D. 180, on a lintel to Petesouchos and Pnepheros on behalf of the Emperor Commodus. J. Scherer’s account (Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or. 41, 72) of the cult of Soter at Ptolemais appeals to three inscriptions of that site (IGRom 1, 1151, 1155, SB 739). In his provisional report on the activities of the German expedition to Hermopolis G. Roeder publishes a dedication of an alabaster relief Ἀρχίδημου θεοῦ μεγάλη, dated in 82 B.C. (Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo, 9, 66-8); of Zaki’s discussion of the garrison inscriptions from that city I have spoken above.

C. B. Welles examines ‘The Garden of Ptolemaegrius at Panopolis’, described in a well-known dossier of poems edited by O. Guedron (Ann. Serv. 39, 279-303), in an attempt to come to a little further toward an understanding of its significance for the social history of Egypt in the late second or third century of our era; whether the garden was a religious foundation he regards as still uncertain (Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. 77, 192-206; cf. J. and L. Roberts, Rev. ét. gr. 61, 209). The poems have also been subjected to a long and close scrutiny by A. Wilhelm (Wien. Anz. 1948, 301-26); while acknowledging that Wilhelm greatly improves the reading and restoration of the text, Welles cannot accept his attribution of the monument to the time of Augustus (AfArch. 53, 397).

In an article on L. Mussius Aemilius, prefect of Egypt from A.D. 257 to 259, J. Schwartz utilizes an inscription (IGRom. 1, 1181) erected at Koptos in honour of Macrinus and Quietus (Bull. Soc. R. d’Arch. d’Alex. 37, 35-39). In a votive inscription from the same site (SB 1166 = 6212) J. Scherer restores [θεόν] before Σωτῆρα (Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or. 41, 72-3; cf. Rev. ét. gr. 61, 209).

A. Bayoumi and O. Guedron edit (Ann. Serv. 46, 373-82) a fragment of a new copy of the ‘Decree of Canopus’, found at El-Kâb (Elieithyaspolis) and now preserved in the Cairo Museum. It contains the beginnings of four almost illegible lines of hieroglyphics and parts of nine lines of the Greek version (OGI 56, II. 50-61), carelessly engraved and deliberately effaced, honouring the daughter of Ptolemy III Soter and Berenice. The discovery of the El-Kâb fragment, the editors observe (p. 381), bears effective witness
to the conscientiousness with which the temple administrations carried out the prescriptions of the decrees, extending very far into Upper Egypt.

W. C. Hayes publishes (JEA 34, 114–15; cf. AJA 53, 397) a foundation-plaque of opaque glass, bearing on the obverse a hieroglyphic inscription in black ink, and on the reverse a dedication of Ptolemy IV to Αἱφροδίτη Ωδραία; the plaque, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, seems to have come from some Ηαθορ-shrine in Upper Egypt, perhaps from that at Dér el-Medineh.

An interesting megalithic epigraph, probably dating from the second century b.C., of uncertain provenance, but now housed in the Alexandria Museum (inv. no. 24023), has been edited by M. Segre (Bull. Soc. R. d’Arch. d’Alex. 34, 27–9), and L. Robert, in a chapter in which he collects many epigraphical references to Greek shepherds, draws attention to a peculiarity of it, the mention of βουκολός ἄνδρες and μελημόριον who pass by the tomb, which lay, it would seem, out in the country (Hellenica, 7, 158–9). E. Drioton publishes (Ann. Serv. 45, 83–4) a grey jasper medallion in the royal collection in Cairo, bearing on the obverse a representation of Horus walking on crocodiles, holding a gazelle, a serpent, and a scorpion, accompanied by the inscription κύρε, βοτή των φοροντα ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔρημος, preceded by the letters ΆΚΡΙΜΑ ΚΡΑΓΕΤΑ.

In a work (Einige ägyptische Denkmäler in Schweden, Uppala, 1945) known to me only from the summaries of J. Bingen (Chron. d’Ég. 23, 208) and of J. and L. Robert (Rev. ét. gr. 62, 156), T. Säve-Söderbergh publishes two fragments, of unknown provenance, of a decree passed by the priestly σύνοδος early in the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes, before the passage of the Decree of Canopus; the editor adds (pp. 39–41) a list of eight other known decrees of the σύνοδος. In his Katalog der griechischen und römischen Skulptur... im Allard Pierson Museum zu Amsterdam (Amsterdam, 1942) C. S. Ponger republishes (pp. 23–4, nos. 49, 50) two inscribed tomb-reliefs from Egypt, formerly in the Bissing Collection in Munich; on one of them the hackneyed formula Πτολεμαίωι χρυσῶνε γαῖρε is followed by the phrase καὶ ἐδοθὼν ἐκεῖον γέρων. The recent acquisitions of the Benaki Museum at Athens include a pair of Egyptian gold bracelets, dating from the Roman Imperial period and inscribed Κλαυδία Πρόκλα (BCH 71–2, 427).

As in previous Bibliographies, I refer in conclusion to some inscriptions which, though not strictly belonging to Egypt, shed light upon the influence, political and religious, exercised by Egypt beyond her own borders.

M. Launey re-edits (Mélanges Picard, 572–80), with a greatly improved text, a dedicatory offering erected at Methana in the Argolid ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας θεῶν Φιλοματόρων καὶ τῷ ν ανδρῶν (IG IV, 854 = OGI 115; cf. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, Ἡρε. Ἑφ. 1925–6, 69), and examines the name, date, and career of the dedicator, Εὐτταῖος Νικίου Αλεξανδρέως, a prominent Ptolemaic officer, in the light of inscriptions from Thera (IG XII (3), 466 = OGI 102) and Delos. The inscribed pediment of the Serapeum of Sardica (Sofia) is published by S. N. Bobchev (Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg. 14, 220–2). To M. Segre we owe the editio princeps (Bull. Soc. R. d’Arch. d’Alex. 34, 29–39) of an inscribed statue-base, dating from the later years of the third century b.C., from Rhodes, which supplies the first certain epigraphical evidence for the cult of Alexander and the Ptolemies in that island; among the priests named are those of Alexander, of Ptolemy, and of Ptolemy and Berenice θεῶν εὐφράγεται. J. Guey’s long article entitled ‘Encore la “pluie miraculeuse”’ (Rev. Phil. 22, 16–62) deals with the personality and career of Harnophius, the Egyptian priest and wonder-worker, who was the hero of the famous episode in Marcus Aurelius’ Danubian War in a.D. 172, and examines (pp. 19–20) the inscription from Aquilia relating to him.

