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PRESENTED TO  
F. LL. GRIFFITH

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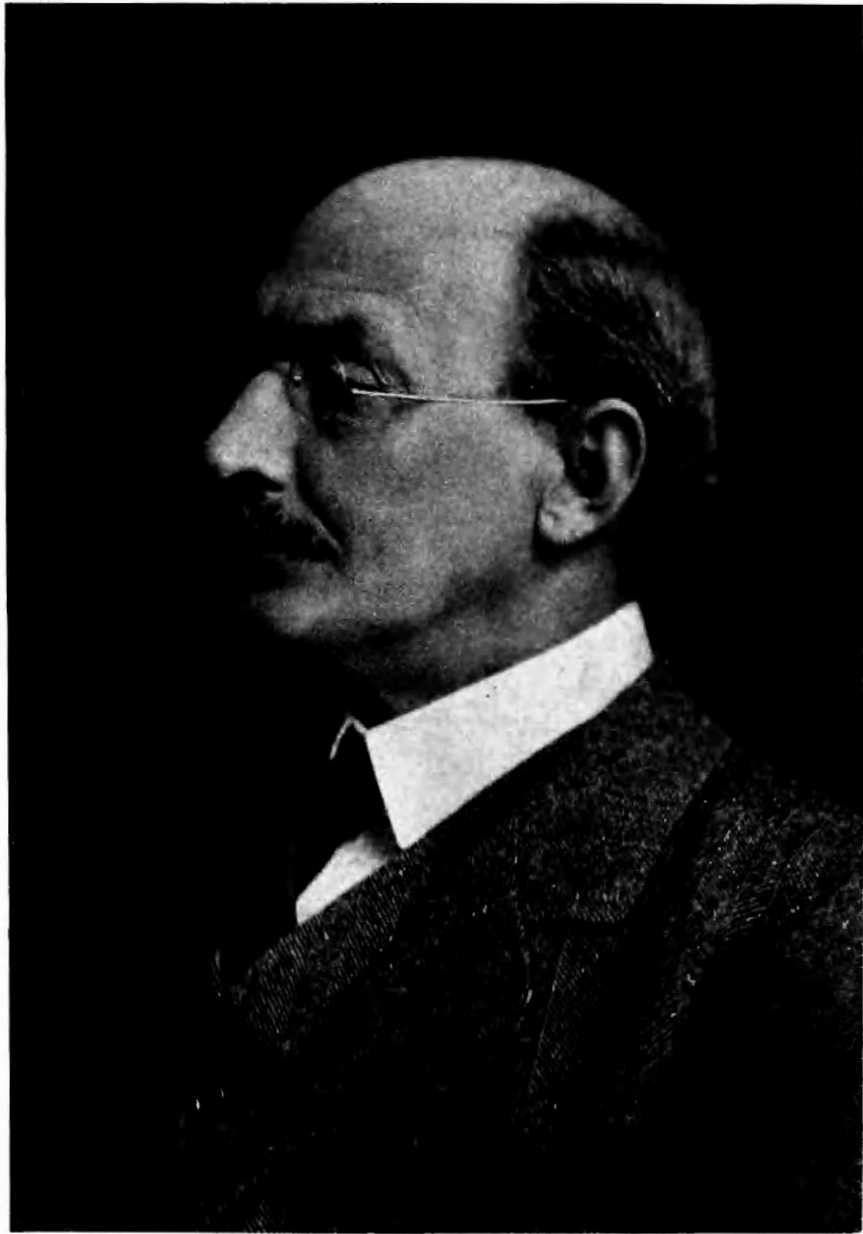
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## INTRODUCTION

By ROBERT MOND

ON 27 May of this year Professor F. Ll. Griffith attained his seventieth birthday, and on 30 June retired from the Professorship of, and Readership in, Egyptology in the University of Oxford. A unique occasion was thus presented to invite his Egyptological colleagues in this country and abroad to co-operate in the production of a volume of essays in his honour.

The response to this invitation is exemplified by the number and names of the contributors to the following pages, who testify to the universal affection, admiration, and respect that Professor Griffith has earned in his field of work; while the great variety of their themes reflects the catholicity of his own studies, and the widely diverse subjects of his research. There is, in fact, scarcely a department of Egyptology in which his writings are less than indispensable, and there are many in which he was among the pioneers. There is no scholar, either in his own country or abroad, who has not acknowledged indebtedness to his published results. But the tribute of his seventy-two colleagues,<sup>1</sup> contained in these pages, needs no compliments to embellish it.

This volume, however, offers a larger homage. It is published by the Egypt Exploration Society, and includes the silent acclamation of some seven hundred members whose names are not found as authors. It is in their names, and on behalf of the whole Society, which also celebrates an anniversary—its fiftieth—this year, that I wish to recall briefly the service that Professor Griffith has rendered to us in particular.

It was in 1884, two years after its foundation, that he first came to the Egypt Exploration Fund—as it was then—as Petrie's assistant at the excavation of Naucratis. He remained in the field with Petrie or Naville for the three following seasons (contributing as a result his share of the excavation memoirs), at the end of which he went to the British Museum. But in the next year he published for us the 'Syllabary' in *Two Hieroglyphic Papyri*, and *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dér Rîfeh*, for which the work in Egypt had been done while he was still a student of the Egypt Exploration Fund. The year after he was appointed Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey (inaugurated at his suggestion) and Editor of its publications. In that capacity he has been responsible for the production of twenty-five volumes, of which he was author of five, and part-author of three others.

He edited the whole series of *Archaeological Reports*, issued annually from

<sup>1</sup> Dr. A. M. Blackman, Mr. Battiscombe Gunn, M. Lacau, and Comm. G. Farina had intended to contribute to the book, but at the last moment were prevented from doing so by unforeseen circumstances.

1892-1912, and contributed to them the section headed 'Hieroglyphic Studies, &c.' in the 'Progress of Egyptology', which he continued under the title 'Bibliography: Ancient Egypt' in the *Journal* from its start in 1914. It was not till 1926 that he gave up this steadily increasing burden, which he had borne single-handed for thirty-four years. During this period he had also edited the *Journal* for a year (1922) and regularly contributed to it articles, besides a large number of reviews. In the winter of 1923-4 he was again in the field for the Society, directing its excavations at 'Amarneh'; and his latest undertaking on our behalf is the publication begun in the *Journal* last year of the results of that work.

Such a record, though here it is barely summarized, is unique. The Society holds many names in honour for generous assistance and for unselfish devotion to its cause. But none has given—nor indeed could have given so brilliantly—such long, continuous, and completely disinterested service as has Professor Griffith. Our Society, desirous of celebrating this double anniversary, hopes that this volume of studies will prove a not unworthy token both of our admiration and of our gratitude.

The arrangements for the book were entrusted to a sub-committee consisting of the Officers of the Society and Dr. Alan H. Gardiner, Mr. H. I. Bell, and Mr. S. R. K. Glanville, for whom the last named has acted as editor. They wish me to express their thanks to Professor Sethe and Dr. Hopfner for correcting the proofs of the articles of the late Professor Spiegelberg and Dr. Wessely respectively; and to the Printer to Oxford University and his staff for their unflinching courtesy and helpfulness throughout the production of the book. Especially they would like to thank Mr. Ulric Gantillon, the well-known Oriental reader of the University Press, for the help of his learning as these pages have passed through his hands.

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
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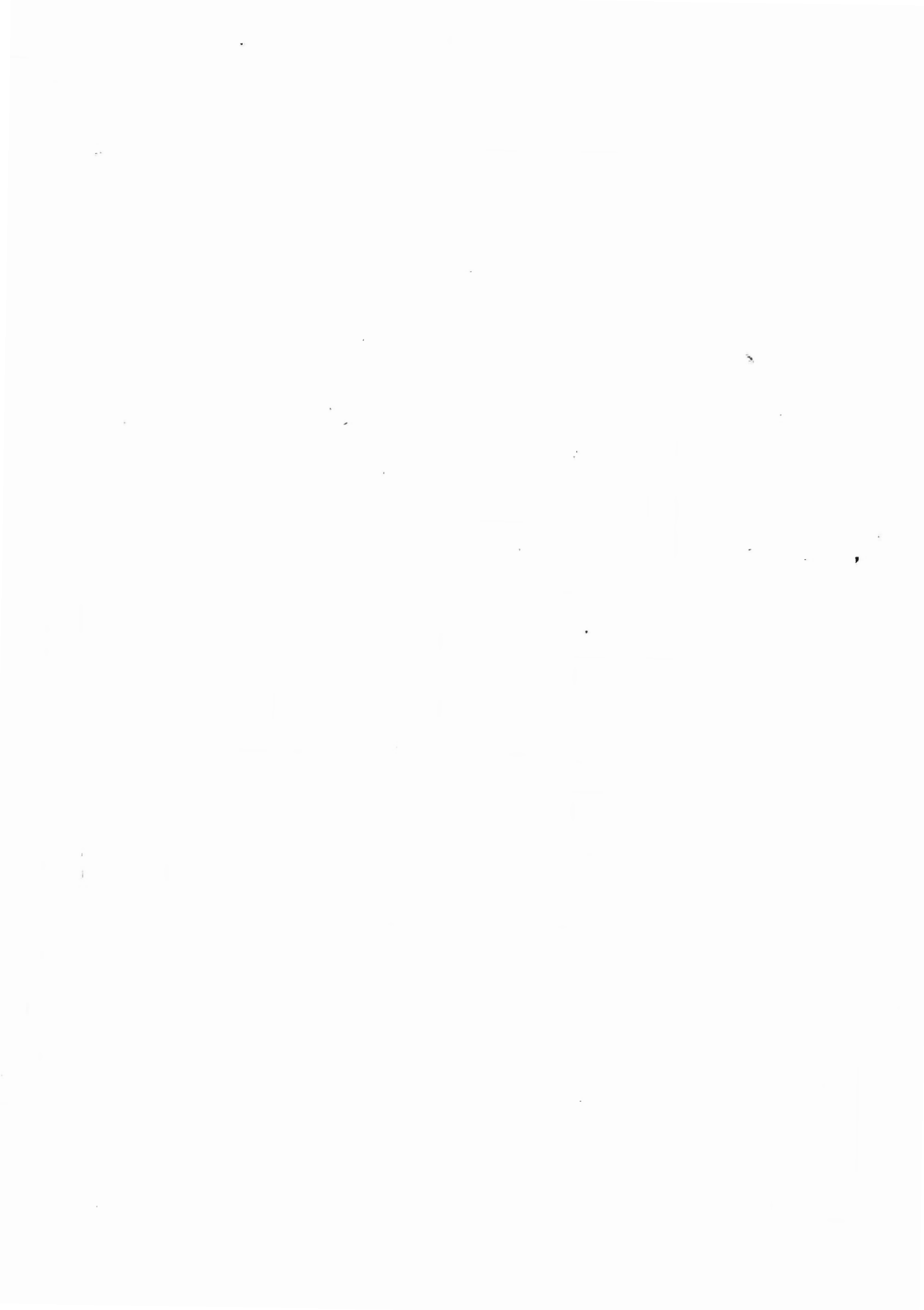
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PART I  
HISTORY











## LES DEUX ROIS KAMŌSE

(XVII<sup>e</sup> DYNASTIE)

Par HENRI GAUTHIER

(avec la Planche I)

LORSQUE feu Lord Carnarvon et M. Howard Carter publièrent en 1912<sup>1</sup> le texte de l'ostracon Carnarvon No. 1, qu' ils avaient trouvé en février 1908 dans la partie nord de la nécropole thébaine, à Draḥ abou'l Neggah, dans une tombe située à moins de 150 mètres de la pyramide du roi   Ouazkheperré-Kamōse,<sup>2</sup> l'opinion des égyptologues fut à peu près unanime à admettre l'identité du pharaon   , qui s'y trouvait mentionné, avec le roi du papyrus Abbott, dont le cercueil,<sup>3</sup> les armes et les bijoux, conservés au Musée du Caire, avaient été trouvés par Mariette en association avec la reine Aḥhotpe, mère des rois Kamōse et Aḥmōse. Et Maspero déclara que l'ostracon Carnarvon nous faisait connaître, pour la première fois, le protocole complet du pharaon Kamōsis de la XVII<sup>e</sup> Dynastie.<sup>4</sup>

Au milieu de ce concert deux voix pourtant ne tardèrent pas à faire entendre, dès l'année 1910, une note discordante : celles de M. R. Weill<sup>5</sup> et du signataire de ces lignes.<sup>6</sup> Nous avons remarqué, en effet, que le nom d'Horus du roi Kamōse de l'ostracon Carnarvon,   *h'j hr ns.t-f* 'apparaissant sur son trône', était différent du nom d'Horus de l'autre roi Kamōse connu depuis Mariette,  *sdj t: wj* 'approvisionnement des deux terres', et cette divergence entre deux éléments essentiels du protocole officiel nous avait paru à tous les deux un argument suffisant pour admettre l'existence de *deux* pharaons ayant porté le nom de Kamōse.

Mais en 1912, Max Burchardt, semblant ne pas avoir connaissance de l'opinion de M. Weill, s'en prenait à moi seul et affirmait que les deux rois Ouazkheperré-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. The Earl of Carnarvon and H. Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (London, 1912), pp. 36-7 et Pl. xxvii-xxviii. Cette tablette avait été signalée dès 1909 par Maspero dans le *Recueil de Travaux*, t. xxxi, p. 146, dans son article 'L'Ostracon Carnarvon et le Papyrus Prisse.'

<sup>2</sup> Cette pyramide est une de celles que le Papyrus Abbott (p. 3, l. 12, traduit par Breasted, *Ancient Records*, vol. iv, § 519) signale comme ayant été inspectée et trouvée intacte en l'an 16 de Ramsès IX.

<sup>3</sup> Voir, par exemple, Daressy, 'Le cercueil du roi Kamès' (*Annales du Service des Antiquités de*



*l'Égypte*, t. ix (1908), pp. 61-3) et Weill, *Journal Asiatique*, 10<sup>e</sup> série, t. xvi (1910), p. 563 et suivantes.

<sup>4</sup> *Recueil de Travaux*, t. xxxi, p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 'Les Hyksôs et la restauration nationale', &c. (*Journal Asiatique*, 10<sup>e</sup> série, t. xvi (1910), pp. 567-8 = pp. 155-6 de la réimpression de 1918 intitulée *La fin du Moyen Empire égyptien*).

<sup>6</sup> Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, t. II, p. 169. Voir aussi mon 'Répertoire pharaonique pour servir d'Index au Livre des Rois d'Égypte' (*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, t. xv (1918)), pp. 27, 79 et 99.

Kamōse et . . . kheperré-Kamōse, que j'avais cru pouvoir distinguer, étaient, en réalité, un seul et même pharaon.<sup>1</sup>

En 1916, M. Gardiner se déclarait également en faveur de l'identité des deux prétendus rois Kamōse, sous le prétexte que le cartouche solaire (ou d'intronisation) mutilé de la tablette Carnarvon, , pouvait fort aisément être complété en , Ouazkheperré, et être ainsi identique au cartouche du Kamōse du mobilier funéraire de Drah abou'l Neggah (cercueil, armes, bijoux): 'the grounds for concluding the existence of a second Kamōse', disait-il, 'seem at present, therefore, to be extremely slender.'<sup>2</sup>

Deux ans plus tard, présentant une traduction révisée et un nouveau commentaire du récit tracé sur la tablette Carnarvon, MM. Gunn et Gardiner affirmaient à nouveau<sup>3</sup> qu'il était difficile de partager l'opinion de Weill et de Gauthier, suivant laquelle il pouvait y avoir quelque doute concernant l'identité des deux prétendus rois Kamōse distingués par eux. En tout cas, concluaient les deux auteurs, il est bien difficile, malgré la seule divergence des deux noms d'Horus et alors que les deux cartouches solaires peuvent fort bien avoir été identiques, de séparer le Kamōse de la tablette Carnarvon, premier héros officiel de la lutte d'indépendance des rois thébains contre les Hyksos, du Kamōse connu par ailleurs pour avoir été le prédécesseur immédiat, peut-être le frère aîné, du libérateur définitif de l'Égypte, Aḥmōse.

Quant aux traducteurs plus récents du récit historique rapporté par la tablette Carnarvon, MM. Erman<sup>4</sup> et Pieper,<sup>5</sup> ils n'ont rien dit de l'identité du roi Kamōse. Seul, en 1924, M. Winlock, étudiant en détail la question des tombes des pharaons de la XVII<sup>e</sup> Dynastie, s'est implicitement rangé, sans toutefois le déclarer expressément, à l'opinion favorable à l'identité des deux prétendus rois Kamōse.<sup>6</sup>

Ajoutons enfin qu'aucun traité général d'histoire de l'Égypte n'a, jusqu'à présent, admis l'existence de *deux* rois Kamōse différents. Le dernier en date la *Geschichte des Altertums* d'Ed. Meyer, ne fait encore mention, en 1928, que de Kamose-Uazcheperré.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ä.Z.*, Band I, p. 121, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 'The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamōse: the Carnarvon Tablet No. 1' (*Journ. of Egypt. Archaeol.*, vol. III, pp. 95-110 et Pl. XII-XIII). Voir surtout, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 'New Rendering of Egyptian Texts, II. The Expulsion of the Hyksos' (*J.E.A.* vol. V (1918), pp. 36-56). Voir surtout, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Literatur der Aegypter* (Leipzig, 1923). Cf. pp. 82-5: *Der Kampf des Königs Kamose*. Voir aussi la traduction anglaise de M. Blackman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1927), pp. 52-4: 'The War of King Kamōse'.

<sup>5</sup> *Die ägyptische Literatur* (Wildpark-Potsdam,

1927). Cf. pp. 59-62: 'Die historische Literatur der 17. und 18. Dynastie'.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 'The Tombs of the Kings of the seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes' (*Journ. of Egypt. Archaeol.*, vol. X, pp. 217-77 et Pl. XII-XXI). Voir surtout (pp. 259-65) une étude très complète sur les divers monuments et titulatures du roi Kamōse Ouazkheperré de la tombe de Drah abou'l Neggah, où l'auteur ne mentionne que de façon incidente (p. 262) la tablette Carnarvon, sans rien dire de son contenu ni du protocole royal qui y figure.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Band II, I. Abt., pp. 49-51 et 608.

M. Weill est donc, à ma connaissance, le seul égyptologue ou historien qui ait admis avec moi la possibilité d'un *deuxième* roi Kamōse. Ce savant a, du reste, émis, concernant la réalité historique de ce personnage royal, des opinions assez divergentes depuis 1910, date où il en a parlé pour la première fois, jusqu'à 1921. 'Ce roi', a-t-il d'abord déclaré, 'n'est, jusqu'à présent pour nous, qu'un personnage de roman.'<sup>1</sup> Puis il a admis la possibilité de sa réalité: 'Ce Kamès réel ou romanesque n'est pas identique à l'autre connu depuis longtemps.'<sup>2</sup> Dans l'*Index* de sa réédition d'ensemble, parue en 1918 sous le titre *La fin du Moyen Empire égyptien*, des articles publiés de 1910 à 1917 dans le *Journal Asiatique*, il a appelé le nouveau Kamès le 'personnage royal de l'histoire de la planchette Carnarvon',<sup>3</sup> c'est-à-dire qu'il a reconnu définitivement l'historicité réelle de ce souverain, qui lui avait d'abord paru douteuse. Enfin en 1921, reprenant le sujet dans les *Mélanges publiés par les Directeurs d'Études de la Section des Sciences historiques et philologiques de l'École pratique des Hautes-Études*, à l'occasion du Cinquantenaire de cette dernière,<sup>4</sup> il déclara que la question de savoir s'il s'agissait, malgré les divergences de protocole, d'un seul et même roi sur la planchette Carnarvon et sur le mobilier funéraire de Drah abou'l Neggah 'n'a pas de sens, ou pas d'intérêt, si l'histoire de la planchette est une simple fable. Aussi nous faut-il déterminer, d'abord, les conditions d'historicité du monument.'<sup>5</sup> Cet examen ayant été favorable, M. Weill reconnut comme 'évidemment historique' le texte en question et en conclut 'que le Pharaon qu'on y voit agir est un souverain historiquement réel'. Il y avait donc lieu de 'reprendre le problème de son rapprochement avec le roi Kamès du célèbre mobilier funéraire de Drah abou'l Neggah'. L'auteur persista, du reste, dans son idée première: 'Il y a, dit-il, au premier coup d'œil les plus fortes chances pour que les deux titulatures n'appartiennent point au même personnage'; mais, ajouta-t-il aussitôt, 'les deux Kamès ainsi différenciés sont certainement très voisins, étroitement apparentés par la commune forme en (X)+*khopir-re* de leurs noms solaires'. Leur dualité n'a rien pour nous surprendre, et tous deux sont probablement à intercaler entre Saqnenré-Tiô, le héros de la lutte avec le roi Hyksos Apopi contée au papyrus Sallier I, et Aḥmōse le libérateur définitif du territoire égyptien. Le plus important des deux Kamès, dont M. Weill se gardait, d'ailleurs, avec prudence de préciser l'ordre relatif de succession, lui apparaissait enfin, en dernière analyse, être non pas le Kamès du mobilier funéraire, mais celui de la tablette Carnarvon.<sup>6</sup>

Les choses en étaient restées là lorsqu'en décembre 1928 un monument

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Journal Asiatique*, 10<sup>e</sup> série, t. XVI (1910), p. 568 = *La fin du Moyen Empire égyptien* (1918), p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 11<sup>e</sup> série, t. I (1913), p. 538 = *La fin du Moyen Empire égyptien* (1918), p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Voir, p. 942, au mot *Kamès*.

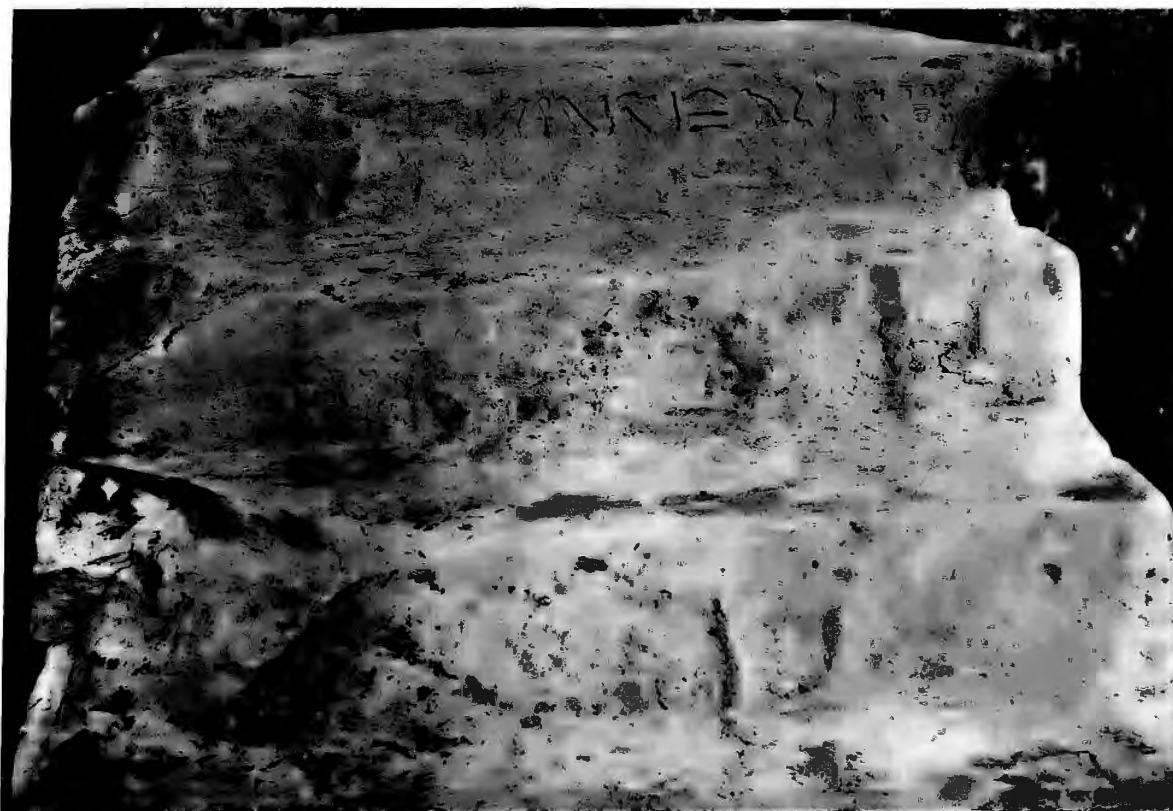
<sup>4</sup> Cf. 'Kamès de Thèbes. Les Rois Thébains, les Asiatiques en Égypte et la dynastie des Apopi à la veille du Nouvel Empire' (extrait du fasc. CCXXX de la *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes-Études*, pp. 25-41).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34-6.








*a.* Face antérieure

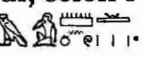








*b.* Face latérale de droite






Socle de statue trouvé à Karnak en 1928




2. Le troisième élément constitutif du protocole, le nom de , semble bien n'avoir été donné sur aucune des deux faces latérales ; sur la face de droite, en tout cas, le vide qui précède le cartouche est trop court pour avoir pu contenir autre chose que les signes servant à introduire le cartouche.


3. Le nom de *nbtj, whm mn.w*,<sup>1</sup> est identique à celui du protocole de la tablette Carnarvon, qui, selon l'orthographe caractéristique de la fin de l'époque ramesside, écrit . Cette identité, s'ajoutant à la similitude du cartouche personnel *Kamōse*, constitue une très forte présomption en faveur de l'identité du roi du socle de Karnak avec celui de la tablette Carnarvon, qui, dès lors, n'apparaît plus seulement comme le héros plus ou moins romanesque d'un récit postérieur de plusieurs siècles aux faits relatés, mais bien comme un souverain d'indiscutable authenticité historique, ayant élevé des monuments à la gloire du dieu de sa capitale, Amon Thébain.

4. Le vide qui est visible avant le cartouche sur le côté droit du socle de Karnak n'a peut-être jamais été rempli ; si, toutefois, il l'a été, on peut admettre qu'il contenait les mots , ou peut-être , servant à introduire le cinquième et dernier nom du protocole. Quant au vide, plus étroit, qui apparaît entre la lettre  (*sic*) et la boucle de fermeture du cartouche , il peut être comblé à l'aide de l'un des deux signes déterminatifs  ou  qui figurent sur les autres monuments portant le cartouche *Kms*.<sup>2</sup>

Nous voici donc en présence, depuis la découverte du socle de Karnak, d'un roi Kamōse dont le nom de  est identique à celui du Kamōse de la planchette Carnarvon et dont le nom de , non conservé, peut avoir été également identique au nom de  de ce dernier. La similitude n'est, cependant, pas complète pour l'ensemble des éléments constitutifs du protocole, car le nom de , *h3b t3.wj*, est différent du nom de  du roi de la planchette, qui était *h3j hr ns.t-f*. Comme, d'autre part, ce nouveau nom d'Horus 'courbant les deux terres', c'est-à-dire 'faisant se plier les deux moitiés de l'Égypte sous sa domination', est également différent du nom d'Horus *sd3 t3.wj* du roi Kamōse du cercueil et du mobilier funéraire de Drah abou'l Neggah, nous nous trouvons en présence non plus de deux, mais bien de *trois* noms d'Horus différents portés par des rois nommés Kamōse. Cette particularité me paraît constituer un argument très fort en faveur de la *dualité* de ces derniers. Si l'on peut, en effet, admettre que le roi du socle de Karnak, qui est selon toute vraisemblance le même que celui de la tablette Carnarvon, ait, à un moment donné et à la suite de circonstances qui nous échappent encore, adopté un *deuxième* nom d'Horus (sans d'ailleurs modifier en quoi que ce soit son nom de *nbtj*), il serait

<sup>1</sup> Et non *ouahm-mennou-f*, comme a transcrit en 1913 M. Weill (cf. *Journ. Asiat.*, 11<sup>e</sup> série, t. I, p. 537 = *La fin du Moyen Empire égyptien*, p. 219).

<sup>2</sup> Le déterminatif , que j'ai donné au § III

de la page 165 du tome II du *Livre des Rois d'Égypte* (hache de Drah abou'l Neggah) est erroné pour , ainsi que m'en a convaincu un nouvel examen.

évidemment hasardeux de supposer qu'un souverain dont le règne a, selon toute probabilité, été court, ait pu porter jusqu'à *trois* noms d'Horus successifs. Si donc il n'était pas absolument impossible, avant la découverte du socle de Karnak, d'admettre l'identité de l'Horus *śdfꜣ tꜣ.wj* du mobilier funéraire et de l'Horus *hꜣj hr ns.t-f* de la tablette Carnarvon, en supposant, par exemple, que le dernier de ces noms, 'apparaissant sur son trône', avait pu être remplacé par le premier, 'approvisionnement (ou nourrisseur) des deux terres', après la victoire remportée en l'an 3 sur les Hyksos, la retraite de ces derniers au delà de Memphis et la nouvelle unification sous un seul sceptre des deux capitales du Sud et du Nord, il me paraît aujourd'hui invraisemblable que l'Horus *śdfꜣ tꜣ.wj* ait été également identique avec l'Horus *hꜣb tꜣ.wj* du socle de Karnak.

L'hypothèse la plus plausible est donc, en définitive, la suivante: deux rois (au moins) du nom de Kamōse ont occupé le trône de Thèbes à deux moments très voisins l'un de l'autre:

1. L'Horus *śdfꜣ tꜣ.wj* du cercueil et du mobilier funéraire de Drah abou'l Neggah, dont le cartouche solaire était *Ouazkheperré*;

2. L'Horus *hꜣj hr ns.t-f* (plus tard *hꜣb tꜣ.wj*), 'celui qui coiffe les deux couronnes' *whm mn.w*, 'Horus vainqueur de l'Ombite' *shr tꜣ.wj*, dont le cartouche solaire est encore jusqu'à présent inconnu.

Tous deux ont appartenu, selon toute vraisemblance du moins, à la même famille royale. Tous deux ont peut-être (?) été des fils de la reine Aḥhotpe et, par suite, des frères aînés du futur roi Aḥmōse, qui devait achever la grande œuvre de l'expulsion définitive des envahisseurs asiatiques hors du territoire égyptien.


La question de l'ordre relatif suivant lequel ces deux rois Kamōse ont accédé au trône de Thèbes doit être, provisoirement, laissée sans solution. Il semble, toutefois, probable qu'ils ont régné suivant l'ordre même dans lequel je les ai cités quelques lignes plus haut.

## LES FEMMES DE PEPI II

Par GUSTAVE JÉQUIER

LES documents généalogiques, très nombreux et très circonstanciés à certaines époques, font presque complètement défaut dans les monuments de la fin de l'Ancien Empire, de sorte qu'il nous est le plus souvent impossible de reconstituer la filiation des personnages dont nous possédons les tombeaux. Jamais les particuliers ne mentionnent le nom de leurs parents et c'est tout au plus si nous voyons parfois leurs enfants prendre part au culte funéraire. Pour la famille royale, les renseignements sont encore plus rares.


Les fouilles dans la partie méridionale de la nécropole de Saqqarah, dont le Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte m'a confié depuis plusieurs années la direction, ont amené la découverte de divers documents relatifs aux femmes de Pepi II, qui nous permettent de combler dès à présent une petite partie de cette lacune. Le site n'étant pas encore complètement exploré, on peut espérer que les prochaines fouilles viendront compléter ces résultats.

En 1926 j'avais déblayé, près de la pyramide de Pepi II, celle de la reine Oudjebten et les fouilles de l'hiver 1930-1 me permirent d'identifier deux autres tombes de type semblable et appartenant également à deux femmes du même roi, nommées Neit et Apouit. Ces sépultures présentent, avec des proportions réduites, tous les caractères des sépultures royales : pyramide avec chambre funéraire tapissée des textes religieux réservés jusqu'alors aux rois seuls, enceinte contenant une chapelle avec cour, sanctuaire et toutes dépendances, et enfin une petite pyramide d'offrandes. Placées hors l'enceinte du tombeau royal et sans communication directe avec lui, les tombes des reines en sont des dépendances et font partie du plan d'ensemble ; les inscriptions même en font foi : dans toutes celles qui se trouvaient en des endroits accessibles au public ou aux prêtres les titres et le nom de la reine sont invariablement précédés de la mention , qui est le nom de la pyramide de Pepi II, tandis que les caveaux, fermés pour l'éternité, sont la propriété exclusive des reines dont les noms et les titres personnels paraissent seuls dans les textes funéraires.

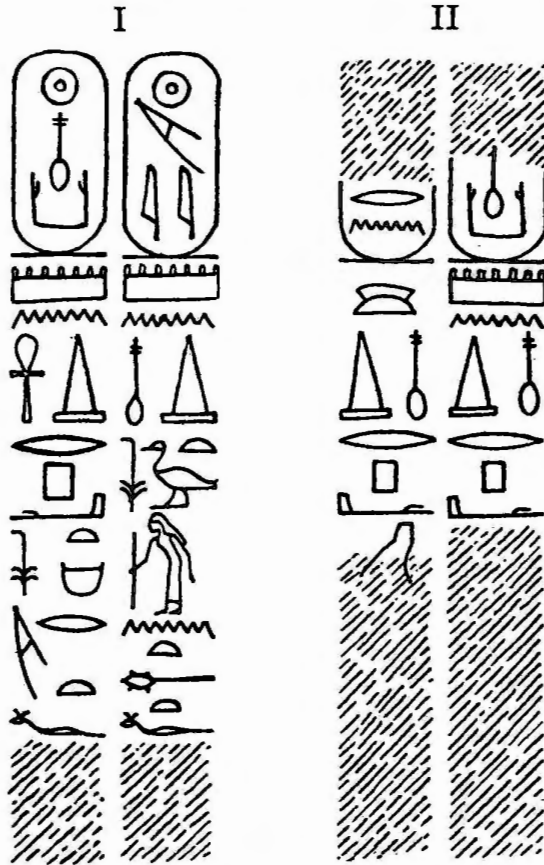
### NEIT

La porte de l'enceinte du monument funéraire de la reine Neit est aujourd'hui détruite, mais les deux petits obélisques qui la flanquaient à l'extérieur et dont les inscriptions, en mauvais état, contiennent des indications précieuses, sont encore debout (fig. p. 10). D'autre part un décret de fondation,<sup>1</sup> trouvé à proximité de cette même porte et promulgué par un roi dont le nom a été


<sup>1</sup> Un facsimile de ce décret est publié dans mon rapport sur les fouilles 1930-1 (*Annales du Service des Antiquités*, t. XXVI).



soigneusement martelé, associe le nom de Neit à celui de la reine Ankhes-n-Merira, l'une des deux sœurs qui portèrent ce nom et qui furent successivement les femmes de Pepi I,<sup>1</sup> et il les désigne toutes deux par le titre de , indiquant que ce roi les reconnaissait pour ses ancêtres.


Ainsi Neit était princesse royale de naissance, fille de Pepi I, et, si l'on peut ajouter foi au terme de 'fille aînée', terme qui n'est pas toujours d'une grande





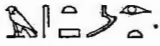
précision, de la première Ankhes-n-Merira plutôt que de la seconde, mère de Pepi II. Elle serait alors sœur consanguine de Merenra, mais fut-elle en même temps sa femme? L'inscription, détruite à cet endroit,<sup>2</sup> ne nous permet pas de l'affirmer catégoriquement.

Le titre  peut cependant nous fournir une indication. Cette expression bien connue qui s'applique aux personnages de haut rang et paraît être l'apanage de la noblesse héréditaire, se trouve employée exceptionnellement et toujours au masculin en tête de la titulature dans toutes les inscriptions de la reine Neit et des deux autres femmes de Pepi II. Lorsque je la rencontrai pour la première fois dans le tombeau de la reine Oudjebten, je crus qu'il s'agissait de l'héritière d'un grand fief qu'elle ramenait à la couronne par son mariage; du moment où les autres


femmes du même roi portent ce même titre alors qu'elles sont nées princesses royales, il faut évidemment renoncer à ce petit roman. Si donc il n'est pas possible de donner encore l'explication de cet emploi insolite du titre , nous constatons que sous Pepi II il fait toujours partie du protocole des reines, mais non des princesses royales en général, puisque Neit, en tant que fille de roi, ne le porte pas encore. Si donc elle est qualifiée de  dans le texte où elle est mise en rapport avec Merenra, c'est sans doute qu'elle fut d'abord la femme de ce

<sup>1</sup> Bien que certains auteurs ne reconnaissent qu'une seule Ankhes-n-Merira (Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* I, p. 161), la stèle de Djaou, où les deux reines sont figurées côte à côte (Musée du Caire No. 1431) dit expressément que ce personnage était leur frère , ce qui ne permet aucune

équivoque (Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*, p. 117).

<sup>2</sup> La tête d'un , seule encore visible, est inexplicable, à moins qu'on ne la corrige en , pour y voir le commencement d'un titre de reine, tel que .

roi, après la mort duquel elle passa dans le harem de son second frère Pepi II avec la même dignité d'épouse royale.

Il y a donc tout lieu de croire que Neit fut la première femme de Pepi II, dès son accession au trône, alors qu'il était encore en bas âge. Comme d'après le décret du roi inconnu elle a eu une descendance puisqu'elle est qualifiée de , elle doit avoir vécu au moins jusqu'à ce que Pepi fût en âge d'avoir des enfants, soit encore dix ou quinze ans au minimum.

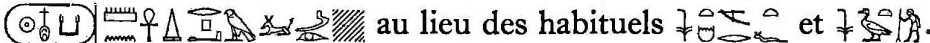


Les autres titres de la reine, énumérés au grand complet et à plusieurs reprises dans la tombe même sur les bandeaux de soubassement, ne présentent aucune particularité nouvelle :





#### APOUIT

Immédiatement à côté de la pyramide de Neit, vers l'angle nord-ouest de l'enceinte de Pepi II, s'élevait la tombe d'une autre reine que certains indices dans la construction permettent de considérer comme un peu postérieure à celle de Neit.<sup>2</sup> Ce monument, dont le déblaiement n'est pas encore achevé, est dans un état de délabrement déplorable : la pyramide est pour ainsi dire rasée, les parois de la chambre funéraire bouleversées, la grande stèle encore debout mais complètement éffritée, la chapelle et la cour détruites jusqu'aux arasements ainsi que la petite pyramide d'offrandes. La seule chose qui subsiste est la porte d'entrée, construite en granit d'Assouan et flanquée du côté extérieur de deux petits obélisques de calcaire.<sup>3</sup> Cette porte est un don du roi à sa femme, comme le dit l'inscription gravée sur le linteau,<sup>4</sup> en dessous du disque ailé :



Les montants sont ornés de figures de la reine debout, surmontées d'inscriptions très brèves qui ne font que reproduire les titres déjà gravés sur le linteau. Les textes des deux obélisques, gravés sur les faces extérieures seulement, en deux colonnes, sont à peine moins concis ; l'un d'eux cependant porte la légende  au lieu des habituels  et .

Le titre , et même , indique une descendance royale, mais ne signifie pas que la femme qui le porte soit nécessairement fille d'un roi ; elle

<sup>1</sup> Texte de la paroi ouest, le plus complet.

<sup>2</sup> On voit nettement que le mur d'enceinte de Neit était terminé lorsqu'on a appuyé contre lui le mur de la façade d'Apouit. Une rue dallée sépare du mur d'enceinte de Pepi les façades des deux tombes de reines qui forment une muraille continue.


<sup>3</sup> Une vue de cette porte est publiée dans mon

rapport annuel sur les fouilles 1930-1 dans les *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, t. XXXI.

<sup>4</sup> Il va sans dire que cette inscription peut se rapporter à la tombe toute entière aussi bien qu'à la porte qui n'en est qu'une partie.

<sup>5</sup> Cet hiéroglyphe représente ici une femme, non un homme.



peut, comme c'est le cas par exemple pour la femme de Mera, n'en être que la petite-fille ou même l'arrière-petite-fille. Dans le cas particulier, la chose est d'autant plus probable que jamais Apouit ne fait suivre cette expression du nom d'un roi, ni même du terme  qui souligne une parenté directe; elle devait avoir pour ancêtre, à la 2<sup>e</sup> ou 3<sup>e</sup> génération, Pepi I ou Teti, et la similitude de nom avec la première reine Apouit, mère de Pepi I, pourrait même faire supposer qu'elle en était une descendante directe.

Les titres que nous donnent les rares inscriptions d'Apouit sont peu nombreux, mais ce sont les titres essentiels d'une reine, ceux qui impliquent en quelque sorte toute la série des titres accessoires, tels qu'ils sont énumérés par exemple dans la chambre funéraire de Neit, et qui nous manquent pour Apouit par suite de la destruction presque complète de la tombe proprement dite.

#### OUJEBTEN

Le tombeau d'Oudjebten a été publié intégralement,<sup>1</sup> de sorte qu'il n'y a plus à y revenir autrement que pour établir la situation de cette reine vis-à-vis des deux autres. Oudjebten, dont nous ne connaissons pas la parenté, n'était pas comme ces dernières, d'origine royale, mais elle avait certainement, comme femme du roi, le même rang et le droit aux mêmes honneurs, comme en témoigne la série de ses titres et le simple fait que son tombeau est aussi important que les deux autres.

Le décret de fondation,<sup>2</sup> dont quelques petits fragments nous sont parvenus, donne la date de l'an 33 qui est probablement celle du décès de la reine, morte prématurément, à en juger par l'état inachevé de la chambre funéraire, dont les inscriptions sont encore tracées à l'encre noire et n'ont jamais été gravées. Oudjebten aurait donc régné après Neit et Apouit, ce que confirme le fait que sa tombe est placée dans une autre région de l'enceinte royale, celle choisie d'abord pour les sépultures des membres de la famille étant sans doute à cette époque entièrement occupée.

<sup>1</sup> G. Jéquier, *La Pyramide d'Oudjebten*. Le Caire, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

## ARSINOE AND AMMON

By J. GRAFTON MILNE

THE development of the worship of Ammon in Egypt under the Ptolemies gives some interesting clues to the religious policy of the dynasty. It is to be noted, in the first place, that there is no certain evidence of any special regard for Ammon under Ptolemy I Soter: the story of the visit of Alexander to the oasis of Siwa, as told by Ptolemy himself, would appear from Arrian's use of it to have been written from a military point of view, which, as G. Radet suggested (in *Notes sur l'histoire d'Alexandre*, vi), was what mainly interested Arrian, and so may explain his choice of an authority: and U. Wilcken has shown very conclusively that the picturesque details of the 'Alexander Romance' concerning this visit are for the most part later than the time of Ptolemy I; his analysis of the evidence in *Alexanders Zug in die Oase Siwa* has not been shaken by any of the later critics.

It is in accordance with this that the representation of Alexander with a ram's horn on his temple, which is a familiar coin-type and must, as has always been recognized, be intended to link him with Ammon, does not appear in Egypt under Ptolemy I: the head of Alexander on the tetradrachms struck for Egypt before Ptolemy placed his own portrait on the coins is given a head-dress of an elephant's scalp, which is presumably intended to mark him as the hero-founder of Alexandria, but has certainly no connexion with any form of Ammon-worship: and on the small bronze coins of the same reign there is a purely human head of Alexander without a horn or any other attribute.

Ammon also was given no share in the new state religion which centred round Sarapis: the theological syndicate which, according to tradition, was commissioned to provide a deity who should secure the homage of Greeks and Egyptians alike drew its inspiration from many sources, but there is certainly no trace of any Ammon influence in the first artistic conception of Sarapis, nor do the early records of the cult show that any such influence existed. The first Ptolemy, in fact, not only disregarded Ammon, but put a distinct slight on him, by depriving Thebes, the chief centre of the worship of Amūn (whom the Graeco-Egyptians accepted as identical with Ammon), of the headship of Upper Egypt, which he transferred to his new foundation of Ptolemais Hermiou.

It was probably during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus that the account of Alexander's visit to the temple of Ammon at Siwa began to be embroidered with legend: and here again the evidence of coins may be used to suggest a source of inspiration. The horned head of Alexander first makes its appearance as a coin-type in Thrace, on the gold and silver of Lysimachus: the youthful character of the head may show that it was not as Ammon, but as Carneius the son of Ammon, that Alexander was meant to be represented (see *Ancient*

*Egypt*, 1928, p. 38); but, whether it be Ammon or Carneius, the type is a purely Greek one, and was almost certainly derived from a Greek cult which had a home in the kingdom of Lysimachus. There is therefore some ground for thinking that the doctrine that Alexander was the son of Ammon was developed into a popular romance in Thrace under Lysimachus: and it is significant that the recrudescence of Ammon-worship in Egypt is approximately contemporary with the return of Arsinoe, the widow of Lysimachus, to Egypt and her marriage to her brother Ptolemy II.

As I have previously suggested (*Ancient Egypt*, 1929), it is possible that Arsinoe realized that the academic conception of Sarapis had failed to win favour either with the Greek or with the Egyptian element in the country generally: the Greek deity whose attributes figured most prominently in the cult, Hades, was not one whose personality was specially attractive, while on the Egyptian side Osiris was more important in abstract theology than in common observance. The Libyan Ammon represented to the Greek mind Zeus, to the Egyptian Amūn-rē', and so fused two much more popular worships: and it is conceivable that Arsinoe may have reported to her brother how her late husband's use of Ammon in connexion with Alexander had caught the fancy of the Greeks in Europe and Asia Minor, and have proposed that the same relationship should be exploited in Egypt. At any rate it is clear that Ammon and Sarapis became more and more identified in the later years of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, developing into Zeus Ammon Helios Sarapis: the development was carried still further in Roman times, and the attributes of Poseidon, Nilus, Asklepios, and Herakles were added to those of the previous four, but this was not till the second century of our era.

Monumental evidence of the use of Ammon by Ptolemy II is provided by the new copper currency introduced in his reign, which was designed to suit the native custom in regard to the medium of exchange in business: the gold and silver standards of the Hellenistic kingdoms were strange to Egypt, which had habitually expressed values in copper, and the monetary system of Alexander, which had been adopted by Ptolemy I, was revised. The obverse type of the chief denominations in the new coinage was the head of Ammon, not of Sarapis: it was Greek in style, and sufficiently like either Zeus or Sarapis to pass muster for either at a casual glance, but still marked as Egyptian by the disk which crowned it. And here again a connexion with Arsinoe occurs: according to Svoronos, the new copper coinage began in 270 B.C., the year of Arsinoe's death; and at the same time a series of large medalllic pieces in gold and silver, bearing her portrait and name, was issued.

The most important document bearing on the relationship of Arsinoe with this form of worship is the Mendes-stele (Cairo 22181, first published by H. Brugsch in *A.Z.* (1875), XIII. 93). In this inscription (l. 13) it is stated that in Pachon of year 15 King Ptolemy commanded that statues of

Arsinoe as a ram-deity should be set up, and bestowed on her the title of Philo-Mendes (if it may be so translated) as well as Philadelphus. It is not clear from the text exactly what degree of zoomorphism is implied in the word translated by Brugsch as 'ihr Widderbild', but it is evident that she was to be represented in a form which would identify her with the sacred ram; for a Greek it would possibly have sufficed to portray her with a ram's horn, as Lysimachus had done with Alexander: an Egyptian would have gone farther; but unfortunately no statues of her in this character seem to have been preserved. The fact that it was Mendes, not Ammon or Amūn, who was the personality actually in question is probably of little moment: for the purposes of Ptolemy one ram-god would do as well as another, and Mendes was a more convenient centre of worship for the Alexandrian court than either Thebes or Siwa. These two places were both far away, and Thebes was ill-affected to the new dynasty—although it is worth noting that there was a resumption of building-activity at Thebes under Ptolemy II—while the hold of Egypt on Siwa was rather uncertain. The really important point is that a Greek princess was definitely linked up with an Egyptian god, which was a novel proceeding: and this (as pointed out by W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, II. 271) was done at the instance of the state, that is, on the motion of the Greeks, not of the Egyptians.

The whole of the story contained in the Mendes-stele appears to indicate an exceptionally close connexion between Arsinoe and the ram-cult of which Mendes was a representative. If Ptolemy had merely wished to give his sister a place in the native pantheon, there were many goddesses with whom she might have been more naturally and fitly equated than with Mendes: the decree proceeds to order the erection of statues of her as an associate deity in all temples, and as a matter of fact in the next few years several records of her introduction into other cults occur; but Mendes was not only first in point of time, but singular in the form of its identification of Arsinoe with the god. There must have been some special reason for this procedure, and the one reason to which other evidence gives a clue is that Arsinoe was responsible for the exaltation of the ram-cult, by bringing Ammon into close relation with the fortunes of the Ptolemaic house through the importation from Thrace of the idea that Alexander was recognized as the son of Ammon.

## EPONYMOUS PRIESTS UNDER THE PTOLEMIES

By HERBERT THOMPSON

THIS paper is not concerned with the institution or history of the development of the eponymous priesthoods of Alexandria and Ptolemais. It is limited to a list of those documents in which the *names* of the priests and priestesses are given. This was done in a very complete fashion for the Alexandrian priests in all published documents down to the year 1912 by the late Dr. Gerhard Plaumann in his contribution to the article 'Hiereis' in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1912), since which time no further list has, to my knowledge, been attempted. I have collected here all the later material that I could find, both published and unpublished. For the use of the latter I am indebted to the generous permission granted to me for the British Museum by the late Keeper of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, Dr. H. R. Hall and his successor Mr. Sidney Smith; for the Turin Museum to the Director Comm. G. Farina, and for the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A., to Mr. Horace F. Jayne, the Director of the University Museum, to all of whom my best thanks are due.

The list of priests printed by Plaumann has not been repeated, as it is readily accessible; but with regard to those of Ptolemais, as the only attempt at a complete one was made by Plaumann in his book on Ptolemais<sup>1</sup> which is not so easily referred to, I have drawn up a complete list of the recorded names.

It is unfortunate that Plaumann gave only the years of his documents and omitted to add the months, which have sometimes an important bearing on the changes of the names in the same or successive years. In my notes I have added ■ good many month-names to his documents. Under the early Ptolemies, down to and including Epiphanes, legal documents for the most part contained only the year and month of the reigning king; and there is some evidence to show that by a legal fiction every deed was regarded as having been executed on the first day of the month.

It would be out of place to do more than refer here to the fact that the chronology of the Ptolemies, and especially of the earlier reigns, is subject to much doubt and difficulty. There were regnal years and fiscal years; there were Macedonian months and Egyptian months, and we are still in the dark as to their relations and correspondences.<sup>2</sup> But as it is desirable to give a relative date in terms of our own era to the documents dealt with, I have converted them in the usual way to dates B.C. It must be understood, however, that they are

<sup>1</sup> *Ptolemais in Ober-ägypten*, Leipzig, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Hibeh*, I, App. I-III, 1906; Smyley in *Hermathena*, 1906; Bouché-Leclercq, *Lagides*, IV, App. I, 1907; Ernst Meyer,

*Untersuch. z. Chron. der ersten Ptolemäer*, 1925; C. C. Edgar, *Ann. du Service*, xvii, xviii; W. W. Tarn, *Classical Review*, xl, 1926—to mention only a few.

approximate only, and until a general agreement is reached on the disputed questions of regnal and fiscal years, not even the year can be accepted as correct.

All the eponymous priests and priestesses bore Greek names; the cults of the reigning house were Greek in origin,<sup>1</sup> and naturally no Egyptian (so far as is known at present) was ever admitted to these priesthoods. Hence in the vernacular documents the names had to be transliterated into demotic, as best the native scribes could do it, and the results are often clumsy and sometimes desperate. We frequently have divergent representations of the same name; and it is not seldom impossible to suggest an equivalent Greek form. In Alexandria our doubts are often settled by a Greek document containing the correct forms, but for the Ptolemais eponyms which were used only in the southern portion of the country we have not a single Greek document and we have to make such guesses as we can. I have done this in a tentative way in the notes and the indexes of demotic names, which have been made separately for Alexandria and Ptolemais.

A. ALEXANDRIA

PTOLEMAIOS II PHILADELPHOS. 285-246 B.C.

(1)	Year 12 (?)	μ. περιτιου = 273 c. Jan.	Al. λεοντισκου του [καλλιμηδους]
(2)	„ 21	Epep = 264 Aug. 24	Al. <i>perps</i> s. <i>irgsntrs</i> Can. <i>mnesstrt</i> d. <i>tsirqws</i>
(3)	„ 26	Mechir = 259 Mar. 22	Al. <i>mts</i> s. <i>lqn.</i> Can. <i>mtle</i> d. <i>intrwgtws</i>
(4)	„ 29	μ. Δυστρον αιγ. δε } = 256 [φαμενωθ] εβδομη } Apr. 30	Al. αντιοχου του κεββα Can. [δημονικης] της φιλωνος
(5)	„ 30	Paophi = 256 Nov. 25	Al. <i>irgsntrws</i> . . . . Can. <i>pl</i> . . . d. <i>tmtrys</i>
(6)	„ 31	Pharmuthi, Mesore = 255 May, Oct.	Al. γλαυκωνος τ. ετεοκλεους Can. βερενικης τ. νικανορος
(7)	„ [33]	μ. αυδν[αιου] = 252 Feb.- Mar.	Al. [αετου το]υ απολλωνιου Can. [δημητριας] της διουυσιου
(8)	„ 34	μ. Δαισιου = 251 May-June	Al. νεοπτολεμου τ. κρασιος Can. αρσινοης τ. νικολαου
	„ 34	Pachons = 251 June 18	Al. <i>nwptwlmws</i> s. <i>krsn</i> Can. <i>rsyne</i> d. <i>nyklws</i>
(8a)	„ 35	Pachons 250 (?) June 22	Al. νεοπτολεμου του κρασιος Can. αρσινοιης (sic) της νικολαου
(9)	„ 35	μ. Δυστρον = 250 May-June	Al. [πτολ]εμαιου τ. ανδρ[ομ]αχου Can. βιλιστιχης τ. φιλωνος

<sup>1</sup> Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, I, pp. 98-9.

(10)	Year 36	μ. φαρμουθι θ = 249 May 27	Al. [επαινε]του τ. επαινετου Can. εχειτιμης τ. μεν[νεου]
(11)	„ 38	μ. φαρμουθι ε = 247 May 26	Al. αυτιοχου τ. κρατιδα Can. μεγαιστης τ. φιλωνος
(12)	„ 38 = 39	Tybi 20 = 246 (?) Mar. 12	Al. <i>tlpwlwms</i> s. <i>irtbtws</i> Can. . . . <i>wt.g . . . d.mnemqws</i>
(13)	„ 39	μ. αρτεμισιου αιγ. δε παυνη = 246 July 21	Al. τλ[ηπ]ολεμου τ. αρταπατου Can. . . . . τ. μενεμαχου

## PTOLEMAIOS III EUERGETES I. 246-221 B.C.

(14)	„ 3	μ. ξανδικου αιγ. δε παχωνς = 244 June 20	Al. αρχελαου τ. λαμα Can. αρσινοης τ. πολεμοκρατους
(15)	„ 4	Thoth = 244-3 (?) Oct. 23 (= Thoth 1)	Al. <i>irglws</i> s. <i>tm</i> Can. <i>irsyn</i> d. <i>plwmqrts</i>
(16)	„ 4	Mesore = 243 (?) Sept. 18 (Mes. 1)	Al. <i>irstybrs</i> s. <i>tytwaws</i> Can. <i>iytme</i> d. <i>prbss</i>
(17)	„ 5	Epep. = 243-2 (?) Aug. 19 (Ep. 1)	Al. αριστ[ο]βουλ[ου] . . . . . Can. [ιαμ]γειας τ. υπερβασσαντ[
(18)	„ 6	Tybi = 241 Feb. 19 (Tybi 1)	Al. <i>intrs</i> s. <i>grwnyqws</i> Can. <i>symrzn</i> d. <i>yswkrts</i>
(19)	„ 8	Athyr = 240 Dec. 21 (Ath. 1)	Al. <i>intrs</i> s. <i>grwyqws</i> (sic) Can. <i>symrzn</i> d. <i>yswkrts</i>
(20)	„ 9	Epep = 238 Aug. 18 (Ep. 1)	Al. . . . . s. [m]w[s]gy[zn] Can. <i>mnw[qrte]</i> d. <i>p . . . .</i>
(21)	„ 11	Thoth = 237 Oct. 21 (Th. 1)	Al. <i>Srwqws</i> s. <i>intyqws</i> Can. <i>ispyis</i> d. <i>hrmyrws</i>
(22)	„ 15 (?)	Choiak = 232 (?) Feb. (?)	Al. . . . . s. <i>swpyrtwrqs</i> Can. <i>ssqwbs</i> d. <i>lyqws</i>
(23)	„ 16	Mesore = 231 Sept. 11 (Mes. 1)	Al. <i>irstwmqws</i> s. <i>tymntrws</i> Can. <i>istwre</i> d. <i>irtmytrs</i>
(24)	„ 17	Phamenoth = 230 Apr. 14 (Pham. 1)	Al. <i>mnss</i> s. <i>mntyis</i> Can. <i>brnyge</i> d. <i>stys</i>
(25)	„ 20	Thoth = 228 Oct. 19 (Th. 1)	Al. <i>sgtyts</i> (no filiation) Can. . . . . d. <i>lgsylws</i>
(26)	„ 21	Thoth = 227 Oct. 19 (Th. 1)	Al. <i>glsts</i> s. <i>pylstyzn</i> Can. <i>brnyge</i> d. <i>ssypwlys</i>
(26a)	„ 23	Tybi = 224 Feb. 15 (Ty. 1)	Al. <i>ptlwmys</i> s. <i>qrsrmws</i> Can. <i>gwtryst</i> d. <i>ghrytn</i>
(27a)	„ 24	Paophi = 224 Nov. 17 (Pa. 1)	Al. <i>irghtws</i> s. <i>is[isws]</i> Can. <i>gwtrste</i> d. <i>grytn</i>





- (40) Year 5 Paophi = 201 Nov. 11 (Pa. 1) Al. *pwsnyys* s. *tmtryys*  
Athl. *sstrts* d. *ntyzqls*  
Can. *pylts* d. *ntyzqls*
- (41) „ 7 Tybi = 198 Feb. 9 (Ty. 1) Al. . . . s. *ptrwms*  
Athl. *nsrte* d. *spls*  
Can. *thmys* d. *hgstrtwos*  
pss. Ars. Ph. *yrn* d. *ptlwms*
- (42) „ 10 Mechir = 195 Mar. 10 (Mec. 1) Al. *syl* . . s. *sntrn*  
Athl. *ymns* d. *hprbsmts*  
Can. *prhs* d. *prnws*  
pss. Ars. Ph. *hyrne* d. *ptrwmys*
- (43) „ 14 (month lost) = 192-1 Al. λεωνος του [  
Athl. . . . [της] . . . . ρου  
Can. αρσιυ[ . . . pss. Ars. Ph.  
ειρηνης της πτολεμ[αιου
- (44) „ 15 Mesore 10 (?) = 190 Sept. 14 (?) Al. *ntyptrs* s. *tyewnsys*  
Athl. *btrts* d. *hy[p]ls*  
Can. *snwtre* (no filiation)  
pss. Ars. Ph. *hyrne* (do.)
- (45) „ 18 Phamenoth (day lost) = 187 Apr. 7 (Pham. 1) Al. *ghryln* s. *nmphzn*  
Athl. *grnws* d. *tymls*  
Can. *gls* d. *qrtytmws*  
pss. Ars. Ph. *hyrn* d. *ptlwms*[ys]
- (46) year 20 Phamenoth 18 = 185 Apr. 24 Al. *tymthws* s. *tymthws*  
Athl. *prgsynge* d. *phylynws*  
Can. *htwls* d. *ptlwms*[s]  
pss. Ars. Ph. *hyrne* d. *ptlwms*
- (47) „ 25 Paophi = 181 Nov. 6 (Pa. 1) Al. *mnz* (?) s. *snwtrs*  
Athl. *sstrt* d. *ysn*  
Can. *ys* . . . d. *sstyn*  
pss. Ars. Ph. *hrns* d. *ptwlmys*

## PTOLEMAIOS VI PHILOMETOR. 181-145 B.C.

- (48) „ 3 Choiak 15 = 178 Jan. 19 Al. [*p*] *hyln* d. (sic) *gs* . . .  
Athl. *symryste* d. *swphrnr*  
Can. omitted  
pss. Ars. Ph. *hyrne* d. *phylgnsnws*
- (49) „ 5 Phamenoth 7 = 176 Apr. 8 Al. *ptlwmys* s. *ptlwmys* s. *tynysys*  
Athl. [*ss*] *glpyys* d. *srglpyts*  
Can. *rtme* d. *thwtrws*  
pss. Ars. Ph. *hyrne* d. *ptlwmys*

- (50) Year 9      Payni 17 = 172 July 19      Al. *ἰπρωτρ*s s. *snne*  
 Athl. *qr̄synte* d. *qwmn̄s*  
 Can. *sr̄p̄ȳs* d. *ἰπωρν̄ys*  
 pss. Ars. Ph. *hyrne* d. *pt̄rwmys*
- (51) „ 10      Mesore 15 = 171 Sept. 14.      Al. *tm̄try*s s. *tm̄wgl*s  
 Athl. *pt̄lwme* d. *pt̄lwmys* s.  
*Ptlwmys* s. *glwblw*s  
 Can. *kl̄nyte* d. *qwmn̄ws*  
 pss. Ars. Ph. *hyrne* d. *pt̄lwmys*
- (52) „ 12      Mechir 25 = 169 Mar. 28      Al. *p̄wrs* s. *p̄wrs*  
 Athl. *hr̄mȳs* d. *p̄wlḡrts*  
 Can. *br̄nyge* d. *ἰrtmn̄*  
 pss. Ars. Ph. *br̄nyge* d. *gyn̄s*
- (53) „ 24      Payni 15 = 157 July 13      Al. *Ptolemaios* [s.] *King Ptole-*  
*maios and Queen Kleopatra*  
 Athl. *nyḡs* d. *hyrw̄mw*s (sic)  
 Can. *ἰrsyn* d. *qhr̄mrḡs*  
 pss Ars. Ph. *tm̄rȳs̄n̄* d. *m̄trw̄ph̄ns*
- (54a) „      uncertain      Al. *ἰystw̄qws* s. *tw̄n*  
 Athl. *ἰrte* d. *hr̄q̄ltw̄s*  
 Can. lost  
 pss. Ars. Ph. . . . . d. *m̄trw̄p̄ns*
- (54b) „      uncertain      Al. [q̄p̄]ȳsytr̄s s. *q̄p̄ysytr̄s*  
 Athl. *ἰsyne* d. . . . .  
 Can. . . . . d. . . . *ἰsȳtetw̄s*  
 pss. Ars. Ph. . . . . d. *m̄trw̄p̄ns*
- (55) „ 29      Mesore 6 = 152 Aug. 31      Al. *tm̄try*s s. *ἰstr̄tr̄nyge*  
 Athl. *hyrne* d. *tysq̄wryts*  
 Can. *glw̄p̄tr* d. *pt̄lwmys*

PTOLEMAIOS EUERGETES II. 145-116 B.C.

- (56) „ 30      = 141-140      Al. lost  
 Athl. *ειρηνης της* . . . .  
 Can. *αρ̄σιων̄s* . . . .  
 pss. Ars. Ph. *αρ̄τεμῑτος* . . . .
- (57) „ 51      Payni 3 (?) = 119 June 21      Al. *ἰπωln̄yes* s. *hr̄nyes*  
*ἰερ̄ος π̄ωλος: ἰω̄p̄rnr* s. *ἰwr̄mn̄*  
 Athl. *hr̄tenn* d. *l̄mp̄n̄*  
 Can. lost  
 pss. Ars Ph. *ἰrtme* d. *skwtw̄s*

(58) Year	( <i>temp.</i> late Euergetes II or early Soter II)	Al. lost Athl. lost Can. <i>herne</i> d. <i>sewlnyqs</i> pss. Ars. Ph. <i>rtme</i> d. <i>slwqws</i>
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## NOTES

- (1) P.S.I. 321. Cf. Plaum., no. 4, based on P. Hib. 110 where the year is certain (the month Dystrus, *c.* February) and the reign is deduced from the mention of the dioecetes Apollonius who held office from *c.* year 24 to the end of the reign of Philadelphos (cf. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate*, p. 17); but the priest's name is lost and only his father's *καλλιμήδης* remains. In P.S.I. 321 the reign is certain, while of the year only ]ου remains and the father's name is lost, but the supplements *λωδεκατ*] and [*καλλιμηδους*] exactly fill the lacunae; and the year must be before 266 B.C. (year 19) when the Canephorate first appears (P. Hibeh, p. 369).
- (2) Philadelphia 875, unpubl. Cf. Plaum., no. 9. He gives a different set of names for year 21 based on three papyri, one in the B.M. publ. by Revillout in *Rev. ég.* 1. 6 (it is B.M. no. 10026 and is dated Athyr = 265 Dec. 27 to 264 Jan. 25), the second, P. Hauswaldt 1, dated Paophi (265 Nov.–Dec.), the third, P. Hausw. 10, dated Tybi (264 Feb.–Mar.). Note that Philad. 875 is dated 264 Aug.–Sept.; therefore a change of priests must have taken place between March and Aug. 24; and we find these new eponyms continuing in the 22nd year. Cf. Plaum., no. 10, who gives them from two papyri, viz. P. Hib. 92 of *ξανδικου* (263 Mar.–Apr.) and P. Petrie, III. 52 a (month lost).
- (3) Philadelphia 869, unpubl. Cf. Plaum., no. 12a, who gives a different set of names from P. Berl. unpubl. 13433 (= *B.G.U.* VI, no. 1226 μ. *χοιακ* i.e. 259 Jan. 25). The names of Phil. 869 of the following March are found in Plaum. 12b of the year 27 from P. Berl. unpubl. 13435 (= *B.G.U.* VI, no. 1227 μ. *θωυθ*, i.e. 259 Nov. 24) and P. Petrie, III. 56b [*σορη*] (year lost *με[σορη?]*).
- (4) P. Cairo Zeno I, no. 59133. Cf. Plaum., no. 15. His P. Berl. unpubl. 13438, 13441, 13442 are now reproduced in *B.G.U.* VI, nos. 1229 and 1230 (no. 13442 is a fragment of a receipt not worth printing, *ib.*, p. 34). They are dated in μ. *θωυθ* and μ. *αθυρ* respectively, i.e. 257 Oct.–Nov., and Dec.–256 Jan. P. Hib. 95 is dated μ. *παυυι κλ* = 256 Aug. 15; P. dem. Leyden is dated Tybi = 256 Feb.–Mar.
- (5) P.S.I. IX, no. 1001, ed. Spiegelberg.
- (6) P. Cairo Zeno II, no. 59173 μ. *φαρμουθι β* = 255 (or 4) May 25.  
P. Cairo Zeno II, no. 59182 μ. *λωιου κλ αιγ. δε μεσορη ιδ* = 255 Oct. 4; the name of the Can. is lost except the last letter.  
Edgar, *ib.*, p. 27: 'Glaucou, brother of Chremonides the Athenian. It was known already that he took refuge in Egypt after the war and we learn from this text that he was an honoured member of the Court'. Cf. Wilcken, *Arch.* VII. 75.
- (7) P. Cairo Zeno II, no. 59248. Cf. Plaum., no. 16, whose names were drawn from P. dem. Louvre 2433 of year 33 *Choiak* = 252 Jan. 23–Feb. 22.
- (8) P. Lond. Inv., no. 2243 in *Arch.* VII (1924), 19, ed. H. I. Bell, dated year 34 μ. *δαισιου τριτηι φθινοντος* (= *Daesios* 28, cf. P. Hib., p. 339). Philadelphia 887, unpubl. dated year 34 *Pachons* = 251 June 18. Bell, *u. s.* says: 'κρασιος the name, occurring also in P.S.I. v. 515, 4 (*v.n.* there) seems quite certain; hence *φριξιου* in P. Hib. 98, 8 is

- presumably to be corrected to  $\kappa\rho\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$  as pointed out by Vitelli'. Cf. Plaum., no. 17.
- (8a) P.S.I., no. 515  $\mu$ .  $\pi\alpha\chi\omega\nu\varsigma$   $\alpha$  = (if the year be right) 250 June 22; but in view of the nearly contemporary document (9), it is probably an error of the scribe, who wrote year 35 for 34. Edgar, *P. Cairo Zeno II*, p. 131, notes: 'In P.S.I. 515 the priest and priestess in Pachons of year 35 are called Neoptolemos and Arsinoe and the same pair were in office in Mesore of year 34 (P. Hib. 98). Either then the scribe of P.S.I. 515 has made a mistake or else Andromachos and Bilistiche were not appointed till some time after the beginning of the regnal year'.
- (9) *P. Cairo Zeno*, no. 59289. Bilistiche was the mistress of Philadelphos. Cf. Bevan, *Hist. Eg. under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, pp. 77-8; also Edgar's doubts as to the identity in *Annales*, XIX (1920), p. 99, and Wilcken's reply in *Arch.* VI. 435.
- (10) Cornell Univ., no. 2 (Zeno), ed. Westermann and Kraemer, 1926. Cf. Plaum. no., 18. The date of P. dem. Louvre 2443 is year 36 Mechir = 249 Mar. 25.
- (11) P.S.I. 531. Cf. Plaum., no. 20, who knows only the name of the Can.  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\eta$  from P. Petrie III. 54, which is thus dated to this year. Megiste may have been a sister of Bilistiche.
- (12) P. dem. Lille, ed. H. Sottas, no. 4. Double dated 'year 38 which is year 39'. The equivalent is 247 or 246.
- (13) *P. Cairo Zeno*, III, no. 59340. Edgar dates it year 247 July-Aug.; but I venture to think 246 is more likely acc. to the month of Payni. The name of the Can. is lost, but her filiation shows that she was the same as in 12 and different from the Can. of year 2 of Euergetes I. Philadelphos died on the 25th of Dios 245 Jan. 27 (Bevan, u.s., 77), and as Euergetes had been associated with his father as king in Nov. 247 (ib.) he was in the second year of his reign when his father died.
- (14) Michigan University (Zeno Pap. in the Univ. Mich. Coll., ed. C. C. Edgar, 1931, no. 66). Cf. Plaum., no. 24, based on P. Hib. 145 which is of the 3rd year  $\mu$ .  $\alpha\rho[\tau\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\iota\upsilon\omicron\upsilon]$  corresponding approximately to Payni (ib. 373), i.e. in the month following (14).
- (15) Brit. Mus. 10616; pp. 152 f. of this volume. Cf. Plaum., no. 25. Whether this is really year 4 or the revenue year of year 3 is not clear; but more likely the latter, as we find new names in year 4, cf (16).
- (16) Brit. Mus. 10389 unpubl. The readings are quite certain and the Al. pr. must have been Aristobulus s. Diodotus. Cf. Plaum., no. 26, based on P. Hib. 171, where this Al. priest's name is given for year 5  $\mu$ .  $\lambda\omega\iota\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$  and the Can.  $\iota\alpha\mu\gamma\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\nu\pi\omicron$  . . . [. . . .]. For the latter cf. (17).
- (17) P.S.I. 389: the name of the Greek month is lost, only . . .  $\alpha\gamma$ .  $\lambda\epsilon$   $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\phi$  remains, which would mean Aug.-Sept. in either 242, if the 5th regnal year, or 243 if the 5th revenue (= 4th regnal) year. The name of the Can. is  $\iota\alpha\mu\gamma\epsilon(1)\alpha$  according to P. Hib. 171 and this (17), but in each case there is a doubt about the reading of the  $\nu$ ; her name is quite distinctly written  $\nu\gamma\tau\mu\epsilon$  in (16), but no doubt represents the same name as the Greek, as her father's name is evidently derived from the Greek,  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  (gen. - $\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ) probably, represented by *Prbss* in demotic.
- (18) Philadelphia 876, unpubl. The priest's name may be  $\alpha\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$  or  $\alpha\nu\delta\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ; his father's name almost certainly  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\nu\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ . The Can. should be  $\sigma\iota\mu\alpha\rho\omega\nu$ , but I do not find this name extant, and her father probably  $\iota\sigma\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ . Philadelphia 878, unpubl., is also of year 6 Pachons = 241 June 19 (Pach. 1) but the scribe

- has blundered the priest's name, giving it as *symrsm* daughter (*sic*) of *mdrs* and the Can. correctly, just as in 876.
- (19) Philadelphia 889, unpubl. That this is really year 8 and not an error for year 6 (a most unlikely error) is proved by a Greek docket dated Λη αθυρ κγ. Therefore for some unknown reason the priest and priestess of year 6 were reinstated early in year 8 for a few months before giving place to those named for this year in P. Hib. 89 ονομαστου τ. πυργωνος and Can. αρχεστρατης τ. κτησικλεους (cf. Plaum., no. 28) in μ. περιτιου = 234 (Apr.–May). Between the two periods of office of *mdrs*, &c. came in year 7 the priest and priestess named in three P. Hauswaldt (cf. Plaum., no. 27) viz. no. 8 of Pharmuthi (with Gk. docket of year 8 Pharm. 20), nos. 2 and 9 of Pachons (with Gk. dockets of year 8 Pachons 11 and 22 respectively). I must leave it to others to explain these apparent anomalies.
- (20) P. dem. Lille, no. 21, ed. Sottas. Cf. Plaum., no. 29 from the decree of Canopus which gives the names of the priest απολλωνιου του μοσχιωνος and the Can. μενεκρατειος της φιλαμμονος in the month απελλαίου εβλομηι = Tybi 17 of the year 9.
- (21) Philadelphia 869 D.E. and Philadelphia 880 α, unpubl., both dated year 11 Thoth = 237 Oct. 21 B.C. (= Thoth 1). The Greek dockets of payment of tax bear date Λια θωτ ιη and Λια θωτ ι θ. Cf. Plaum., no. 31, whose Alex. pr. is σελευκου τ. αντι . . . ου, which the above complete. His Can. is [ασ]πασιας τ. αθηνιω[νο]ς; these two show that her name began with ασπ, but the rest is uncertain and suggests a shorter name than Aspasia, and the father's name can only have been Hermippos; certainly not Athenion.
- (22) Philadelphia 888 α, unpubl. Mortgage of a house, initial date lost, but probably same as that given in the body of the deed for the commencement of possession (*r syh*) by the mortgagee, viz. year 15 Choiak 30 (?). Cf. Plaum., no. 34, from Revillout's transcription of Louvre 2429 (*Chr. dém.* 273) which has also lost its date but on the strength of a doubtful Greek docket has been attributed by Revillout to the year 15, doubtfully so by Otto, *Pr. u. Tempel*, I. 177, and doubtfully to year 14 by Plaum. According to Revillout the Al. pr. has a double filiation, *Hlnyqws* s. ditto s. *wphttrs*. Of Hellenic for the first and second there is no reasonable doubt, and there is room for both names in the lacuna of Philadelphia. The third name must have been a difficult one, for the new form *wpyrtrwrqs* (reading certain) does not help to explain the Louvre form. The Can. names are also certain in Philad., except that the father could perhaps be *lyqwt*s instead of *lyqwtqs*, as with Revillout, and the forms of the priestess's name, though doubtless derived from the same original (Louvre, *swq [b?]sr*; Philad., *ssqwbss*), are too discordant to fit any known Greek name. The names for the year 15 Phamenoth (Greek docket Λ15 φαμενωθ κ) in P. Cairo 30604 are different.
- (23) Brit. Mus. 10380, unpubl. dated year 16 Mesore = 231 Sept. 11 (Mes. 1). For the Al. pr. the Greek equivalents are probably ἀριστόμαχος son of τίμωνδρος and the Can. . . . dau. of ἀρτεμίλωρος.
- (24) Brit. Mus. 10074, ed. Reich, *Pap. juristischen Inhalts . . . aus dem B.M.* 1914 (1919), p. 43 and Pl. VII = Plaum., no. 36, who derived his names—the same in slightly variant forms—from P. Cairo 30601, and P. Berlin 3089. There is also a document of the same year at Philadelphia, no. 880, with the same names. The respective months of all these are: Mechir (Cairo), Phamenoth (Brit. Mus.), Pharmuthi (Philad.) and Epep (Berlin).