A. Rehm discusses (Philol. 97, 267–75, 369) the letter addressed by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II to his troops in Cyprus, probably in January 144 b.C., differing considerably from Wilhelm’s treatment (Klio, Beiheft XLVIII, 48–59), surveying the history of the opening years of the reign and eliminating from the text (l. 27) the enigmatic ‘son’ of Ptolemy. One of the two inscriptions of Magnesia sub Sipylo published by J. and L. Robert (Hellenica, 6, 9–13) is a Hellenistic dedication to Isis and Sarapis, followed by a list of θεραπευταί, dating from the first or second century a.D.; this is the first evidence of the cult of the Egyptian gods in that city.

C. Bonner and A. D. Nock publish (Harv. Theol. Rev. 41, 213–15) a small jasper gem of the second or third century a.D., now in the possession of H. Seyrig at Beït‘in, bearing on the obverse the phrase μέγα τὸ δύναμα τοῦ κυρίου Ζάραπους, and on the reverse μεγάλη τίχε τῆς ἀνθίζου Νεωτέρας, in whom they see Cleopatra VII, identified with Isis. A. Beaulieu and R. Mouterde describe the grotto of Astarte at Wasa,
between Sidon and Tyre (Mêl. Beyrouth, 27, 3–19), the earlier cult in which is represented by the Hellenistic dedication Βασιλεί Π[τολεμαίων καὶ Αφροδίτης ηι ἐπηκόων. The king here referred to they take to be Ptolemy IV, and they interpret the votive as a ‘gesture of Egyptian loyalism before the loss of Coele-Syria by the Lagids in 198 B.C.’ This view must be accepted with caution, for the restoration Π[τολεμαῖων cannot be regarded as absolutely certain.
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Two Ptolemaic Alphabetic Values of $\ddagger$ \[1\]

In the course of a detailed study of the great building texts published in vols. iv and vii of Chassinat, Le Temple d’Edfou, my attention was attracted to certain passages in which $\ddagger$ is used either where one would normally expect a suffix pronoun, 3rd person singular feminine, or where the parallel text has $\mid$ or $\ddagger$. The problem is exposed most clearly, perhaps, in the description of the Sanctuary, which reads: \[2\] All their doors, which open into the corridor, (measure) three and two-thirds by six cubits. The Great Seat (the Sanctuary), containing the Uplifter-of-Beauty (the boat-shrine), is between them, the aforesaid corridor being round about it. Its length (sw’s) is nineteen and five-sixths cubits and (its) width ten and a third (cubits). A great tabernacle of black stone is within it, it is a wonder to behold. The corridor hall is to right and left of it to give entrance to the mysterious portals (i.e. the chapels) which surround it.

The parallel text has $\ddagger$ as $m\ pfr\ s$ for $\frac{1}{2}$, but elsewhere uses $\ddagger$. Since the antecedent of all these pronouns is St-wrt, the pronoun in each case should be feminine and there seems to be no alternative to reading $\ddagger$ as $\ddagger$ in E. iv, 5, 10 11, and E. vii, 15 4, seven examples in all.

This note had already been drafted when I received a copy of Alliot, Le Culte d’Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées, i. On pp. 64, 65 of that work Alliot translates the two passages we have been discussing. His solution of the difficulty (op. cit., p. 65, n. 2) is to take $\ddagger$ as a writing of $hm$ ‘shrine’, ‘chapel’. Although this is a possible writing (compare E. iv, 5, 7 with E. vii, 14, 3), Alliot’s solution is hardly convincing, partly because $\ddagger$ is $m\ pfr$ and not $m\ k\ b$; partly because the apparently haphazard interchange of $\mid$ and $\ddagger$ in E. iv, 5, 9–11 still remains unexplained; and partly because it involves impossibilities, since he is now forced to translate E. vii, 15, 3 as Le grande place est au milieu d’elles: le sanctuaire qui est en son centre a 19 (coudées) 5/6 sur 1/3, but since, according to Alliot, St-wrt and $hm$ are the same, the one cannot be inside the other!

Moreover, even if Alliot’s theory were correct, it would still fail to explain the interchange of $\ddagger$, $\mid$, and $\ddagger$ in E. iv, 5, 1–8 and E. vii, 13, 1–15, i. These two passages really require a longer commentary than can be given here, and in fact in the former an alternative, but not very satisfying, explanation of the use of $\ddagger$ can be offered, but it is significant that where in E. iv, 5, 4 7 $\ddagger$ is used, E. vii, 13, 3; 14, 3 have $\mid$, and that for $\mid$ in E. iv, 5 5 we find $\mid$ in E. vii, 13, 4. On the other hand, in E. iv, 5, 7–8 = vii, 14, 3, and in E. iv, 5, 8 = vii, 15, 1 both texts employ $\ddagger$ where $\mid$ or $\ddagger$ might have been expected.

It is by a simple development of this usage that, as Blackman and I have already pointed out,\[7\] since the exact Ptolemaic forms of some of the signs used in this note do not exist in the font, the nearest equivalent has been employed.

\[1\] Since the exact Ptolemaic forms of some of the signs used in this note do not exist in the font, the nearest equivalent has been employed.

\[2\] E. iv, 5, 9–11.

\[3\] i.e. the chapels surrounding the Sanctuary.

\[4\] Here and in E. vii, 15, 3 as appears to have the same force as Late Egyptian $\ddagger$ $\ddagger$, cf. JEA 22, pl. 13, 1; 15, 2, 4, 6; 16, 1, 4, 5, 7, 9; with n. 3 on p. 171.

\[5\] Hiti my imy: or perhaps ‘the doorway of the corridor’ (?).

\[6\] E. vii, 15, 2–4.

\[7\] See above, p. 74, n. 82 of the Commentary.
can be used to write the dependent pronoun  in  ‘thou didst create him, (thy) embodiment amongst the living’ (M. 146. 7).