- (25) Brit. Mus. 10240, ed. Reich u.s., p. 56, Pl. xvii = Plaum., no. 38.
- (26) Philadelphia 884, unpubl. = Plaum., no. 39 who gives the Greek names γαλεστου τ. φιλιστιωνος and βερενικης τ. σωσιπολιος from a Petrie pap. (ed. Mitteis, *Grundzüge, Chr.*, no. 21; month-date lost). Besides these there are: P. Cairo 30624, year and month lost, but the same names; P. Louvre 2425 = Revill. *Chr. D.* 278, 287 dated year 20 Mesore but same names; Brit. Mus. 10394 (Hay 479—unpubl. except for translation Revill. *Chr. D.*, p. cxxx) of year 21 Epep., same names.
- (26a) Berlin (Hauswaldt), no. 11, publ. by Spiegelberg, *Pap. Hauswaldt*, 1913 = Plaum., no. 43. Spieg. says of the Alex. pr., 'Er könnte mit dem Ptolemaios dem Sohne des Chrysermos identisch sein, der nach Plutarch: Cleomenes 36. 37 unter der Regierung des Philopator (um 219 v. Chr.) ermordet wurde. Siehe u. a. Bouché Leclercq: *Hist. des Lagides*, I. 291 Anm. u. vor allem Otto, *Priester u. Tempel*, I. 181, Anm. 3. Danach war der Sohn dieses Ptolemaios im J. 21 des Ptol. Epiphanes (185-4) Alexanderpriester.' The Canephoros is misread by Spieg., the names should be *Gwtryst d. Ghrytn*. The father's name is χαρίτων.
- (27a) Brit. Mus. 10407, unpubl.: cf. Plaum., no. 41, who has the same Alex. pr. and a different Can. *Gwtrste* [κρατίστη?] was the Can. of year 23 and as the document was written early in the year (Paophi), it may be that the scribe had not the new name at hand and inserted the old one; but in Brit. Mus. 10410 (unpubl., whole date lost), we find the same combination.
- (27b) Philadelphia 871, unpubl. Cf. Plaum., no. 41, from which we know the Greek forms were ἀρχέτας s. of ἰόσιος and τιμωνάσση d. of ζωίλος. The date of Plaum.'s source, P. Hamburg, no. 24, ed. P. Meyer, was year 24 μ. Διοϋ = c. end April, and the P. dem. Lond. referred to in his note is no. 10388, dated year 24 Tybi.
- (28) Berlin P. 11772+11800 = P. 11791+11792 = *B.G.U.* VI, no. 1273 μ. γορπιείου δκτωκαιδεκάτη . . . ἔτους πρώτου. 'NB. Philopator ist noch nicht Gott.'
- (29) Vatican (marriage deed), publ. by Revillout, *Rev. ég.* I. 113, Pl. IV = Plaum., no. 47. The readings given are revised by me on the original. In P. Hauswaldt 6 of the same year, Mesore (= 219 Sept.-Oct. B.C.), Spiegelberg gives *tmtris* s. *spirs*, i.e. Demetrias and a name which may have been Apella, but not Apelles nor Hippalos; and for the Can. *nps* d. *mnpin*.
- (30a) Brit. Mus. 10073, ed. Reich u.s., p. 60 and Pl. xiv-xv. Cf. Plaum., no. 48, derived from P. Marseille of year 5 Athyr = 218 Dec. 16 (Ath. 1). The name of the Can. *nwmpe* is not certain. The B.M. papyrus is 217 May-June B.C.; and on June 22 was fought the battle of Raphia won by Philopator against Antiochus III with the help of his Greek mercenaries. Whether or not as in some way a result of the battle, we find a sudden change and in the following Sept.-Oct. Demetrius and Nymphé (? Numenia) have given place to a fresh priest and priestess.
- (30b) Philadelphia 886, unpubl. The names may probably represent Al. Menas s. of Adaios(?) s. of Polycrates and the Can. Philion (?) d. of Sostratos. They seem to have remained in office only till the new (6th) year of Philopator which began on Oct. 16 (Thoth 1).
- (31) Cairo, Raphia trilingual decree (+Cairo Stela 31088), ed. Gauthier et Sottas, *Un décret trilingue*, 1925. The Greek names are all lost except the initial *p* of the Can. Her name, though missing in demotic, is given in the hieroglyphic text as *Hwrdt*, probably ῥόδη (the *Hurms* of the Cairo Stela is an error of the engraver; cf. Gauthier,

- &c. u.s., p. 23) and her father perhaps πύλων. The Alex. pr. was certainly πτολεμαῖος son of ἄέροπος (probably). The same names are found in the dem. P. Hauswaldt 15, which has lost its date and royal name but must belong to this year, viz. Al. [ptlw]ys s. *rwps* and Can. *hrwt d. pwrn*. Spiegelberg, *Beiträge z. Erkl. . . . dreisprachigen Priesterdekretes*, 1925, p. 14, remarks of the Alex. pr.: 'Ist er etwa mit dem πτολ. dem Sohn des Ἀέροπος identisch, der unter Ptol. Epiphanes ätolische Reiterei befehligte (Polyb. xvi. 18, 8)?' Cf. Plaum., no. 49a.
- (32) Hamburg, Inv., no. 309, ed. P. Meyer, P. Hamburg, I, p. 112, no. 26, ἔτους ἑβδόμου μ. περιτίου = Plaum., no. 49. Peritios at this time would be about equivalent to Ερεμ-Μεσορε (c. Aug.-Sept.), but the year I must leave to the specialist in chronology. The P. dem. Louvre 3263, referred to by Plaum., is dated year 7 Ερεμ (215 B.C. Aug. 12 = Ερεμ 1) and the names have the forms *igtwgl* s. *igtwgl* and *pylsws d. tmtry*s. The same Can. is named in two Berlin pap. publ. *B.G.U.* vi. 1262 (date and Al. pr. lost) and 1283 year 7 Artemisios in which only the father of the Can. remains, Demetrius. Wilcken (*Arch.* vii. 74) has suggested that Agathocles may be the notorious favourite, but we do not know the name of his father.
- (32a) Berlin, P. Hauswaldt 25, ed. Spiegelberg, u.s., p. 63: cf. Plaum., no. 50. The year and month are certain; the Al. pr. has no double filiation as in no. 33, but is clearly the same. Therefore in this year 215 the change of priests must have taken place between Aug. 12 (Louvre 3263, Ερεμ 1) and Oct. 10 (Hausw. 25, Μεσορε 30).
- (33) Brit. Mus. 10377, publ. Revillout, *Rev. ég.* I. 20, 135 and Pl. viii, revised on original. The names agree with those given by Plaum., no. 50, and with other papyri at Berlin publ. in *B.G.U.*: 1264 (Peritios, c. Jan.), 1275 (Artemisios 16, c. Apr.), 1278 (Artemis. or poss. Audnaios), 1276 (Loios 18, c. July), all in 214 B.C.
- (34) Berlin, P. Hauswaldt 17, ed. Spiegelberg = Plaum., no. 51 and cf. Spieg. in *Ä.Z.L.* 29, an ostrakon at Strassburg. The names represent Al. Andronikos s. Nikanor and Can. . . . as d. Ptolemaios s. Empedion (cf. Sp. *Hausw.*, p. 54 n.).
- (35) Brit. Mus. 10387, unpubl.: cf. Plaum., no. 51a, with similar names from P. Hauswaldt 18 a, b dated year 10 Mechir (Mar.-Apr.) probably, cf. Spieg. *P. Hausw.*, pp. 56-7. There is also another demotic contract in the Brit. Mus. 10071, date lost, but in l. 5 containing a reference to a previous sale in year 10 Payni and the names of Al. *pythngl* s. *phylwgrty*s and Can. *igtwgl* d. *tywgn*t. The probable Greek originals are Al. πυθαγγελοσ s. of φιλοκρατης and Can. ἀγαθόκλεα d. of Διόγνητος (or less likely θεόγνητος). In B.M. 10387 the scribe has omitted the first half of the name Philokrates. The names in P. Hauswaldt are in bad condition. The Can. may be read *ikt[wg]l*.
- (36) Brit. Mus. 10386 unpubl.: cf. Plaum., no. 53, who refers in his note to (a) P. dem. Berlin 3075 dated year 12 Payni = 210 July 12 (Pa. 1); the Al. name is missing but he is described as holding the office 'for the second year'. (No list for year 11 is extant). The Can. name is lost and the title Athl. is transliterated. Plaum. gives the names from (b) P. dem. Lond. = Brit. Mus. 10463 year 12 Tybi = 210 Feb. 12 (Ty. 1). Here the Al. pr. is again described as of the 2nd year: the Can. comes next and then the Athlophoros, who is called merely priestess of Berenice, as also probably in 10386. (c) P. Cairo 30622 of year 12 Athyr when the Can. is apparently *gnn* or *gnye* d. *tmst*s. It is damaged. (d) P. dem. Bologna, no. 3172, Revill. *Rev. ég.* III. 2 is dated year 12 Payni i.e. the same as B.M. 10386, but the Can. is different (*Ptwme* d. *Tynsys*, revised

- from the original). Probably the former Can. died or retired and was replaced during the month, i.e. between July 12 and Aug. 10. P. Bol. has a Greek docket dated ΛΙΥ φωφι ιε, which is not favourable to Plaumann's query on col. 1451. As regards the Greek equivalents, none of those suggested for the Al. pr. are satisfactory, Griffith's ἔτεωνευσ being the best; nor are those of the Can. The Athl. was probably ἰάμνεια d. περιγένης; the latter was perhaps the celebrated admiral, cf. Polybius v. 61; Bevan, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 229.
- (37) Berlin, P. Hauswaldt 14, ed. Spiegelberg, p. 46 and Pl. XXI. I have copied the names as reconsidered in his book and differing considerably from his first readings in Plaum., no. 54. It is not possible to check them on his reproduction. He suggests as equivalents for the Al. Aiakides s. Hieronymos (?); for the Athl. Glauke d. Zenodotos (?) and for the Can. Irene (?) d. Tartarion.
- (38) Brit. Mus. 10392, ed. Revillout, *Rev. ég.* III, Pl. 1 (revised on original) = Plaum., no. 55: cf. Spiegelberg, P. Hauswaldt, pp. 46-7. The year is lost, but is L1E on the Greek docket, followed by vestiges that may be αθυρ: the demotic remains show that it was one of the first four months of the year, Thoth to Choiak. The Greek equivalents are possibly Demosthenes and Kratinos, Diogenis and Philotheos (or Philotas), Glauke (or Kroke) and Zenodotos; none is certain.
- (39) Berlin P. 11768 = *B.G.U.* VI, no. 1266 ετ. τριτου μ. αρτεμισιου.
- (40) New York Historical Society, no. 373 = Spiegelberg, *Arch.* IX, 57, and revised readings kindly given me by Dr. N. J. Reich from the original. The Greek names were probably Pausanias and Demetrias, Pilata (?) and Anti[o]kles (?); *sirtts* is insoluble so far.
- (41) Dublin, Trin. Coll. pap. Hincks, no. 2, A, B, unpubl. Cf. Plaum., no. 58 = Louvre 2435 of year 7 Athyr. Unfortunately the name of Al. pr. is lost in all three documents. It was a short one of not more than three letters probably, and his father was certainly Ptolemaios. The Athl. is probably the same as the Can. of year 8 whose name depends still only (cf. Plaum., no. 59) on Revillout's transcription of Louvre 2408, which is not Nicias, but suggests *nesyys* d. of Apelles (?). The Can. of year 7 is probably Themis dau. of Hegeistratos; and the priestess of Arsinoe Philopator, who makes her first appearance, Eirene d. of Ptolemaios. She seems to have been appointed for her life as she is included in every eponym record till year 10 of Philometor.
- (42) Brit. Mus. 10624 unpubl. The father of the Al. pr. must have been ανδρων and the Athl. ἰάμνεια d. υπερβασσας (qy. cf. no. 17). The *m* of *hprbsmts* may perhaps be read *n*. The Can. is Pyrrha and the permanent priestess of Ars. Philopator fixes the date as temp. Epiphanes. Another undated fragment, Brit. Mus. 10629 (*b*) has Athl. [*ymn*] d. *hrrbsts* (the *s* may have been *p* originally) and Can. [*py*]rhe d. *pyrnws*.
- (43) Berlin P. 11790 = *B.G.U.* VI, no. 1270.
- (44) Brit. Mus. 10560 unpubl. There is no day of Mesore mentioned in the protocol, but it is a lease of land which is to begin on the 10th of the same Mesore and it is the custom for leases to come into force on the day of the document in the protocol. The Al. pr. was Antipatros s. Dionysos; the Athl. Batra (?) d. of Hippalos probably; the Can. Athenodora (?) and the priestess of A.P., no doubt Eirene d. of Ptolemaios.
- (45) Turin D.M. rot. 30, unpubl. Perhaps the following Greek equivalents may be



- suggested: Khrilon s. Nymphon, Koronis (?) d. Timolaos, Kalis (?) d. Kratidemos, Eirene d. Ptolemaios.
- (46) Brit. Mus. 10226 = Reich u.s., p. 73 and Pl. XI-XIII. The name of the Al. pr. was almost certainly Timotheos: the Athl. perhaps Praxinike d. Philinos; the Can. must await a Greek example.
- (47) N. York Hist. Soc., no. 388 A. = Spiegelberg, *Arch.* IX. 57 n. The Greek equivalents may have been Al. pr. Menes (?) s. Zenodoros; Athl. Sostrate d. Jason; Can. As . . . d. Sotion (?).
- (48) P. Cairo 30783+30968 = Spiegelberg, pp. 162, 207, Pl. LXII, LXXI. The former is dated year 3 Choiak 15; the latter has a reference to year 3 which shows that it was written in that year. Spieg. did not observe that the two fragments were connected and he dated 783 to Philometor and 968 to Soter II. Plaumann in his *Ptolemais*, p. 44 gave good reasons for dating 968 to Philometor and noted the similarity of the two documents, but owing to lack of demotic could not see their common origin. He entered 968 in his list as no. 64. The two fragments have been photographed to a slightly different scale on the plates and neither exactly agrees with the dimensions given in the text. But after careful study of the handwriting and the contents I have no doubt that they originally belonged together. (The text on the verso of 698, written 14 years later and upside down with reference to the recto, gives the *beginnings* of lines and cannot have been put there till after the 783 portion had been torn away.)
- Owing to what I believe to have been a scribe's error, in the filiation of the Alex. pr. both Spieg. and Plaum. accepted the wellnigh incredible theory that the office in this year was held by a woman. If the scribe wrote the sign for 'daughter' instead of 'son'—perhaps led thereto by his almost indistinguishable writing of the dau.-sign and the immediately preceding determinative of the proper name—and as there is nothing to prevent a 'p' from having preceded 'hln', we could read 'Philon (son? of) Gs . . .', a short name, perhaps Kastor. Such an error seems to me less incredible than a female priest of Alexander. But we must await a Greek example.
- (49) Brit. Mus. 10518, unpubl. The Greek equivalents are almost certain: Al. pr. Ptolemaios s. Ptolemaios s. Dionysios, Athl. [As]klepias d. Asklepiades; Can. Artemo (?) d. Theodoros; pss. A. P. Eirene d. Ptolemaios.
- (50) Brit. Mus. 10594, unpubl. The following Greek equivalents may be suggested: Al. pr. Apollodoros s. Zenon; Athl. Kalanta (?) d. Komanos; Can. Sarapias d. Apollonios; pss. A. P. Eirene d. Ptolemaios. Komanos is probably the man who, with Kineas, became chief minister in 170 B.C. (Bevan, u.s., p. 285) and cf. (51).
- (51) Brit. Mus. 10517, unpubl. Greek docket dated Λ1 μεσορη κ̄. The probable Greek forms are Al. Demetrios s. Timokles; Athl. Ptolema d. Ptol. s. Ptol. s. Kleoboulos; Can. . . . d. Komanos.
- (52) Brit. Mus. 10513, unpubl. Cf. Plaum., no. 66, who gives as a reference 'P. dem. = Revillout, *Précis du droit ég.* 1052'. It contains a translation only of an anonymous papyrus which is, however, in the Paris Bib. Nat. 236 (cf. Möller, *Zwei Eheverträge*, p. 20, note (k)). Its date is year 12 Choiak 9 = 169 Jan. 11.
- (53) Brit. Mus. 10561, unpubl. Cf. Plaum., no. 69, from P. Cairo 30606, which is of year 24 Mesore=157 Aug. 28 (Mes. 1). The B.M. pap. for the Al. pr. writes 'Pt. as priest (*n w<sup>b</sup>*) of K. Pt. and Q. Kl.', evidently an error for 'the son of'. It is, of course, Eupator.

The name of the father of the Can., before incomplete, is now filled up; but there is no obvious Greek form; it should be something like Charimerikos.

- (54) Under this number are ranged two fragmentary protocols which have neither royal name nor date. But they may be placed here as they both have a common eponym, viz. Metrophanes the father of the priestess of Arsinoe Philadelphus, whose office is recorded for the years 21–24 of Philometor and who is succeeded in the year 25 by another. How long she held office before the 21st year is unknown, as we have no document with eponyms between years 12 and 21. These are just the years of strife and trouble, with the interference of Antiochus of Syria, followed by the double rule of Philometor and his brother, which ended in Philometor's appeal to Rome, his restoration, and the removal of Euergetes to the Cyrenaica.

Of the two documents (54*a*) = Louvre 10440 *bis* (unpubl.?). Greek equivalents are not easy to suggest. Perhaps Al. Eustochios s. Thuion; Athl. Arete d. Herakleitos; (54*b*) = Brit. Mus. 10621 unpubl. Al. [Keph]isodoros s. of Kephisodoros; Athl. Asine d. . . . ; Can. [Timarion] d. Metrophanes.

- (55) Turin D.M. B II, unpubl. The description of the Alex. pr. as Demetrios son of Stratonike is curious. The Athl. is Eirene dau. of Dioskorides. The Can. is Kleopatra d. Ptolemaios. There is no mention of any pss. Ars. Ph.
- (56) Manchester Rylands Library Greek Papyri no. 252 = *Catalogue Gr. Pap. Ryl. Libr.*, II, p. 396. Of the month only ]αίου ενατηι και εικαδι remains, and as that leaves a choice of four Macedonian months, it is vain to try to fix the date more closely than the year.
- (57) Brit. Mus. 10398, unpubl. The date is lost and that given is derived from the Gk. docket ετους να πσυι γ. As Greek equivalents may be suggested Apollonias s. Heronias, Euphranor s. Heuremon, Rhodinon (?) d. Lampon, Artemi[s] (?) d. . . . This last name is clearly written with a *t* where one would expect a *k*, i.e. Seleukos. It is also written *t* in Plaum., no. 76 and equally clearly *k* in no. 58 below and therefore, as all three must be the same person, one may perhaps infer a scribe's error here. If the *t* is correct, Plaum. suggests ζηλωτός.
- (58) Brit. Mus. 10608, unpubl.: a fragment containing only ends of lines. The name of king and date are lost and the only guide is the name of the pss. Ars. Philop. whom we know as holding office from 30 Euergetes probably (no. 55) to 2 Soter II (Plaum., no. 76—date year 2 Phamenoth 18 = 115 Apr. 3).

## B. PTOLEMAIS

### PTOLEMAIOS IV PHILOPATOR. 221–204 B.C.

- |            |                            |                                                         |
|------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) Year 8 | Phamenoth = 214 Apr. 14    | pr. Thebais &c. <i>negnr</i> s. <i>bgeis</i><br>(Ph. 1) |
| (2) „ 9    | Pachons (?) = 213 June 13  | pr. Thebais &c. <i>nygnr</i> s. <i>bgs</i><br>(Pa. 1)   |
| (3) „ 10   | Pharmuthi = 212 May 13     | pr. Thebais &c. <i>ngnr</i> s. <i>bgs</i><br>(Ph. 1)    |
| (4) „ 12   | Tybi = 210 Feb. 12 (Ty. 1) | pr. Thebais &c. <i>nygnr</i> s. <i>bgys</i>             |

- (5) Year 14 Pachons = 208 June 1 (Pa. 1) pr. Thebais &c. *hynyqws s. lwsꜣs*
- (6) „ 15 (?) Thothis to Choiak = 208 c. pr. Thebais &c. *hynyꜣqws s. rwsꜣs (?)*  
Dec.
- PTOLEMAIOS V EPIPHANES. 204-181 B.C.
- (7) „ 7 Tybi = 198 Feb. 9 (Ty. 1) pr. Thebais &c. *grytwmqws s. tkꜣꜣꜣqws*
- (8) „ 20 Phamenoth 18 = 185 Apr. pr. Thebais &c. *hyplws s. sꜣs*
- (9) „ 23 Choiak 28 = 182 Feb. 3 pr. Thebais &c. *hyplws s. sꜣs*  
24  
Can. *tymsyꜣ d. sꜣn*
- (10) „ 25 Paophi 25 = 181 Nov. 30 pr. Thebais *hyplws s. ss*  
Can. not named
- PTOLEMAIOS VI PHILOMETOR. 181-145 B.C.
- (11) „ 3 Choiak 15 = 178 Jan. 19 pr. Theb. *hplws s. ss*  
Can. ]*tyme d. slwqws*
- (12) „ 5 Phamenoth 7 = 176 Apr. 8 pr. Theb. *hyplws s. ss*  
pr. Kleop. and Ptol. *gynꜣs s. tsyhꜣws (sic)*  
Can. *tyme d. thrste*
- (13) „ 6 Paophi 14 = 176 Nov. 18 pr. Theb. *hplws s. sꜣs*  
pr. Kleop. and Ptol. *gynꜣs s. twsthꜣws*  
Can. not named
- (13a) „ 6 Choiak 18 = 175 Jan. 21 (?) pr. Ptol. Soter and Ptol. Epiphanes *ꜣwꜣmꜣys s. hrglwꜣꜣꜣws*  
pr. King Ptol. Philometor (?)  
. . . *ꜣꜣꜣ s. ꜣwlmꜣꜣs*  
pr. Ptol. Philadelphos *ꜣꜣꜣꜣ s. grꜣꜣs*  
pss. Queen Kleopatra *ꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣ*  
d. . . . .
- pss. Kleopatra the } *thys d.*  
mother Epiphanis } *ꜣꜣꜣ . .*  
Eucharistos }
- pr. Ptol. . . . . *ꜣwꜣꜣꜣ s. . . . .*  
Can. Ars. Philad. . . . . *ꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣ*
- (14) „ 7 Thothis 16 = 175 Oct. 21 pr. Theb. *hyplws s. sꜣs*  
pr. K. Ptol. and Kleop. his  
mother *gynꜣs s. tsthꜣws*  
Can. not named





- (3) Brit. Mus. 10387, unpubl.; and 10071 unpubl. *nygnr* s. *bgys* (date lost, but probably of year 10 Payni).
- (4) Brit. Mus. 10463 = Griffith, *P.S.B.A.* xxiii. 294. In the Bologna pap. 3172 (cf. Alexandria *supra*, no. 36) the names are *nygnr* s. *bgysys* (sic).
- (5) P. Hauswaldt 14, ed. Spiegelberg, who suggests Heniochos s. Lysias (?).
- (6) Brit. Mus. 10392 = Revillout, *Rev. ég.* II, Pl. I (revised) and cf. Sp. *Hauswaldt*, p. 47. After renewed examination, I still think the reading of the father's name is *rwsgrs* or *rwygs*. I cannot read the *g* as *z*. But either way it probably represents Lysias.
- (7) Dublin. Trin. Coll. Hincks 2 A, B, unpubl.: prob. reproduces Kleitomachos s. Dikaiarchos (the demotic *g* representing the Greek diphthong *ai*). The other example of this year is P. Louvre 2435 = Revill. *Chr. D.* 391 which I read as *glytmgš* s. *tygyrgrs*, the same names.
- (8) Brit. Mus. 10226 = Reich u.s., p. 73, Pl. XI-XIII. The first appearance of Hippalos s. Sos, as to whom cf. Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, no. 103, where he is described as one of the  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\iota$  φίλοι and Epistrategos and priest of Ptol. Soter and of Ptol. Epiph. and Eucharistos. Perhaps also Διοικητής cf. Pap. Paris 63, l. 164 in Wilcken *U.P.Z.* I. 484 and comment, p. 478. Cf. Spieg., Pap. Berlin, p. 7 n.; Bouché-Leclercq, III. 318. His accumulated offices made him Viceroy of the Thebais. His full title here is 'priest of Ptolemy the Soter in Psoi of the nome of Ne and of King Ptolemy the god Epiphaneis Eucharistos'.
- (9) P. Berlin 3114+3140, ed. Spiegelberg. First appearance of the Canephoros having the same title, but no other connection, as that of Alexandria. Her names represent Dionysia d. Zenon.
- (10) Brit. Mus. 10575, unpubl. Also B.M., no. 10592 dated prob. Paophi 21 = 181 Nov. 16. In both the office of Can. is mentioned, but no name is given.
- (11) P. Cairo 30783+30968. Cf. *supra* note on Alexandria (48). If *slwqws* is the right reading, it is evidently Seleucus; but it may be *slwtws*.
- (12) Brit. Mus. 10518, unpubl. Cf. *supra* Alex. (49). The new names are probably Kineas s. Dositheos and the Can. perhaps Time d. Thersites (?). The full title of the new priest is 'priest of Queen Kleopatra and King Ptolemy her son'. There are two other papyri of this year, both earlier, viz. Brit. Mus. 10230 = Reich, u.s., p. 77, Pl. xv-xvi of Thoth 9 = 177 Oct 14 and Dublin, Trin. Coll. Hincks 3, unpubl. of Paophi 12 = 177 Nov. 16. The former has *hplws* s. *sis* and *gyns* s. *twsths*, the latter *hypplws* s. *sis* and *gyns* s. *tsythws*. In neither is there any name given to the Can.
- (13) P. Berlin 3111+3141 Spieg. Kineas is described as 'priest of King Ptol. and Kleopatra his mother'; and so also in another document of this year, Louvre 3440 = Revillout, *Chr. Dém.* 375 of Tybi 21 = 175 Feb. 24 B.C. In both the Canephoros is unnamed.
- (13a) Brit. Mus. 10515, unpubl. A puzzling document. It is dated in year 6 Choiak 18 of 'the Kings Ptol. and Ptol. his brother and Kleopatra his sister [the children] of Ptol. and Kleopatra the gods Epiphaneis'. The joint reign is said to have lasted from the winter of 169-168 for 5 years (Bevan, u.s. 285-7). Wilcken (*U.P.Z.* I. 479) would date these documents which include the Brother from the beginning of the joint reign, placing it in 170 B.C., and the 6th year would be 165-4 B.C. (Wilck. u.s. 473 seq.); but Bevan doubts it (u. s. 287). There is a curious lack of dated documents between the

years 12 and 19 of Philometor's reign (i.e. 170-169 to 163-2) and this one would fit better there. Here it breaks into the long series of years of Hippalos s. Sos, who is in office two months before and one month after its date, if that be taken as the sixth year of his sole reign; but if reckoned as the 6th year of the joint reign, it would be the 17th year in the normal series of Philometor's reign.

- (14) Brit. Mus. 10614, unpubl. The title of Kineas is here 'pr. of King Ptol. and Kleop. his mother'. Another Brit. Mus. pap., no. 10615, is of the same date and same names.
- (15) Brit. Mus. 10594 unpubl. The Can. probably represents Ptolema d. Theon s. Ktesippos. Cf. Alex. priests, no. 50.
- (16) Brit. Mus. 10517 unpubl. Cf. Alex. pr. no. 51. This is again a remarkable protocol. It presents two new priesthoods (excluding no. 13a *supra* from consideration) viz. one of 'Ptol. Philometor' (not described as King, as is the custom with the reigning monarch), held apparently by a son of the Viceroy Hippalos; and the other is a separate priesthood of the Q. Kleopatra, hitherto not represented at Ptolemais. The name of the priestess's great grandfather is Euboulos. The Can. is Philotera d. Ptolemy s. Alexander—private individuals, as their names have no cartouche. A Greek docket is dated ΛΙ ΜΕΣΟΡΗ Κ.
- (17) Brit. Mus. 10597, unpubl. Hippalos is described as 'pr. of Ptol. Soter in Psy (Ptolemais) in the nome of Ne (Thebais) and (of) King Ptolemy the god Epiphanes Eucharistos', while Kineas is, as usual, pr. of 'King Ptol. and Kleop. the mother'. There is also another unpublished pap. of this year Athyr 20 (171 Dec. 23 B.C.) at Turin D.M. rot. 12 A and B, where Hippalos is 'pr. of the nome of Ne, Ptol. Soter and King (*sic*) Ptol. the god Epiph. Euch. and King Ptol. Philometor', i.e. he has united to his own the separate priesthood held by his son in the previous year. In this Kineas (s. *thsyths*) holds his usual office and the Can. has no name. Yet another document of this year is Turin anc. fonds 169. 13 = Revillout, *Rev. ég.* I. 93-4, Pl. III (transl. *Précis du droit ég.* II. 1048) of Thoth 28 = 171 Nov. 2 B.C., where Hippalos is pr. of the Thebais and Pt. Soter and Pt. Epiph. Euch. only, Kineas, as usual; and the pss. of Q. Kleop. and the Can. are left unnamed.
- (18) Brit. Mus. 10513, unpubl. The names of the two priests are the same as before and the Can. probably Eukleia d. Pheidon s. Hermias. The same names also in Bib. Nat. no. 236 (cf. Alex. pr. *supra*, no. 52), the Can. being rendered by Revillout as 'Auklas fille de Poseidon fils de Hermès'.
- (19) Brit. Mus. 10561, unpubl. Cf. Alex. pr. *supra*, no. 53. There are six priesthoods and no priest of the Thebais, which is not even mentioned in the protocol. The priest of Soter is Lysinias s. Hieronymus misspelt as shown by (20). *Hrgls* is doubtless Herakles. Sosibios may perhaps be a descendant of Philopator's minister. *Thay* (or *Thys*) is probably Thais. d. Ptol. s. of Helios (?). The second priesthood may perhaps be read Philadelphos instead of Philometor; the writing is cursive and not easy.
- (20) Manchester, Rylands Library = *Cat.* ed. Griffith, III, pp. 139, 271, Pl. LXIV. There are 10 priesthoods introduced as being 'in the Thebais'. Their names may be restored in Greek (as proposed by Griffith) thus: Hermippos s. Kriton, Ptolemaios s. Ptolemaios, Lusantias s. Hieronymos, Sokrates s. Nikandros, Hermas (?) s. Demetrios, *snws* s. Lycophron, Didumos s. Apollonios, Kleio d. Ktesion, Demetria d. Lysimachos, Trophonias [Tryphonis?] d. Nikanor s. Tryphon.
- (21) P. dem. Heidelberg 715 = Spiegelberg, *Demotica*, I, p. 7, a fragmentary protocol.

Sp. dates it between years 163–152 B.C. of Philometor; but all is lost before 'Ptolemy and Kleopatra the gods Epiphaneis . . . , and the priest of Alexander' [ which can apply also to Euergetes II, seeing that all the royal names are lost down to 'Rakoti Psoi' and every god's name after the first at Ptolemais.

- (22) Turin D.M. rot. 21 A, B, unpubl. There are now 13 priesthoods. No names are given for the Alexandrian priesthoods. The title of 'pr. of the Thebais' reappears. The names are probably Timokles s. Timokles, Apollonios s. Ptol., Apoll. s. Sarapion, Hermias s. . . . , Paniskos s. Apoll., Turion (?) s. Sarapion, Theukles s. Alkaios (?), Ptol. s. Protarchos, Bernike d. Herakleitos (?), Diogenis (?) d. Straton, Demetria d. Apoll., Nikostrate d. Nikostratos, Menophila d. *mntrtw*s s. Stratonikos. The penultimate name is quite clearly written in both documents (A, B) with *mn*. The father of Hermias may perhaps be *pnmny*s.

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## ALEXANDRIA. INDEX OF DEMOTIC NAMES

[The order is that of the English alphabet; 'a is written for aleph, k and q are placed with g; l and r are interchangeable in demotic. f. = fem. name. The bracketed Greek names are in some cases supported by Greek documents, but most are conjectural. Cf. Notes u.s.]

'agtwgle f. 35 (ἀγαθόκλεα?)	'arglws 15 (ἀρχέλαος)	'awlmyqs 58 (εὐρώνναξ?)
'agtyts 25 (ἀκτίτης?)	'arstumqws 23 (ἀριστόμαχος)	'awprnr 48, 57 (εὐφράνωρ)
'algsntrws 2, 5 (ἀλέξανδρος)	'arstybrs 16 (ἀριστόβουλος)	'awpyrtwrqs 22
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'antrn 42 (ἄνδρων)	'artabtws 12 (ἀρταβάτης?)	'ay'aqts 37 (αἰακίδης?)
'antrnyqws 34 (ἀνδρόνικος)	'arte f. 54a (ἀρετή)	'aynwpts 37 (οἰνοπίδης?)
'antrs 18, 19 (ἀνδρούς?)	'artme f. 49, 57, 58 (ἄρτεμις?)	'ayrne f. 41 (εἰρήνη)
'antrwgtws 3 (ἀνδρωκάδης?)	'artmn 52 (ἀρτέμων)	'ayrwps 31 (ἀέροπος)
'anty'aqls 40 (ἀντικλῆς?)	'artmytrs 23 (ἀρτεμίδωρος)	'aystwqws 54a
'antyptrs 44 (ἀντίπατρος)	'as . . . 47	'ayswkrts 18, 19 (ἰσοκράτης)
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'apl'a 29 (ἄπελλα?)	'asglp'yts 49 (ἀσκληπιιάδης)	brnyge f. 24, 26, 52 (βερνίκη)
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'apwryns 50 (do.)	'asyne f. 54b (ἀσίνη, ἀσιανή?)	g[h]ryth 26a, 27a (χαρίτων)
'apwty'an 34	'at'anws 36 (ἔτεωνεύς?)	kl'anyte f. 51
'apyr'a 29 (ἀπελλῆς? Sp.)	'atnwtre f. 44 (ἀθηνόδωρα?)	gl'ats 35 ([φιλο]κράτης?)
'arghtws 27a, b (ἄρχετος)	'atys 24, 30b (ἀλάσιος?)	



*gls f.* 45 (κάλις?)  
*glsts* 26 (γαλέστης)  
*glwblws* 51 (κλεόβουλος)  
*glwk'a f.* 37 (γλαύκη?)  
*glwptr f.* 55 (κλεοπάτρα)  
*qny'a f.* 36  
*qpystry* 54b (κηφισόδωρος?)  
*qr'aynte f.* 50  
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*mpny'an* 29 (μεναπίων?)

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## DE CALLIMACHO BIBLIOTHECARIO

SCRIPSIT C. WESSELY

**I**N his quae secuntur non de poëta Callimacho agam sed de Callimacho aulico regio bibliothecario ut scholii Plautini<sup>1</sup> notissimi verbis utar; sane praefectum bibliothecae Alexandrinae Callimachum non fuisse ex serie praefectorum papyro Oxyrhynch. 1241 tradita<sup>2</sup> cognovimus. Hanc bibliothecam postquam Ptolemaei reges summo studio et omni modo et magna pecunia in unum coëgerunt, mox Alexandriae intellectum est hunc ingentem voluminum thesaurum indicibus accuratis indigere; res ipsa clamabat. Hoc ingens catalogi conficiendi opus Callimachus suscepit, hymnorum epigrammatum epyllii elegiarum poëta Musis derelictis totus huic negotio se dedit et studiosissime et sagacissime. Cuius rei testis est librorum centum et viginti numerus ingentis catalogi cui inscripsit Πίνακες τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμπάντων καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν.<sup>3</sup>

Quamquam non dubito quin ante Callimachum omnino indices tabulaeque librorum Alexandriae exstiterint, tamen Callimachum primum modo et ratione catalogos confecisse statuendum est. Doleo quod Callimachi ipsius tabulae, quibus historiae litterarum graecarum fundamenta construxit, non supersunt; exstant autem fragmenta varia huius operis post R. Bentleyum a Schneidero in *Callimacheorum* volumine II, 297 sqq., *Philologi* vol. XVI. 656, et a Friderico Schmidt, 'Die Pinakes des Kallimachus', *Klassisch philologische Studien* herausgegeben von F. Jacobi, Berolini, 1922, in unum collecta, ex quibus Callimachi ratio cognosci potest. Librorum bibliothecae Alexandrinae moles eorumque catalogi in varia genera divisi erant, quibus omnia opera similia continebantur velut, philosophorum, oratorum, historicorum, poëtarum scilicet scaenicorum, lyricorum, epicorum opera. Catalogum legum et legislatorum tres libros aut plures complevisse constat. Ea quae supererant neque in genus quadrabant, farragini variorum opusculorum adscribebantur, inter quae sine dubio illi libri erant, qui ad rem coquinariam spectabant, de quibus Athenaeus, VI, p. 244 A (Schneider, *Callimachea*, II. 313, 316, No. 8), cf. p. 5 A verba fecit, ὑφαρτυτικά vel πλακουντοποιικά συγγράμματα.

Callimachus quaecumque litterarum genus totum exploravit; nam antequam poëtarum scaenicorum rhetorumve saeculorum V et IV catalogos scripsit, disquisitiones vel maxime varias in singula opera huius generis conficere debuit, utrum genuina essent necne, quo ordine, in quo litterarum genere enumeranda essent; velut in fragmento 100 d 14 Καλλίμαχος δὲ φησι μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸ ποίημα

<sup>1</sup> Ritschl, *Opusc.* I. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Col. II: Ἀπολλῶν | ν[ι]ος Σιλλέως Ἀλεξανδρεὺς | 2 | ὁ [κ]αλούμενος Ῥόδιος Καλ[3]λ[ι]μάχου γνώριμος οὗτος | 4 | ἐγένετο καὶ διδάσκαλος τοῦ | 5 | πρώτου βασιλέως τοῦτον | 6 | δι[ε]δέξατο Ἐρατοσθένης, | 7 | μεθ' ὃν Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀπέλ[8]λου Βυζάντιος καὶ

Ἄρισταρ[9]χος εἶτ' Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀλεξαν[10]δρεὺς ὁ (ε)ἰσογράφος καλούμε[11]νος μεθ' ὃν Ἄρισταρχος Ἄρι[12]στάρχου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἀνω[13]θεν δὲ Σαμόθραξ. . . .

<sup>3</sup> C. Wachsmuth, *Philologus*, XVI. 655.

carmen aliquod suppositivum esse statuit; in fr. 100 d 15 Καλλιμάχος ἀντιλέγεσθαι φησιν ὡς Ἐριγένους Callimachus verum auctoris nomen indicavit; fr. 100 d 18 Demosthenis esse orationem quandam quae sub Dinarchi nomine circumferebatur; in fr. 100 d 9 titulum operis cuiusdam Chrysippi *Gastronomiam* in *Hedupathiam* mutandum esse docuit, in fr. 100 d 4 Diphili comoediam non Αἰρησιτείας sed Εὐνοῦχος inscribendam esse statuit.

Callimachus id quod exploravit in catalogis suis sane brevissime et sagacissime eo modo tradidit, ut auctorum operumque nomina et numerum versuum, quem in exemplis ad Alexandrinorum normam confectis habebant, indicaret et prima operum verba adderet. Exemplum exstat apud Athenaeum, VI, p. 244 A: τοῦ Χαιρεφῶντος σύγγραμμα ἀναγράφει Καλλιμάχος ἐν τῷ τῶν παντοδαπῶν πίνακι γράφων οὕτως· Δεῖπνα ὅσοι ἔγραψαν· Χαιρεφῶν Κυρηβίωνι· εἶθ' ἐξῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπέθηκεν· “ἐπειδὴ μοι πολλάκις ἐπέστεilas”· στίχων τοε': inter scriptores variorum opusculorum exstabant, qui de re coquinaria scripserant velut Chaerepho auctor libri ad Cyrebionem, cuius verba prima erant ἐπειδὴ μοι etc., numerus linearum huius opusculi erat 375.

Idem Athenaeus, XIII, p. 585 A (Schneider, II, p. 320, No. 25) de lege quadam dum verba facit, ἀνέγραψε ἰνquit δὲ αὐτὸν Καλλιμάχος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ πίνακι τῶν νόμων καὶ ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ τήνδε παρέθετο· “ὅδε ὁ νόμος ἴσος ἐγράφη καὶ ὁμοῖος”· στίχων τκγ': in legum catalogi volumine tertio haec lex a Callimacho cum verborum initio et numero linearum 323 commemorata erat.

Simillimum fragmentum catalogi cuiusdam antiqui in papyro scripti Florentinum G. Vitelli in *diario Atene e Roma*, 7. 178 edidit (10 × 15.5 cm.):

1	]αυτων την υπεροχ[
	ΠΡΟΞ Δ]ΙΟΝΥΚΙΟΝ [
	αξιον] και δικαιον μεμνη[
	]των οντων αυτω Δ[
5	] στιχοι [ <i>numerus excidit</i>
	]ΗΡΟΥ
	] οτι μεν ω φιλε Τυλλ[ιε
	]ς αυτω γαρ αυτης φη[
	] στιχοι [ <i>numerus excidit</i>
10	ΠΡΟ]Ξ ΑΛΛΟΥΞ
	]τι Δ αν γενοιτο καλλο[
	εαν ] και η Πυθια συνανα[ιρηι
	]ΑΤΟΞ [

Ecce fragmentum catalogi cuiusdam epistularum id quod Victor Gardthausen primus cognovit, unde apparet in catalogi fronte Ἐπιστολαί supplendum esse. Nunc quoque et epistulae Plini et epistulae *Ad familiares*, *Ad Quintum fratrem*

exstant; itaque supplevi πρὸς Διονύσιον et πρὸς ἄλλους; genitivi nominum auctorum sunt ]ηρου et ]ατος. Haec nomina initia epistularum secuntur (lineam 12 loco Platonis *Reipublicae*, VII. 540 C adhibito restitui 'vel si Pythia quoque et ipsa respondeat'). Tertio loco numerus linearum exstat. Itaque totum hunc catalogum ad Callimachi exemplum ratione eius adhibita confectum esse apparet.

Similem in modum catalogus ille Copticus operum Senuthii ex Athribi oriundi, quem in operis mei *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, volumine IX, edidi, praeter numeros ordinis etiam initia operum continet.

Papyrus Berolinensis commentarii Didymi in Demosthenem eodem modo numeros et initia *tertia* et *quarta* orationis *Philippicae*, *orationis ad Philippum epistulam* et *περὶ συντάξεως* enumerat:

θ̄ πολλῶν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι  
 ῑ Καὶ σπουδαῖα νομίζων  
 ι[α] ὅτι μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι Φίλιππος  
 ιβ̄ περὶ μὲν τοῦ παρόντος

Sufficiebat linea una ad opus unum in catalogo notandum.

Callimachus ea quae studiis suis litterarum Graecarum exploraverat et quae ex librorum thesauro Alexandrino exhausit, tabulis suis quas Πίνακες inscripsit, CXX voluminibus editis publici iuris fecit. Iam quaeritur fuerintne hae tabulae publicatae eadem atque tabellae illae quas Callimachus bibliothecarii munere functus scripsit, continebantne hi CXX libri plus quam tabellae bibliothecae Alexandrinae, ita ut his CXX libris totae Graecorum litterae inessent scilicet thesaurus Alexandrinus auctus illis librorum titulis qui Alexandriae non reperiebantur. Scimus autem reges Ptolemaeos tanta industria tantoque studio undique libros conquisisse, ut vix putaverim auctores quosdam bibliothecae defuisse neque Bernhardyi opinio probabilis mihi videtur esse, qui in *Griech. Literatur*. I.<sup>5</sup> 189 opinabatur plures operum titulos in CXX illis tabellarum libris Callimacheis fuisse quam in tabellis bibliothecae Alexandrinae, immo vero et illum et hunc catalogum unum eundemque fuisse existimaverim. Ecce qua ratione ad hanc sententiam perveni.

Iam quaeso notitiam illam legamus de magna bibliotheca Alexandrina quam in prolegomenis suis in Aristophanem 206, 10 sq. Tzetzes tradidit, qui sine dubio ex fontibus haud spernendis hauriebat: *δυσὶ βιβλιοθήκαις ταύτας (τὰς βίβλους) ἀπέθετο (Φιλάδελφος) ὧν τῆς ἑκτὸς μὲν ἦν ἀριθμὸς τετρακισμῦριαι δισχίλιαι ὀκτακόσκιαι τῆς δὲ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ἐντὸς συμμιγῶν μὲν βίβλων ἀριθμὸς τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες ἀμιγῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπλῶν μυριάδες ἑννέα ὧν τοὺς πίνακας ὕστερον Καλλίμαχος ἐπεγράψατο* (ita codex Parisin. 124 a, lege ἀπεγρ.) Itaque maxima illa bibliotheca palatina Alexandrina tertio ante Christum natum saeculo, ubi Tzetzae auctor haec scripsit, continebat 400,000 libros *συμμιγῆς* et 90,000 *ἀμιγῆς* ad normam Alexandrinam adornatos.<sup>1</sup> Sequitur 'quorum tabulas postea Callimachus confecit'

<sup>1</sup> Simili modo bibliothecae nunc constant et ex variis libris manu scriptis et ex impressis.

sententia relativa, quae proxima est numero 90,000 librorum simplicium et secundum meam quidem sententiam ad hos referenda. Callimachi autem catalogum ex CXX voluminibus constitisse traditum est; itaque si Callimachus hos 90,000 libros in CXX voluminibus catalogi sui enumeravit, numerus 90,000 hoc numero CXX facile dividi debet. Et profecto haec ratio 90,000 : 120 facillima est; nam septingenties quinquagies centena vicena nonaginta milia sunt  $\frac{90000}{120} = 750$ . Iam supra exposuimus singulos libros in singulis catalogi lineis enumeratos esse, scilicet nomine auctoris vel libri numero indicato et primis operis vocabulis numeroque linearum totius operis additis; itaque 750 libri in 750 fere catalogi lineis enumerabantur. Quoniam 750 lineae in 25 columnis quae ex tricenis vel paulo pluribus lineis<sup>1</sup> constabant facillime scribi poterant et quoniam volumen unum 25 fere columnas capiebat, apparet 90,000 libros in CXX voluminibus catalogi Callimachei enumeratos esse. Me ducem si secutus eris intelliges Callimachi catalogum cui titulus erat Πίνακες τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμπάντων καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν ex CXX illis voluminibus constitisse, in quibus  $750 \times 120$  id est 90,000 ἀμιγῆς libri illi ad normam Alexandrinam adornati a Callimacho enumerabantur.<sup>2</sup> Itaque πίνακες Callimachi editio tabularum librorum ἀμιγῶν bibliothecae Alexandrinae erant, quos omnes et brevissime et sagacissime ingenti cum industria admirabilique studio enumeravit Callimachus, totus operi suo deditus, quod firmissimum fundamentum et historiae litterarum Graecorum explorandae et bibliothecae administrandae per totam antiquitatem fuisse censeo.

<sup>1</sup> Aut 20 columnae ex quadragenis lineis.

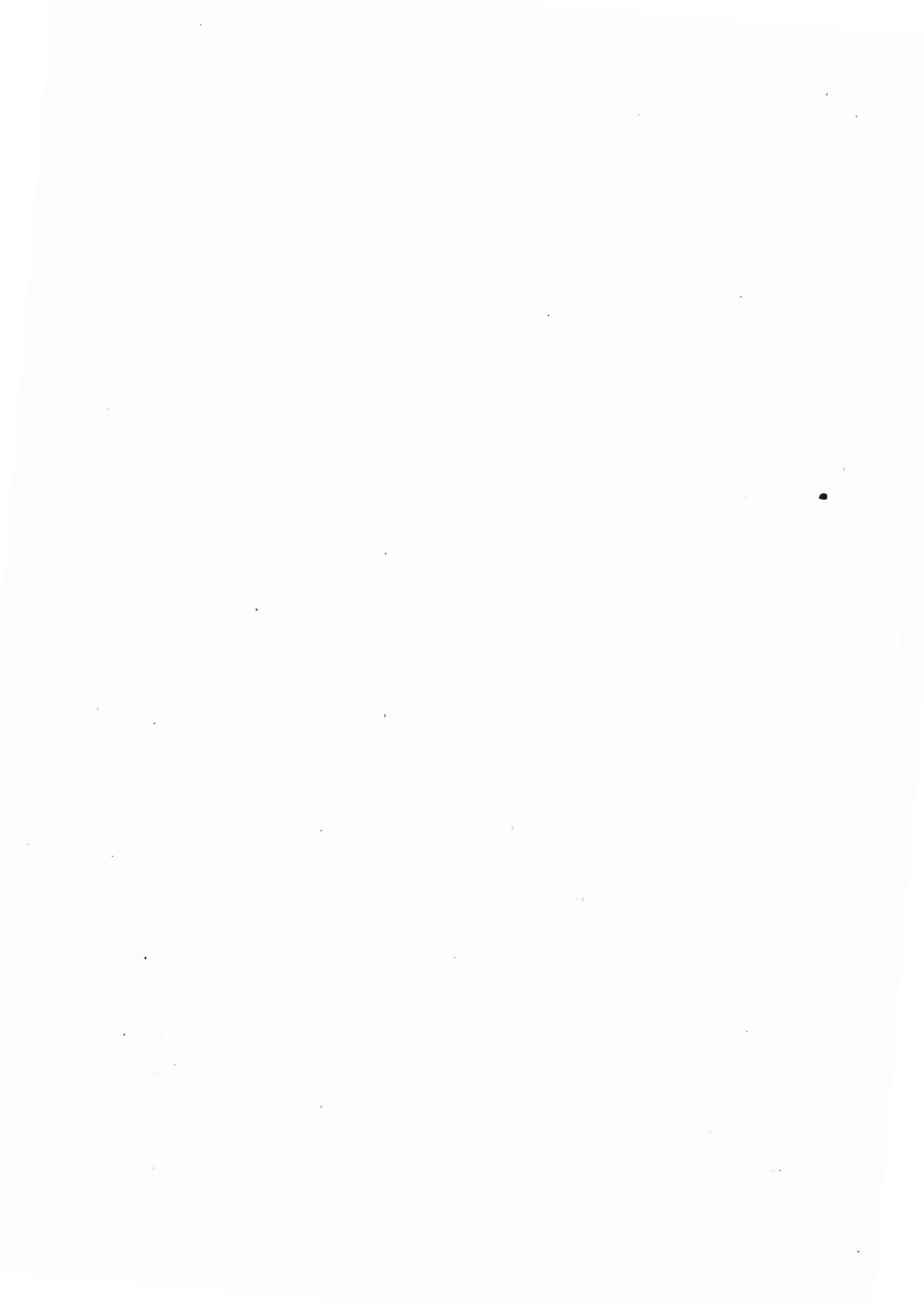
<sup>2</sup> Frustra rationem facilem quaeres inter ceteros numeros qui traditi sunt; nam si numeri 400,000 συμμιγῆς, vel 490,000 συμμιγῆς cum

ἀμιγῆς coniuncti, vel 42,800 τῆς ἑκτῆς βιβλιοθήκης divisi erunt, nequaquam aptam rationem invenies; scilicet  $400,000 : 120 = 3,333\frac{1}{3}$ ;  $490,000 : 120 = 4,083\frac{1}{3}$ ;  $42,800 : 120 = 357\frac{1}{3}$ .



PART II  
TEXTS AND PHILOLOGY  
(a) HIEROGLYPHIC AND HIERATIC







## THE ABNORMAL-HIERATIC TABLET LEIDEN I 431

By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

(With Plates 2-7)

CONTRIBUTORS to an anniversary volume generally attempt to choose a subject drawn from the particular field of research of the scholar whom they are seeking to honour, or, at least, one more or less closely connected with his work. Now it is, I think, not difficult to find such a subject for the present volume, since Professor Griffith's activity covers practically every branch of Egyptology. But it is far more difficult for a beginner like the present writer to reach a standard worthy of so celebrated a scholar's work. It is hardly necessary to point out that to Professor Griffith belongs the credit not only of having indicated<sup>1</sup> the contents of all the known documents written in that difficult kind of hieratic cursive writing called by him 'abnormal hieratic', but also of having been the first to publish a satisfactory transcript, translation, and commentary of three of them,<sup>2</sup> far surpassing anything that had previously been done in this field. It is, therefore, only in reliance on his indulgence that I dare to offer him this modest tribute.

The Leiden tablet I 431 which is dealt with in the following lines is a scribe's wooden tablet measuring 32.5 cm. by 15 cm., and about 1.5 cm. thick, inscribed on both sides. At the top, there is a semicircular projection of 2.5 cm. which is pierced through to allow it to hang on a string round the neck of the scribe. The surface is smooth, without being covered, as often, with plaster. The tablet is in excellent preservation. One or two cracks parallel to the longer sides produced by the drying of the wood have caused no serious damage to the writing; the hole in the lower part of the tablet is old, as is proved by the continuity of the text, which shows no lacuna at that point.

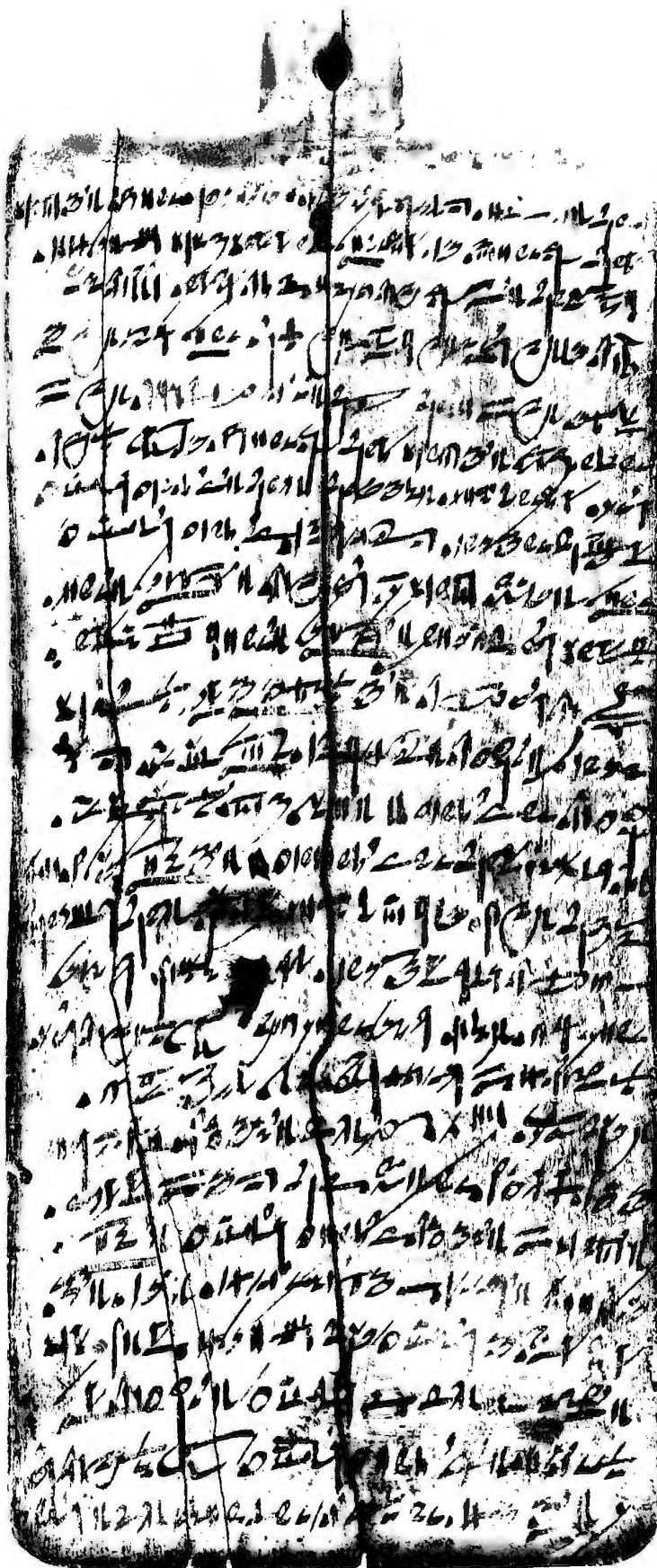
The recto bears twenty-six lines, the verso twenty-five and, in addition, a few words in very small writing in the right-hand bottom corner, which probably have no relation to the rest of the text. The tablet was acquired in 1828 together with the Anastasy collection, and naturally nothing is known about its provenance. Judging from the text itself it was written in Thebes; there is nothing to indicate the locality to which it was addressed and in which it was presumably found, but it would probably be some place in Lower Egypt, since the greater part of the Anastasy collection seems to have come from there.

The recto and the verso form a single text written in the characteristic kind of hieratic used during the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties, which gradually

<sup>1</sup> In the *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, III, pp. 15-20.

<sup>2</sup> Pap. Louvre E 7846 and E 7849, in the

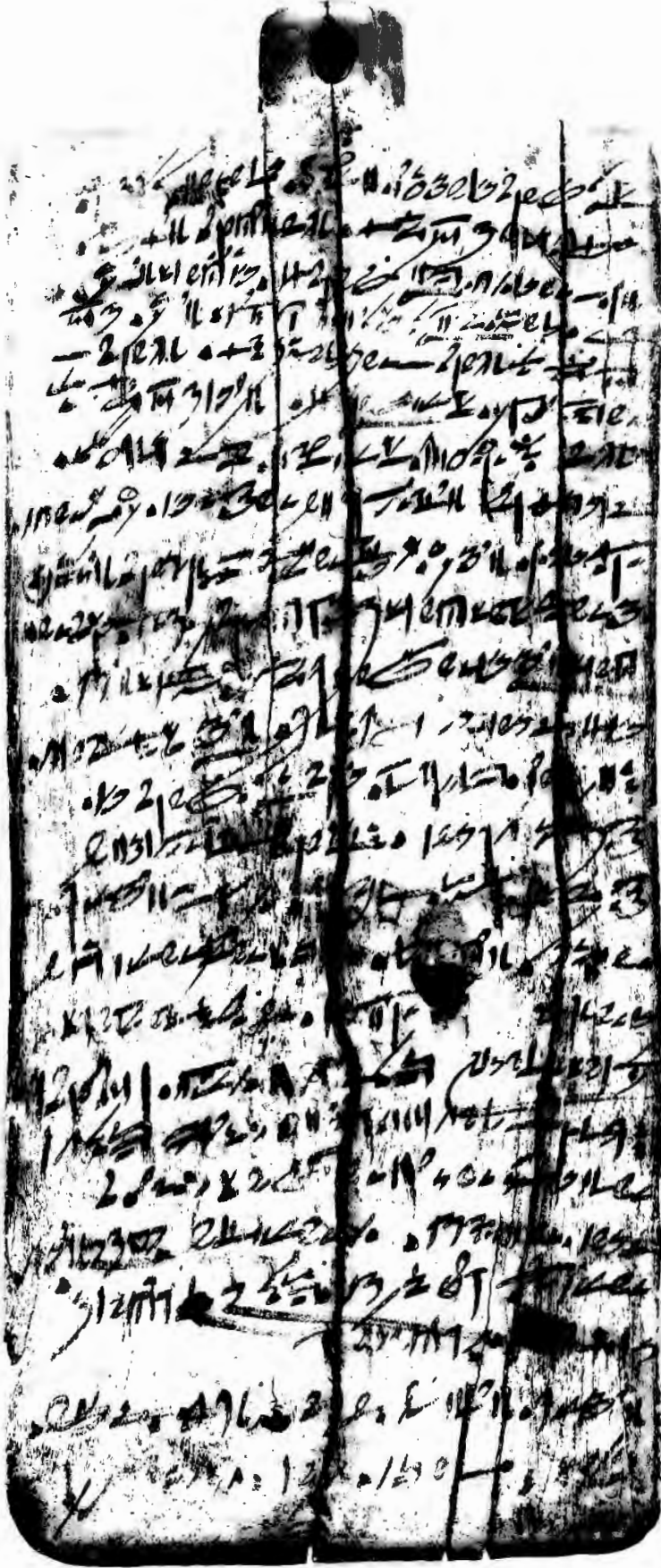
*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xxxi, 212-20; Pap. Vatican 10. 574 *ibid.* xxxii, 5-10.



Leiden Tablet I 431, recto

Scale 3:5





Leiden Tablet I 431, verso

Scale 3:5



gave way to Demotic until it disappeared completely in the reign of Amasis. We do not know the palaeography of abnormal hieratic well enough to be able to fix the date of the text more closely, and the mention of a 'year 14', verso l. 19, does not help us very much. Shabaka and Shabataka are excluded, but from Taharka to Apries all the kings except Psammetichus II reigned more than fourteen years. The present writer has the impression that an earlier date (Taharka or Psammetichus I) is more probable than a later one.

The tablet was published in a good hand-facsimile in Leemans' great publication of the Leiden Museum, Part II, Pls. CCXXX and CCXXXI, and the corresponding notice in the descriptive text (II, p. 92) shows the complete inability of Egyptology at that early date to decipher the writings. Since then the tablet has remained untouched, and I can find no allusion to it in print.

As abnormal-hieratic documents are still very rare, it seems worth while to attempt a treatment of the text. To the documents listed by Professor Griffith very few can be added: a few incomplete documents which I obtained from fragments enumerated by Spiegelberg,<sup>1</sup> some graffiti from the Osireion at Abydos, which are to be published before long by Mr. Gunn, and a half of a wooden tablet in possession of the late Professor Spiegelberg.<sup>2</sup> The importance of the Leiden tablet for the study of abnormal hieratic is thus obvious, and for several years I have been exercising myself over its text. I worked first with the published facsimile, and subsequently obtained a photograph from M. Capart and later still a large-scale photograph from Mr. Gunn, with whom I had the advantage of going through the tablet and discussing both the reading and the translation. I had also photographs of the Spiegelberg Tablet, given to me for publication by its owner, of a complete set of abnormal-hieratic papyri in the Louvre from M. le chanoine Drioton, and of three Turin papyri from Mr. Gunn and Dr. Gardiner. The comparative study of these materials helped me considerably in my task. As owing to pressure of other work I knew that I should before long be forced to give up further study of the tablet, I welcomed the opportunity of presenting my results, and after I had read through the text of the recto with Professors Sethe and Gardiner and carefully collated the original in Leiden I concluded my work and now leave this difficult text for a more fortunate future student. In printing a provisional translation I am quite aware that in many places I have failed to produce any satisfactory sense, and that my translation is mostly purely mechanical. The appended commentary is rather long, but I thought it wise to give, where possible, a justification of my concep-

<sup>1</sup> *Die demotischen Papyrus in the Catalogue général du Musée du Caire*. The fragments in question are Nos. 30841-70, 30884, 30886-98, 30906-18, 31181-4, and 31256. Among them I may draw attention to No. 30865, which is, apart from our Leiden tablet, the only preserved abnormal-hieratic letter.

<sup>2</sup> Pap. Brit. Mus. 10113, published by N. Reich, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts in hieratischer und demotischer Schrift aus dem British Museum*, Vienna, 1914, 5-8 and Pl. I-II, is identical with the papyrus listed in Griffith, l.c., p. 20 from the reign of Apries.



tion of the text. As this conception is, I repeat, very uncertain, I limit my article to a transcript, translation, and commentary, and give no further remarks on, or paraphrase of, the text.

To all my above-mentioned helpers, as well as to Dr. van Wijngaarden for permission to study the original and publish the photographs, I wish to express my sincerest thanks.

## TRANSLATION

*Recto.*

- (1) The memorandum<sup>1</sup> of Efenkhons<sup>2</sup> which is destined for<sup>3</sup> the divine father<sup>4</sup> Reri,<sup>5</sup> son of Harkhēbe,<sup>6</sup> my lord: I send forth
- (2) (my) voice before our lord<sup>7</sup> saying: May<sup>8</sup> your condition be satisfactory. Behold,<sup>9</sup> I
- (3) pray<sup>10</sup> for you to Amon, Mut, Khons, Mont, Maat,<sup>11</sup> and all the gods
- (4) of Thebes saying: Let him live, let him be in health, let him have a long<sup>12</sup> lifetime, let him attain
- (5) a great and beautiful old age,<sup>13</sup> give him favour and love in the sight<sup>14</sup> of Pharaoh, L.P.H., give him
- (6) prosperity from his hand. I send forth (my) voice before my lord saying: May<sup>15</sup> Amon give
- (7) him life! What has happened<sup>16</sup> that I do not know anything concerning the town of Elephantine?
- (8) Is it silence which makes a man who<sup>17</sup> administers the town of Elephantine<sup>18</sup>
- (9) in your stead?<sup>19</sup> Send to him! As Amon lives, whose form you have seen,\*
- (10) as Hathor<sup>20</sup> lives, whose eternal secret<sup>21</sup> you have seen,
- (11) as Pharaoh lives, who makes good (all) you have done!<sup>22</sup> You shall send
- (12) men to me to Nō in order to carry out your commissions which are outside
- (13) Nō (in) the two towns, (but) verily<sup>23</sup> there is no commission
- (14) which would punish the two towns. (Even) your enemies<sup>24</sup> have
- (15) learned that they are (already) performed. Is there (still) one single thing to be delivered<sup>25</sup>
- (16) to the house of Pharaoh, L.P.H.? Are there men who have not seen<sup>26</sup>
- (17) his tomb,† who have not seen his house?<sup>27</sup> May Amon give him life!
- (18) I have given it to be brought to you already<sup>28</sup> in an open document<sup>29</sup>
- (19) which amounts, as usual,<sup>30</sup> to 825<sup>31</sup> artabe(?)<sup>32</sup> of spelt as to the grain-tax<sup>33</sup> of Dendera,<sup>34</sup>
- (20) as monthly<sup>35</sup> grain-tax, beside the memoranda which have been made for you.<sup>36</sup> If I
- (21) write to you about the grain-tax of the town of Elephantine, your
- (22) enemies will be angry<sup>37</sup> in (their) hearts about it. As for me,<sup>38</sup> what should I
- (23) do, I, concerning(?)<sup>39</sup> Elephantine? And behold, if they come

\* In his capacity as 'divine father'.

† i.e. performed compulsory work in?

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



15

a) dot covered by the .

20

25

Leiden Tablet I 431, recto ll. 14-26





- (24) in order to bring me the spelt for<sup>40</sup> Elephantine to Nō, you  
 (25) will draw their attention to the town of Elephantine—may Amon give it  
 life!  
 (26) Certainly you will do it, namely draw attention to the transport of the spelt  
 to Elephantine.

*Verso.*

- (1) You know that the<sup>41</sup> two grain-taxes are complete<sup>42</sup> so that undiminished  
 is your fondness<sup>43</sup> from the hand of  
 (2) Pharaoh, L.P.H. There is not one *hrr* of spelt besides<sup>44</sup> one thousand *hrr*,  
 (3) which belong to the temple to which you know I am sending.  
 (4) Do not allow your enemies to rely<sup>45</sup> on it. I have  
 (5) nothing for one who would look for a hundred and fifty<sup>46</sup> *hrr*, nothing  
 (6) at all. Am I to let you know it? As for me(?), I have no<sup>47</sup>  
 (7) spelt outside Nō. Am I to let them bring you the accounts(?)<sup>48</sup> and  
 (8) the documents concerning Dendera and (concerning) him who had said:<sup>49</sup>  
 You have destroyed the house  
 (9) of Inaros?<sup>50</sup> Yes, I have destroyed him who made intrigues<sup>51</sup> against you,  
 in order that he may  
 (10) do no writing<sup>52</sup> after he has . . .<sup>53</sup> within my reach(?). As to this  
 (11) your information saying: The painful recollection<sup>54</sup> goes up,  
 (12) the people of Pharaoh, L.P.H., said it. You . . .  
 (13) of his . . ., which is in order. And you know that  
 (14) you have 19 men<sup>55</sup> in the commission of Dendera.  
 (15) There are eight among them who do no work, viz.<sup>56</sup> Somtuertais,<sup>57</sup>  
 (16) Pay. . ., Ehay, E'o, the son of Petenut,  
 (17) . . . pais, . . .,<sup>58</sup> Paḥe . . . ta . . .,<sup>59</sup>  
 (18) . . ., Sadjar; at disposal, those who remain:<sup>60</sup> twelve persons,<sup>61</sup> viz. one door-  
 keeper, one singer.  
 (19) The wages<sup>62</sup> of the year 14, first month of inundation, total eight persons;  
 at disposal, those who remain: eleven,  
 (20) besides the two men mentioned, total: six men;  
 (21) the people of our lord, viz. Peteēse, (Ne)ḥemarof,<sup>63</sup>  
 (22) Petubast, Ankhpefḥeri,<sup>64</sup> at disposal, those who remain: nine,<sup>65</sup> every one  
 1 and . . . *kite* silver  
 (23) per<sup>66</sup> month, makes(?) . . . *kite* silver.  
 (24) to (26) *too obscure*.<sup>67</sup>

## NOTES

1. The word occurs in Late Egyptian in two groups: 1.  'reminder concerning', on which see *J.E.A.* xv. 248, where my reading is to be corrected in accordance with Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies*, p. 185; and 2.  'memorandum of' introducing letters,

- Ostr. Berlin P. 12630. 1; Ostr. Cairo 25675. 1; Ostr. Leipzig 5. 1 and Pap. Strassburg 39. 1 (ed. Spiegelberg, *Ä.Z.* LIII. 20). The last instance offers an exact parallel to our present passage, as  $\text{𓆎}$  is there both preceded by the masculine article  $p\text{:}$  (thus showing that the word in question is masculine, probably  $sh\text{:}$ , as suggested by Gardiner, *apud* Peet, l.c.) and followed by  $nti iw\text{:}f$ . The genitival  $n$  is omitted, as often in our tablet.— In  $nti iw\text{:}f m\text{:}b\text{:}h$  the verb  $iw\text{:}f$  has an idiomatic force:  $nti m\text{:}b\text{:}h$  would be 'which is before',  $nti iw\text{:}f m\text{:}b\text{:}h$  is 'which goes before', cf.  $\text{𓆎} \leftarrow \ominus$  'he goes to', not  $\text{𓆎} \ominus$ .
2. The reading of the proper name is certain, though the  $iw\text{:}f$  is differently made from elsewhere in this tablet (same line in  $nti iw\text{:}f$ , ro. 18, vs. 13).
  3.  $nti iw\text{:}f m\text{:}b\text{:}h$ , not 'who is before', but an equivalent of the dative, consequently 'which is (destined) to'. This is shown by the XXIst-Dyn. letter Pap. Strassburg 39. 2:  $p\text{:} sh\text{:} \text{𓆎} A nti iw\text{:}f n B. M\text{:}b\text{:}h$  instead of the dative  $n$  is used, as early as in the XXth Dyn., in speaking of the Pharaoh or the Vizier:  $dit m\text{:}b\text{:}h$  Abbott 4. 10; 5. 19; 6. 24; 8 A. 2;  $h\text{:}b m\text{:}b\text{:}h$  Abbott 5. 18; 6. 13, 20; Amherst 3. 9;  $\overline{dd} smi m\text{:}b\text{:}h$  Abbott 6. 16, 19; in Demotic in the letters of the priests of Elephantine to the Satrap, Pap. Berlin P. 13539. 1 and address on verso; Pap. Loeb. I. 1 and address on verso (ed. Spiegelberg, *Sitzungsber. Berl. Ak. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1928, 611, 615).  $nti iw\text{:}f m\text{:}b\text{:}h$  also occurs in the abnormal-hieratic letter Pap. Cairo 30865. 1, where, however, I am unable to read the word which precedes.
  4. This spelling of the common title rose out of  $\text{𓆎} \ominus$  by simplifying the  $\ominus$  to a mere  $\nabla$  and then adding a  $\ominus$  and the filling stroke  $\searrow$  after the model of  $\text{𓆎}$  'breadth' (*wsh*). For the corresponding demotic group cf. the Manchester 'Mumienetikette' in *J.E.A.* xv, Pl. xvii ( $\text{𓆎}$  1 a, l. 2;  $\text{𓆎}$  1 b, l. 3); a hieroglyphic  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$  also occurs there. The  $\nabla$  has the form of a  $\ominus$  in the tablet; on this point cf. Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* II, No. 492 and note.
  5. For the last sign of the proper name I hesitate between  $\text{𓆎}$  and  $\text{𓆎}$ . The name is amply attested, cf. the examples quoted by Reich, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts*, p. 98, Nos. 291–3; the spelling  $\text{𓆎} \ominus \text{𓆎}$  occurs in the unpublished part of the Pap. Berlin, P. 3048, vs. (XXIInd Dyn.).
  6. Cf. same group in the proper name Isemkhēbe, Pap. Turin 246. 2, 18, where the reading  $hb$  (from  $sh\text{:}bit$ ) is assured by the quite clear  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$ , l. 35.
  7. The scribe either omitted  $\text{𓆎}$  intending to write  $p\text{:}i\text{:}n hri$ , as clearly stands vs. 21, or, in writing  $p\text{:}i\text{:}i hri$ , he erroneously put  $\text{𓆎}$  instead of  $\text{𓆎}$ , owing to the similarity of  $\text{𓆎}$  and  $\text{𓆎}$ .
  8. This is probably the only existing example of  $ih$  introducing the non-verbal clause. The classical grammar would require  $ih wn$ , but in Late Egyptian the use of  $ih$  seems to be restricted to cases where the verb is in the 2nd person sing.
  9.  $Ptr s$  ( $\text{𓆎}$  for  $\text{𓆎}$ ) must always have an object of its own, also Pap. Cairo 30865. 2; Tablet Spiegelberg, ro. 2, just like the Coptic  $\alpha\theta\theta\epsilon$  (Steindorff, *Kopt. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, § 364). Somewhat similarly our text, ro. 26:  $itr\text{:}k ir\text{:}s p\text{:} dit hr$ , &c.
  10. For  $sm\text{:}$  in letter-formulae, cf. Pap. Cairo 30865. 2 (same formula as our tablet); in Demotic, Pap. Louvre E 7855 (*Corpus Pap.*, Pl. xvii). 1, 8; Pap. Berlin P. 13539. 1 (here  $ir sm\text{:}$  constructed with  $n$  as Amenemope 10. 12). With  $r$  like Coptic  $\epsilon\alpha\theta\theta\gamma$  e-already Nastesen 13.
  11. Properly written with  $\text{𓆎}$ , i.e.  $šw$ , instead of the usual abnormal-hieratic form of  $m\text{:}$ , as

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 4. 13  
 5. 10  
 6. 13  
 7. 10  
 8. 13  
 9. 10  
 10. 13  
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 85. 10  
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 87. 10  
 88. 13  
 89. 10  
 90. 13  
 91. 10  
 92. 13  
 93. 10  
 94. 13  
 95. 10  
 96. 13  
 97. 10  
 98. 13  
 99. 10  
 100. 13

a) - b) sic above line. - c) the dot damaged by the scribe. - d) the dot is placed at the end of the tail of *ss*. - e) Clearly a *o*. - f)

Leiden Tablet I 431, verso ll. 1-13









- shown by Pap. Turin 248. 15; Pap. Louvre 2432. 2, 10, 13; 3228 C, 9; for old Demotic, cf. Griffith, *Ryl.* III. 352 and 393. But the distinction of *ms'* and *šw* disappears with the XXIIInd Dyn. (Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* III, Nos. 236 and 237, note 1).  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  of our tablet probably indicates the pronunciation  $\text{m}^{\text{e}}$ , just as  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\Delta$  is  $\text{m}^{\text{e}}$ . The personification of Truth was connected with Amon at this late period and had its sanctuaries in Karnak (cf. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter*, § 119) and in Deir el-Medineh, where she is often called *hnwt 'Imnt-t* 'Mistress of the West (of Thebes)' (Lepsius, *Denkmäler, Text*, III. 119). This enumeration of the Theban divinities shows that the text was written in Thebes.
12. The dot beneath the *k* represents a  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ ; cf. the full writing, Pap. Louvre 3228 D. 8.
13. Not directly  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , though *hnwt 'st* is required by the New Kingdom letter-formula *immi n-k 'nh wd; snb 'h' k; hnwt 'st nfrt* 'that he grant thee life, prosperity, health, a long lifetime, a great beautiful old age' (e.g. Pap. Bibl. Nat. 196. iii. 5; 197. iv. 2-3; 198. i. 8; ii. 2-3; 201, fr. I. 1; Pap. Leiden, 369. 4-5; 370. 3-4; Pap. Strassb. 33. 4-5; 31. 5, &c.) and similarly. The grouping  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , however, is taken over from  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , which occurs both in the formula *hnwt 'st* (Pap. Strassb. 25. 3; 33. 4) and in the proper name *Pšwr'* (Abbott 8. A 2. 20, 27. B 1) as well as in the title  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  *wr'* Dakleh stela (*Rec. de trav.* xxv. 195), l. 3. What  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  itself looks like in abnormal hieratic is shown by Pap. Louvre 3228 C. I. 5, 10 in *ns wr-w n ts knbt*.
14.  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , earlier  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , Coptic  $\text{𓀀}:\text{𓀀}:\text{𓀀}$ , Demotic  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  (in *rdit hst r-hr* e.g. Pap. Mag. 9. 12) replaces the *m-b;h* of the similar New Kingdom formula *immi n-k hst m-b;h ntr-w rmt r' nb* 'that he may give thee favour in presence of gods and men daily' (Pap. Bibl. Nat. 197. iv. 3; Pap. Leiden 369. 5, &c., very often).
15. For the interjection  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  cf. Griffith, *Ryl.* III. 64, n. 1; 236, n. 1; 325.
16. The sentence is a non-verbal clause, with *ih* 'what' as subject and *p; hpr*—to judge from such late Egyptian passages as Orb. 7. 4; Ostr. Berlin 10627. 3 and Anast. 4, 9, 4, and the demotic Pap. Ryl. 9, 5, 7 and 20. 3 a determined infinitive—as predicate. The reading *hpr*, however, requires some justification. The second group is clearly  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , the  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  occurring in this form under long signs  $\ominus$  (e.g. Ani 4. 11; 9. 2; II. 1, 2; 12. 11),  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  (Ani 5. 12, 16; 7. 12, 15),  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  (Ani 4. 4; 8. 3, 5; 9. 9; 10. 7; 11. 8),  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  in *hpr* (Ani 7. 2; 13. 18, 19). The last three examples show the verb *hpr* in the actual spelling of our tablet, with the determinative  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  which this verb frequently has from the XXIIInd Dyn. onward. As for the first sign of our group,  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  is the only sign ending in *r* which fits in form and moreover  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  can be easily explained as a simplification of the usual New Kingdom form  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ . Curiously enough, this *hpr* receives in our tablet an ending and a second determinative which can only be transcribed  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  (cf. the  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  in *p;h*, ll. 1, 2, 4, 6, 9, 10, &c., and  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  in *hr*, ll. 14, 22, vs. 4, and in *hft* vs. 8, 9). Evidently the  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  under  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  was no longer felt to be a determinative. Note also that the causative *shpr* is also written with  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , Pap. Louvre E 7846. 7 and E 7849. 8 ( $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ ) and cf. *hpr* Pap. Louvre 3228 B, col. i, 3; col. ii, 3, 7, 12. As to  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , it must have replaced  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , the usual determinative of *hpr* in Pap. Ani. The word *hpr* occurs once more in our tablet ro. 15 in exactly the same writing. Here, however, it must be the pseudo-participle.
17. It is disturbing that *rmt* is not determined by *p;*, though followed by a relative clause with *nti*. This is impossible alike in Late Egyptian, in Demotic, and in Coptic, and we must therefore assume that either *p;* or *ns* has been omitted by the scribe before







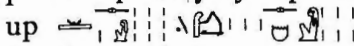











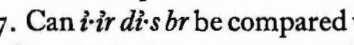
- rmt*, or perhaps translate quite indefinitely 'a man who administers'.—It is tempting to read *wšh-shn*,  $\omega\gamma\epsilon\zeta\text{-}\epsilon\alpha\zeta\eta\epsilon$ , 'give orders', here and ro. 12, but  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  is quite clear. The tall vertical stroke serving as determinative is an abbreviated form of the  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  (=  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ ), with which the word *smn* is determined in Pap. Turin 248. 9.
18. The tablet writes consistently  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  except ro. 25, where a clear  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  instead of  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  shows that Elephantine is the town in question and not Abydos. This is written  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  in the abnormal-hieratic Pap. Turin 248. 2, 4.
19. *psk br*, Coptic  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\kappa\theta\omicron\lambda$ .  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  here and vs. 20,  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  below ro. 20 and vs. 24 is the Late Egyptian  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , and is in abnormal hieratic usually written  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , e.g. Pap. Turin 248. 9, 13; Pap. Louvre E 7846. 5, 6; E 7849. 6, 7. Pap. Berlin P. 3048, vs. writes  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , Amenemope 12. 12; 24. 1, 2; 25. 6  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ .
20.  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  seems to be the usual abnormal-hieratic spelling and occurs also Pap. Louvre 3228 C. i. 17 in the proper name *Ps-šri-n-Hthr*; for the earlier period I can quote with  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  only the plural '(seven) Hathors', Pap. Harris 500, vs. 4, 3 and Bissing, *Ä.Z.* LXI. 85, 87.
21. *sšt-dt* is taken as a whole, so that only the second word is provided with the determinative of divinity. For this determinative of *dt* cf. Pap. Turin 248. 16.
22. For *nfr ir-k* one would expect *nfr ps (i)irk*, cf. Pap. Turin, P.-R. 73. ii. 4:  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ . Gardiner quotes a similar omission of the definite article before the relative form from Wenamon 2. 4-5: *i-ir psk itf . . . iw-k ir(t)fm r3-*, 'What your father has done, . . . you will do also.'
23. I am not certain about the transcription of this word. The two vertical strokes represent  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  elsewhere in this tablet. The last sign resembles somewhat the  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  of Pap. Louvre 3228 C. i. 5, 10 and still more closely the sign at the end of the proper name  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  in Pap. Turin 247. 2 and 248. 6, where perhaps  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  too could be read ('Ipi the elder'). The word in our tablet seems to be the interjection *is*, which I can quote in the spelling  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  from an unpublished papyrus of the XXIst Dyn. from el-Hibeh belonging to the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale in Cairo.
24.  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  is the abnormal-hieratic writing of *hrw* 'enemy' in the Dakleh stela (*Rec. de trav.* xxv. 195) l. 14, cf. also the Late Egyptian  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  of Pap. Brit. Mus. 10068. i. 7 (ed. Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies*).
25. From *sip* 'deliver', with determinatives of *spr*?
26.  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  is palaeographically also possible. For *sn*, however, with somewhat special meaning, cf. Berl. *Wb.* iv. 499. If *sn* is the true reading, compare  $\omega\omega\gamma\eta$  'recognize'. But it is perhaps possible that the two words *sn* and  $\omega\omega\gamma\eta$  are identical.—*m-h't* 'tomb' is already masculine, like the Coptic  $\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$  :  $\epsilon\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ .
27. The unintelligible group after  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  belongs to the word *pr*, as is shown by an identical writing in the unpublished Pap. Louvre 3228 A, i. 2 and 17. Perhaps  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  should be transcribed, a thoughtless repetition from  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , very familiar to a Theban scribe.
28. For 'n in the sense of 'already' cf. Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies*, p. 158.
29. As the word *s'* is evidently masculine, it will probably not be identical with the frequent Late Egyptian *s't* 'letter', which is feminine, but with the old  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  = *s'* 'document', which must have been revived at this late period.
30. The tense *hr sdm-f*, on which cf. Sethe in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1925, 293, and Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gr.*, § 128-32.