It thus appears that occasionally has the value  s, though only so far noted in writings of the suffix pronoun, and hence, still more rarely,  s(we). This value presumably arose through the substitution of  for some other form of snake, just as we find  and  with the value  (Ann. Serv. 43, 229, Nos. 193 (e), 194 (b), with n. L on p. 271). Note too that in E. iv, 5, 5, 8, by false analogy and mechanical substitution for  is the equivalent of  in E. vii, 13, 4.

2.  

This new value seems to me one of the most unexpected Ptolemaic values I have yet encountered, nevertheless it is quite certain. The following examples are known to me:  

(a)  ‘food and provisions’ (E. ii, 13, 12).

(b)  ‘long-lived’ (E. iiii, 106, 17).

(c)  ‘it is the hour of hauling on the tow- rope of the bark of Re’ (E. iii, 227, 8–9); cf.  E. iii, 6, 10, and Wb. ii, 223, 10 = Belegstellen, 324.

(d)  ‘for old ‘re’ (‘primeval’) mound’ (E. iv, 390, 6). Whether the infrequent  (e.g. E. vi, 9, 4) is the same word, I am not yet prepared to say.

(e)  ‘weapons of war’ (E. vii, 54, 1).

(f)  ‘without being repelled’ (E. vi, 240, 12).

(g)  ‘on his throne as sole lord’ (D. ii, 41, 13; cf.  D. ii, 42, 13).

I am unable to suggest an origin for this value. Blackman, Gardiner, and Gunn, to whom I submitted this problem, were all unable to offer any suggestion, though they agreed that the origin could not be sought in  or .

It is of interest to note that this value may perhaps occur before Ptolemaic times: cf.  Hermann, Stelen d. thebanischen Felsgräber, 45, 16 = Thebes, Tomb 260 (User, Dyn. XVIII). Since the reading  is in part a restoration, I quote it only as a matter of interest and not as decisive evidence.

H. W. FAIRMAN

An Egyptian expression for ‘home’

‘Death seems to me now  as when a man desires to see home, having spent many years in captivity’, Lebensmünde 140–2.

‘Death seems to me now like a beaten (?) track,  as when a man comes home from a military expedition’, Lebensmünde 136–8.

Erman in his edition (p. 69) assumes in these two cases a collective treatment of  this is rendered highly unlikely by the fact that the same word is treated as a singular in l. 139 between the two passages cited above (  ‘what he did not know’), and also in ll. 105–6, 110, 112–13, 119. We may thus see in  an expression for ‘home’, probably meaning ‘the family’s house’; and the

1  (E. iv, 147, 3) is a modern error and has been corrected by Chassinat himself, E. iv, p. viii.

2  is reversed in the original.

3  is reversed in the original.

4  does not occur in Wb.

5 Note found nearly ready for press among Gunn’s papers.

6 Lit. ‘a road of rain’. The emendation here is unnecessary; the image being that of a desert-road along which the rain-water races impetuously. A. H. G.
same expression with no antecedent to the suffix is met with in *Prisse* 1, 7: 'He is a wretch who is grasping for the sake of his belly, . . ., (and) who is gluttonous at home.'

BATTSCOMBE GUNN

The Funerary Papyrus of Woseramûn

Among the antiquities of the Rhind Collection, which since 1939 has been on permanent loan from the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland to the Royal Scottish Museum, is a fragmentary papyrus roll which is numbered 910 in Miss Murray’s Catalogue where it is described as ‘scraps of inscribed papyrus’. This specimen was also published by Rhind who, quoting Birch, accredits its original ownership to a ‘Usr or Sers’ holding ‘the post of “royal auditor, chief military governor, in the whole earth governor of the Nome . . .” His father, who had been a similar functionary, was named Hatu, and his mother, Ta sa matu.’ It may be difficult to recognize from these descriptions that we have in Edinburgh the mutilated fragments of the copy of the *Book of the Dead* of no less a person than Woseramûn, or Woser as he is more usually called, the great vizier of Tuthmosis III, whose genealogy has been discussed, among others, by Newberry and Gardiner.

In its present damaged condition, the papyrus consists of twelve fragments, averaging 9⅓ in. in height by 3½ in. in width, mounted on paper and glazed. It is possible to identify spells from the following chapters: VII, XIV, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXA, XXXB, XXXVIIA, XLIII, XCIX, CI, CXX. An examination of the lacunae in the text reveals that about an inch is missing from the top and bottom margins and that when complete the papyrus would be approximately a foot in width. Apparently the roll was at some time in its life crushed flat and the edges bruised and broken away until a wad of twelve layered leaves was all that remained when Rhind unearthed it.

The calligraphy of this specimen, as we should expect in the case of a copy designed for the highest officer of state, is in an accurate and beautiful hand. Wherever the name of Woser appears it is accompanied by some of his titles. His parents’ names are given in their Semiticised forms. There is also a greatly damaged fragment of a vignette representing the scene of the Weighing of the Heart, executed in a thin nervous line and delicate washes of colour, as usual by a different hand from that responsible for the text. It is probable that this was the only vignette in the roll.

Rhind describes the place in the Sheikh ‘Abr al-Kurnah at Thebes where he found this fragment as being some ‘three hundred yards to the east of the house’ formerly ‘raised as the headquarters of Mr. Salt’s excavating operations’. This must have been in the vicinity of tomb No. 131, and would suggest that it was here, rather than in his second tomb, No. 61, that Woser was buried.

CYRIL ALDRED

Iron-mines near Aswān

In Hume, *Geology of Egypt*, II, pt. iii, p. 848, occurs the following paragraph:

‘LABIB H. NASSIM has given the writer information of the existence of a very important stela near Aswan, which has a direct bearing on the question of the employment of iron by the Ancient Egyptians. This

1 Gunn’s suggested rendering at least accounts for the suffix of pr-sn, rendering untenable the translation hazarded by myself in *JEA* 32, 73. A.H.G.