31. That 825 is to be read, not 815, is shown by Pap. Louvre 3228 B, which carefully distinguishes  $\text{𓂏}=\text{𓂏}$  from  $\text{𓂏}=\text{𓂏}$ ; cf. also Griffith, *Ryl.* III. 201, n. 1.
32. The sign can only indicate either a fraction or a measure, more probably the latter, as the quantity could hardly stand alone without it, except in a fixed formula. It looks like a cursive  $\text{𓂏}$ ; but *ht* itself is a measure of length, not of capacity. The measure *hrr* is ruled out, as this is constantly written  $\text{𓂏}$  in abnormal hieratic; so also our tablet vs. 2 and 5. One might suggest an abbreviation of *ipt* (= 40 hin, i.e. 18 litres), which is in Late Egyptian frequently written  $\text{𓂏}$ . A very similar sign, however, stands in the abnormal-hieratic marriage documents Pap. Louvre E 7846. 6: *p* 50  $\text{𓂏}$  *bd*; Pap. Louvre E 7849. 7: *p* 50  $\text{𓂏}$  *bd*; and several times Pap. Louvre 3228 B. If the two signs are identical, the equation with *ipt* would be impossible, as the word ought to be masculine, as is shown by the masculine article before the numeral in the Louvre papyri. Or could it be the measure later called artabe? The word artabe probably came from abroad, but it is just possible that it was assigned in Egypt to an earlier native measure (cf. Sethe in *Nachr. königl. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1916, 112-18).
33. This feminine word, which I transcribe with doubt, is perhaps the old  $\text{𓂏}$  'corn-tax'.
34. For this spelling of the name of Dendera cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I. 57. With the vulgar feminine article it gave origin to  $\text{𓂏}$ , like *Rnmwt* with vulgar article to  $\text{𓂏}$  (*Tr-Rnmwt*).
35. The determinatives of this word are in hieratic the same as those of the preceding *irit*, but  $\text{𓂏}$  seems to me quite certain. The group  $\text{𓂏}$  is amply attested in our tablet, and for the first sign cf. the form in  $\text{𓂏}$  'month', Pap. Brit. Mus. 10113, ro. 4 (ed. Reich, *Papyri jurist. Inhalts*, Pl. 1); I do not understand why Reich, loc. cit., p. 7, expressly rejects the obvious reading *ibd*; that the Demotic spelling of this word is different seems to me no objection.
36. As *nti* is never followed by *sdm·f* in Late Egyptian, the  $\text{𓂏}$  here is probably a pseudo-participle.
37.  $\text{𓂏}$  *nti·k hrw·i i šp* is clearly the construction *iw·f r sdm* with nominal subject, on which see Gardiner, *J.E.A.* XVI. 220-8 (for Demotic cf. Griffith, *Ryl.* III. 324). Gardiner has conclusively shown that *iw·f r sdm* with nominal subject gives  $\text{𓂏}$  + nominal subject + *r sdm*, which corresponds to the Coptic  $\text{𓂏}$ . On the other hand it is, I think, beyond doubt that in our tablet the  $\text{𓂏}$  before the nominal subject had the same pronunciation as the preposition  $\text{𓂏}$  (=  $\text{𓂏}$ ), namely *ē* or *ā*. Therefore the conclusion seems to me inevitable, that either the Late Egyptian  $\text{𓂏}$  indicated a pronunciation *ē*—which seems unlikely to me as well as to Gardiner (loc. cit., 228)—or that the Late Egyptian  $\text{𓂏}$ , pronounced *ēre*, became later in the Saitic period *ē* (=  $\text{𓂏}$  of our tablet, cf. the simple  $\text{𓂏}$  of Amenemope, and, for the Demotic, Griffith, *Ryl.* III. 221, n. 11), while still later in Coptic the false analogy (with the auxiliary verb *iri*) once more entered into force and this *ē* became anew *epe*—a curious but not impossible process. I will only add that our instance in the tablet of the construction with  $\text{𓂏}$  is not isolated, there being at least one more in the smaller Dakleh stela, l. 12 (*Rec. de trav.* XXV. 194-5):  $\text{𓂏}$   $\text{𓂏}$   $\text{𓂏}$   $\text{𓂏}$   $\text{𓂏}$  'His son will succeed him'. As to the verb  $\text{𓂏}$ , the group occurs in the abnormal-hieratic Pap. Vatican 10574. 2 in the feminine proper name  $\text{𓂏}$ , a formation analogous to  $\text{𓂏}$   $\text{𓂏}$   $\text{𓂏}$  *Špnwpt*. On the strength of this our verb may be the

- old  $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$  *špt* 'be angry' (*Berl. Wb.* iv. 453).<sup>2</sup> The tablet writes  $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ , which gives no sense; I suppose, therefore, that it is a scribe's error for  $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ . The two groups  $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$  and  $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$  sometimes resemble one another.
38.  $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ , which occurs once more vs. 6, is a puzzle. It can hardly belong to what precedes. In the present passage the separating dot is placed both before and after the group, but in vs. 6 the dot only precedes  $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ , thus indicating that it belongs to what follows. Moreover, at the end of the sentence *i šp n hsti hr-s* the only reasonable explanation would be to take  $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$  as the preposition *r* with omitted suffix of the 1st person sing., 'against me' (εποι); in this case, however, one would again expect the regular order of words *ir(i) hr-s*. From the position of  $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$  it rather seems that it is a particle emphasizing or anticipating the 1st person sing. of the following sentence, something similar to the  $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$  *ir* or the enclitic  $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$  *r-i* of the earlier stages of Egyptian. 'As for me' fits well into the context, but it should not be forgotten that this is expressed in Late Egyptian not by  $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$  *ir-i* but by  $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$  *ir ink*.
39. I am quite unable to explain this  $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ , unless it be an equivalent of the preposition *r*.
40.  $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$  usually represents the plural definite article ( $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ ) in abnormal hieratic. For  $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$  =  $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$  in the XXII<sup>nd</sup> Dyn., cf. Pap. Berlin 3048 vso. (ed. Möller, *Zwei Eheverträge*), lines 3 and 19, and Möller's note c on p. 6.
41. This is the more cursive form of the feminine article, cf. Pap. Louvre 2432. 4 (in *tsi-s*).
42. For *mḥ* of taxes cf. Ostr. Gardiner No. 13. 4: 'The tax (*htr*) of the Necropolis has been delivered, it is complete absolutely (*iwf mḥ m šs*), there is no arrear (*djt*) in it.'
43. Both grammar and context demand that this word, written by means of a single sign, should be a masculine substantive. The sign has the characteristic side stroke on the right, but none of the signs usually provided with this stroke seems to fit into the context. It is, therefore, a pure assumption that the sign could represent a  $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ , which has, indeed, a somewhat different form in the word  $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$  *nht* 'sycamore', Pap. Louvre 3228 A. i. 7 ( $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ ).  $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$  would then stand for  $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ , and this again would be an abbreviation of *ims* (*Berl. Wb.* i. 80), which is attested for the Graeco-Roman period in the spelling  $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ , nearly as short as that of the tablet.
44. A mere guess. To suppose a compound preposition *i-hs-i* (perhaps from an original *r-hs-r*, like  $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$  ε $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$  'in the neighbourhood of') is the only explanation I can offer of the passage.
45. *hs* 'hsti, the Coptic καρτησ : χα ρησ, followed with ε- 'rely on'.
46. The number 150 is curious, for one would expect 'for a single *hst*'. It is impossible to transcribe ε $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$  and to take this as the suffix of the 3rd person plural, for this is always written ε $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$  in abnormal hieratic, and besides, this *hs* would then have two objects.
47. *Mn dit* instead of *mn mdi(i)*, as already in Sallier, 1, 6, 9; Wenamon 1, x+23; (*nn wn di-f*) Amenemope 19. 18.
48. The word *hbs* is determined as if it were the late spelling of *hb-sd* 'sed-festival', but what could this be doing here? Is it an error or a metathesis for *hsbw* 'accounts'?
49. Our tablet distinguishes the participle *i-wn* (here only *wn* after the article, Late Egyptian
- <sup>2</sup> The group  $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$  probably originates in  $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ , both in this word and in the proper names of the form *šp-n-god*, without  $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$  (cf. Griffith, *Ryl.* III. 393, 459).

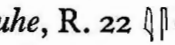
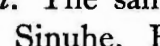
49.  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  (e, \*ne) by means of the appended  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  from the impersonal  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ ,  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$ , just as the Demotic does (Sethe, *Nachr. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1919, 145 seqq., and Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gr.*, § 238-40). For participles with auxiliary *wn* in Demotic cf. Pap. Ryl. IX. 2. 2; 5. 12-13. For *hf* or *hft* 'destroy' cf. Griffith, *Ryl.* III. 378.
50. Abnormal-hieratic instances of this proper name are: Pap. Louvre 3228 C, six times; Pap. Turin 248. 8; Pap. Cairo 30852. 1; Pap. Vatican 10574. 16.
51. Probably the classical  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  *sh* with the special meaning 'plot, intrigue', attested for the late period (*Berl. Wb.*, III. 466).
52. For *pr ki (n)* forming with infinitives *nomina actionis*, cf. examples from Neshkons quoted by Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gramm.*, § 32, and for Demotic, Griffith, *Ryl.* III. 397, and Spiegelberg, loc. cit. The *k* has a different form from elsewhere in the tablet, but cf. the old demotic forms in *štk* (𓂏𓂏𓂏) Pap. Ryl. IX. 12. 4 and in *k* 'long', ib. 5, 13.
53. The old  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  'agree'?
54.  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , which occurs once more below vs. 20 in a slightly different spelling is probably the old  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ .  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$   $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , not  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$   $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , is the true transcription of *šm*,  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$   $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  being clearly the spelling in Wenamon and Amenemope (𓂏𓂏).
55. Same form of the numeral 9, Pap. Louvre 3228 C. i. 12, 19.
56. For this symbol cf. Griffith, *Ryl.* III. 261, n. 3, and 420. The abnormal-hieratic examples are: Pap. Louvre 3228 C. i. 15, 19.
57. The first sign of the proper name might perhaps be also transcribed  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , but the next group is hardly  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , and fits  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  better, I therefore prefer  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$   $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$   $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  to  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$   $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$   $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ . The name Somtuertais is attested, e.g. *Annales du Service*, XII. 93. Of the following proper names I can only attest 'Ihsî from Lieblein, *Dict. des noms*, No. 1047, and 'I', ibid., No. 1203. The reading  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  at the end of  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$   $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$   $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$   $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  is based on the comparison of the spelling  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  (Pap. Louvre 3228 C. i. 7, 11, 14, 20; ii. 7, 12) with  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  (ibid., ii. 17) and of the title (?)  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  (Pap. Louvre 3228 E. 15, 22) with  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  (ibid. 3). From this it seems that  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  is the less cursive form of  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , which is assuredly  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ . The goddess written  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  can, in my opinion, only be Nut.
58. The group occurs again vs. 19 and 20, and is the abnormal-hieratic symbol for 'total' (cf. Pap. Louvre 3228 A. i. 16, 18; 3228 C. i. 9, 18 (twice); ii. 4. 11, 16, 21; 3228 F. 4; Pap. Turin 246. 4).
59. I am quite in doubt about the transcription. The group which here follows *pr* occurs in a proper name again Pap. Louvre E 7849, 2 (where it has been interpreted as  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  by Möller, *Zwei Eheverträge*, pp. 8 and 13, n. 5) and Pap. Cairo 30881 + 30880, l. 2, in another proper name which can reasonably be transcribed  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$   $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$   $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ . The reading  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  is very probable in view of such New Kingdom hieratic forms as Abbott 2, 11 (cf. Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* II, No. 160).
60. The reading  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  seems certain. The  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  has a slightly different form from that of  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  ro. 9 and 20;  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  is placed beneath it as in the frequent  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , and  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  is assured as determinative of *mn* 'remain' by Pap. Turin 248. 9.
61. A frequent abnormal-hieratic group which must, I think, be resolved into  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ . The New Kingdom hieratic uses three different groups for 'man' before numerals: (1)  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ ,

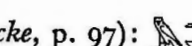


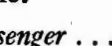
- Pap. Turin, P.-R. 108. 4; 109. 13, 16, 21, 22, 23, &c., in general less frequent than (2) , Amherst 3. 6; 4, 1; Mayer A 12. 8, 11 &c., and (3) , which is simply an abbreviation of  (Mayer A, 13 B. 3, 4, 5; Pap. Turin, P.-R., 29. 8; 34. 6, 7, 8; 35. 7, 11; 90. ii. 3, 4; 92, *passim*, &c.). Cases occur (e.g. an unpublished ostr. in Berlin) where a dot is added: , and this must be the origin of the common abnormal-hieratic form. Besides this, the abnormal hieratic has unligatured  (Pap. Turin 246. 4; Louvre 2432. 4) or  (Pap. Louvre 3228 C. i. 19). Note that, while the Late Egyptian *s* means 'man', the same word in abnormal hieratic signifies 'person', both male and female, as exemplified especially by Pap. Louvre 3228 C. i. 19: here nine men and women are summed up  'total nine persons, viz. three males, six females, total nine persons again'; similarly Pap. Turin 246. 4 and Pap. Louvre 3228 C. ii. 4, 11, 16, 21.
62. *šbt*, Coptic  $\text{ⲩⲉⲃⲓⲱ}$  :  $\text{ⲩⲉⲃⲓⲱ}$  'wages', in the abnormal hieratic attested in  $\text{ⲛⲧⲥⲃⲧⲛⲛⲧⲩⲩⲉⲃⲓⲱ}$   $\bar{\text{ⲛ}}$  Pap. Louvre E 7846. 8. Read  instead of  of the transcript plate.
63. I cannot quote any example of this proper name. *Hm* perhaps stands for *nhm*, cf. one and the same proper name Lieblein, *Dict. des noms*, Nos. 837 and 1932.
64. For this proper name cf. Lieblein, loc. cit., Nos. 1028, 1038, 1052, 1247; *Annales du Service*, xi. 186; Berlin stela 8438, l. 5.  in our tablet is certain; also Lieblein, loc. cit. 1028, has  and , which is practically identical with  throughout hieratic, is attested in the form  Pap. Louvre 3228 D. 2 (in *hrw pn*), and even as early as Abbott 1. 10 b. Cf. the form of  in  Pap. Louvre 3228 D. 3.
65. This form of 9 differs from that vs. 14, but cf. same form as here Pap. Louvre 2432. i. 12.  is smudged, but seemed to me certain in front of the original. The ligature for 'kite' occurs very often in the same form in abnormal hieratic (e.g. Pap. Louvre 3228 A, *passim*; 3228 D. 4, 18, 20; 3228 E. 4, 7, 12, 15, 18, 21; 3168. 5; Pap. Turin 246. 15, 25). The group at the end of the line must be a fraction; I am, however, unable to tell which.
66. For  'per' cf. *Berl. Wb.* II. 392, last word sub II.
67. Can *i-ir di-s br* be compared with the Coptic  $\text{ⲉⲃⲓⲱ}$  'sold', Late Egyptian  (Pap. Brit. Mus. 10054. 3. 5)?



## SOME NEW INTERPRETATIONS IN SINUHE



By A. DE BUCK

THIS article contains a few new renderings of certain passages in Sinuhe and a brief statement of the observations which have led to the proposed translations. The passages are as follows: *Sinuhe*, R. 22 . Gardiner and Erman are in agreement as to the translation of this sentence, the former translating: *Howbeit, message had been sent to the Royal Children who were with him in this army* (*Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 169), and the latter: *Es war aber (auch) an die Königskinder gesendet worden, die ihn bei diesem Heer begleitet hatten* (*Die Literatur der Aegypter*, p. 41). Both have overlooked the fact that in this case the grammatically correct preposition would be *n*, which is, in fact, the preposition used, e.g. *Sin.* R. 98 *h3b n*[*f*]; *Sin.* B. 174-5 *wn-in hm-f h3b-f n-i*. The same oversight is found in the translations of another passage of Sinuhe. B. 236  in Gardiner's rendering (p. 174): *Envoys came to this servant*. So, too, Erman (p. 52): *Man ist zu dem Diener da gekommen*. Here again the Egyptian writer would certainly have used the preposition *n* (see e.g. *Sin.* R. 156 *iw r pw ir-n-f n-i*) if he had meant to express what our translations make him say. Surely the *r* after a verb of motion cannot, when followed by a person, simply mean *to*. I propose to take *iw r* and *h3b r* in the passages quoted above as: *to come for* (i.e. in order to fetch) and *to send for*.<sup>1</sup> As this meaning is not in the *Wörterbuch*, and, judging from the above translations, is unfamiliar to students, the following list of examples may be useful.

<sup>1</sup>*Iw r*+thing. *Letter Pap.* Berlin 10014 (*Sethe, Lesestücke*, p. 97):  Behold, I have caused the sandal-maker H. to come for it (a skin mentioned before) and you must give (it) to him. A clear example.

*Cairo linen Letter to the Dead*, l. 2 ... a messenger... came for some leather. So already Gunn in his review (*J.E.A.* XVI, 150) who therefore must have known the idiom, although he does not give the reason for his translation.

*Book of the Dead*, 29 (Nu) Oh, messenger of any God ... do you (=if you) come for my heart... my heart shall not be given to you. Budge inserts  after *r*, but this is now shown to be unnecessary. The text is moreover proved to be correct by the parallel texts in the Coffins.

<sup>1</sup>*Iw r*+person. *Pyr.* 333 c, Behold W. has come, W. does not come of himself : it is a message that has come for him. This is the best possible example, for the variant T. has : it is your messages that have fetched him.

<sup>1</sup> This meaning is only a special case or further development of the ordinary sense: *concerning, about*, cf. for *iw*, the common formula in the Old Kingdom Decrees: One causes N.N. to come about it (*iw* N.N. *r-s*) and for *h3b*, Leyden V. 88: I did that about which I had been sent (*h3b-twi r-s*).



The difficulty of this interpretation lies not in the word-order here assumed. It is not unusual, on the contrary it is rather a tendency of Egyptian style, to reserve adverbial phrases till the end of the sentence and to put them after such circumstantial clauses, as will be seen from the following examples.

*Urk. IV. 5 n't m hd in hm·f (ib·f sw) m knt nht: H.M. fared downstream, his heart being glad, in valour and victory.*


*Urk. IV. 18 in·sn m's·w nfr·w (stp·w m inw) nsw: they bring fine gifts to the king, while they are loaded with tribute.*

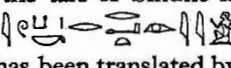
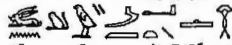
Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 77, 2 (=Louvre, C. 11) *iw·i hr hrp (ib·i sh) n ntr·i*. That *ib·i sh* is parenthetical and *ntr·i* adverbial to *hrp* is probable from op. cit. 92, 20 (=Siut, I. 271): *ir·k n·i ht, ib·k sh*.

*Sh. Sailor 161 h'·n rd·n·(i) wi hr ht·i ('wi·i hm) m·bsh·f: I threw myself on my belly in front of him, my arms being bent.* From ll. 67-8, 81-2 it seems probable that *m·bsh·f* is adverbial to the beginning of the sentence and not to *'wi·i hm* but ll. 87-8 make this uncertain.

A very good example is *Urk. IV. 894 ink š'd drt·f (iw·f 'nh) m·bsh hm·f: I cut off his trunk [?], while he was alive, in front of His Majesty.*

Thus the word-order as I take it seems to be correct, and my translation is: *as he was speaking at a distance (or: from afar) while I was near.* The sentence then explains why Sinuhe could overhear the conversation, which in these circumstances was necessarily loud, and the word-order bringing *near* and *far* close together is perhaps intentional. Certainly it must have been very attractive to the accomplished writer of our classic story.<sup>1</sup>

A slight difficulty is, however, that I cannot offer other examples of *mdw w3*, though there are such analogies as *gmh w3*, e.g. Lefebure, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres*, &c., v a (p. 32), l. 5  *my eye looking far*, cf. also *Inscr. of Amenhotep son of Hapu*, l. 9, *m3 w3* BD. 108 (=Sethe, *Sprüche*,

<sup>1</sup> I take this opportunity to draw attention to another point showing the consummate art and the perfection with which the tale of Sinuhe is composed. *Sin. B. 203-4*  has been translated by Erman (p. 51): *Dein Ka wird mich mein Leben in der Residenz beschliessen lassen*, a translation which conceals the difficulty of the *h'·i*. Gardiner gives (p. 173): *thy Ka will grant me to accomplish the ending of my body at home*, with a note stating that the phrase *ph·wi h'·i* occurs only here. As a matter of fact *h'·i* is superfluous in this expression; *ph·wi* alone being quite sufficient for the *end of life*, e.g. *Redesyeh*, C. 14; *ph·wi fi htp·w*. *Ptahhotep* (ed. Dévaud), 97, is probably another example.  *when it is the end (when the end comes) M't is enduring.* This may mean simply that Right wins in the long run, but the

more probable meaning is *M't endures even after death.* This thought is also found *Eloquent Peasant*, B1, 307, *But M't shall be unto eternity. She goes down into the necropolis with him who does M't.*

Nor is *ph·wi h'* an affectation peculiar to Sinuhe for simple *ph·wi*, for *Sin. B. 161* uses the simple *ph·wi*: *may he do the like again, so as to ennoble the end of (or: for? r smuh ph·wi n) him whom he had abased.* The full force and appropriateness of *h'* is realized if we compare Sinuhe's words B. 158: *Perhaps you will grant me to see the place where my heart always dwells (wrš)* and the warning of the pharaoh B. 199: *Think of thy corpse.* Surely the thought that he will meet his end at home, not only with his heart (as always) but with his body as well, must be a great comfort to Sinuhe. Translate therefore: *Your Ka will grant me to meet my end, my body being at home.*



## OBSOLESCENCE OF THE IMPERATIVE MOOD IN EGYPTIAN

By WILLIAM F. EDGERTON

ALL verbs in Old and Middle Egyptian seem to have had the capacity to form an imperative mood; but this mood, like all others except the infinitive and qualitative, had practically disappeared from living speech before the third century after Christ, being replaced by the infinitive. Till lists true imperatives from only twelve Coptic verbs,<sup>1</sup> while Sethe admits only half of these, regarding the others as secondary formations derived from the infinitive.<sup>2</sup> The present study aims to re-examine the history of this change.

The well-known inadequacy of hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic writing makes the task difficult: a majority of the examples which are or may be explained as imperatives are without any outward sign to distinguish them from infinitives. The minority are distinguishable by criteria which vary for Old, Middle, and Late Egyptian, and for the different stages of demotic; since these criteria, generally speaking, are well known and can be found in the standard grammars, I shall mention them only where they seem to require discussion.

The grammatical analysis of Old Egyptian texts has revealed a considerable number of certain imperatives, and no certain examples of the infinitive in imperative use.

Already in the Old Kingdom (but apparently confined to the remarks of butchers, and therefore perhaps a vulgarism in this period) are found the first traces of a periphrasis in which the imperative of *iry* 'to do' is followed by the infinitive of the main verb: *ir n(=y) r-k ndr-t*, 'Do hold (it) for me!'<sup>3</sup> *Ndry*, the verb here periphrased, is IV inf.; it is just possible that the tendency to substitute periphrases for the proper forms of verbs having more than three radicals may have begun, in vulgar speech, as early as the Old Kingdom, and the occurrence of the true IV inf. imperative *msd(y)*, 'abhor!', in the *Instruction for Kagemni*<sup>4</sup> might be explained as a literary archaism. However, this periphrasis may be a mere trick of style.<sup>5</sup>

The situation is approximately the same in Middle Egyptian, except that we no longer have the prothetic  $\text{Q}$  to guide us.<sup>6</sup> The periphrasis with *iry* is





<sup>1</sup> *Achmimisch-Koptische Grammatik*, p. 135; the number includes the conjunction  $\Delta\Upsilon\omega$ , 'and', literally 'add!'.  
<sup>2</sup> Sethe, *Verbum*, II, §§ 507-13.  
<sup>3</sup> Erman, *Reden*, p. 11; another Old Kingdom example, using the same verb *ndry*, Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 497. The true imperative, *ndr(y)*, is much more frequent.  
<sup>4</sup> *Pap. Prisse* I. 4, cited by Gardiner, *Gr.*, § 336. The infinitive of *msdy* seems not to have been found in Old or Middle Egyptian, but would

probably have been masculine (*Verbum*, II, § 689); nevertheless I prefer to regard the above example as a true imperative.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 497.

<sup>6</sup> The very rare use of the dependent pronoun as object of the infinitive in this period (Gardiner, *Gr.*, § 301) does not constitute a serious difficulty for our purpose. In fact, as Gardiner justly points out (*ibid.*, Obs. 1), the reality of this usage in Middle Egyptian has not been quite certainly established. There is better evidence








represented by *ir n=k iwt r Km.t*, 'do return to Egypt!' (*Sinuhe*, B 188), and by *ir wsh-tp m X*, 'do multiply X', which occurs twice in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus for the somewhat commoner *wsh-tp m X*. Again we have to do with verb-classes which tend toward periphrasis in other moods also.<sup>1</sup>

In Late Egyptian the prothetic sign reappears as  in the imperatives of 2-rad. verbs, including  'bring!' and  'do!' when these are immediately followed by the pronominal object.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the dependent pronoun cannot, in this period, be certainly distinguished from the suffix except in the 2. s. and 3. m. s.<sup>3</sup> Sethe found one imperative of a verb caus. 3-rad., *smnh sw*, 'make him glorious!' where the dependent pronoun *sw* excludes the infinitive,<sup>4</sup> and a number of examples (which could now, of course, be increased) from verbs of three radicals or less made certain in the same way. On the other hand, perfectly certain examples of the infinitive in imperative use seem as difficult to find in this as in earlier periods. Of examples which have been alleged, *shk=f* (*Pap. Harris*, 42, 4, cited by Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 494) is probably a final *sdm=f*, 'that he may rule',<sup>5</sup> while *swd=y* 'prosper me!', *mtr=y* 'teach me!', and *in=y*, *int=y* 'bring me!' (Sethe, loc. cit.; Gardiner, *Literary texts*, I, p. 42\*, n. 12) are questionable since their  may, after all, be the dependent pronoun.<sup>6</sup> In addition, we have to set the admitted Coptic imperatives  $\alpha\eta\iota\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\alpha\eta\iota\tau\epsilon\iota$ , &c. against the supposed infinitives *in-*, *int-*: a change from imperative to infinitive and back again to imperative in this very common verb seems improbable.<sup>7</sup>

for a similar use of the 3. m. s. pronoun *sw* as object of the infinitive in a much later period: see Griffith, *Ryl.* III, p. 231, n. 10, and Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gr.*, § 255.






<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 485.

<sup>2</sup> *Verbum*, II, §§ 514, 516. The same spelling may also be followed by nominal object, ex. *Wenamón*, II, 11, or be without object, ex. *Wenamón*, II, 49.

<sup>3</sup> Dep. pron. 1. s. (old ) written as if it were the suffix: see Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant . . . Romé-Roÿ et Amenhotep*, p. 11. I have noted three examples in the inscriptions of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. A possible hieratic example is    'Let me be!' *P. Brit. Mus.* 10052, 1. 13-14 (Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies*, Pl. xxv and p. 143); the same text repeats this phrase without the pronoun more than ten times, and it is possible that  in this isolated example should be deleted. [The early XIIth-Dynasty stela B.M. 828, (*Hieroglyphic Texts*, Part II, Pl. xx1) seems to write this pronoun indifferently  or , and uses the masculine for the neuter as in Late Egyptian.]

<sup>4</sup> *Verbum*, II, § 494. The forms *swš sw*, 'praise him!' and *smtr st*, 'examine them!', *ibid.*, § 534, are capable of more than one explanation, for *swš* may have become 3-rad. by loss of *s*, and *st* may stand as object of the infinitive.

<sup>5</sup> So translated by Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, § 304.

<sup>6</sup> See above, n. 3. I must admit that all certain examples known to me of  or the like as dependent pronoun come from hieroglyphic texts, whereas the above imperatives are hieratic. Many readers may attach importance to the form   'save me!' which immediately precedes our  'prosper me!' The meaningless  found so often at the end of many Late Egyptian verbs seems to be unusual after *šd*, and ought not to follow the determinative in any case.

<sup>7</sup> In the XXIst-Dynasty letter, *Ä.Z.* LIII (1917), 6, lines 8 and 11, I should translate *rwyt nb* 'All the people have departed', and *rwyt=w* 'They have departed', making *rwyt* in both cases *sdm=f*, not imperative; since *rwyt* had, at least in Late Egyptian, not more than three radicals, it would be very difficult to explain the

The periphrasis with *iry* continued in use; I know of only one clear example: *ir n=k gr*, 'Do be silent!', *Pap. Bologna* 1094, II, 7 (cited *Verbum*, II, § 497; XIXth Dynasty). A less clear case is  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒} \text{ n } \text{𓂓} \text{ itn iw=f wbn}$ , 'Do thou pray to the Aten when he rises!' (*Amenemope*, 10. 12). As the text stands, *tw=k* can only be the dependent pronoun 2. m. s.<sup>1</sup> and *i-ir* therefore imperative; but we should perhaps follow Lange in deleting *tw* so as to obtain the optative *i-ir=k sdm*, a construction which Amenemope uses several times.

We now approach the very perplexing demotic evidence, without having found a single certain example of the infinitive in imperative use in Old, Middle, or Late Egyptian. If we ignore the Roman period, the demotic data which require discussion may be arranged practically in three classes. As will presently appear, I believe that the first two classes are really one and the same.

1. Admitted imperatives, corresponding to the small group of admitted Coptic imperatives  $\alpha\pi\iota-$ ,  $\alpha\pi\iota$ ,  $\alpha\alpha\sigma\gamma$ ,  $\alpha\sigma\iota$  and  $\alpha\gamma-$  with their dialectic or inflectional variants (Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gr.*, § 216). Most of these begin with such signs as  $\text{𓂏}$ ,  $\text{𓂐}$ ,  $\text{𓂑}$ , or  $\text{𓂒}$  corresponding to Old Egyptian prothetic  $\text{𓂏}$  and Late Egyptian prothetic  $\text{𓂏}$  and to the initial  $\alpha$  of the Coptic derivatives. The verbs represented have, in demotic, fewer than three radical consonants.

2. The demotic ancestors of  $\alpha\sigma\gamma\omega\pi$ ,  $\alpha\gamma\omega$ ,  $\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma$ ,  $\alpha\chi\iota-$  (&c.) and  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon$  (Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gr.*, §§ 214-15).<sup>2</sup> These also represent verbs which had, in demotic, fewer than three radical consonants, and begin with the same<sup>3</sup> prothetic signs found in class 1. All of them correspond to Late Egyptian imperatives with prothetic  $\text{𓂏}$  (*Verbum*, II, §§ 514, 517). I cannot doubt that these, like the preceding class, are true imperatives.

3. Plural imperatives showing the plural ending *w*, which would hardly be used in the infinitive. Examples seem to be extremely rare: Spiegelberg cited

substitution of its infinitive for the imperative in this period, as would be required in line 11 if the meaning were imperative. Note the true imperative of *rwy* in *Wenamou*, I. x+9.

<sup>1</sup> See Griffith, *J.E.A.* XII (1926), 200, n. 4, and 223, n. 1; Spiegelberg, *Ä.Z.* LIII (1917), 127.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot deal with the history of  $\alpha\lambda\sigma\kappa$ ; specifically, the demotic form which Spiegelberg (loc. cit.) cites from *I. Kh.* 5. 6, with its two apparent *k*'s, leaves me hopelessly in the dark. See further *Ä.Z.* LIII (1917), 127; the derivation of  $\kappa$  from *tw=k* may, of course, be supported by the analogy of the First Present, but still seems rather startling. See further *a-l=k*, *Mag.* 2. 4, with the note of Griffith and Thompson; also Griffith in *P.S.B.A.* XVIII (1896), 105, a reference which I owe to Spiegelberg.

<sup>3</sup> Spiegelberg's effort (*Dem. Gr.*, § 214) to show, from the idiosyncrasies of *Ryl. IX*, that the prothetic  $\text{𓂏}$  of this class represented  $\text{𓂏}$ , a

different group from the  $\text{𓂏}$  of class 1, seems to me entirely unconvincing. *Ryl. IX* does not always distinguish between  $\text{𓂏}$  and  $\text{𓂏}$ ; for example, *iw=f* (*eq*) is regularly written with  $\text{𓂏}$  (*passim*), and the same group occurs at least once for *iw* before noun subject (2. 4,  $\text{𓂏} \text{ y nt iw } \text{𓂏} \text{ X n-im=f}$ , 'the house wherein the X is'; the same idiom with  $\text{𓂏}$  19. 19,  $\text{𓂏} \text{ rmt nt iw P. r } \text{𓂏} \text{ dd my mh=w n-im=w}$ , 'the people of whom P. shall say "Let them be seized!"'). Similarly, *nt iw=tn* is written with  $\text{𓂏}$  in 12. 4, but with  $\text{𓂏}$  in 13. 7, 8. The admitted imperative of *iry*, 'bring', whose prothetic group is acknowledged to be historically derived from  $\text{𓂏}$ , is written with  $\text{𓂏}$  in 19. 18, with  $\text{𓂏}$  alone in 5. 3, 5. 5 and 19. 19, and  $\text{𓂏}$  in 17. 7; even if it could be shown that the scribe of *Ryl. IX* supposed himself to be writing  $\alpha\pi\iota-$  with  $\text{𓂏}$  and not with  $\text{𓂏}$ , that very fact would destroy the value of his testimony on the present question.



one from *Ryl. IX* in his *Dem. Gr.*, § 213, and I owe one of Ptolemaic date to his manuscript dictionary: *w·w* 'pay' (?), *Pap. Cairo* 31225, 8.<sup>1</sup>

I have not found any other demotic forms of Ptolemaic date or earlier which seem to me to illuminate the matter. Such a form as *tryty*, 'take me!', which Spiegelberg cited from *Ryl. IX*, 9. 14, (*Dem. Gr.*, § 213) may be, as Spiegelberg thought, the infinitive with suffix, *tryty(=y)*, but it may just as easily be the true imperative with the object pronoun *ty*, *try ty*; this object pronoun is written in exactly the same way in *try=f ty*, 'he took me' (*ibid.* 20. 6) and *rk(=y) ty*, 'that I may bind myself' (*ibid.* 12. 16).

We do not know whether other verbs than those of classes 1 and 2 above used the true imperative in demotic as in earlier Egyptian, or substituted the infinitive for it as in Coptic. To settle the question, we should need examples from verbs having masculine infinitives, followed by pronouns of the first or second person,<sup>2</sup> and it would seem that no such examples have been found as yet. Such evidence as we have tends somewhat, I think, to show that the true imperative was used.

We reach the end of the Ptolemaic period in demotic still looking in vain for any certain example of the infinitive in imperative use, but with a greatly reduced number of certain imperatives and a correspondingly increased percentage of doubtful forms. The certain imperatives include only those listed above, and the ancestors of *ⲉⲁⲁ-*, *ⲉⲁⲁⲩⲉ*, and *ⲁⲛⲛⲉⲣ-* (*Dem. Gr.*, §§ 216a-219).

So far as my knowledge goes, it is in demotic texts of the Roman period that we find the earliest *certain* examples of the infinitive in imperative use. The vetitive *tm*, regularly used in *Pap. Insinger*<sup>3</sup> instead of the customary *m-ir*, does not admit of any other explanation; nor does *hwyt-f*, 'cast it!' (*Mag.*, verso 13. 1) since the imperative of *hw* did not contain *t*. Combining these phenomena with the Coptic evidence, it seems reasonably certain that such forms as *kš-f*, 'Pour it!' (*Mag.* 9. 30). *bk=f*, 'employ it!', (*ibid.*, verso 13. 1) are infinitives. Taken by themselves, *kš=f* and *bk=f* would not be decisive, since the Magical Papyrus sometimes uses the suffix pronoun even as object of *sdm=f*.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, at least one verb of three strong radicals preserved its imperative even in this period: *twn tk*, 'arise!' (*II. Kh.* 3. 17; *Mag.* 20. 4). It may be objected that an expression meaning 'arise' may easily become crystallized in an archaic form.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I cannot share Spiegelberg's view (*Dem. Gr.*, § 213) that absence of this plural ending is evidence for the presence of the infinitive. In Late Egyptian plural imperatives the plural strokes were more often absent than present (*Verbum*, II, § 503); in *Ryl. IX*, 17. 7 the sign is absent from the admitted plural imperative *iny*, 'bring!'

<sup>2</sup> So far as I know, the third person plural object pronoun *st* has not yet been found as object of the infinitive in demotic, and I therefore regard such examples as *sk st* 'gather them!', *Ryl. IX*, 12. 15 provisionally as true imperatives,

as Griffith did in his edition, p. 389. But the use of *st* as object of the infinitive in earlier Egyptian, and the similar use of the third person masculine singular pronoun *s* in demotic (ex., *Ἀμυρταῖος*; cf. *Dem. Gr.*, § 255, where a somewhat different view is taken) make this ground very uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> *Dem. Gr.*, § 478. Spiegelberg kindly assured me in answer to a question in the autumn of 1930 that he had no example of vetitive *tm* except from *Pap. Insinger*.

<sup>4</sup> *Dem. Gr.*, § 255.

<sup>5</sup> *ʿr·r·tw·tn* (*Myth. Gl.*, No. 113) is too un-

As for the Coptic forms, let us assume at the outset that  $\alpha\mu\iota$ -,  $\alpha\rho\iota$ -,  $\alpha\lambda\iota$ -,  $\alpha\gamma$ -,  $\alpha\alpha\sigma\iota$ ,  $\alpha\alpha\sigma\gamma$ , and  $\alpha\alpha\sigma$ , with their inflectional or dialectic variants, are true imperatives,<sup>1</sup> and that all other Coptic forms of imperative meaning, except  $\alpha\lambda\sigma\kappa$ ,  $\alpha\sigma\gamma\omega\kappa$ ,  $\alpha\eta\alpha\gamma$ ,  $\alpha\gamma\omega$ ,  $\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\epsilon$ ,  $\alpha\chi\omega\zeta\alpha\epsilon$ ,  $\alpha\lambda\sigma\eta\iota$ ,  $\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon$ , and  $\alpha\chi\omega$  with their variants, are secondary forms derived from the infinitive.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of  $\alpha\chi\omega$ , we have a fairly continuous series of forms to carry us from Late Egyptian  $\text{𓆎𓆏𓆑}$  through Persian, Ptolemaic, and Roman demotic to the Magical Papyrus, where demotic symbols derivable from the hieroglyphs \* $\text{𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓}$  or the like, are equated with the Old Coptic gloss  $\epsilon\lambda\tau\epsilon$ ;<sup>3</sup> it will hardly be questioned that this Old Coptic gloss represents the same series of sounds as Akhmimic  $\epsilon\chi\iota\epsilon$ ; and even if neither the Old Coptic gloss nor A.  $\epsilon\chi\iota\epsilon$  had survived, the resemblance of the demotic form to S.  $\alpha\chi\iota\epsilon$  (and even to B.  $\alpha\chi\sigma\epsilon\gamma$ ) would have been striking enough. We have, then, an exceedingly strong *prima facie* case for the direct derivation of Coptic  $\alpha\chi\iota$  and its variants from Late Egyptian  $\text{𓆎𓆏𓆑}$ .<sup>4</sup>

Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 507, dismissed this obvious derivation as impossible on the ground that the vowel which followed the prothetic  $\text{𓆎}$  or  $\text{𓆎𓆏}$  'was not *a*, but *ē*': in proof of this latter statement he referred to his dissertation, *De Aleph prosthetico*, § 23, where it is shown that Late Egyptian prothetic  $\text{𓆎}$  alternates, in writing, with  $\text{𓆏}$ , that is, with the construct state of the preposition *r*.

Now, the evidence for the pronunciation of the construct state of the preposition *r* in the XIXth and XXth Dynasties seems to consist at present (1931) of the following elements:

(a) The Coptic construct forms  $\epsilon$ - (SBF) and  $\alpha$ - (A), with the corresponding pronominal forms  $\epsilon\rho\sigma$  (SB),  $\alpha\rho\alpha$  (A),  $\alpha\lambda\alpha$  (F) and  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha$  (F).<sup>5</sup>

(b) The Assyrian transcription *-arau* for the preposition plus suffix *w*, in the personal name *Ni-ih-ti-e-ša-ra-u*, Egyptian *Nht-s(·t)-ir-w*, 'Isis is mighty against them'.<sup>6</sup>

When Sethe wrote, the Assyrian *Nihtesarau* had not been published and Akhmimic and Fayumic had received little attention. It seems conservative to say that the evidence now no longer gives us reason for believing that the

certain: the construction may, after all, be *tw=tn* (*n*) *ny hrt-w*, 'you are my children', for the preposition *n* between two other *n*'s may be omitted in any manuscript. The ancestors of  $\kappa\alpha\alpha\tau$  and  $\overline{\epsilon\rho\tau\kappa\gamma\tau\pi}$ , cited as imperatives, *ibid.*, No. 899, also seem to me to be explicable as infinitives, and it would seem that Spiegelberg must have reached this conclusion before publishing the *Demotische Grammatik*.

<sup>1</sup> *Verbum*, II, §§ 509-13.


<sup>2</sup> Another true imperative is, of course, included in  $\overline{\alpha\alpha\pi\epsilon}$ , which requires no discussion here.

<sup>3</sup> See the list of demotic forms in *Dem. Gr.* § 215. 5; the reference there to *Ä.Z.* XLVII. 125 should read XLVI. 125.—I have dealt above with the claim that *Ryl. IX* uses  $\text{𓆎}$  and not  $\text{𓆎𓆏}$  in this word.



<sup>4</sup> I am, therefore, in complete agreement with Erman, *Gr.*<sup>4</sup> (1928), § 381, and Till, *Achmimisch-Koptische Grammatik*, p. 135, who state that the  $\alpha$ - of  $\alpha\chi\iota$  and related forms is derived from Late Egyptian  $\text{𓆎𓆏}$ , and that the forms in question are true imperatives.

<sup>5</sup> Till, *A.-K. Gr.*, § 152.


<sup>6</sup> Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material*, p. 31

construct state of the preposition *r* in the XIXth and XXth Dynasties was *e* rather than *a*. I wish expressly to state my belief that the phonetic argument alone, if pushed to the limits of our present knowledge, would *not* result in a clear refutation of Sethe's view.<sup>1</sup> Considered *in vacuo*, Sethe's interpretation of the phonetic evidence would remain possible, or even highly probable. But we are no longer able to consider it *in vacuo*; and it would need to be more than possible if it were to stand against the clear and unambiguous historical series of writings connecting  with  $\alpha\alpha\tau$ .<sup>2</sup>

The history of  $\alpha\eta\alpha\gamma$  is only a little less complete than that of  $\alpha\alpha\tau$ . In the case of  $\alpha\sigma\gamma\omega\kappa$ , there is a gap extending from Late Egyptian (*Pap. d'Orbiney, Verbum*, II, § 514) to Roman demotic (*II. Kh., Mag., Dem. Gr.* § 215) but the distinction between the imperative (with the prothetic element) and the infinitive (without it) is almost never violated in demotic, even in the Magical Papyrus: Griffith and Thompson in their Glossary to the Magical Papyrus have given references to some two dozen occurrences of the imperative of this verb, all having the prothetic element,<sup>3</sup> as against a still larger number of infinitives, *sdm=f*-forms, and qualitatives, practically none of which have it.<sup>4</sup> In Coptic, confusion grows common: SB.  $\alpha\sigma\gamma\omega\kappa$  is sometimes imperative, sometimes infinitive,<sup>5</sup> while A.  $\epsilon\sigma\gamma\epsilon\eta$  is perhaps always infinitive.<sup>6</sup> I see no reason to doubt that an old imperative has here come to be used as an infinitive.  $\alpha\gamma\omega$  also appears to me to be an old imperative; the evidence is of the same kind, though less plentiful.<sup>7</sup>

$\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$  presents difficulties. *Ryl. IX* distinguishes correctly between the infinitive and *sdm=f* (both without *t*) on the one hand, and on the other, the imperative *s.mh.t* ( $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ) which represents the Late Egyptian imperative + dependent pronoun, , , &c.<sup>8</sup> Ptolemaic and Roman demotic show a strong tendency to substitute the qualitative *mh.t* for the infinitive.<sup>9</sup> If

<sup>1</sup> It would be possible to argue that the Akhmimic imperatives of this class originally began with *e* (cf.  $\epsilon\alpha\tau$ ,  $\epsilon\eta\sigma$  [?]) and that such forms as  $\alpha\alpha\tau$ , in Akhmimic, are secondary; these forms in *e* would then contrast with A.  $\alpha$ -,  $\alpha\eta\alpha$ -,  $\eta\alpha\eta\epsilon\gamma$  just as S.  $\alpha\alpha\tau$  contrasts with S.  $\epsilon$ -,  $\epsilon\eta\sigma$ -,  $\eta\alpha\eta\epsilon\gamma$ , and we should end precisely where we began.

<sup>2</sup> One possibility is that the use of  $\leftarrow$  for , and vice versa, may be purely consonantal in its phonetic implications: the Late Egyptian scribes may possibly not have intended to write any vowel at all in this case, but merely a *hamza* or the like.


<sup>3</sup> '5/27. 28' should be transferred from the imperative to the general list; '14/1-6' should read '14/1-4', and 14/5-6 should be added to the general list.

<sup>4</sup> The one exception is 14. 5, where the prothetic sign appears in front of the infinitive.

<sup>5</sup> Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 169.

<sup>6</sup> This seems to be implied by Till's silence, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

<sup>7</sup> *Dem. Gr.*, § 55.

<sup>8</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Recueil de travaux*, xxviii (1906), 205. The quotation from the Karnak inscription of Merneptah, line 29, probably does not contain  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$ : the signs in question (collated with a photograph) are , as given by de Rougé, and this group ( $\epsilon\gamma$ ) is needed for the beginning of the next sentence (rightly so taken in *B.A.R.*, III, § 582). Other examples of  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$  as imperative in Late Egyptian are *Amenemope*, 7. 9; 27. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Examples: *I. Kh.* 4. 23; *P. Berlin* 3115, C, c. 8 (Pl. XL; late Ptolemaic); *Totb.* ed. Lexa, 114; *Rhind* (ed. Möller), 159; *Petub.* 160; *Mag.* 395; see also the demotic equivalent of the date-formula  $\tau\eta\varsigma$  Καίσαρος κρατήσεως discussed by Reich,

we had only S.  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$  and A.  $\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$ , we should attribute the predominance of the imperative over the infinitive to some confusion with the qualitative; but B.  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  and F.  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ , which certainly do not appear to be either the infinitive or the qualitative and may perhaps be imperative in origin, warn us against overstressing the influence of the qualitative.

That the final  $-\tau\epsilon$  of  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$ , &c. is the old dependent pronoun seems to me, as to Till,<sup>1</sup> the only probable hypothesis; Sethe surely leans too far in the other direction when this view appears to him 'entirely impossible'.<sup>2</sup> I do not see how Sethe would reconcile his belief that *tw* appears after Middle Egyptian imperatives 'only where a reflexive interpretation of the *tw* is within the limits of possibility', with such examples as *sdm ir=f tn*, 'hear ye!' (*Urk.* IV. 367, 13) or *wd' tw ds=k*, 'judge thou thyself!' (*Peasant*, B. 2, 133; both of these are drawn from Gardiner, *Gr.*, § 337); nor do I know on what evidence it can be stated that 'the pronoun *tw*, already in Late Egyptian, was certainly pronounced only *t* with no following vowel'. It seems strange to me, as to Sethe, that the imperatives of precisely these verbs, and no others, should have displaced the infinitives; but if the evidence points (as I think it does) in that direction, our preconceptions cannot be allowed to stand in the way.—Whether the verbs  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$ , and  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$  are really old imperatives, or whether the  $-\tau\epsilon$  has been secondarily transferred to them from the imperative  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$ , is a question which I should prefer to leave open. Sethe's own view, that the  $-\tau\epsilon$  of all these forms, including  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$ , goes back to the adverb  $\frac{\alpha}{\alpha}$ , 'there', certainly deserves consideration if any historical evidence can be found to support it; up to the present time I have not seen any.

In  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  and  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  the  $\alpha$ , if derived from the prothetic vowel of the old imperative, must be secondary, since both verbs belong to classes which did not originally have it. Examples of such transference of the prothetic vowel to 3 rad. and other verbs which did not originally have it are occasionally met with in Late Egyptian texts;<sup>3</sup> the existence of the Old Coptic relative form  $\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  suggests that this phenomenon really occurred in speech, in some cases, and was not always a mere scribal error. If  $\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  is a genuine relative form,  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  and  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  may well be genuine imperatives.<sup>4</sup>

The etymology of  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  remains quite unknown to me; for  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ , see above p. 63, n. 2.

*Sphinx*, XIV (1910-11), 26. I owe these references to Spiegelberg's MS. dictionary.

<sup>1</sup> *W.Z.K.M.* XXXIII (1926), 125-30; *A.-K. Gr.*, § 44, B. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Z.* LXIV (1929), 68.

<sup>3</sup> e.g.,  $\frac{\alpha}{\alpha}$   $\frac{\alpha}{\alpha}$   $\frac{\alpha}{\alpha}$ , 'Stand!' *P. Mag. Harris*, 6. 8;  $\frac{\alpha}{\alpha}$   $\frac{\alpha}{\alpha}$   $\frac{\alpha}{\alpha}$ , 'Look!' *P. Lansing*, 4. 2.

<sup>4</sup> On  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  see also *Ryl.* III, p. 328. Sethe, *Bürgerschaftsurk.*, p. 110, holds that the  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  to

which  $\epsilon$  was secondarily prefixed in this relative expression, was the ordinary *sdm=f* as in  $\tau\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ —and not the relative form. This may be so; but another possibility is that the second  $\epsilon$  of  $\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  may be a secondary intrusion into an earlier relative form  $*\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ , corresponding to the  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  of *Mag.*, verso, 16. 3. The change from  $*\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  to  $\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  might be due to the analogy of  $\tau\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ .


*Conclusion.* The result of these brief paragraphs is mainly negative: we know less about the obsolescence of the Egyptian imperative than we thought we did. It may be true, as has long been believed, that the process began in the New Kingdom, or possibly even earlier; but our earliest clear evidence dates from the Roman period. Even in the Magical Papyrus it had not gone quite as far as in Coptic; and in Coptic it had not gone quite as far as has sometimes been believed, for  $\alpha\sigma\gamma\omega\eta$ ,  $\alpha\eta\alpha\gamma$ ,  $\alpha\gamma\omega$ ,  $\alpha\alpha\omega$  and  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon$  are probably true imperatives.

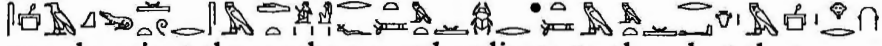



In Coptic the almost complete disappearance of imperatives had a curious result: some true imperatives ceased to be felt as such, and came to serve also as infinitives. I think this is certainly true of  $\alpha\sigma\gamma\omega\eta$  and  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon$ .

SOME NOTES ON 'THE TEACHING OF AMENEMMES I  
TO HIS SON'

By R. O. FAULKNER




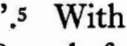
THE present volume affords an appropriate occasion for giving renewed attention to a document which is closely associated with the name of Professor Griffith, and the opportunity is therefore taken to offer a few suggestions with regard to the interpretation of 'The Teaching of Amenemmes I'. The two principal sources for the text are the *Millingen Papyrus* and the *Papyrus Sallier II*, the many other parallel versions<sup>1</sup> giving very few readings essentially different from those of the two main texts. The most important published translations are those of Griffith in *Ä.Z.*, 34, 35 ff. and of Erman in *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, 106 ff., these being referred to in the following notes by the names of their authors.


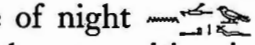
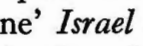
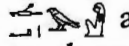
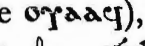
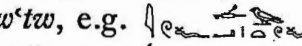
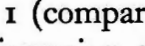
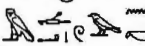

*Mill.*, I, 2-3. 'Hearken to what I shall say to thee, that thou mayest be king over the land, that thou mayest govern territories',  lit. 'that thou mayest make excess of good'. Both Griffith 'that thou mayest do excess in excellence' and Erman 'damit du Gutes tuest über (das Erwartete) hinaus' appear to regard this passage as referring to the benefits to be conferred by the new king Sesostrius on his subjects, perhaps unconsciously influenced by the modern idea that the primary duty of a king is to consider the welfare of his people. But the whole trend of this document is that the king is not to be too considerate of others, since there is no gratitude among men, and points to the 'excess of good' being for the benefit of the king himself; such a view also accords better with the preceding clauses. It is therefore suggested that the true sense of this passage is 'that thou mayest achieve abundance of good fortune'.

*Mill.*, I, 3-4.  'Be on thy guard against those who are subordinate to thee, lest that come to pass to whose terrors no thought has been given'; the thought is that undue confidence in underlings may bring unforeseen disaster. This translation rests upon the emendation of  into  proposed by Gardiner, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 24, 353. Previous translators have regarded  before *hpr* as the Old Perfective 3rd fem. sing. of *tm* in its sense of 'complete', 'all', referring to *smdt*, aided doubtless by the fact that in *Sall. II* the versepoint follows *tmt* instead of *hpr* as in *Mill.*, and such has hitherto been my own view, but Dr. Gardiner points out that a better sense is obtained if *tmt* be emended into *tm* and regarded as the *sdm:f* form of the negative verb negating *hpr* in the sense of

<sup>1</sup> Altogether there are twenty-nine of these, largely on ostraca, containing extracts of various lengths, in addition to *Mill.* and *Sall. II*. In this connexion I must express my gratitude to Dr. A. H. Gardiner for generously giving me per-

mission to use his copies of the Petrie and Leipzig Ostraca and for the loan of photographs of the Brooklyn writing-boards. I am also indebted to him for a number of suggestions with regard to the present article.

'that . . . may not happen'; *Mill.* is an XVIIIth Dynasty manuscript, and is therefore on the border-line of the period when no faith can be put in the presence of final *t*.<sup>1</sup> If this view be correct, the versepoint after *hpr* in *Mill.* and after *tmt* in *Sall. II* should really be placed after .<sup>2</sup> Erman does not translate the words following *smdt*; Griffith's rendering, 'Let one be armoured against his subordinates as a whole—it happens that mankind turn their heart to him who inspires them with fear', cannot now be defended. His rendering of *s:k* as 'be armoured' presumably rests on the determinative, the hide of a crocodile being an efficient armour, but we now know that this verb means 'gather together', here apparently in the sense of 'girding oneself up' against one's fellows,<sup>3</sup> i.e. being on one's guard. Further, *s:k* is more probably imperative with reflexive object than impersonal *sdm·tw*; the former serves well to introduce the series of negative imperatives which follow, and the construction with reflexive object is not uncommon.<sup>4</sup> The continuation 'it happens that mankind turn their heart to him who inspires them with fear' is based on the reading  after *hpr* in *Sall. II*, which is, however, probably but a corrupt writing of the perf. pass. participle  of the negative verb *tm* as found in *Mill.*, while *rdi ib m-s* means not 'turn the heart to' but 'worry', 'be anxious about', 'take thought for'.<sup>5</sup> With  as a writing of *hryt* 'terror' compare *Sinuhe*, B. 124, 231, 278, and cf. Gardiner, *Notes on . . . Sinuhe*, 48.

*Mill.* 1, 4.  'draw not nigh to them in thy loneliness'. For *m w·kwi* clearly one should emend *m w·k*; the writing with *-kwi* is either corrupt or else is a very early example of the common Late-Egyptian method of writing the suffix 2nd masc. sing. With the expression *m w·k* 'in thy loneliness' compare 'the wretched fallen prince of Libya fled by grace of night  alone' *Israel Stela* 6 and Sa'idic . In some texts the preposition is omitted, as in 'He found me sitting  alone' (for *m w·i*) *d'Orbiney*, 5, 1 (compare ), and there is also an alternative construction with the noun *w·tw*, e.g.  *iwf* (*m*) *w·twf* 'he was alone' *Pap. Chester Beatty I*, recto 4, 1 (compare ).<sup>6</sup> Erman renders this expression in the passage under discussion as a negative imperative 'und sei nicht allein', but this is a direct contradiction of the preceding passages, the whole point of which is that the new king *is* to stand aloof. Erman's rendering is perhaps based on the reading  var. <sup>7</sup> of the parallel versions, which might be regarded as a negative imperative with reflexive dative,<sup>8</sup> but it is certain that

<sup>1</sup> A similar writing of the *sdm·f* form of *tm* occurs *d'Orbiney*, 10, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Another instance of a misplaced versepoint in *Mill.* is at *nd·r*, 2, 1.

<sup>3</sup> For *s:k* in the sense of girding oneself for action see *Ä.Z.*, 60, 66.


<sup>4</sup> Examples *Ä.Z.* 60, 66; *Pap. Anast. I*, 1, 5; de Rougé, *Inscr. hiér.* 25, 9.



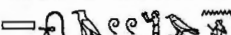
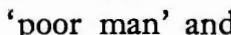


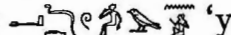
<sup>5</sup> e.g. *Pap. Kahun*, 27, 9; *Urk.* IV, 655, 4.



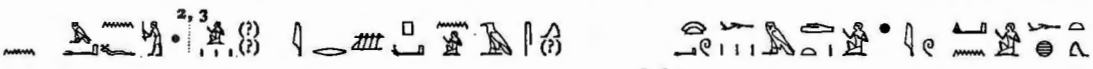
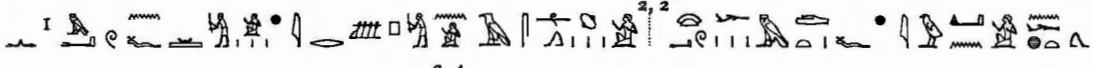

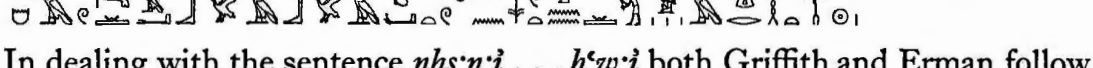
<sup>6</sup> I owe these two instances to Dr. Gardiner.

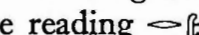
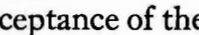

<sup>7</sup> *Sall. II*, 1, 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Sall. I*, verso 8, 3; *Brit. Mus. Ostrakon*, No. 5623.

<sup>9</sup> The scribe of *Sall. I*, seems to have felt that *m w·n·k* ought to be a negative, for he inserts  before it.

*m w'k* is to be read here also; the stroke after  which is transcribed as  occurs elsewhere in cases where there can be no question of a dative; cf.  'poor man' and  'orphan' *Sall. II*, 1, 5 beside  and  *Mill.* 1, 6, and outside our text  'youth' *d'Orbiney*, 3, 2; 7, 3, written by the same scribe who wrote *Sall. II* (Gardiner).

*Mill.*, 2, 2-4   
*Sall. II*, 2, 1-2   
  
  
  



In dealing with the sentence *nhs'n'i . . . h'w'i* both Griffith and Erman follow the reading  of *Sall. II*,<sup>3</sup> and render respectively 'I awoke to fight. I was alone' and 'Ich ermunterte mich, um allein (?) zu kämpfen'. As a result, Erman has translated the clause *ir šsp'n'i ss h'w m drt'i* quite unjustifiably as 'Als<sup>4</sup> ich schnell die Waffen in die Hand<sup>5</sup> genommen hatte', overlooking the fact that a verbal clause introduced by *ir* must be conditional; the correct rendering is clearly that of Gardiner, 'If I had made haste with weapons in my hand'.<sup>6</sup> This, however, consorts ill with a preceding 'I awoke to fight', and demands an acceptance of the reading  of *Mill.*,<sup>7</sup> which must be translated, 'I awoke at the fighting'; the clause *ir šsp'n'i* assumes that the awakened sleeper had not fought, for one does not give combat and then go on to say what would have happened if one had done so. Griffith has seen the conditional force of *ir* in his 'If I had received swiftly the arms from his hand', but in accepting the reading  of *Sall. II* he has to make the suffix refer to *hw'ny-r-hr pw m mnf*, which he translates 'one smitten, the captain of the guard'; *hw'ny-r-hr*, however, means 'combat', 'fight', as in *Amada*, 3, 7; *Urk.* III, 60. If the Millingen version be adopted throughout, a perfectly good and consistent sense is obtained: 'I awoke at the fighting, being alone, and I found it was a combat of the guard. If I had made haste with weapons in mine hand, I would have caused the cowards to retreat . . ., but no man is brave at night'. The expression *m- b'bz* is quite obscure to me, and Erman omits it; Griffith suggests 'by dint of smiting around'. In *Mill.* the preposition *m* should be supplied before *grh*; in *Sall. II* the reading

<sup>1</sup> Sign damaged, but apparently so to be read.

<sup>2</sup> An obscure trace in the facsimile.

<sup>3</sup> Supported by *Pap. Berlin*, 3019; *Brit. Mus. Ostrakon*, No. 5623; *Leipzig Ostrakon*, No. 7; and *Quibell Ostrakon*, No. 57.

<sup>4</sup> The italics are mine.


<sup>5</sup> Here adopting the reading  of *Mill.*


<sup>6</sup> *Eg. Gramm.* § 151.

<sup>7</sup> Supported by *Carnarvon Tablet* No. 5.





pronunciation, since in all probability both these verbs had lost the final *r* by the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty; similarly the writing  at this date is probably only a 'historic writing', the initial *r* having almost certainly disappeared in the spoken language.

The whole of the passage under discussion is lost in *Mill.*, with the exception of the determinatives  of 'Medjay' *Mill.* 3, 3.

## THE ASTARTE PAPYRUS

By ALAN H. GARDINER

(With Plates 8 and 9.)

IN choosing the Astarte papyrus as the topic of my contribution to the volume in honour of my old friend and first teacher in hieroglyphics, I have borne in mind the fact that he himself has been in the past one of the most assiduous and successful editors and translators of Ancient Egyptian stories. Apart from his share in Sir Flinders Petrie's *Egyptian Tales*, all will remember his great edition of the stories of Sethon, his important annotations upon the d'Orbiney papyrus, his admirable, though too inaccessible, renderings in C. D. Warner, *Specimen Pages of a Library of the World's Best Literature* (New York, 1897), and his discovery of two entirely new fragments of tales among the Kahun papyri. By a fortunate coincidence I myself have been recently engaged in publishing the texts of all the extant Late-Egyptian stories, so that I am able to utilize for the purpose of this *Festschrift* some materials which stand in the very centre of my own immediate interest. Unhappily the fragments known as the Astarte papyrus are defective in the highest degree. Only a few complete sentences remain, and for the rest we have only isolated phrases or even single words. Nevertheless, the composition commands our interest for several good reasons. In the first place it is, as Möller has shown on palaeographical grounds,<sup>1</sup> the oldest of the known Late-Egyptian tales, dating probably from the reign of Haremhab. In the second place, with the exception of the great mythological narrative which I have recently published under the name of 'The Contendings of Horus and Seth', together with its analogue in the Kahun papyri, the Astarte papyrus stands alone as a work of fiction in which the personages are exclusively divine. And lastly, there is an undeniable romantic interest attaching to the Syrian goddess Astarte which moderns must feel only in a less degree than the ancients, among whom her worship spread over almost the entire Near Eastern area.

The manuscript belonged formerly to the Amherst collection, but subsequently passed into the Pierpont Morgan collection in New York. Attention was first called to it by Birch in 1871,<sup>2</sup> but it was not until nearly thirty years later that the bulk of the fragments was made accessible in the admirable colotype plates of Professor Newberry's volume *The Amherst Papyri* (Pls. XIX, XX, XXI). Even then no serious attempt was made to place the fragments in their right positions, and as I have more recently learned, certain additional scraps of text exist which find no mention in Newberry's edition. Convinced that something at least could be done in the way of arranging the fragments, I asked my friend Dr. Ludlow Bull to inquire from the authorities of the Pierpont

<sup>1</sup> *Ä.Z.*, I, 42.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 119.



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Page 1



Morgan collection whether the original could not be sent to London for my study. Thanks to his mediation, Miss Greene, the keeper of the Pierpont Morgan Library, most kindly arranged for the manuscript to be conveyed for this express purpose to the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> There Dr. Ibscher, of Berlin, has recently studied the fragments at my request, and as a result of his incomparable skill the first two pages have now assumed the form seen in the accompanying Plates (Pls. 8, 9). It should be observed that the fragment given as VI on Newberry's Pl. xx does not belong to the Astarte papyrus at all, and at the top of fragment IV on the same plate are a few signs which are out of place, and which are of quite doubtful attribution. These two irrelevant fragments are shown to the left of my Pl. 9. The only doubtful point in Dr. Ibscher's reconstruction is whether or no the space for a line should be left between 2, x+14 and 2, x+15. On the upper fragment in the line following 2, x+14 there are traces which suit fairly well, but not quite perfectly, the missing tops of  $\varphi^1$  in the line numbered by me 2, x+15. If those traces are the tops of  $\varphi^1$ , then no line is lost; but the alternative hypothesis is also possible. The fibres naturally formed the chief criterion upon which Dr. Ibscher worked, and the evidence of these proved everywhere decisive. But confirmation was also provided on the philological side in the case of every join thus effected, and in the remaining case of the unjoined fragment in the middle of p. 2 the context clearly demonstrates the accuracy of Ibscher's arrangement.

In its restored condition the Astarte papyrus presents itself to us as the lamentable wreckage of a most magnificent manuscript. At the present time p. 2 measures no less than 27 cm. in height, and if we suppose at most a few centimetres to be missing we have a very tall format unusual for the Ramesside period, where apparently the only parallels would be Pap. Anastasi IV, with a vertical measurement of 27-8 cm., and the Chester Beatty Dreambook, which has a height of 32-3 cm. It is hardly likely that a papyrus containing a story should have had the full folio-height of 40 cm. or more, though a few literary papyri exist of this size, for instance the Leyden hymns to Amūn and the great Harris papyrus.

As regards the length of the papyrus, the position is very curious. Before being cut into strips for mounting, the bottom of the papyrus was intact for more than 2 metres, although, except for the first two pages, the middle and top had completely disappeared, and at least another 2.2 metres of the bottom has survived with breaks at certain points. The mounter of the papyrus cut up this almost continuous length of 4.2 metres into low strips which he numbered from 1 to 14. Of these, four complete strips and the fifth not quite complete are shown in Newberry's Plates; the rest was unpublished until my recent edition of the text. A careful examination has shown me that the mounter made

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the Keeper of the Egyptian Department, Mr. Sidney Smith, for his ready consent to house the papyrus during its sojourn in London.

false joins in a number of places, e.g. in the middle of his 7th strip, possibly again on the middle of his 9th,<sup>1</sup> clearly twice on his 11th (see the *verso*), and certainly once more in his 14th. How much was lacking in each case cannot always be determined easily, and so little of the text remains after the 5th strip that conjectures regarding the remainder of the papyrus become a mere game without practical utility. On several of the strips only the tiniest traces of the bottom line of the page are left, often not enough even to show where the pages began or ended. The probability seems to be that the story consisted of at least fifteen pages on the *recto*, with five or six more on the *verso*. Remains of some of the bottom lines of the pages on the *verso* are found on the backs of strips 11 to 14. As usual in cases where the text on the *recto* is continued on to the *verso*, the scribe simply turned over his papyrus horizontally and then worked backward in the direction of p. 1 of the *recto*. The bottom of the *recto* is thus also the bottom of the *verso*.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the appearance of the separate pages we can best form an idea from pp. 1 and 2, the only pages of which any considerable number of lines remains. In p. 2 we have actually the remains of 19 lines. This cannot have been quite the full number, since the words at the end of p. 1 do not tally with those at the present beginning of p. 2. Hence the pages must have consisted of 20 or more lines each. The breadth of the first five pages will serve as a sample of the entire book: p. 1 = 27 cm.; p. 2 = 28.5 cm.; p. 3 = 31 cm.; p. 4 = 29.5 cm.; p. 5 = 32 cm. A few words must also be said with regard to the size of the component leaves. At the right end of the papyrus was a protecting margin, 5 cm. in breadth. Further to the left, joins (*Klebungen*) are visible at the following distances measured in centimetres: 35; 32.5; 34.5; 35; 33. To the left of the sixth join problems arise, the solution of which, as I have already said, is a matter of little or no scientific interest.

I will add nothing to Möller's study of the palaeography referred to above, nor is it my intention to repeat the transcription of the text which I have given in my recent *Late-Egyptian Stories* (pp. 76-81). My plan here is first to explain in what manner my conjectural interpretation of the story as a whole differs from that of my predecessors, and secondly to give a complete translation of all the sentences and phrases which have survived, so that readers unacquainted with hieroglyphs may, if they will, attempt some fresh reconstruction of the plot. Lastly, a few words will be devoted to the philological aspects of the tale.

Apart from the brief notes by Birch above alluded to and the scanty intro-

<sup>1</sup> Strip 9 was divided into two parts called 9a and 9b, of which 9a is now absent, and similarly strip 13 consists of two pieces, 13a (= 25.5 cm.) and 13b (= 27 cm.). It seems probable that before Dr. Ibscher's work upon this papyrus two separate mounters had dealt with it, the first

of whom will have numbered the strips, while the second mounted them up somewhat differently, and incidentally threw away 9a as useless.

<sup>2</sup> See my remarks in *The Chester Beatty Papyri*, No. 1, p. 4.

\*  
\*  
\*

Fragment 1: A small, roughly circular fragment of papyrus with several lines of cursive script.

Fragment 2: A larger, roughly circular fragment with multiple lines of cursive script.

x+  
I

5

Fragment 3: A roughly circular fragment with several lines of cursive script.

10

15

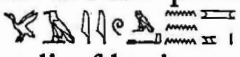
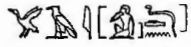
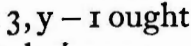
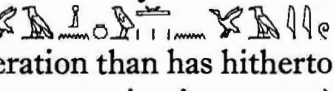
Fragment 4: A long, horizontal strip of papyrus containing several lines of cursive script.

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Page 2

N.B. The two fragments marked with an asterisk do not belong to this papyrus





duction to his Plates written by Newberry, very few scholars have occupied themselves with this text. Our lamented colleague W. Spiegelberg published a transcription of all the fragments, together with renderings of a few salient passages and some notes on the general trend of the whole.<sup>1</sup> There is a brief account, with extracts, in Erman's work on Egyptian literature.<sup>2</sup> Roeder has ventured a full translation,<sup>3</sup> and Ranke devotes a section to the story in the book of texts illustrative of the Old Testament edited by Gressmann and himself.<sup>4</sup> All these scholars have, of course, been very seriously handicapped by the un-ordered condition of the fragments, nor were they acquainted with the additional lines left unpublished by Newberry. In these circumstances it could be little wonder if they failed to form a true estimate of the plot. A feature common to all the above-named attempts at interpretation is that they conceive the principal theme of the story to be the coming of Astarte to Egypt and the honour there done her. It is certainly true that Astarte plays a great part in the best preserved lines of the papyrus, and I do not feel that the evidence is strong enough to justify me in deposing her from the place of honour which she has hitherto enjoyed in the title accorded to it. But it is perhaps significant that no allusion to Astarte is found before the second page of the tale (2, x+3), though the loss of such vast portions of the text renders this argument very slender. What is more important is that another personage has a far better claim to be the real protagonist, namely  'the sea' (first mention, 1, x+6). To Spiegelberg belongs the credit of having recognized that in this story 'the sea' is personified, as in the tale of the Two Brothers. All the other commentators have overlooked this point, although the restoration of the words   '(Astarte heard) what the sea had [said] to her' in 3, y-1 ought at all times to have been obvious, and although in 2, y-1 the wondering questions addressed to Astarte were fairly clearly addressed to her by the sea. At this point in the discussion the often repeated phrase  'the tribute of the sea' comes up for closer consideration than has hitherto been given to it. Apart from the three passages (1, x+13; twice in 2, x+2) where this phrase occurs either entire or in a sufficiently good state of preservation to be practically indisputable, the translators are agreed in restoring the phrase also elsewhere, above all Roeder, whose rendering (rightly at least in some cases) assumes its presence again and again. But if 'the sea' in this story be a person, then 'the tribute of the sea' can clearly only mean either 'the tribute offered by the sea' or else 'the tribute given to the sea'. Spiegelberg took the former view; at all events he regarded Astarte as the ultimate recipient of the tribute, and this indeed became for him the real *motif* of the story: the sea, having a special liking for Astarte, went out of his way to inform her that his

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. S.B.A.*, xxiv. 41.

p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> *Altorientalische Texte zum alten Testament*,

<sup>3</sup> *Altägyptische Erzählungen und Märchen*, 2nd edition (1926), p. 7.

tribute was being brought before the Ennead by Renut (cf. 1, x+12 foll.); Astarte then conspired with the sea to bring it about that this tribute should fall to her lot, as indeed was her obvious right as patron-goddess of the Syrian seafarers and merchant-folk.

Plausible as this view might at first sight seem to be, it is not borne out by the text as it now presents itself to us. I will gladly concede that 'of the sea' in the phrase 'the tribute of the sea' is more easily construed as a subjective than as an objective genitive, but the other possibility is not decisively ruled out by linguistic considerations.<sup>1</sup> That the tribute in question was brought to Astarte is not suggested by any phrase that I can find in the tale. Nor again do I discover there any hint of the sea being represented as his own tribute-bearer. The more I look at these fragments the more likely does it appear to me that the real theme of the story was the tribute exacted *by*, and paid *to*, the sea. In the tale of the Two Brothers the sea is a predatory being, grabbing at the lovely woman—perhaps a reminiscence of Astarte herself—whom the gods had created to be Bata's consort. Here, on my hypothesis, the sea plays exactly the same role, though in still more masterful and tyrannical a fashion. Let us try to pick out those points in the narrative which speak in favour of my hypothesis.

The beginning of the tale seems cosmogonic in character; 'the sky' (𐎎𐎍𐎏𐎓) and 'the earth' (𐎎𐎍𐎏𐎓) are mentioned, and Ptaḥ perhaps watches over all as the supreme creator. The phrase 'the earth became content' (1, x+3) possibly indicates that this geographical concept is viewed as a person, as may have been the case also with 'the sky', in connexion with whom some scrap of a similar phrase appears to occur a little later (1, x+5). Meanwhile, reference has been made to other entities alluded to as 'they', and of whom we read that 'they were bent like one . . . . ed(?)',<sup>2</sup> and that 'each embraced [his fellow]'. Whether or no the divine Ennead is here already involved cannot be elicited. In 1, x+6 occurs the first mention of the sea,<sup>3</sup> and only two lines later reference is made to some being '[who has taken his seat upon?] his throne of Ruler', and to whom (a line further on) some one 'bears tribute'. The word 𐎎𐎍𐎏𐎓, 'tribunal' in 1, x+9 suggests that this tribute had somehow become a bone of contention. The harvest-goddess Renut (for thus our papyrus writes the name Renutet *i.e.* Termouthis) now enters the scene as tribute-bearer, but the part played by her is utterly obscure. Who is the 'Ruler' of whom we have just heard? Spiegelberg ignores him completely, and the other commentators do not seem to have entertained the possibility that he may be none other than 'the sea', of whose tribute we henceforth hear so much. At all events this 'Ruler' must be a potentially hostile being, for

<sup>1</sup> The word *p'y:f* 'his' must also have objective force in the sentence 'Renut [brought] his tribute of silver and gold (1, x+12). Here 'his' can clearly not refer to Renut, for she is a goddess. I take it to mean the tribute 'due to him', *i.e.* to the sea.

<sup>2</sup> 𐎎𐎍𐎏𐎓 is an unrecorded word, and may perhaps be a passive participle.

<sup>3</sup> I can make nothing of the words '[the] earth gave birth . . .' in 1, x+7, if indeed this be the right translation; the earth (*p: iwtm*) is male.


next we read that in the absence of some act of homage to be paid to him he will probably 'take us captive' (1, x + 11). The passage in 1, x + 13 ' . . . . the tribute of the sea, that he may hearken for us unto [all the] words [of the earth?]' seems to point, not indeed quite conclusively, but with at least a large degree of probability, to the identity of 'the sea' with 'the Ruler' whose tribute is here in question, and the same inference appears to be strongly reinforced by the collocation of words ' . . . the sea as ruler on the . . . ' in 2, x + 6. Otherwise, I cannot conceive of any role to be assigned to 'the sea' in the story. Does not the whole tale perhaps turn upon the aggressive demands of that voracious element? We next learn that 'they (the gods?) are afraid of something' (2, x + 1). What can this something be save the wrath of the sea, to whose tribute reference is continually made in the following context. Renut now appears to send a messenger to Astarte, perhaps some bird. Be she awake or asleep, Astarte's help is to be invoked, and she is to 'come to them (the Ennead?) at this [moment]' (2, x + 7). A broken word suggests that Astarte is fetched from the land of the 'Asiatics' (2, x + 7). The 'daughter of Ptaḥ'—so Astarte is described in 2, x + 10 and again in 2, x + 18—is apparently bidden to 'go' herself 'with the tribute of [the sea?]', and since, almost immediately after this (2, x + 13), we find the goddess in tears, it seems legitimate to conclude that she did not find her task an agreeable one. I cannot guess the reason for the Ruler's silence in 2, x + 14, nor do I understand whether it is he or some one else who is twice bidden to 'lift up' his 'face' in the next lines. As previously explained, it appears to be the sea who, having beheld Astarte on the sea-shore, asks her whence she has come and whether it is her many travels which have worn out her sandals and ruined her clothes (2, x + 18, x + 19). Two points with regard to Astarte emerge with certainty from the passage under discussion. These are, firstly, that she is conceived of in this papyrus as the daughter of Ptaḥ, and secondly, that she was viewed as a wrathful and furious goddess. As regards the first point Spiegelberg rightly recalls the fact that the cult of Astarte was localized in Memphis.<sup>1</sup> I will merely add that another filiation is suggested for her in the legend of Horus and Seth as recounted in *Pap. Chester Beatty I*. There (3, 4) Anat and Astarte are two daughters of Prē, to be given to Seth by way of compensation for his rejected claim to the throne of Osiris. As regards the second point, it is barely necessary to recall the warlike appearance of Astarte upon the Egyptian monuments.<sup>2</sup> This character she shares in common with the two other important Syrian deities, Seth-Baal and Anat.

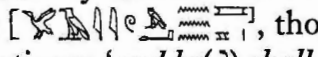
A whole page is missing at this juncture, but when again the curtain rises, we find what seems to be the logical sequence of the sea's first glimpse of Astarte upon the sea-shore. If I diagnose the meaning of 3, y - 2 aright, the sea now

<sup>1</sup> See particularly Wiedemann, *Herodot's Zweites orientales*, xxv. 191.

*Buch*, p. 433; also N. Aimé-Giron, *Un ex-voto à Astarté*, in *Bulletin de l'inst. franç. d'arch.*

<sup>2</sup> S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*, p. 108.

addresses Ptaḥ, and referring to the Ennead, says to him that if they will grant him the hand of Ptaḥ's daughter Astarte, no aggression will have to be feared from himself. Astarte hears what the sea says, and goes before the Ennead, by whom she is acclaimed with reverence and granted a place as a newly elected member (3, y - 1, y). It is regrettable that the first words of the fourth page are not preserved. If, in agreement with Roeder's translation, we are to complete the sentence as  'And they brought to her the [tribute of the sea]' we should here find Astarte acting as intermediary between the sea and the other gods. Unhappily, we have no means of substantiating or contradicting this conjecture.