6 For these see Sethe, *Urk. iv*, 316.

7 Davies and Gardiner, op. cit., 32.

8 Rhind, op. cit., 124–36.

inscription is situated northward of Aswan station, and at two kilometres north of the mouth of Wadi Agag. An easy wide road leads up the hill, the stela being on the northern side at a little distance up the slope. The ancients worked the oolitic ore of this area, which now forms part of a concession granted to Nassim Effendi in connection with his factory for the preparation of colours.'

The impression given is that the iron-mines are mentioned on the stela, and as the latter is of New Kingdom date, it looks as though we had here direct evidence that the mines were used by the Egyptians at this period. My attention was drawn to this matter by Mr. G. W. Murray when I was in Egypt in 1947, and at my request Mr. Labib Habachi examined and photographed the stela, with the result that we can now say definitely that there is no connexion between it and the iron-mines.

It represents a man called Setiemhab, temp. Sethos II, before the Triad of Elephantine, with texts of other officials, including an Overseer of Works, and a temple-scribe. The neighbourhood of Aswān abounds in such graffiti. That the iron-mines were worked in Persian or Early Ptolemaic times is proved by a pot of that date found in the galleries, but there is nothing surprising in this, as the industry was introduced in the seventh century by mercenaries of Naucratis, so that Egypt had just begun to enter the Iron Age at this date. The stela is therefore some 600 years or so earlier than any iron-working in the neighbourhood, and naturally makes no mention of iron or mining; it has nothing to do with the mines beyond a chance proximity. The inscriptions will be published shortly by Labib Habachi.

Rosalind Moss

Two Semitic Letters

In his recent Schweich Lectures on Semitic Writing Prof. G. R. Driver inter alia discusses the origin of the Semitic Alphabet. A detailed demonstration is given of the various ways in which Egyptian influence appears to have been active in its formation. The author gives a few examples of more or less exact agreement in Egyptian and Hebrew between form and name (p. 163 f.). Two more are here tentatively suggested.

On p. 168 the author adopts the suggestion that the letter גופ (Phoen. י) received its Hebrew name from its 'fancied resemblance to a monkey on a pole or a tree with its tail hanging down'. There is, however, also identity of name as the Hebrew is a well-known loan-word from Egyptian. 1

The Phoenician letter המ (י) is derived by Prof. Driver from the hieroglyphic word נ.ת which means 'water'. The latter had given rise to the Egyptian alphabetic sign for נ and also, according to Prof. Driver, to the Phoenician מ. May it not, however, be rather derived from the alternative מ.ת which, moreover, in Egyptian group-writing had the phonetic value מ? 2 If so, there is essential identity of form, name, and meaning. The triple wave-line has been reduced by an obvious simplification, no doubt under the influence and on the analogy of the Egyptian alphabetic sign for נ.

Manfred Cassirer

The Neter Pole and the Ashera

In JEA 33, 90, Professor Newberry has published an interesting and suggestive note on the cult of the neter pole in which he suggests that this object is probably the same as the ashera of the Bible.

1 Eman, Gramm., 118, who explains that Eg. ג sometimes corresponds to Semitic גופ. For Biblical י' 'monkey' in Hebrew and Egyptian lists of goods brought home from expeditions, cf. Albright in AJSL 37, 144.
2 Gardiner, Eg. Gramm., 479.
It is suggested that the *ashera* was altogether a different object. In my notes on *Little Aden Folklore, Bull. Inst. fr. 44, 226–7*, I describe two dressed poles to which offerings of all sorts were made. I attach a sketch from memory of one of the 'uds in its 'Iswah and I suggest that this 'ud is in fact an *ashera*. Robertson Smith in *The Religion of the Semites*, London, 1907, discusses this cult object, particularly on pp. 187–91 when he quotes Plutarch's description of the sacred erica worshipped at Byblus, said to be the tree which grew round the dead body of Osiris, cut down, wrapped in a cloth, perfumed, and presented by Isis to the King (an obvious corruption of the Tale of the Two Brothers), and continues 'can it be that the rite of draping and anointing a sacred stump supplies the answer to the unsolved question of the nature of the ritual practices connected with the *ashera*?'

Now the 'ud at Dureimiyya is said to stand on the spot where the tree grew in which the Ma'agiz (a jinniya) was imprisoned. The tree is said to have been cut down for firewood and carried away by four of the 'Aqarib tribe who were all thereupon killed by the Ma'agiz (Myers, op. cit. 201 ff.).

'Ud with flags are very common in this neighbourhood but I have never seen one standing at a pre-Islamic shrine, though standards with flags on them are carried in the processions. As fixed points they appear to be used to mark a *naqbah* or outpost of the spirit's worship where the spirit can be made to appear by the manšab or manšubah.

This is not to say that the *ashera* and *neter* do not derive from the same fundamental ideas in connexion with tree worship or even that there was not once a single prototype, but that by the time of the Bible the *ashera* had become the inner representation of the God and the *neter* a temenos indication of a sacred area. Such appears in fact to be the case at the shrine of Neith in the First Dynasty (Petry, *Royal Tombs*, ii, pl. 3A, 5) cited by Murray in this connexion in *Griffith Studies*, 312–15, pl. 49.

Incidentally it seems very reasonable to suggest that the little white flags which fly on long poles in the Sudan at Shekhs' tombs (including that of Bint ash-Shèkh, the pyramid of a Queen at Kurru) are *neteru* as has been suggested by A. J. Arkell in *JEA* 19, 175 f.

Oliver H. Myers
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The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt. By Elise J. Baumgarten. Published on behalf of the Griffith Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1947. Pp. xi+122, figs. 50, pls. 13. £2. 2s.

It is unfortunate that in spite of the enormous amount of excavated material our knowledge of the chronological sequence in predynastic Egypt is still far from complete. In Mesopotamia, on the other hand, a relatively clear cultural sequence has been worked out from the results of excavations undertaken between the two wars. Recently, however, more valuable material information has come out of Egypt, particularly from Armant and Saqqara, and this has greatly assisted in the interpretation of the material evidence collected by Sir Flinders Petrie at the end of the last century. Dr. Baumgarten's study is therefore especially important. It is based on the Petrie collection at University College, London, and results from the author's work in the Department of Egyptology where she was able to study and index the objects from Koptos, Nakadah and Balas, and Diospolis Parva, many of them hitherto unpublished. If the war had not intervened a comprehensive catalogue of the whole collection would have been published by Dr. Baumgarten; as it is we must be grateful for the prompt publication of the fruits of her researches to date, and hope that in due course the catalogue will appear. The book is well planned and Dr. Baumgarten's conclusions, while they may not command general agreement, are clearly formulated and give the evidence on which they are based.