What remains of the papyrus is so fragmentary that speculation as to its trend becomes well-nigh hopeless. Still I will emphasize the fact that only one more reference is found to Astarte (5, y - 1), whereas several passages name the sea and point to the further discussion of tribute. In any case the main actor seems to be a male personage, e.g. 'then shall he send and demand. . . .' (5, y), and 'he will not come to fight with us' (15, y). When we read in 4, y that 'the messenger of Ptaḥ went to tell these words to Ptaḥ and to Nut, and Nut untied the beads which were upon her neck, and she placed them in the balance', the most straightforward explanation is to suppose that the sea, though now provided with a beautiful wife, is nevertheless demanding greater riches, and that, at the instance of Ptaḥ, Nut tries to pacify him by the sacrifice of her jewellery. A whole page further on we find more words which point in the same direction. Some one is demanding something (5, y), and then comes a reference to the 'ring of Geb' and possibly again to 'the balance'. A lacuna of great length intervenes before we reach the already mentioned reference to 'the sea' (10, y), but then again whole pages are missing before we come upon some words which again weigh heavily in favour of my interpretation. I will not affirm positively that the first word of which portions are preserved in 14, y was actually , though I hold this to be very probable. But when the text continues 'and he(?) shall . . . . to cover the earth and the mountains', to what can the allusion be except to a threatened submergence of the world by the sea? A page further on mention is made of a conflict, which is represented as improbable, between the gods and some male person ('he will not come to fight with us', 15, y), and as a consequence Seth, here named for the first time, sits down. Five or six pages more are lost before the conclusion of the story is reached. On the *verso*, where very little indeed is legible, we nevertheless find one more mention of 'the sea'. Perhaps the *dénouement* of the story consisted in a description how an end was finally put to the sea's interminable exactions.

No one is better aware that I am of the danger of basing far-reaching conclusions upon texts full of lacunae, and of all the fragmentary compositions which have come down to us none has suffered more gravely than the Astarte papyrus. But it is a duty imposed upon Egyptologists at least to frame hypotheses upon

the material which they possess, however defective this may be. Under all reserves, and as a mere matter of conjecture, I accordingly advance the thesis that the central theme of the Astarte papyrus was not the coming of Astarte to Egypt, though that was doubtless an incident in the tale. My view is that the central theme was the conflict between the gods of Egypt and the sea with regard to the tribute demanded by the latter. But if that be a true account of the plot, the latter would be quite a new departure in Egyptian fiction, so far as this is known from the scanty remains which we possess. The story here unfolded would, on the other hand, be vaguely reminiscent of, though by no means strictly parallel to, certain Babylonian *motifs*. Mr. Gadd reminds me of the 'Epic of Creation', in which Tiamat ('the sea') is the enemy of the gods. But Tiamat is female, and is conquered by Marduk, not conciliated. Then again the raggedness of Astarte seems to have some distant connexion with the nakedness of Ishtar as explicitly accounted for in the Babylonian legend of her journey to the nether world. Doubtless the Egyptian counterparts are not close enough to justify any assertion of relationship, but we are not likely to go far wrong in conjecturing that in the Ramesside age Babylonian literature did exercise some second-hand influence upon the literature of the Egyptians.

## TRANSLATION

At the beginning not less than seven lines are lost, and probably more than this. In reading the following translation it must be realized that the gaps between the preserved phrases and sentences are as a rule of considerable length.

- I, X+ .....
- 1 *his two oxen. I will(?) adore thee..... (men). I will(?) adore the(?).....*
  - 2 *I will(?) adore the sky....dwelling(?)-place... ..the earth.....*
  - 3 *...(of)Ptah. Now [after?]...... ..the earth. And the earth became content.....*
  - 4 *(that) I (may?) uncover its..... Thereupon they bent like one..... ed(?).....*
  - 5 *Then [every] man embraced [his fellow?]. [And?] after [seven?] days. the sky.....*
  - 6 *descended upon..... ..the sea. And..... ..[the]*
  - 7 *earth gave birth(?)..... ..the four regions<sup>1</sup> of the [earth].....*
  - 8 *in its midst, like the hanging up(?)..... ..his throne of Ruler. And he.....*
  - 9 *carried unto him tribute. ....as(?)tribunal. Then Renut carried.....*

<sup>1</sup>  $\overline{\text{X}}$ , not  $\overline{\text{X}}$  as Spiegelberg gave. In- title to the story 'Astarte auf der Insel des  
fluenced by this false reading, Roeder gives as Meeres'.

- 10 *as Ruler. . . . .sky. And lo, one brings to him tribute . . . . .*  
 11 *. . . . .his. . . . . Else he will take us captive. . . . .*  
 12 *our own to. . . . . And Renut [brought ?] his<sup>1</sup> tribute in silver and gold,*  
*lapis lazuli [and turquoise]. . . . .the boxes. Then they said to*  
 13 *the Ennead: Let(?). . . . .the tribute of the sea, that he may hearken for us*  
*unto [all the] words [of the earth ?], being held aloof(?) by(?) his hand.<sup>2</sup>*  
*Will he. . . . .*

One or several lines completely lost.

- 2, X+ . . . . .
- 1 *for they are afraid of. . . . . [the tribute]*  
 2 *of the sea. Let. . . . . the tribute of the sea. . . . .*  
 3 *evil. And Renut took a. . . . . Astarte. And. . . . .said. . . . .*  
 4 *birds hear<sup>3</sup> what I say. Do not remove thyself. . . . .another. Haste*  
*thee, go to Astarte. . . . .*  
 5 *her house, and cry out beneath [the window of the room where ?] she sleeps.*  
*And say unto her: If thou art [awake, then]. . . . .*  
 6 *If thou art asleep, then will I awaken [thee]. . . . . the sea as Ruler*  
*on the. . . . .*  
 7 *the sky. Come thou unto them at this [moment ?]. . . . .*  
 8 *. . . . .Asiatics(?). And Astarte. . . . .*  
 9 *. . . . .*  
 10 *. . . . .thou daughter of Ptah. Lo. . . . .*  
 11 *. . . . .of(?) the sea, the. . . . .*  
 12 *. . . . .go thou thyself with the tribute of [the sea ?]. . . . .*  
 13 *. . . . .Thereupon Astarte wept. . . . .*  
 14 *its Ruler was silent. . . . .*  
 15 *. . . . .lift up thy face. . . . .*  
 16 *. . . . .lift up thy face, and do thou. . . . .*  
 17 *forth. Then offered [he ?]. . . . .the. . . . .sang and laughed at him. . . . .*  
 18 *saw Astarte, as she sat upon the shore(?) of the sea. Then he said to her:*  
*Whence comest thou, O daughter of Ptah, thou angry and furious goddess?*  
 19 *Hast thou ruined thy sandals which were (beneath) thy feet, and hast thou*  
*rent the clothes which were upon thee, through this going and coming which*  
*thou hast made in the sky and the earth? Then said unto him*  
 3, I *[Astarte]. . . . .*

At least sixteen lines are lost at this point.

- y-2 *. . . . .the Ennead. If they give unto me thy [daughter? ?]. . . . .them.*  
*What will I then do*  
 y-1 *against them myself? And Astarte heard what the sea had said to her.*

<sup>1</sup> i.e. that of the sea? See p 78, n. 1.

a predatory element. The rendering is not a quite natural translation of the Egyptian words.

<sup>2</sup> 'His,' i.e. the earth's hand? I am led to this rendering by my hypothesis that the sea is here

<sup>3</sup> Or 'understand' as in *Wenamün*, 2, 77.

*And she betook herself to go before the face of the Ennead to the place where they were assembled. And the great ones*

y *beheld her, and they rose up before her. And the little ones beheld her, and they lay down upon their bellies. And her throne was given to her, and she sat down. And they brought to her the*<sup>1</sup>

4, 1 .....  
 At least 16 long lines belonging to page 4 are lost.

y-2 *earth* .....

y-1 *the beads. . . . . And the beads. . . . .*

y *the messenger of Ptaḥ departed to say these words unto Ptaḥ and unto Nut. Thereupon Nut untied the beads which were upon her neck. Behold she placed <them?> upon the balance.*

5 The fifth page is entirely lost with the exception of a few phrases in the last two lines.

y-1 .....*Astarte. O my. . . . .*

y .....*this(?) contention(?) with the Ennead. Then will he send and demand . . . . . the ring of Geb. . . . . in which is the balance(?). Then*

Pages 6 and 7 are completely lost except for three words at the bottom of p. 7.

7 .....

y .....*my basket of. . . . .*

Of the remaining pages only the sparsest fragments are left. We can still read the following:

8, y *He. . . . .*

10, y .....*of the sea. . . . . through(?) the gates.*

.....*gates. Went forth. . . . .*

11, 1 .....

11, y .....*If they come again . . . . .*

14, y .....*[the sea??]. And he(?) shall. . . . . to cover the earth and the mountains and*

15, 1 .....

15, y-1 .....*his . . . . .*

15, y .....*thou(?) . . . . . [come?] to fight with him. . . . . sat him down coolly. He will not come to fight with us. Then Seth sat down. . . . .*

Verso. (a) .....*thou. . . . . me(?) with thy . . . . .*

(b) .....*And the sea left(?). . . . .*

(c) .....



(d) .....*the 7 [. . . . .]. . . . . with the sky. . . . . with. . . . .*

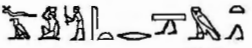














Such are the tragically mutilated remains of a story which, from the mere nature of its subject, could not have failed to be of the deepest interest and

<sup>1</sup> Roeder restored [*'the tribute of the sea'*]. For this possibility see above, p. 80.





'his hearing';  'his having heard'. As a last grammatical point let it be noted that  'or' is employed in 1, x+11 as a conjunction in the Late Egyptian style.

The vocabulary of the story shows Late-Egyptian leanings:  3, y-1 'betook herself to go' is familiar from *d'Orbiney* 6, 3; 10, 6; 13, 1. The compound preposition  'before the face (of)' recalls  in *Pap. Chester Beatty I*; the use of  in place of  and of  in place of  strikes a modern note. So too, of course, are  for 'to see', and  3, y (var.  1, x+8) for 'throne'; perhaps also  'untie' in 4, y. New accessions to our dictionary are only  1, x+4 and  4, y-1, y. Other points of interest are, however  'cry out', 'roar', as verb, certain in 2, x+5 and *Pap. Chester Beatty I*, 16,4; doubtful in *Wenamun*, 2, 19; and also the rare interjection  2, x+4, for which Spiegelberg (*Proc. S.B.A.* xxiv. 46, footnote) has quoted other examples.

## PARALLÉLISME SYMÉTRIQUE EN ANCIEN ÉGYPTIEN

Par W. GOLÉNISCHEFF

OUTRE le parallélisme assez fréquent, qui dans la deuxième de deux expressions juxtaposées ou de deux propositions consécutives construites identiquement sur le même modèle, remplace par des expressions synonymes ou des expressions antithétiques soit la première expression, soit quelques éléments de la première proposition (parallélisme *simple* ou *asymétrique*), il existe dans les textes égyptiens encore un autre parallélisme, moins souvent employé, dont la principale caractéristique est, qu'il dispose *symétriquement*, c'est-à-dire *en en intervertissant l'ordre*, les expressions synonymes ou antithétiques qui remplacent les expressions préalablement citées.

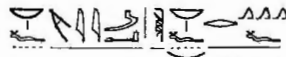
Pendant que le parallélisme simple, asymétrique est bien connu par un grand nombre d'exemples, le second ne paraît pas avoir suffisamment attiré l'attention des égyptologues et un court relevé des cas où il se rencontre pourrait sans doute être d'une certaine utilité pour quiconque voudrait pénétrer le plus possible dans les détails de la syntaxe égyptienne.






Dans les textes égyptiens, le parallélisme symétrique se présente sous les deux aspects suivants: A. il n'est qu'apparent, lorsqu'il est d'origine purement graphique, et B. il est réel, lorsqu'il fait partie d'un discours plus ou moins teinté de rhétorique.



### A










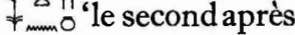


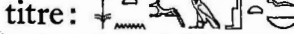
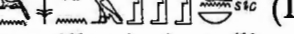


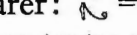
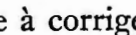






La première espèce de parallélisme symétrique se rencontre dans des épithètes juxtaposées deux par deux et dont chacune se compose de deux expressions, qui *dans l'écriture* sont symétriquement disposées les unes par rapport aux autres.


Voici quatre exemples de cette espèce de parallélisme :

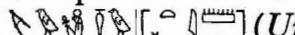
1.  (Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- u. Denksteine*, II, p. 62, N° 20465 a, l. 3): '[De] son maître le véritable ami, le serviteur de son maître dans tous les déplacements de celui-ci.'

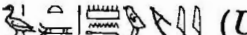
Dans cet exemple  déterminé par , de la première épithète, correspond à  déterminé par , de la deuxième, et le génitif  est, dans l'écriture, mis la première fois, *honoris causa*, AVANT l'expression à laquelle il appartient, et, la seconde fois, à sa vraie place, APRÈS l'expression correspondante. Ce n'est donc qu'au point de vue graphique qu'on a ici un parallélisme de forme symétrique, car à la lecture de ces deux épithètes, les deux génitifs devaient régulièrement prendre leur place à la suite des mots auxquels réellement ils appartenaient et, à ce compte, toute construction symétrique disparaissait.

2.  (*Urkunden des äg. Altertums*, IV. 1215) et  (*Aeg. Inschriften aus den königl. Museen*, Berlin, II, p. 74): 'Yeux du roi de la Haute Égypte et oreilles du roi de la Basse Égypte.'

Ici, comme dans l'exemple précédent (N° 1), ainsi que dans les deux exemples suivants (N°s 3 et 4), le parallélisme n'est qu'apparent, car il dépend uniquement de l'emploi anticipé *en écriture* du mot  'roi'. Quant à la différence, inexplicable au premier coup d'œil, qui dans cet exemple paraît exister entre les deux génitifs:  et  (var. ) , dont l'un n'a pas de  et l'autre en a un, il est à remarquer, que lorsque le mot  (ou ) , en tant que génitif, est mis, *en écriture*, avant le mot qu'il détermine, il perd le  du génitif, mais il le reprend, dès qu'*en écriture* il est mis à sa place régulière, après le mot qu'il doit déterminer. Ainsi, comme variante de l'épithète citée plus haut, on a:  (Piehl, *Inscr. Hiérog.*, 1<sup>ère</sup> Série, Pl. cix, col. 1) et l'épithète  'le second après le (litt. "du") roi' se trouve remplacée par  (Brugsch, *Thesaur.* v. 921, 941) et par  (*Urk. des äg. Altert.* IV. 49). La même remarque se rapporte aussi au titre:  (*Catal. général*, *Éc.*, N° 42236), qui a comme variante  (Lefebvre, dans *Annales du Service*, t. xxv, pp. 27 et 28) 'conseiller intime (litt. "le préposé de ce qui est secret") du roi, n'importe où celui-ci se trouve (litt. "en toutes ses places").' Pour d'autres expressions que , qui aussi perdent le  du génitif lorsque, *en écriture*, elles sont mises en anticipation, mais qui le reprennent, lorsqu'elles sont mises après le mot, à comparer:  (Legrain, dans *Recueil de trav. Éc.*, vol. xxii, p. 128, dans deux textes parallèles) 'image de RÂ' (= épithète de reine);  , var.  (peut-être à corriger en:  ? , Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, II, p. 164) 'large collier du' couronné du diadème *nebti*' (= 'large collier royal' );  var.  (Lacau, l.l. II, p. 164) 'large collier de la déesse *Mout*', et  (Lacau, op. cit., II, p. 163), var.  (l.l., p. 160) 'large collier du Maître de l'éternité'.

3.  (*Urk. des äg. Altert.* IV. 846, 17; 847, 1-2 et cf. l.l. 776, 6-7) 'L'aimé de Râ et le favori du père Amon'.

Parallélisme symétrique, qui se transforme en parallélisme asymétrique dès que les mêmes épithètes se trouvent écrites d'une façon plus régulière:  (*Urk. des äg. Altert.* IV, 843, 6-8).

4.  (*Urk. des äg. Altert.* IV. 808, 10-11) 'fils de *Toum*, ami de *Montou*'.


Au contraire des trois exemples précédents, l'anticipation graphique, *honoris causa*, du génitif exprimé par un nom divin se trouve ici dans la seconde et non pas dans la première des deux épithètes parallèles. Dans tous les cas, ici le parallélisme symétrique reste tout aussi apparent et peu réel, que dans les autres exemples cités.






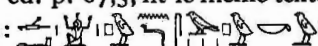
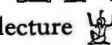
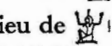
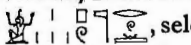


peut s'exprimer par la formule:  $\overset{\text{I}}{\text{A}} + \text{---} + \text{sujet nominal} + \overset{\text{II}}{\text{A}} + \text{sujet pronominal}$ , et la deuxième, avec omission des expressions secondaires, mises entre parenthèses, par:  $\overset{\text{III}}{\text{A}} + \text{---} + \text{sujet pronominal} + \overset{\text{IV}}{\text{A}} + \text{sujet nominal}$ . Il y a ici symétrie indiscutable dans la disposition des différents sujets: le sujet nominal de  $\overset{\text{I}}{\text{A}} + \text{---} + \text{substantif-sujet}$  cède la place à un sujet pronominal dans la deuxième phrase, et le sujet pronominal de la forme  $\overset{\text{II}}{\text{A}} + \text{suffixe de la première phrase}$  est remplacé dans la deuxième par un substantif.

10.  (Griffith, *Kahun papyri*, Pl. II, l. 11):  
 'Il est une multitude [lui,] l'unique, et ce [ne] sont [que] des petits (= 'des nullités') [eux], les autres, les hommes!'

Dans ces deux propositions consécutives, construites d'après la formule: substantif (attribut prédicatif) +  $\text{A}$  (sujet), le parallélisme symétrique est obtenu par une *anticipation*, dans le premier cas, de l'apposition au sujet  $\text{A}$ , et, dans le deuxième cas, par la mise de cette apposition *après* le sujet  $\text{A}$ , qu'elle doit expliquer. Bien que, le plus souvent, c'est après le sujet que l'apposition se place, il ne manque pas toutefois d'exemples, où elle précède, souvent introduite par  $\text{A}$ , ou même sans aucune introduction. Ordinairement, quand l'apposition est mise en avant, c'est pour marquer une certaine emphase en ce qui la concerne.

11.  (Gauthier, *Grande inscr. dédicat. d'Abydos*, l. 15 à l. 17).  
 Discours qu'est censé prononcer *Séti I* à son fils Ramsès II pour le remercier de sa sollicitude filiale): 'Voilà,<sup>2</sup> je viens en joie, chaque jour, comme (= sous

<sup>1</sup> Il y a à observer que Mr. Sethe, dans ses *Lesestücke*, 1<sup>ère</sup> éd. p. 67,3, lit le même texte de la façon suivante: . La lecture  dans la première proposition, au lieu de , semble toutefois être plus probable, cf. Piehl, *Inscr. hiérog.* 1<sup>ère</sup> Série, Pl. XXII, col. 5-6: , selon la traduction de Piehl: 'le Multiple divin.' La deuxième proposition, d'après la transcription de Sethe (peu certaine en ce qui concerne le signe  $\text{I}$ ) devrait se traduire par: 'et cela, [notamment] les autres, les milliers [?] d'hommes, ce [n'] est [que] des nullités (litt. "de petites choses")!'

<sup>2</sup> Pour le sens de l'impératif (l'optatif)  $\text{A}$   $\text{A}$ ,

$\text{A}$   $\text{A}$ , qui, employé à la tête d'une proposition, doit le plus souvent être traduit par 'or', 'voilà', 'donc' ou 'car' (même 'mais') à comparer le Glossaire du Conte du Naufragé, s.v. (*Bibliothèque d'Étude*, vol. II, pp. 95-6). Le pronom complément direct de la première personne du singulier  $\text{E}$ , qui vient ici à la suite de l'expression  $\text{A}$   $\text{A}$ , est simultanément complément direct de cet impératif-optatif, dont la nature première a toujours été ressentie, puisque  $\text{A}$   $\text{A}$  se transforme en  $\text{A}$   $\text{A}$   $\text{E}$  lorsqu'on s'adresse à plusieurs personnes, et en même temps il est sujet d'une proposition de la forme  $\text{A}$   $\text{A}$  +  $\text{A}$  +  $\text{A}$  ( $\text{A}$   $\text{E}$  .....  $\text{A}$   $\text{E}$ ), qui doit toujours être



forme d') un ressuscité, me réjouissant de ce que tu as fait pour (litt. "auprès de") moi, après que, à cause de tout ce que tu as fait, *Ounennofr* m'a magnifié [moi], qui ai été promu [à la dignité d'un] *maâ-kherou*.'

Dans les deux propositions qui constituent cet exemple, le parallélisme symétrique dépend de la position occupée par le pronom complément direct par rapport au participe (alias pseudoparticipe) qui, dans chacune des deux propositions, le détermine: dans la première, le pronom <sup>o</sup> précède l'apposition qui lui appartient et qui est exprimée par le participe , et, dans la seconde, le même pronom, sous la forme , vient à la suite de l'apposition exprimée par le participe .<sup>1</sup>

12. (Stèle Metternich, l. 219) 'Ne crains pas, ne crains pas, [ô] Isis, [ô] déesse! [O] Nephthys, ne te lamente pas!'

Le parallélisme symétrique, qu'on a ici dans deux propositions juxtaposées, est clair et n'a besoin d'aucun commentaire.

#### CAS IV

13. (Pap. Westcar, p. 12, l. 6 à l. 8)  
'Lorsque *Râ-ouser* arriva<sup>2</sup> comme quelqu'un qui revient des champs (litt.

considérée comme une proposition *principale*, au contraire de la proposition de la forme + qui, sans dépendre de , mais quelquefois précédée d'une conjonction telle que , etc., est toujours une proposition *circonstancielle*.

<sup>1</sup> L'anticipation d'un participe, servant d'apposition à un sujet, à un complément direct, à un complément indirect, ou même à un suffixe possessif, est un fait courant en égyptien, mais il a été absolument ignoré par les grammairiens, qui tiennent fermement à vouloir trouver une différence de sens et de nature entre ce qu'ils considèrent simplement comme un participe, qui toutefois devrait plus exactement porter, selon le cas, le nom de participe qualificatif ou de participe nominal, et entre ce qu'ils appellent couramment 'le pseudoparticipe' (ou même: 'the old Perfective'), qui n'est qu'un participe employé tantôt avec le sens attributif, tantôt avec le sens appositionnel et qui, en égyptien, prend des terminaisons spéciales, lorsqu'il doit se rapporter à des substantifs féminins ou à des pronoms de la 1<sup>ère</sup> ou de la 2<sup>ème</sup> personne. Voir ce qui a été dit sur la vraie nature du soi-disant pseudoparticipe dans l'article intitulé 'Quelques remarques sur la syntaxe égyptienne,' dans le *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Jean François Cham-*

*pollion*, pp. 687 à 688. En ce qui concerne les exemples mettant en évidence l'emploi anticipé du participe comme apposition, on en trouvera un assez grand nombre dans mon travail actuellement en préparation. Dans tous les cas, dès à présent on peut affirmer, que l'emploi du participe égyptien dans le sens qu'a le participe grec dans: τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, κ.τ.λ. n'est pas du tout contraire au génie de la langue égyptienne. On n'a qu'à comparer le passage des Mémoires de *Sinouhe* (B1, col. 45-6), qui singulièrement rappelle la phrase grecque empruntée à l'Odyssée: , litt. 'en ce qui me concerne', 'pour ma part') moi [en] lui disant (en lui parlant) 'je lui répondis,' etc. (Voir sur cette question l'avis diamétralement opposé de Mr. Gardiner dans son *Egyptian Grammar*, § 353). Pour le sens donné dans le texte de *Sinouhe* à , il faut remarquer, qu'il est aussi celui qu'on doit attribuer à , dans Pyr. § 1102, b-d, var. Pyr. 1205, b-d, et dans Pyr. § 1750, b + § 1751, a.

<sup>2</sup> Litt. 'l'arrivée [étant] ceci, [notamment] ce que *Râ-ouser* fit.' La proposition de la forme (ou ) + + + sujet, à l'encontre des



“du champ”<sup>1</sup>), *Rouddedet* fut à lui communiquer cette affaire, et son cœur à lui fut content, lorsqu'ils restèrent assis<sup>2</sup> à passer (litt. “en”) une bonne journée.’

Le parallélisme symétrique, qu'on a ici entre la construction des deux premières propositions et celle des deux suivantes, saute tellement aux yeux, qu'il est inutile de le mettre d'avantage en évidence.




CAS V

Après les exemples cités ici, qui suffisamment peuvent démontrer l'existence, dans les textes égyptiens, de parallélismes symétriques quelquefois employés d'une façon indépendante (cf. *supra*, exemples N<sup>os</sup> 10, 11, 12 et 13) et d'autres fois en connexion avec des parallélismes simples, asymétriques (cf. *supra*, exemples N<sup>os</sup> 5, 6, 7, 8 et 9), il reste à dire quelques mots sur un curieux cas de parallélisme symétrique, qu'on peut observer dans un ensemble de quatre propositions disposées de la manière suivante: la première proposition est suivie d'une proposition qui lui ressemble dans sa structure, mais qui n'est pas correcte au point de vue grammatical; ensuite vient la troisième proposition qui, tout en étant construite comme la quatrième, présente à son tour la même incorrection qu'on trouve dans la deuxième. On a ainsi deux paires de propositions, dans lesquelles les passages contenant ce qui au premier coup d'œil peut paraître fautif sont inversement disposés.

L'exemple, dont il s'agit, est emprunté aux Préceptes de *Ka-gem-n-à* ou *Gem-n-à-ka*, p. 1, l. 5 à 6 (cf. Pap. Prisse, ed. Jéquier, Pl. 1 = Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*, 1<sup>ère</sup> ed. p. 42, 18-19) et il se présente sous l'aspect suivant:

14. (1)   
 (2)   
 (3)   
 (4) 

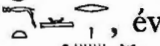





Dans ce texte, tel qu'on le lit dans l'original, ni la 2<sup>ème</sup>, ni la 3<sup>ème</sup> proposition





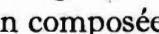


explications qu'on trouve dans les grammaires d'Erman (4<sup>ème</sup> ed., § 359) et de Gardiner (§ 392), doit être considérée virtuellement comme une proposition circonstancielle, car généralement elle est précédée ou suivie d'une proposition principale. Or, pour que le sens circonstanciel ressorte de la construction grammaticale elle-même, il faut que le substantif verbal (l'infinitif, ou plus exactement le 'masdar'),  ou , soit le sujet de la proposition et  l'attribut prédicatif. C'est alors le même cas qu'on a dans une proposition construite sur le modèle:

$\overbrace{\text{substantif}}^1 + \overbrace{\text{substantif}}^2$ , lorsque, pour en faire une proposition circonstancielle, c'est le substantif N<sup>o</sup> 1 qui doit être pris comme sujet et le N<sup>o</sup> 2 comme attribut prédicatif (cf. *Bibliothèque Égyptologique*, t. II, Glossaire au Conte du Naufragé, pp. 156-7 et *Recueil Champollion*, p. 690).

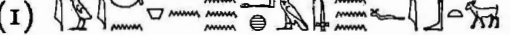
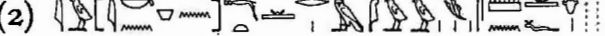


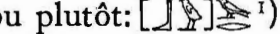
<sup>1</sup> C'est-à dire, très probablement: 'fatigué comme un homme qui revient après avoir travaillé toute la journée aux champs.'

<sup>2</sup> Litt. 'une session [étant] ceci, [notamment] ce qu'ils firent.'


n'ont pu jusqu'à présent être grammaticalement expliquées, car, dans la 2<sup>ème</sup> proposition, le mot composé , évidemment du genre féminin, semble être repris par le suffixe , dans , et, dans le second cas, c'est la forme masculine du participe (alias 'pseudoparticipe')  et non pas la forme féminine , qui apparemment est employée par rapport au mot féminin .

Vu qu'il n'est nullement admissible que des irrégularités grammaticales de cette espèce se rencontrent déjà dans un document aussi ancien que le Papyrus Prisse et qu'en même temps il est impossible d'imputer à l'ancien scribe égyptien deux lourdes fautes grammaticales, qu'il aurait commises à peu de distance l'une de l'autre, il faut chercher une autre explication pour résoudre la difficulté qui se présente. Or, la seule sur laquelle on peut sérieusement s'arrêter, c'est celle qui permet de supposer la présence d'ellipses dans ces deux propositions. Le mot élidé dans chacune des deux propositions devait dans chaque cas être un substantif masculin au singulier et c'est précisément des substantifs de cette espèce qui ne sont pas bien difficiles à trouver dans le texte. On n'a qu'à examiner la première et la dernière ligne. Dans la première, on trouve de suite après  un substantif masculin  qui, au moyen de , régit un autre substantif au génitif et qui, transporté avec le  du génitif dans la deuxième ligne, peut avantageusement devenir le vrai sujet de la proposition, tout en prenant l'expression composée  comme génitif après lui. Pour la troisième ligne, l'expression élidée doit sans doute être le substantif  suivi de  du génitif, qu'on trouve à la quatrième ligne.


Voici donc l'aspect que devrait prendre le texte, si on voulait remettre à leurs places respectives les substantifs élidés, qui très probablement devaient sans difficulté se présenter à l'esprit de l'ancien lecteur égyptien :

- (1) 
- (2) 
- (3) 
- (4)  (ou plutôt: <sup>1</sup>)

La traduction littérale du texte reconstruit semble pouvoir être comme suit: 'Si<sup>2</sup> un gobelet d'eau étanche (= "peut éteindre") la soif, [un gobelet d'] une bouchée de fruits<sup>3</sup> *shouou* reconforte (= "peut reconforter") le cœur, et

<sup>1</sup> L'ellipse de , dans la deuxième de deux propositions (3 et 4) asymétriquement parallèles, est très probable: elle fait la contrepartie de l'ellipse qui se trouve dans la première de ces propositions. Ce n'est pas la place de citer d'autres exemples de ce genre d'ellipses, auxquelles on peut donner le nom d'*ellipses croisées*,

mais il est à mentionner qu'il en existe un bon nombre. En leur temps elles seront traitées ailleurs.

<sup>2</sup> Pour le sens de  répété à la tête de deux propositions parallèlement construites, voir *Bibliothèque d'Étude*, t. II (Glossaire au Conte du Naufragé), p. 19.


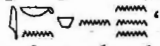
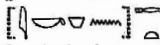
<sup>3</sup> Dans le sens: "[un gobelet] contenant une bou-






si [un peu de] bien remplace (= "peut, doit remplacer") [quelquefois] ce qui est [absolument] bien (= "le bien [par excellence]"), [d'autres fois] un peu de petit (= "quelque chose de petit") remplace (= "peut, doit remplacer") ce qui est grand (= "ce qui est grand [par excellence]")!


En langage plus clair, cet aphorisme veut dire qu'il faut se contenter de peu: puisqu'une petite quantité d'eau et de nourriture peuvent suffire pour apaiser la soif et la faim, on ne doit pas ambitionner la perfection absolue (ou le complet bonheur?<sup>1</sup>) et on doit se sentir content, si on réussit à remplacer les grandes choses, qu'on ne peut pas atteindre, par des petites. Précepte, comme on voit, assez sage, assez pratique, mais qui n'est pas de nature à élever son homme au-dessus de la médiocrité!

Au point de vue de la forme que ce précepte revêt dans l'original, il est à remarquer qu'il est exprimé par deux paires de propositions, parmi lesquelles la 1<sup>ème</sup> et la 2<sup>ème</sup>, si dans cette dernière on remet à sa place le mot élidé, sont asymétriquement parallèles entre elles et, au même compte, la 3<sup>ème</sup> et la 4<sup>ème</sup> le sont également, à leur tour, entre elles. Mais ce qui permet de déclarer ces quatre propositions, prises ensemble, symétriquement parallèles, c'est la place à laquelle on a à rapporter les ellipses qu'on y relève. En effet, si la première ellipse dans ce texte se trouve dans une proposition venant *à la suite* d'une proposition complète, la seconde ellipse est contenue dans une proposition *précédant* une autre, aussi complète, comme la première. On a donc ici un exemple de parallélisme symétrique, si on veut examiner le texte dans la forme qu'il a dans l'original. Si, par contre, les expressions qui manquent sont remises à leurs places, c'est d'un double parallélisme simple, asymétrique qu'on est obligé de parler.

Comme on peut facilement le croire, les exemples de parallélisme symétrique, examinés dans le présent article, sont loin d'être les seuls qu'on ait le droit de s'attendre à trouver dans les textes égyptiens.<sup>2</sup> Ils devront toutefois suffire pour

chée de fruits.' Si l'emploi du mot  traduit par 'gobelet', n'est que tout naturel dans le groupe  'gobelet d'eau', il peut néanmoins de prime abord paraître moins à sa place dans: , car, au lieu du mot 'gobelet' comme récipient pour 'une bouchée de fruits *shouou*,' nous aurions de beaucoup préféré trouver ici un mot tel que 'plat' ou quelque terme analogue. On n'a toutefois qu'à se rapporter aux nombreuses listes d'offrandes, si souvent reproduites sur les murs des anciens tombeaux ainsi que sur les parois des sarcophages du Moyen Empire, dans lesquelles un certain nombre de noms de fruits est toujours suivi de la représenta-

tion de petites coupes ou de gobelets  ou  ayant évidemment servi à contenir des fruits. Il n'y a donc rien d'extraordinaire, si une petite quantité — 'une bouchée' de fruits *shouou* — est présentée dans un  'un gobelet' ou 'une petite coupe', dont la forme , à en juger par le déterminatif, ressemble à celle des coupes  dans les listes d'offrandes.

<sup>1</sup> L'expression , signifiant littéralement 'le bien', 'ce qui est bon', peut par extension prendre aussi bien le sens de 'perfection [absolue]' que celui de 'bonheur [complet]'.


<sup>2</sup> Ainsi, rien que pour les textes des Pyramides, on peut trouver, à côté des exemples cités ici,

mettre en lumière un point de la syntaxe égyptienne, qui a paru à l'auteur de ces lignes ne pas avoir été pris en considération dans les belles grammaires égyptiennes d'Erman et de Gardiner.

encore tout une série d'autres aux paragraphes 572 c, 703 b, 1462 a-b, 1874 b-c, 1875  
suivants: 143 b, 193 c, 425 c-e, 430 a-b, 555 a,

## DEUX VERSIONS D'UN PANÉGYRIQUE ROYAL

Par CHARLES KUENTZ

QUE l'illustre savant qui, au cours d'une carrière aussi variée que féconde, s'est intéressé à plusieurs reprises<sup>1</sup> au genre littéraire appelé par les Égyptiens  'Enseignements', veuille bien accepter cette courte étude d'un 'Enseignement' célèbre comme un modeste hommage rendu à son activité scientifique.

On connaît les instructions que Sehtepyebrê<sup>c</sup> fit graver à l'usage de ses enfants, sur une stèle de son tombeau, à la suite de sa biographie, et où sont enseignés le respect, la crainte et l'admiration d'Amenemhêt III. Il en existe un duplicata partiel, qui semble avoir passé inaperçu. Et pourtant il présente un double intérêt. D'abord, comme c'est un manuscrit d'époque ramesside, il prouve que, comme beaucoup d'autres œuvres littéraires du Moyen Empire, celle-ci, loin d'être oubliée, s'était transmise jusqu'alors et faisait partie des 'classiques' égyptiens. Ensuite, cette nouvelle version présente de nombreuses divergences par rapport à la stèle de Sehtepyebrê<sup>c</sup>, soit que, remontant à cette stèle même, elle ait été altérée par la tradition manuscrite, responsable non seulement des habituelles erreurs de copie, mais encore de diverses additions et omissions, soit plutôt qu'elle dérive d'une autre stèle de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, développant le même thème d'une façon légèrement différente.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE. 1. Instructions de Sehtepyebrê<sup>c</sup> (Stèle Caire 20.538, face 2, ll. 8-20).

*Publications*: Mariette, *Abydos*, II (1880), Pl. 25. Maspero, 'Sur une stèle du Musée de Boulaq', *Atti del IV Congresso internazionale degli orientalisti (Firenze, 1878)*, I (1880), 37-56 = *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*, IV (*Bibl. égypt.* VIII), 1900, pp. 131-47 (texte des instructions: pp. 142-4). Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, III, 1<sup>e</sup> partie (1895), Pls. v-vi. Erman, *Aegyptische Chrestomathie*, 1904, pp. 37-9 (non *in-extenso*). Lange et Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine d. Mittl. R.*, II (1908), pp. 148-9. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*, 1924, pp. 68-9.

*Traductions*: Maspero, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5. Piehl, *op. cit.* III, II<sup>e</sup> partie (1903), p. 5. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I (1906), pp. 326-7, §§ 747-8. Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire*, 4<sup>e</sup> édit. (1915), p. 117. Erman, *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, 1923, pp. 120-1.

*Commentaires*: Erman, *Aegypt. Chrest.*, p. 20\*. Sethe, *Erläuterungen zu den aeg. Lesest.*, 1927, pp. 100-1.

2. Manuscrit de Rîfeh. Gardiner in Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 1907, p. 27 et Pl. xxvii o.

<sup>1</sup> Dès 1890, c'est une étude sur les maximes de Ptahhotpe et de Kagemni ('Notes on Egyptian texts of the Middle Kingdom, III', *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XIII, 65-76). En 1891, un nouvel article sur Ptahhotpe ('The proverbs of Ptahhotep', *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XIII, 145-7). En

1896, une édition et une traduction des Instructions d'Amenemhêt I<sup>er</sup> ('The Millingen Papyrus', *Ä.Z.* xxxiv (1896), 36-51). En 1898, une traduction de Ptahhotpe et de Kagemni (in *The World's best literature*). Enfin, en 1926, un travail sur le livre d'Amenemope (*J.E.A.* XII, 191-231).

Confrontons ces deux textes pour nous assurer de leur parenté. Celui de la stèle a été collationné sur l'original.

SEḤTEPYEBRÊ<sup>c</sup>.

RÎFEH.

1		1	
			..... <sup>1</sup> ..... <sup>2</sup> ? ? <sup>1</sup>
			<sup>3</sup>
2			
3			.....
4			.....
5			.....
6			.....
7			<sup>4</sup>
8			
9			.....
10			..... <sup>5</sup>
11			
12			.....
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14			
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20		21	
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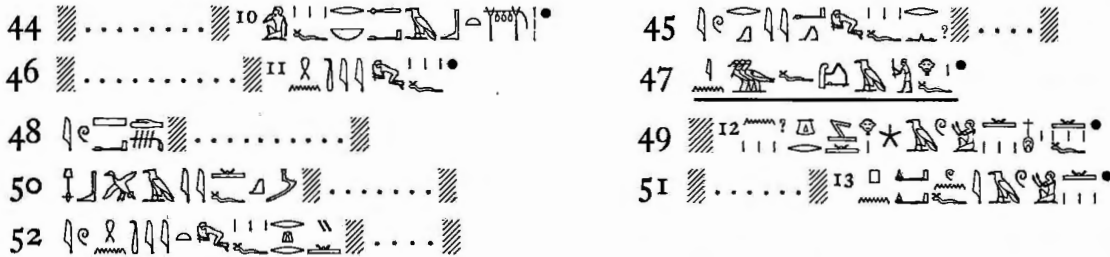
SEḤTEPYEBRÊ<sup>c1</sup>

26		27		28	
29				30	
31				32	

<sup>1</sup> A partir d'ici, les deux textes divergent complètement et ne sont plus comparables.



RÎFEH



Remarques sur le texte de la stèle. Le rouleau est sur cette face du monument ou avec un seul lien sortant du sceau (sauf au vers 38). Il en est de même de (vers 31).

Vers 8: le du cartouche est un simple trait large.

Vers 23: au lieu de , l'original porte qu'on admet être l'hiéroglyphique de régularisé. Ce qui a dû embarrasser le lapicide, c'est la présence de comme déterminatif: il n'a pas reconnu le mot *šrw*, parce qu'il n'est jamais déterminé de la sorte.

Vers 30: plutôt que .

Vers 33: l'extrémité du fil, au lieu de sortir du haut du peloton comme dans pend du bas.

1. Titre. *Ici commence l'enseignement qu'il a donné à ses enfants* (<sup>1</sup> *qu'a donné le noble, le gouverneur, [père] du dieu [aimé du dieu . . . bouche pacificatrice] dans tout le pays, prêtre sem, supérieur de toutes les šento*) . . . , à ses enfants):

1<sup>ère</sup> strophe

2. *Je dis une chose d'importance!*
3. *Je vous fais entendre,*
4. *Je vous fais connaître*
5. *Un conseil pour toujours,*
6. *Un moyen de vivre comme il le faut,*
7. *de passer son existence en paix (pour arriver à l'état d'amakh).*

2<sup>e</sup> strophe

8. *Vénérez le roi Nema'trê (qu'il vive toujours!) dans votre for intérieur*
9. *Associez Sa Majesté à vos pensées.*
10. (*. . . . . chaque jour,*
11. *Faites-lui des ovations).*

3<sup>e</sup> strophe

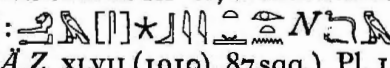
<sup>1</sup> Entre parenthèses, les additions de Rîfeh.