The book deals fully and in detail with the problem, 'Was the birthplace of Pharaonic Egyptian culture in the Nile Delta?' The author does not leave us in any doubt about her complete disagreement with Sethe's theory of a prehistoric kingdom of Heliopolis dominating the south. Yet archaeologically, Dr. Baumgarten's view is mainly based on the negative evidence from the excavations at Heliopolis, where no systematic work has been carried out since Petrie's excavations, except for the opening of four tombs in 1915. One fact, however, cannot be denied. Although the earliest objects yet known from Heliopolis are dated to the Third Dynasty period, the importance of this site in the early development of Egyptian religion is certain, and it may well be that its influence was based, as Frankfort has suggested, 'not on political developments, but on the quality of its theologians and their sustained preoccupation with the formulation of beliefs which had been held in some form or another by most Egyptians since a distant past' (Kingship and the Gods, 349, n. 6). The pyramid texts mention Heliopolis as the place where Atum's work of creation actually began and here Mesopotamia may provide an analogy. A Babylonian Creation text tells us how 'All the lands were sea, then Eridu was made ...' and the remarkable series of temples recently excavated by the Iraq Department of Antiquities have shown both that the religious beliefs of the Sumerians originated far back in the prehistoric period, and that the city of Eridu was inhabited at a period earlier than that of Al 'Ubaid. This suggests that it is unwise to assume that Heliopolis will not yield evidence as important to this problem as that provided by Eridu in the Mesopotamian field.

Another point deserves consideration. The Lower Egyptian cultures are not treated in detail, and their importance is perhaps under-estimated in the author's attack on the 'Delta Hypothesis'. Dr. Baumgarten also states categorically that 'the beginning of the Merimde settlement must have taken place at a time when the Nakadah II culture was already well established in Upper Egypt' (p. 18), and while it is true that Nakadah I has never been found in the Nile valley itself north of Asyût, there is evidence for an earlier date for the beginning of Merimde which is not discussed in this book. This is based on the similarities, discerned by several scholars, between the flint industries of Fayyum A, Merimde, and Badari, and suggests that these three cultures cannot be far removed in date from one another. Recently Egyptian discoveries at Helwan have yielded a series of First Dynasty tombs, and this may well be a pointer to what may yet emerge from Heliopolis itself (Illustrated London News, 5 June 1949).

After a discussion of the earliest phases of Egyptian culture and a useful summary of the author's conclusions, the second part of the book is devoted to foreign origins and connexions. This includes sections on the early and later painted pottery and the stone vases. Here it must be stressed that the evidence on
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which Dr. Baumgartel bases her conclusions 'that the Nakādah II people had been influenced by an incised pottery culture corresponding to that of the so-called Uruk period in Mesopotamia... (p. 79) is very slight. In western Asia pottery decorated with incisions varies enormously both in technique and shape and can belong to widely different periods. While, as Miss Seton-Williams has shown in Iraq, 10, 1 (Neolithic Burnished Wares in the Near East), the early burnished wares with incised decoration have certain well-marked characteristics in common, comparisons between western Asia and Egypt based solely on shape or incised patterns must be suspect, and it is unwise to use such criteria as evidence for chronological theories.

Again, in the section on stone bowls, the author attempts to solve chronological problems by making typological comparisons between Egyptian and Asiatic stone vases. But evidence of this nature is liable to be inconclusive and as unsatisfactory as theories based solely on the typology of metal weapons. Stone vases were not as easily destructible as pottery and, as the author herself states (p. 45), 'may survive their period for a considerable time. A squat stone vase of Nakādah II forms part of the treasury of St. Mark’s, Venice!' Few will dispute Dr. Baumgartel’s conclusion that Nakādah II must be contemporaneous with the Jamdat Nasr period in Mesopotamia, but when she states (p. 106) that 'among the 18 vases found at Arpakiya [sic] 10 represent types familiar from Egyptian material' and then postulates a connexion between the Egyptian types dating from the first three dynasties and the Arpakiyah examples of the Halaf period, the fallacious nature of this line of argument becomes apparent. For Dr. Baumgartel then attempts to fit the typological similarities into a scheme of Egyptian chronology, and in order to do this it is suggested that the Arpakiyah dating should be lowered; but in fact the associations of the prehistoric Assyrian stone vases are perfectly clear, and do not conflict with any stratigraphical evidence from other Mesopotamian sites. Recent evidence from Eridu has stressed the immense period of time which must have elapsed between the Halaf and the Jamdat Nasr periods—an important point which is ignored by the author. In the latter period we are on safe ground. The archaeological evidence is well known; the high-prowed boats, recessed buildings, and cylinder seals point to some sort of connexion between Egypt and Mesopotamia. But much remains to be done before we can reconstruct the history of the earlier periods, and we need more certain facts based on sound stratigraphical evidence before we can build any sure foundation of knowledge. Let us hope that facts will soon be forthcoming to supplement Dr. Baumgartel’s study.

K. R. MAXWELL-HYSLOP

Excavations at Saqqara: Great Tombs of the First Dynasty, I. By WALTER B. EMERY. Service des Antiquités, Cairo, 1949.

Apart from the tombs of Ḥemaka and ʿAḥā, which were published separately immediately after their discovery, this volume represents the first instalment of W. B. Emery’s final report on his excavations at the early-dynastic cemetery of North Saḵkārah. These excavations have received particular attention from Egyptologists not only on account of their archaeological importance but also because of the problems which they have raised in connexion with the location of the royal tombs of the First Dynasty—a question which many Egyptologists, though not all, previously considered had been conclusively settled by the excavations of Amelineau and Petrie at Abydos. In these circumstances it is perhaps a little disappointing to find that Emery has not found it possible to supplement his very comprehensive account of the eight tombs selected for publication with even a tentative statement of his present views on the nature of the site. His caution will, however, not seem unreasonable if it is borne in mind that in one of his latest preliminary reports he estimated that less than a tenth of the whole cemetery had at that time been cleared, and it is doubtful whether his subsequent work, limited to one post-war season, has reduced the unexcavated portion by any substantial amount. Nevertheless, it will probably not pass unnoticed that, whereas in that report he adumbrated the possibility that the tomb described might have belonged to Djer, in the present publication the same tomb (No. 3471) is merely dated to the reign of that king, without comment on its ownership. No doubt this omission was deliberate and it would certainly be unwarranted to conclude that it possesses any special significance.

As an introduction to this volume, Emery outlines the different stages in tomb-development revealed at North Saqqârah during the First Dynasty. He points out that the most noticeable feature of this process is the gradual deepening of the substructure, which he attributes to an attempt on the part of the builders to thwart the efforts of the tomb-robbers. There is, however, another feature, to judge from the examples chosen, which is also to be noted: the superstructures of the six mastabas which he places first in chronological order are all decorated with the palace-façade and are divided internally into compartments, whereas the three mastabas dating from the latter part of the dynasty lack the palace-façade and were either filled entirely with rubble or composed of solid brick. The presence of the palace-façade in the first instance and its absence in the second certainly suggest that its inclusion was not unrelated to the internal construction of the mastaba and the most obvious explanation would seem to be that the niches in the palace-façade were regarded as false doors leading to the compartments which, at least in the earliest examples, served as magazines for the tomb furniture. Complete consistency is, however, seldom found in Egyptian architecture and it comes as no surprise to learn that the mastaba of Sabu, which dates from the reign of Anezbib and is not chosen by Emery to illustrate his thesis, possessed a superstructure with the palace-façade, although internally it was filled with fine sand and was not divided into compartments. Again, two mastabas dating from the time of Kaâ, which are also not included in the sketch of tomb development, have large magazines inside a superstructure with very thick walls but no palace-façade. These three mastabas in fact demonstrate the well-attested practice of the ancient Egyptians of retaining, in whole or in part, established customs long after they had ceased to fulfil their proper function.

From the point of view of architecture, the most interesting of the tombs described is the mastaba numbered 3938. Those who have read Emery's preliminary report will remember that this tomb underwent some fundamental changes in design before attaining its final pattern of a fairly conventional mastaba with a palace-façade, the first construction having apparently been flanked on the north, south, and east sides with eight steps. No other tomb comparable in design with the initial form of this building has yet been discovered in Saqqârah or elsewhere and the question which must be asked is whether the builder was simply experimenting with a new style of architecture which he subsequently discarded because it failed to satisfy the owner or whether the original building was intended for one person and only altered when, for some reason, it became the property of a different owner with more orthodox views. Emery, no doubt in his desire not to embark on questions of interpretation, dismisses this intriguing problem with the somewhat cryptic statement (p. 82): 'It is possible, perhaps even probable, that Nebetka was the owner of the tomb, but we must envisage other and more startling possibilities when we consider the original design of the tomb with the representation of what Petrie considered the emblem of the Tomb of Enezbib on a fragment of a stone vase and on pot marks from Abydos.' Can it be, therefore, that the tomb was first intended for the king and only transformed when it was assigned to one of his nobles? If so, it would constitute the earliest known royal tomb with a distinctive superstructure and perhaps the architectural forerunner of the step-type of pyramid.

With one notable exception, the mastabas of this cemetery were plundered in antiquity even more thoroughly than the tombs of the same date at Abydos. This exception is the mastaba previously mentioned as being dated to the reign of Djjer which yielded the vast collection of copper objects, numbering more than five hundred pieces and including tools of perhaps every kind used in the time of its owner, implements, and vessels. The value of this collection needs no emphasis, either on technical grounds or as shedding a useful light on the quantity of copper which must have been mined in its time. Besides some fragments of wooden furniture and a small quantity of jewellery the same mastaba also contained a crudely decorated schist palette showing a king, presumably Djjer, smiting a prostrate captive identified by Emery as a Libyan. Unfortunately the carving is so faint that details are difficult to determine, but the suggestion that the king is wearing the nemes head-dress is hard to accept although no alternative can be offered.

1 It is perhaps necessary to add that the question of the purpose of the palace-façade does not inevitably affect its supposed architectural origin, the most recent discussions of which are to be found in the following publications: H. Frankfort, The Origin of Monumental Architecture in Egypt, in AJSL 58, No. 14, pp. 326 ff.; A. Scharff, Das Grab als Wohnhaus in der ägyptischen Frühzeit, Sitzb. München, 1944–6, Heft 6, pp. 25 ff.; H. Ricke, Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, pp. 21 ff.

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Perhaps the most disappointing feature of these tombs is the paucity of inscribed material which they have yielded. It is true that short texts indicating ownership or the contents of vases were the most that could reasonably have been expected, but even these laconic details are often of the highest value. One of the few inscribed objects mentioned is a mud-seal impression from the mastaba of Nebetka which includes a hieroglyphic group reproduced (fig. 46) as $\frac{\_}{\_}$; this reading may, however, be questioned, both because of the inversion of the $\frac{\_}{\_}$ and because of the angular, instead of curved, formation of this sign.\(^1\) A further examination of the original may show that the true reading should be $\frac{\_}{\_}$—a group found on some other sealings of the same period. In this connexion it may be noted that only one example of each text is given, although many sealings were found in duplicate and further illustrations might have helped in the elucidation of problematical readings: a particularly obscure instance is to be observed in the case of a sealing inscribed with the name of a building which is coupled with the serdab of Anezi (fig. 45). A possibility which seems worth considering is that the name which Emery reads as Neska (the probable owner of tomb No. X) should be read as $n(i)-nh-k(i)$ 'My ka belongs to life', for there is some evidence that, at this period, the signs $\frac{\_}{\_}$ and $\frac{\_}{\_}$ were interchangeable.\(^2\)

The concluding chapters contain a most useful typographical catalogue of stone and pottery vessels and a list of pot-marks. Emery's drawings throughout, including the colour reproductions of the painted mural decorations, are excellent. It is not necessary to have been an eyewitness of his methods of excavation to realize the immense amount of care and skill embodied in his architectural plans, but it is perhaps more especially in this respect that Egyptologists everywhere will be conscious of the very great loss that they have suffered by his decision to abandon, at least temporarily, the excavation of this cemetery. Some consolation will certainly be derived from his assurance that he intends to publish, as quickly as circumstances permit, the results hitherto obtained, but only by carrying on patient and methodical excavation for many years to come will it be possible to extract from these ruined mastabas the mass of valuable information which they may confidently be expected to yield.

I. E. S. EDWARDS


As any branch of scholarship develops the need becomes ever greater of works which summarize and present in tabulated form the constantly accumulating mass of published material. Of such auxilia by no means the least useful is the prosopography. The great undertaking of the Louvain group of papyrologists, of which this is the first instalment, is therefore sure of an immediate and a warm welcome. It sets out to 'réunir les noms de toutes les personnes ayant vécu sous la domination des Lagides (323–30 a. C.), en Égypte même ou dans les possessions extérieures de ces rois, et qui sont mentionnées dans les sources disponibles'.

It is a vast project, for the sources are numerous in bulk (though proportionately to the length of the period covered very inadequate) and of very varying utility for the purpose of a prosopography. The principal quarry for information is of course the papyri, but besides inscriptions, which are numerous, there are scattered about in literary and other works occasional references, which the compilers cannot neglect. They seem to have covered very adequately the papyrological material (though they specify on p. x some papyrus publications to which they had not access) and a number of literary sources, but it is a little surprising to read (on p. ix) that some relevant texts, like those in Jacoby's Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, have not yet been examined. Would it not have been better to delay the issue till all possible sources had been consulted? No work of this kind can hope to avoid some gaps, and names discovered subsequently can always be added in an appendix, but such supplements are inconvenient and should be reduced to a minimum.

\(^1\) One of the very rare occurrences of this sign in early-dynastic inscriptions is published in W. M. Flinders Petrie, Royal Tombs, 1, pl. 19, 7, where it is curved, although similarly inverted, but in Old Kingdom inscriptions the open end of the sign is in the normal direction and the cross-lines are curved.

\(^2\) B. Grässeloff, Notes d'épigraphie archaïque, in Ann. Serv. 44, 304 ff.
The difficulties of such an undertaking as this are many and are clearly set out by the editors in their introduction. Some editions, especially those issued long ago, are in need of revision, and Preisigke's invaluable Berichtungsliste, an indispensable adjunct to any papyrologist's apparatus, will not supply every correction now available; Bilbel's preface to the last part issued is dated as long ago as 1933. There are many names not certainly read or incomplete; and the enormous popularity of some names often makes it difficult to disentangle the various people who bore them. The same name is differently spelt in different places; the same person sometimes had more than one name; the same title, for example οἰκόνομος or γραμματεύς, might be held by officials of various classes and grades; in letters, especially in the Ptolemaic period, an official frequently omitted his title, and at times the office was indicated by a periphrasis, particularly in literary sources, e.g. (to quote the editors' example) Polybius's description of Tlepolemus as ὁ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Ἀλεπείων πρῶτον μεταχειρίζόμενος. Lastly, there is the difficulty of dealing with Egyptian names which occur in demotic texts and of which the vocalization is unknown or uncertain.

These difficulties are certainly formidable, but it is some help towards their solution to realize them in advance, and the editors seem to be entirely on the right lines in dealing with them. Even so, there are bound to be cases of uncertainty and, doubtless, of mistaken choice between possible alternatives.

In planning a work of this kind one is confronted from the outset by a major problem: should the arrangement be purely alphabetical or should the names be classified? There is much to be said on either side. A single alphabetical list is a great convenience for many purposes. An editor finding in a papyrus or inscription the name of an obviously official person whose title is not given or is illegible is saved much trouble if he can look up the occurrences of that name in such a list and so, it may be, at once identify the person concerned. With a classified prosopography he may have to consult a dozen different lists. Moreover, as already said, there are many cases of uncertainty, so that classification involves the risk of misplacing a name. Furthermore, the same person may successively have occupied various positions or may simultaneously have performed more than one function, e.g. both civil and military. Cross-references will obviate any inconveniences arising from this last factor, and an alphabetic index to the whole work is an answer to the first objection.

It is, as a matter of fact, the classified prosopography to which the editors have committed themselves. Vol. I will contain the names of civil and financial officials, vol. II military persons, vol. III the 'clergy', after which, in vol. IV, will come lists devoted 'aux instances judiciaires, au notariat, aux diverses professions et métiers ainsi qu'aux données se rapportant aux possessions extérieures des Lagides'. Finally, 'à partir du cinquième volume', will be given an alphabetic index, which will include also all persons not elsewhere mentioned, because their function or profession is unknown. Within the single volumes there is further classification. Thus, in the present instalment there are four principal divisions, the central administration, the administration of the cities and polemata, the civil administration of the chora, the financial administration of the same, and each of these is subdivided into sections by classes of officials, I into three, II into ten, III into thirteen, IV into fourteen; and even of these sections some are again subdivided. This arrangement has undoubted advantages—it is often a great convenience to be able to turn to a list of stratæ, of royal scribes or trapezæ or the like—but it adds to the risk of wrong classification and enormously increases the labour of identifying a person, possibly of obvious standing, whose title is unknown. I am inclined personally to think that it would have been better to adopt an alphabetic arrangement and to follow this up with classified lists rather than to reverse the process; but there is admittedly a strong case for the editors' choice, and the alphabetic volume, when it comes—may that not be in the too distant future!—will remove the chief objections to the classified arrangement. Meanwhile, though only constant use will fully reveal the merits and defects of such a work, it may be said that the compilers and editors seem to have done their work with admirable thoroughness and efficiency. One specimen entry will show the method followed. It is taken from p. 51: ‘447. Θωνης—Héracleopolite—162—P. Tebt. III, 857, l. 10.’ That is, this is the 447th entry. Thoûne is a royal scribe, coming as he does in the sub-section 'Les Basileicogrammites', his sphere is the Heracleopolite nome, the date is 162 B.C., and the reference is P. Tebt. III, 857, 10.

One criticism and suggestion may be made in conclusion. In a classified prosopography, since the official titles of the persons entered are often not given, the heading of the section or sub-section being sufficient indication, it is important that one should be able at once to recognize what class of official is referred to. In the absence of a running title at the top of the page this is not always easy. Take, for example, the opening
pp. 12-13, where we get a list of names from Zenôa son of Timarchus to Panaceotôr. To be certain who these people are one must turn back to p. 8, where one finds the heading ‘Subordonnées’, which a further reference to p. 2 shows to mean subordinates of the Dioecetiae. It would save some trouble if the heading of the subsection were given at the top of each page.

In conclusion, the Louvain school must be thanked for an undertaking which has put all students of Ptolemaic Egypt in its debt.

H. I. BELL


As may be gathered from its title the book is a companion to the well-known pair The Glory that was Greece and The Grandeur that was Rome. As the author worked for most of her life with Professor Sir Flinders Petrie she dedicates the book to the memory of that great man ‘who out of the hobby of antiquarianism created the science of archaeology’, and ends with a short review of the stages by which he established the study of the material remains. This is most necessary, for the length and bitterness of the battle he had to fight is apt to be forgotten now that his premisses have long been accepted as a matter of course. Pl. 91 is a photograph of him at the time that he accepted the Edwards Professorship and pl. 92 of him when he retired. Another thing that has been forgotten is that the Professorship was founded for ‘the teaching of Egyptian archaeology and the training in scientific excavation’.

It was a courageous undertaking of Dr. Murray to attempt to survey so vast a field as the whole range of Egyptian civilization from the predynastic to the Coptic periods. Not unnaturally in such a book there are statements which the expert would want to qualify or even correct. However, the book does give the general reader a peculiarly intimate view of life in ancient Egypt. In fact its characteristic which differentiates it from most accounts is what the Americans call ‘human interest’.

But besides this the book is of importance to the expert for at least two studies contained in it, and they will come as a shock to those who are not accustomed to the anthropological approach. And how many of us are? Yet there is much in the ancient East that we cannot expect to understand from the viewpoint of twentieth-century Europe. These two studies are that of the part played by the Pharaoh in his people’s life and religion (pp. 164 ff., 175 ff.), and that of the consanguineous marriages and the succession to the throne (pp. 101 ff., 321 ff.).

No one questions that the Pharaoh was a Divine King, though it is with difficulty that the consequences of that position are accepted, for the philosophy out of which it all grew is so out of date as to have become quite unreasonable in the light of our modern knowledge. It has, however, been widely held in the world and still is in many countries. The Divine King is not necessarily the military leader or the wielder of dictatorial powers, though, of course, he may be these also. He is a religious personality, the man in whom the divine spirit is inmanent, and it is he or rather the divine spirit within him that keeps the world going, the seasons in order, and ensures the fertility and success of crops, herds, and men. As the spirit must not be allowed to grow old, it has to be kept vigorous, either by killing the ageing holder or his substitute with ceremonies to transfer it to his successor, or in more civilized days by magically rejuvenating it in the existing holder. In historic Egypt the original crude method was only very occasionally employed, but we know how Ramesses II, for instance, was continually rejuvenated.

Dr. Murray has studied a number of genealogies of private persons as well as of Pharaohs. These bring out very clearly that father-daughter and son-mother marriages were commonplace. The brother-sister marriages of the Ptolemies are well known, and they were only a continuation of the old idea. Such arrangements kept the breed pure, and also kept the property in the family, which latter meant the kingdom in the case of the Pharaohs. The custom prevailed among the Israelites where Absalom married his sister Tamar and their daughter Maachah not only married Rehoboam but her own son Abijam. We might add that farther afield the kings of Siam, for instance, married their own sisters up to the end. In Egypt to-day a modification of the old custom still prevails in the marriage of first cousins. In fact this is said to be the best of all marriages, not only from the point of view of the property but also as producing the finest offspring. Min ummuh bint ‘am abuh? ‘Whose mother is the daughter of his father’s (paternal) uncle?’ is a complimentary remark to or of a specially fine man.

The property descended in the female line and the cases of Tuthmosis III and Ramesses II securing the
heiresses to the kingdom are very clear. By Dyn. XIX things were changing a little so that quite apart from whom he married the son of the chief heireess was preferred to all the other sons. Hence, Menephtah, the thirteenth son, came to the throne although he had elder brothers still living. The descent of the crown in the female line explains the conduct of Julius Caesar and Antony towards Cleopatra and of Octavian towards Caesarion and Antony's children. Cleopatra was the heireess, not the royal debauchee uncomprehending classical historians thought her. The custom of matrilineal descent obtained not only in the House of David in Palestine but also in the Claudian emperors at Rome. Dr. Murray makes these cases very clear by tracing the descent in the female line instead of the paternal as we are accustomed to do. All of this and its implications and complications is extremely difficult for us to envisage, and it has taken great labour to have realized the position, to have collected the evidence, and to have put it in comprehensible form.

There is much else that might be selected for remark, but the following must suffice. Thus, attention is called to the presence of the horned viper so common in royal names at the time that the Pharaohs were beginning to turn to Sun-worship; Khafu, Khafre, Userkaf, etc., with the suggestion that the hieroglyph does not stand for the pronoun 'his' as is usually supposed but for the viper itself. There is probably religious history to be disentangled there. The Uraeus belonged to Seth and was originally not part of the crowns but another emblem of royalty, and it was the 'viper' or rather the hoodless cobra which belonged to Re.

A remarkable discovery is that of the existence of the little-known Egyptian god 'Ash as a 'devil' in Europe as late as the sixteenth century A.D., with the story that he came with the Franks from Scythia. There are some archaeological resemblances between Egypt and southern Russia which are curious.

Dr. Murray mentions Coptic things so that it is a pity she does not include another remarkable discovery of hers, which is that much of the action in the legend of the Holy Grail takes place in the Delta; Giza, Bablu, Gebel el-Ahmar, Gebel Dimishk, Sers el-Lianah and other places being recognizable, and the Grail itself being the Coptic chalice in its painted ark. She worked it out in detail in *Ancient Egypt*, 1916, pp. 1–14, 54–69, but only reproduces two figures from there as pl. 94, figs. 2, 3. A résumé of this article would have been of great interest.

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