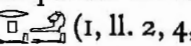
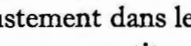
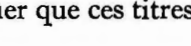
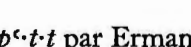


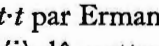
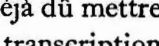
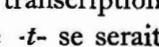
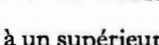
12. *C'est Sia qui est dans les cœurs:*  
 13. *Ses yeux scrutent tous les êtres.*  
 14. *C'est un Ré<sup>c</sup> (la vie est en son pouvoir):*  
 15. *Il voit clair grâce à ses rayons.*  
 4<sup>e</sup> strophe  
 16. *Il illumine les deux Égyptes plus que le disque solaire*  
 17. *(Brûlant . . . . .).*  
 18. *Il crée la prospérité plus que le Nil en crue,*  
 19. *Remplissant les deux Égyptes de force et de vie.*  
 5<sup>e</sup> strophe  
 20. *Les nez sont glacés*  
 21. *Quand il se met en colère:*  
 22. *Il se calme,*  
 23. *Et l'on respire.*  
 6<sup>e</sup> strophe  
 24. *Il donne de quoi vivre à ceux qui le servent,*  
 25. *Il est généreux pour celui qui suit son chemin.*  
 26. *Le Roi, c'est la vie,*  
 27. *Sa bouche, c'est l'abondance.*  
 7<sup>e</sup> strophe  
 28. *Celui qu'il crée, voilà celui qui sera quelqu'un.*  
 . . . . .  
 29. *C'est un Khnoum pour tous les individus,*  
 30. *Un Générateur qui crée l'humanité.*  
 8<sup>e</sup> strophe  
 31. *C'est une Bastet protectrice des deux Égyptes:*  
 32. *Celui qui le respecte, son bras le défendra.*  
 33. *C'est une Sakhmet pour qui a transgressé son ordre:*  
 34. *Celui qu'il déteste sera dans la misère.*  
 9<sup>e</sup> strophe  
 35. *Combattez pour son nom,*  
 36. *Respectez le serment fait par lui:*  
 37. *Gardez-vous de jamais vous insurger contre lui.*  
 38. *Celui que le Roi aime sera un amakh,*  
 39. *Mais pour qui est hostile à Sa Majesté, point de tombeau:*  
 40. *Son cadavre est jeté à l'eau.*  
 Conclusion  
 41. *Faites cela:*  
 42. *Ce sera salutaire pour vos personnes,*  
 43. *Vous vous en trouverez bien pour toujours.*  
 44. *(Ses . . . auront des présents:*  
 45. *Ses adversaires seront . . . . .*

46. . . . . ses ennemis.  
 47. Ce sont ses âmes qui combattent pour lui.  
 48. La terreur qu'il inspire . . .  
 49. Les . . . parce qu'ils vénèrent Sa Perfection.  
 50. Il ouvre . . . . .  
 51. . . . à celui qui lui donne des marques de respect.  
 52. Ses ennemis auront à supporter . . .  
 . . . . .)


Cette composition littéraire affecte visiblement, comme on l'a déjà reconnu,<sup>1</sup> une forme poétique et cadencée, et se décompose, ainsi qu'une grande partie de la poésie hébraïque, en strophes de deux à trois distiques, autant du moins qu'on en peut juger par ces deux versions divergentes.

1. *hsty-<sup>c</sup> m sbzy-t*: titre habituel des 'Enseignements', cf. en dernier lieu Spiegelberg, *Varia*, 17, 'Der aegyptische Name der sogenannten Weisheitslehren,' *Ä.Z.*, LIII (1917), 115. La préposition *hr* paraît avoir une nuance un peu plus cérémonieuse que *n*,<sup>2</sup> ainsi que l'ont montré MM. Griffith (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XIII (1890-1), p. 76, note \*) et A. Varille ('Un emploi particulier de la préposition *Kher*', *Kémi*, II, 1931): elle s'emploie souvent quand on s'adresse à un supérieur, mais il y a des exceptions comme ici<sup>3</sup> et, avec le même substantif *ms-w*, dans le titre d'un autre 'Enseignement':  Gardiner, 'The Tomb of Amenemhêt' (*Ä.Z.* XLVII (1910), 87 sqq.), Pl. I, ll. 1-2. De même Ptahhotpe (édit. Dévaud), 591, *dd-f mitt hr ms-w-f* (mais var. *sdd-f m mitt n ms-w-f*); 594 *sdd-f hr ms-w-f* (mais 595 *dd-sn n hrd-w-sn*).

Le texte de Rîfeh attribue la composition du morceau à un personnage dont le nom est perdu, mais qui, d'après ses titres, doit être différent de Sehtepyebre<sup>c</sup> et plus haut placé que lui. Cette attribution est peut-être erronée. Mais d'une part le mot  ne prouve pas que Sehtepyebre<sup>c</sup> soit le moins du monde l'auteur du texte<sup>4</sup> et peut se traduire par '(Enseignement) qu'il a donné, adressé à', d'autre part la majeure partie de sa stèle étant inspirée de celle de Mentu-hotpe (Caire 20.539), il est bien possible que cette partie aussi ait été empruntée à un autre monument, peut-être même à une stèle perdue de ce même Mentu-hotpe, car parmi les titres de celui-ci on trouve ceux de<sup>5</sup>  (I, ll. 2, 4, 13),  (1.2),  (1.13),  (1.16), lesquels figurent justement dans le texte de Rîfeh. Sethe (*apud* Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, p. 27) a fait remarquer que ces titres ressemblent, par exemple, à ceux du vizir Rekhmyrê<sup>c</sup>.

Le groupe , ,  est encore lu *rp<sup>c</sup>-t* et son féminin  *rp<sup>c</sup>-t-t* par Erman et Grapow, *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.* II. 415, 416. Mais la forme du féminin aurait déjà dû mettre en éveil: *rp<sup>c</sup>-t-t* ne pourrait correspondre qu'à un masculin *rp<sup>c</sup>-t-y*. Or la transcription ορπει, ορπαις, ορπαις (*Sphinx*, XIV. 5 et 26) interdit de lire *rp<sup>c</sup>-t-y*: le *-t-* se serait

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, § 743, p. 324. Erman, *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, p. 120, n. 1.

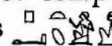









<sup>2</sup> Cf. l'idiotisme analogue  'dire en face' = 'dire à', Sethe, *Die Einsetzung des Veziers*, p. 5, remarque 7; Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 32.



<sup>3</sup> De même, comme Sethe l'a noté, ce n'est pas



exclusivement quand on s'adresse à un supérieur qu'on emploie *hft* au lieu de *n*.

<sup>4</sup> Breasted: 'which he composed'; Erman: 'die er verfasst hat'.

<sup>5</sup> Lange et Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, II, pp. 151-3.



conservé. C'est donc le *-t* quiescent du féminin. En fait la solution est fournie depuis longtemps par Loret, 'L'Égypte au temps du totémisme' (*Bibl. de vulg. du Musée Guimet*, XIX, 1906), p. 53: il s'agit d'un mot composé *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t*, fém. *ir-t-p<sup>c</sup>t*, 'celui (celle) qui est de la race la plus noble, celle des  ou clan horien'. Le féminin ne s'écrit ,  que pour une raison d'eugraphie (cf. par exemple  pour , ); sa formation est régulière, comparable entre autres à celle de *hst-t<sup>c</sup>*  féminin de  *hst-y<sup>c</sup>*. Cette interprétation ne diffère de celle de Sethe que pour le premier élément du mot composé: Sethe y voit le mot 'bouche' ('Mund der Untertanen' *Ä.Z.* XLIV (1907), 31, n. 13; 'Mund der Menschen', *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Aegypten*, p. 61 et n. 1) comme dans le titre *r-hry*; mais aurait-on formé le féminin de ce composé *r-p<sup>c</sup>t* en mettant au féminin le mot 'bouche'?—Rîfeh porte  (Gardiner), mauvaise orthographe sans doute pour .





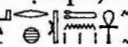

 est le début du titre .

Les traces au début de la ligne 2 sont difficiles à interpréter, elles semblent s'opposer à une restitution  *tr dr-f* ou  *r dr-f*.


2. *dd-y wr-t* n'est naturellement pas 'je dis instamment' (Maspero, Piehl), 'je dis bien haut' (Maspero), mais 'I speak great things' (Breasted), 'Ich sage etwas Grosses' (Erman), 'I speak a (thing that is) important' (Gardiner, *Eg. Gram.*, § 96). Le même exorde se retrouve sur la stèle de Nefer-hotpe, l. 10, comme l'a vu Pieper, *Die grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos*, 1929, p. 17, qui corrige en ce sens la copie de Mariette.

La faute de Rîfeh est bizarre, elle semble bien être due à une erreur de copie et non d'audition.

3. Il faut sans doute lire  et non  dans Rîfeh.

Piehl, *Varia*, § xxxvii, *Ä.Z.* xxv (1887), 42-3, et Pieper, loc. cit., ont rapproché ces phrases de celles de Nefer-hotpe, l. 10 (texte rétabli par Pieper):    
   , &c.

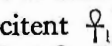
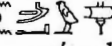


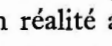
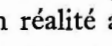
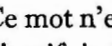
Sethe (*Erläut.*, p. 100) propose de voir ici une construction brisée du type *a b a' b'*: 'Je vous fais entendre, je vous fais connaître, une pensée d'éternité, le moyen de vivre...' est mis pour 'Je vous fais entendre une pensée d'éternité, je vous fais connaître le moyen de vivre'. Cette rupture de construction n'est pas normale dans le 'parallélisme' égyptien ou hébraïque, où en règle générale ce sont des propositions entières qui se répondent.

5. *šr ■ nhh* ne peut pas être 'le moyen d'être éternel, des choses qui donnent l'éternité' (Maspero), 'l'aspect de l'éternité' (Piehl), mais doit être compris comme un génitif en fonction d'adjectif (cf. *אֵלֶּיךָ עוֹלָם* 'possession d'éternité' = 'éternelle'): 'the eternal manner' (Breasted), 'einen Gedanken für die Ewigkeit' (Erman), 'einen Gedanken der Ewigkeit' (Pieper, loc. cit.), 'the conduct of eternity' (Gardiner, *Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.* xxx. 178). L'auteur veut simplement dire que les idées qu'il va exprimer, les conseils qu'il va donner, sont valables pour toujours, et non pas qu'ils ont trait à l'éternité.
6. La répétition du groupe  ici et dans le cartouche n'est sans doute pas voulue, malgré Breasted et Erman.

Sur *šr*,<sup>1</sup> qui avait été traduit diversement ('moyen, choses qui donnent', Maspero;

<sup>1</sup> L'original porte bien la corde  $\delta$  et non le paquet de linge  $\delta$ , car l'intérieur du signe n'est pas creusé. Une cassure à la partie supérieure ne permet pas de voir si les deux extrémités sont renflées comme le donne Piehl, mais elle devait

exister déjà de son temps et sa copie n'est donc pas pour ce détail absolument fidèle. Cette stèle prouve que l'emploi abusif de  $\delta$   $\delta$  pour  $\delta$   $\delta$ , qu'a signalé M. Gardiner, a commencé assez tôt.

'façon', Piehl; 'manner', Breasted; 'Ausspruch', Erman), cf. Gardiner, loc. cit., qui, au cours d'une magistrale étude, a discuté tous les sens du mot et adopté ici celui de 'méthode, moyen, manière, façon'. La stèle de Nefer-hotpe contient aussi les mots *sšr-w* et '*nh* ■ *mšw*', mais groupés différemment (cf. *supra*). Il ne s'agit pas ici du 'moyen de revivre, des choses qui donnent une vie nouvelle' (Maspero), 'la façon de revivre' (Piehl), mais bien de: 'richtige Lebensführung' (Sethe), 'the manner of living aright' (Gardiner). Le génitif ■ *mšw* se rapporte à '*nh*', non à *sšr* ('the true manner of life', Breasted), comme le prouve la présence de la même locution, en dehors de toute connexion avec *sšr*, dans la stèle de Nefer-hotpe: ce qui montre aussi que '*nh*' n'est pas une épithète de *sšr* ('einen Gedanken, der in Wahrheit lebendig ist', Pieper, op. cit., p. 17, qui pourtant traduit 'wahres Leben' dans Nefer-hotpe). Le mot *mšw* dans cette locution est compris comme étant le mot 'vent régulier, favorable', par Erman et Grapow, *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.* II. 23, qui citent , sans doute d'après Turin 156 (Stèle de *B:ki*), I. 9: . *A priori*, ce ne serait pas invraisemblable, la langue égyptienne étant riche en métaphores et idiotismes empruntés à la navigation. Mais l'absence du déterminatif  dans les deux textes du Moyen Empire et la présence de  dans l'un d'eux prouvent qu'il s'agit ici d'un mot abstrait. C'est par suite d'une fausse interprétation que, dans cette expression toute faite, on a écrit à un moment donné . On a affaire en réalité au mot , *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.* II. 23 'Richtigkeit' (les abstraits en -*w* reçoivent souvent le déterminatif du pluriel, soit par abus à cause de leur ressemblance désinentielle avec le pluriel masculin, soit parce qu'étymologiquement ce sont de vrais pluriels). Ce mot n'est pas à séparer de , *ibid.*, 'richtige Leistung': la différence de déterminatif indique simplement une nuance de sens. Plutôt que 'wahres Leben' (Pieper) ou 'gerecht zu leben [?]', (Erman), il faut donc comprendre: 'richtige Lebensführung' (Sethe), 'living aright' (Gardiner). C'est une vie normale, régulière, bien ordonnée, que doivent assurer les conseils de Sehtepyebéré; entendons dans un sens pratique (la phrase suivante le montre assez): une vie non seulement conforme à l'ordre, mais comportant le maximum d'avantages.








7. *sšr* commande deux génitifs: '*nh* . . . et *sb-t* . . . Cette construction a gêné le rédacteur de Rîfeh qui, au lieu de coordonner *sb-t* . . . à '*nh* . . .', l'a fait précéder de la préposition *r* (écrite *iw*); il a d'ailleurs changé la fin de la phrase en l'expression connue *sb-t r imšhw* (cf. Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, p. 216; Gardiner, *Notes on the story of Sinuhe*, p. 68; Erman, *Ä.Z.* XLVIII (1910), 52). Pour la phrase de Sehtepyebéré, cf. Louvre C. 213: *sby 'h' nfr m htp*; stèle de *B:ki* (Turin 156): *Sb-tn 'h'w m ndm-ib*. Rîfeh se place au point de vue du but final: la 'béatitude' après la mort; Sehtepyebéré se place à celui, plus immédiat, d'une vie heureuse.
8. C'est prendre trop au pied de la lettre la valeur concrète d'un signe figuratif que de traduire 'au fond de vos seins' (Maspero), 'in the midst of your bodies' (Breasted), 'in euren Leibern' (Erman). S'il fallait toujours procéder ainsi, on serait forcé de dénier à la langue égyptienne toute possibilité d'abstraction et à l'écriture hiéroglyphique toute faculté d'expression au figuré.

Au point de vue psychologique, ce conseil est curieux: ce n'est pas le respect extérieur qu'il recommande, mais plus que cela: la conviction profonde, intime, de l'éminente dignité du roi.

Il est visible que le cartouche a été inséré dans un vers qui sans lui est d'une longueur

- normale et s'équilibre avec le suivant. Le poème primitif, composé pour un autre souverain ou, d'une façon impersonnelle, pour n'importe quel roi, devait porter seulement : 'Révérez le roi au fond de vous-mêmes'. Seḥtepyebrê<sup>c</sup>, par flatterie, a introduit dans un vers qui ne le comportait pas, le nom du roi dont il se réclame en tête de sa stèle (face 1).
9. Le mot *snsn* est curieux ici, car il s'applique en général à des relations d'égal à égal, ce qui n'est pas le cas. On peut le rendre par 'ayez toujours présent à' (Maspero, Piehl), ou 'verbrüderet euch mit' (Erman), difficilement par 'enthroner' (Breasted).
12. Sur *Sš*, dieu de l'intelligence et de la connaissance, personnification de la conscience, cf. Gardiner, *Some personifications*, II, *Hu . . . , Sš . . . , Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xxxviii (1916), 43-54 et 83-94; *Postscripta*, 3, *ibid.* xxxix (1917), 138-9; *Hastings' Encyclop. of Relig. and Ethics*, ix, 791; Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, p. 62-63. Dans les Pyramides 267 b, d, 268 c, le roi est identifié à *Sš* (cf. 411 d : il a 'absorbé le *sš* de tout dieu'). D'après Breasted (p. 327, n. 1), il y a une relation logique entre cette phrase et celles qui précèdent : c'est parce que le roi connaît les plus secrètes pensées de ses sujets qu'il faut le respecter même dans son for intérieur.

Dans les phrases de ce genre, il ne faut pas traduire comme on le fait généralement : 'il est le dieu Rê<sup>c</sup>'.<sup>1</sup> Le sens est : 'c'est un Rê<sup>c</sup> comme nous disons 'c'est un Adonis, une Vénus.' C'est une comparaison, non une identification. De même aux vers 14, 31, 33.

13. Ce vers s'applique à la fois aux deux termes de la comparaison, au dieu et au roi ; il en est de même au vers 15. Beaucoup de peuples ont cru (ou croient encore) qu'entre autres pouvoirs surnaturels, le roi avait le don de l'omniscience et la faculté de connaître même les pensées intimes (cf. par ex. Faïlovitch, *Proverbes abyssins*, n° 8, "le roi perscrute les êtres comme le *fāzmā* (médicament) pénètre les corps"). Cf. l'expression biblique 'Dieu qui sonde les reins et les cœurs' et Stèle du Mariage de Ramsès II, *Annales Serv. Ant.* xxv, 203 et 229, n. 5 : le roi reçoit la même épithète *d'r h-t* qu'ici. Cf. encore   Mariette, *Karnak*, 35, 60;   Livre des Morts, ch. 125, Naville, *Todt.*, II, 330;   Chassinat, *Edfou*, II, 42. Sur la valeur de *iw-f sdm-f* ici, cf., Gardiner *Eg. Gram.*, § 463.
14. Le vers est trop court chez Seḥtepyebrê<sup>c</sup> : il a dû omettre une qualification du dieu qui faisait pendant à *imy hsty-w* et dont Rifeh nous a conservé une partie.
15. On peut comprendre de diverses façons. Si *mšw* est un participe imparfait passif, on peut traduire 'qui est visible par ses rayons' (Maspero<sup>2</sup>), cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gram.*, § 358. Mais cette épithète est plate. La même forme verbale peut être prise comme passif impersonnel : 'by whose rays there is seeing' (Breasted), 'durch dessen Strahlen man sieht' (Erman, Sethe; cf. Erman, *Aeg. Gram.* 4<sup>e</sup> édit., § 395; 5<sup>e</sup> édit., § 395 a). Mais si, dans les hymnes, on trouve souvent cette idée que l'on voit grâce à la lumière du soleil, ici on attend une phrase qui réponde au vers 13. Aussi bien *mšw* peut-il très bien être un participe imparfait actif (pour la gémiation et la désinence, cf. par exemple, Gardiner, *Eg. Gram.*, § 357); on peut donc rendre ainsi : 'qui voit de ses rayons' (Piehl), 'seeing with his rays' (Breasted). C'est un thème assez fréquent que l'omniscience de Rê<sup>c</sup> (cf. le nom ): ici, le dieu du soleil, dont les regards, sous forme de rayons, voient tout, répond assez bien au dieu de la conscience, qui perscrute tous les êtres.
16. On ne sait si *shdw*, de même que *swšdw* au vers 18, est un participe imparfait actif avec

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Erman, *Aeg. Gram.*, 3<sup>e</sup> et 4<sup>e</sup> édit., § 477.

<sup>2</sup> La traduction plus récente de Maspero : 'dont on voit les rayons' est naturellement inadmissible.

sa désinence  $-w^1$  ou avec la particule admirative  $wy^2$ . Le  $\text{Ⲛ}$  de Rîfeh semble favoriser cette seconde manière de voir.

17. Ici encore, Sehtpeyebrêc ■ dû omettre un vers (dont le début est conservé à Rîfeh), car la strophe est boiteuse chez lui.
18. Le signe qui suit  $sw$  a été lu par certains et traduit par tous comme étant —. Mais c'est une règle de stylistique égyptienne<sup>3</sup> que, dans deux phrases en parallélisme, il n'y ait pas de répétition de mots : ici  $ts$  après  $ts-wy$  du vers 16, serait une faute contre la *copia verborum*. En fait le monument porte bien — (avec une seule extrémité du lien scellé comme partout sur cette face du monument; même si ce détail n'était pas visible, l'épaisseur du signe empêcherait de le prendre pour —). Il y a eu déplacement de ce signe, qui devait déterminer  $swsdw$  (Erman, *Chrest.*, p. 20\*), comme au vers 38  $\text{Ⲛ}$  pour  $\text{Ⲛ}$ .
19. Le texte de Rîfeh semble avoir mésinterprété la locution  $nht$  'nh' 'force et vie' et en avoir fait  $ht n$  'nh' 'plantes comestibles', ce qui est une absurdité, car cela peut s'appliquer au Nil, non au roi. C'est une faute d'audition et non de copie.
20. Cette strophe est difficile.  $hbb fnd-w$  ne termine pas la phrase précédente ('rafraîchissant les nez', Maspero, Piehl, Breasted), mais commence une nouvelle strophe: 'Die Nasen werden kühl' (Erman). Comment comprendre le rapport des quatre vers 20 à 23? Pour Sethe (*Erläut.*, p. 100), il s'agit d'une proposition principale:  $hbb fnd-w r tpr ts$ , dans laquelle seraient intercalées deux propositions circonstancielles synonymes:  $wy-f r nsn$  et  $htp-f$ . La construction serait donc: 'les nez sont frais — quand il est loin de la colère et qu'il est calme — si bien que l'on respire'. Mais il est plus simple d'admettre qu'au lieu d'une longue phrase un peu tourmentée, il y en a deux qui s'opposent (avec un chiasme d'ailleurs): 'Die Nasen werden kühl, wenn er zum Grausen sich anschickt, ist er gnädig, so[?] atmet man Luft' (Erman). Aussi bien la locution  $wy r$  doit-elle avoir non pas le sens de 'être loin de' mais son sens habituel 'en arriver à'.<sup>4</sup> La tournure 'il se calme pour qu'on respire' est identique à celles que Gardiner, *Eg. Gram.*, p. 361, a signalées:  $sdm nhs r hr$  'le nègre entend pour tomber' = 'à peine le nègre a-t-il entendu qu'il tombe',  $ms-tw-f r rpd$  'il est vu pour fuir' = 'dès qu'on le voit, on doit fuir'. Cette expression, dans sa concision, paraît indiquer non pas seulement qu'un fait succède à un autre, mais qu'il en est la conséquence à la fois immédiate et inévitable. La préposition 'pour' entre dans un gallicisme analogue: 'il y entra pour en sortir aussitôt', 'il ne commença que pour s'arrêter peu après'.

'Les nez se glacent' ne peut être, d'après le contexte, qu'un égyptianisme pittoresque pour décrire la peur. Ce n'est plus le sens habituel de 'calme, tranquille, placide' que  $hbb$  prend avec d'autres noms de parties du corps. L'observation est très juste: la peur, disent les physiologistes, diminue la tension et provoque un abaissement de la température, sensible surtout aux extrémités. Nous disons bien qu'un récit horrible nous 'fait froid dans le dos', qu'on est 'glacé de peur'.

23. Rîfeh n'a plus compris l'idiotisme  $r . . .$ ; il l'a transformé en proposition avec verbe



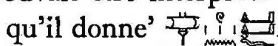
<sup>1</sup> Sethe, *Nominalsatz*, § 80 a. Gardiner, *Eg. Gram.*, § 374.



<sup>2</sup> Sethe, *Erläut.*, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Formulée sans doute pour la première fois par Piehl, *Ä.Z.* xxv (1887), 43.

<sup>4</sup> Sur la nuance aspective, très controversée,

que cette locution donne au verbe suivant, cf. Breasted, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xxiii (1901), 239-43; Gardiner, *Admonitions*, p. 53; Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, p. 110; Lefebvre, *Petosiris*, III. 25; Erman et Grapow, *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.* I. 246.


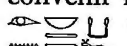
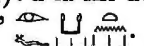
jugué 'on respire son air', d'autant plus facilement que  devait déjà remplacer  dans son modèle et pouvait être interprété comme la vraie particule *iw*. 'Son air' paraît anormal pour 'l'air qu'il donne' .

Sehtepyebré a pour  un signe bizarre (fac-simile chez Lange et Schäfer) qui ressemble un peu à son équivalent hiératique; Rîfeh en assure la lecture. Il est cependant bizarre que le lapicide ait été embarrassé par un mot aussi courant, surtout pour une stèle aussi soignée. Une autre bizarrerie c'est le déterminatif  qui est d'ailleurs, sur l'original, non pas un petit cercle (déterm. des grains) comme on l'a publié, mais un grand cercle, donc le soleil.

24. C'est donner au mot *ks-w* une valeur trop restreinte que de le traduire ici par 'subsistances', 'provisions', 'food', 'Nahrung', 'Lebenskräfte'. Le roi n'octroie sans doute pas seulement 'des vivres' mais 'de quoi vivre' au sens large, des ressources de tout genre.

*šmsy* a ici, comme presque toujours, le sens de 'servir' (Piehl) 'dienen' (Erman), et non de 'suivre, follow'. Rîfeh remplace *šmsy* par *šm*, ce qui est sûrement une faute d'audition, non de copie.

25. Comme *ks-w* plus haut, *sdf* n'a sans doute pas une valeur trop restreinte: c'est plutôt 'enrichir' (Piehl) qu' 'approvisionner', 'donner des vivres', 'to feed', 'mit Speisen versehen'.

26. Le sens de  est difficile à serrer de près. Malgré l'orthographe, qui pourrait y faire reconnaître le mot 'double' (Piehl: 'c'est un être idéal que le roi'), il s'agit, semble-t-il, du même mot qu'au vers 24; on l'a traduit par 'subsistance, vie' (Masp.), 'food' (Br.), 'Lebenskraft' (Erm.): la première et la troisième traductions sont comme plus haut trop matérielles. Ce qui peut donner raison à Piehl, c'est que la répétition du même mot à deux vers de distance a quelque chose d'anormal (il est vrai qu'il est une fois au pluriel, une autre fois au singulier), et que le sens de 'Providence' (Gardiner, in Hastings, *Enc. of Rel. and Eth.* ix. 790), attesté d'ailleurs à partir du Nouvel Empire seulement, pourrait convenir ici. Il se peut que *ks* ait ici la même valeur que dans l'expression fréquente  'der, dessen Eigenschaft (Geltung, Rang) der Herr der beiden Länder gemacht hat' (Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, p. 63): à la fin de l'hymne à Sanwosret III de Kahun (3, 13), il est dit du roi qu'il 'fait vos *ks*' .

27. Erman, loc. cit., p. 121, n. 1, fait remarquer que la bouche est ici nommée en tant qu'elle donne des ordres (Sethe: *r-f* = 'sein Ausspruch'). Cette conception du roi disposant de biens de toutes sortes (et faisant profiter ses serviteurs de son opulence) est fréquemment développée, cf. p. ex., 'Stèle du Mariage de Ramsès II', *Annales Serv. Ant.* xxv. 193-4 et 226-7.

28. Erman a renoncé à traduire 'er ist es, der schafft was existiert' (*Aeg. Gram.* 3 356) pour rendre 'er ist es, der aufzieht den der sein wird' (*Liter.*, loc. cit.), cf. 'Wer sein soll muss von ihm entwickelt sein' (Sethe). L'accent, dans les phrases nominales de ce type, est sur le premier mot: 'c'est celui qu'il élève (et non un autre) qui est destiné à avoir de l'importance', cf. *Annales Serv. Ant.* xxv. 216 et 233, n. 1: *wd-wt-k pw hprw* 'ce sont tes commandements qui se réalisent', et, avec un participe futur comme ici, *mr-ty ks-k pw hpr-ty-sn* 'ce sont les désirs de ton *ka* qui se réaliseront' (*Urk.* iv. 96, 16).



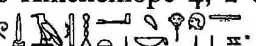





29. Ici comme plus haut, il faut, à l'encontre de tous les traducteurs, comprendre: 'c'est un Khnoum', non 'il est Khnoum'. *h'-w nb* n'est pas 'tous les membres', 'all limbs', mais 'alle Leiber', ou mieux, au figuré, 'tous les individus'.

30. *wtt-w*: épithète divine substantivée, 'un Engendreur, un Procréateur, un Générateur',








41. Cf. par exemple *Urk.* IV. 1033, 2  (Stèle d'Uriage, l. 12),  (Turin 156, Stèle de *Bské*, l. 14).
42. Même expression dans Amenemope 4, 2 et 7, 10 (Lange, p. 33, 45) pour indiquer l'utilité des préceptes: . Cf. encore *Urk.* IV. 1033, 4  aussi après des conseils.
43. Sethe a très heureusement corrigé le  des précédents éditeurs, qui faisait difficulté (il faudrait *sh n-tn* et non *sh-tn st*, cf. *Urk.* IV. 65, 17 et 1033, 3 , de même Turin 156, l. 14), en , correction confirmée par l'original qui porte bien  (le signe *gm* a la même forme, face 1, l. 10). Sethe propose un sens fort pour *gm*: 'als gut befinden'. Peut-être est-ce simplement: 'vous le constaterez (que cela vous sera salutaire).'
- 44-52. Vers trop fragmentaires pour être compris sûrement.

En somme, il est très vraisemblable que ces deux textes dérivent d'une source commune, que Sehtepyebret a utilisée en l'abrégéant tandis que la version de Rifeh, quoique plus récente, l'a conservée *in extenso*. Il est regrettable que cette version n'ait pas son titre au complet, avec l'indication du haut personnage, sans doute un vizir, à qui était attribuée cette composition. Il est permis de penser que ces 'Enseignements' étaient traditionnels et que, sous la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, on les transcrivait en tout ou partie sur les stèles funéraires comme, par exemple, sous la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, les 'Instructions du Vizir'.

Le canevas de cette composition est le suivant: 1<sup>o</sup> Le roi est un être presque surnaturel, doué de qualités éminentes; de plus, il a le pouvoir de récompenser et de punir. 2<sup>o</sup> Il faut le respecter et le servir. Ces deux parties, éloge et conseils, sont habilement combinées: l'éloge (vers 12-40) est compris entre un exorde (2-11) et une conclusion (41-3) qui formulent les conseils. Maspero y voyait un 'panégyrique du roi régnant déguisé en recommandations du mort à ses enfants' (*Guide du visiteur . . .*, 1915, p. 117). En réalité les recommandations ne sont pas un déguisement, mais la conséquence même de l'éloge. Tel morceau qui paraît un pur dithyrambe poétique, comme l'hymne à Sanwosret III de Kahun, devait aussi comporter une conclusion pratique: les restes de la fin prouvent qu'on y exhortait les gens à aimer le roi<sup>1</sup> ( N 3, 12) et qu'on y rappelait ses bienfaits (3, 13; cf. plus haut, commentaire du vers 26). Ici, les conseils sur la conduite à tenir envers le roi font partie intégrante du sujet: le rédacteur ne se proposait pas, comme le croyait Maspero, de flatter le souverain sous prétexte d'endoctriner la postérité, mais bien au contraire de recommander, à l'aide d'arguments péremptoires, la soumission absolue aux volontés royales; et cette propagande servait bien mieux les intérêts du trône qu'un dithyrambe sans portée pratique. Cet 'Enseignement' est donc à ranger dans cette littérature royaliste qui semble avoir fleuri sous la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie et qui doit avoir été inspirée par les Amenemhêt et les Sanwosret eux-mêmes.<sup>2</sup>

En tout cas, l'interprétation proposée ici a pour conséquence de donner une

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1931, annexe à la séance du 16 octobre.

<sup>2</sup> Il est vrai que d'après Erman, *Die Literatur . . .*, p. 182, on s'adresse aux dieux dans cette fin de l'hymne.

valeur concrète, politique et pratique, même aux parties en apparence les plus dithyrambiques ou les plus mystiques du poème. La comparaison avec *Sis* et *Ré* (strophe 3) n'a pas pour but de diviniser le pharaon, mais de rappeler qu'il est renseigné sur tout (grâce, évidemment, aux 'yeux' et aux 'oreilles du roi') et qu'il faut le servir loyalement. La comparaison avec Khnoum (strophe 7) n'est pas destinée à faire du roi un démiurge, mais à montrer que ses créatures lui doivent tout. De même ce qu'on pourrait prendre pour des allusions au rôle belliqueux du roi (vers 33 et 39) et à ses victoires sur les ennemis du dehors, se rapporte aux serviteurs déloyaux et infidèles et à leur châtement.

La forme de ce morceau n'est pas moins intéressante que le fond. On peut y étudier la rhétorique égyptienne. Chaque strophe développe, par énumération ou antithèse, une idée nouvelle. Ce n'est pas que, abstraction faite d'une certaine gradation, l'ordre de ces strophes soit commandé par une logique rigoureuse. Mais chacune d'elles forme un tout bien défini :

- strophe 3 le roi est omniscient comme un dieu ;
- „ 4 il est bienfaisant comme une force de la nature ;
- „ 5 tout le monde est attentif à son humeur ;
- „ 6 il récompense ses bons serviteurs ;
- „ 7 il tire du néant qui bon lui semble et l'élève aux honneurs ;
- „ 8 il protège ses sujets dévoués et punit les séditieux ;
- „ 9 il accorde ou refuse à son gré la 'béatitude' (les strophes supplémentaires de Rifeh ne font que développer cette différence de traitement entre amis et ennemis du roi).

A l'intérieur de chacune de ces strophes règne un équilibre dû au parallélisme d'idées et de forme qui en balance les divers éléments. En un mot, c'est un bon exemple de poésie orientale ancienne de caractère officiel.

## QUELQUES CORRECTIONS, COMPLÉMENTS ET REMARQUES SUR MA TRADUCTION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE PTAHHOTEP

Par FRANTIŠEK LEXA

J'AI terminé l'avant-propos de mon traité tchèque sur l'enseignement de Ptahhotep<sup>1</sup> par l'alinéa suivant:

'Si mes précurseurs ont commis des erreurs, il n'est pas exclu que j'aie fait des fautes moi-même aussi; je reconnais la vérité de la sentence de Ptahhotep: "*Il n'y a pas d'artiste qui soit doué de sa perfection, parce qu'on ne peut pas atteindre les bornes de l'art.*"

'Je désirerais seulement que mon présent travail fût libre des erreurs superflues dont j'ai fait voir des exemples aux lecteurs.'<sup>2</sup>

Malheureusement ma traduction n'est pas indemne non plus des erreurs superflues que j'avais mentionnées, ce qui a été causé, entre autres, par les raisons suivantes:

1. En étudiant l'enseignement de Ptahhotep, de même que pendant mes autres études, je ne pouvais compter que sur moi-même. Une unique question adressée au *Wörterbuch* de Berlin par l'intermédiaire de M. Černý<sup>3</sup> est restée sans réponse.

2. Ayant constaté une quantité d'erreurs évidentes du scribe ancien de l'enseignement de Ptahhotep, j'ai supposé — à tort — les mêmes erreurs aussi dans les passages en réalité corrects, surtout quand les textes parallèles différaient. J'ai été amené à commettre cette inadvertance par les expériences faites en étudiant les enseignements moraux plus récents des anciens Égyptiens.

3. J'ai été obligé par des circonstances extérieures de publier ma traduction avant la révision de mon commentaire philologique de ce texte. J'avais l'intention de publier le même commentaire encore au cours de l'année 1928, mais j'y ai renoncé quand M. Dévaud m'a appris son intention de publier dans quelques mois sa propre traduction avec un commentaire.

Ily a quelques mois seulement que j'ai procédé à la révision de mon commentaire de l'enseignement de Ptahhotep, et je présente, à titre provisoire, aux lecteurs quelques corrections de ma traduction antérieure et quelques-unes des remarques les plus importantes, le résultat de mon dernier effort.

*Titre du livre, B<sub>1</sub> 1-6 = Dév. 1-4.* La division du texte en vers faite par

<sup>1</sup> *Facultas philosophica universitatis Carolinae Pragensis, Sbirka pojednání a rozprav XI Dr. František Lexa: Obecné mravní nauky staroegyptské, svazek II Nauka Ptahhotepova a zlomek nauky Kagemniovy. (Enseignements moraux généraux des anciens Égyptiens, tome deuxième: Enseignement de Ptahhotep et fragment de l'enseignement de Kagemni), Prague, 1928.*

<sup>2</sup> Voir l'extrait de l'avant-propos ajouté à l'extrait français de mon traité cité dans la note précédente, qui contient aussi ma traduction française de l'enseignement de Ptahhotep. Les numéros des chapitres et des vers de mon présent article se rattachent à la traduction citée.

<sup>3</sup> Sur les documents relatifs au sens *Wohlge-nährte* du mot *špn't* (Dév. 499 = P XXXVI. 1).

Dévaud ne correspond pas à la ponctuation et est par conséquent arbitraire. L'adjonction de la forme relative *'ry·t-n* au premier vers et celle de son sujet au deuxième vers est impossible; elle contredit la règle fondamentale de la poésie égyptienne.

*Introduction*, 1=Dév. 5-6. L'accord du texte B<sub>1</sub> avec le texte C<sub>1</sub> où l'appartenance de la date à l'introduction est indubitable, démontre que M. Dévaud ajoute par erreur la date du texte P au titre. La traduction du texte B<sub>1</sub> doit commencer comme dans la traduction tchèque: 'Il a dit sous le règne . . .'; la traduction 'Voilà ce qu'il dit . . .' n'a été qu'un essai déplacé d'exprimer la construction *rnt·t*.

P<sub>9</sub>=Dév. 13: 'et elle ne parle pas' est mieux que 'n'ayant plus de parole'; de même dans le vers P<sub>10</sub>=Dév. 16 corr. 'et il ne se souvient pas d'hier' au lieu de 'n'ayant pas la souvenance d'hier', et P<sub>15</sub>=Dév. 22 corr. 'et il ne sent pas' au lieu de 'n'ayant pas d'odorat'.

P<sub>24</sub>=B<sub>1</sub>, C<sub>25</sub>=Dév. 37: corr. 'Éduque-le (pour toi) aux choses d'un homme éminent.'

B<sub>1</sub> 26=Dév. 38: mot à mot 'quand tu as l'intention d'être inactivement assis'.

*Titre de l'enseignement P*, B<sub>1</sub>, C<sub>6</sub>=Dév. 48: plus vraisemblablement 'de la bonne chose' que 'de belles paroles'.

P, B<sub>1</sub>, C<sub>9</sub>=Dév. 50: mieux 'pour le dommage' que 'pour la perte'.

II. 2=Dév. 61. *m 'kr r=k* est le comparatif de l'adverbe *m 'kr* 'mieux que toi' comme dans la traduction tchèque.

II. 4=Dév. 63: *m t·y yb=k r=k* 'ne sois pas téméraire contre lui.'

II. 5=Dév. 63-64 P: *n rmn-n=f n=k s'nz=k* 'pour qu'il ne te cause pas ton échec' — B<sub>1</sub>: *n rmn-n=f n=k s'nz=f n=k* 'pour qu'il ne se révolte pas contre toi de sorte que son insuccès soit (imputé) à toi'.

II. 8=Dév. 65 P: mieux 'ne cesse pas de le dompter' que 'ne cesse pas de t'opposer à lui' — B<sub>1</sub>: 'même quand il n'aura pas de l'opposition'.

II. 9=Dév. 66: ou 'il sera appelé l'ignorant de la chose'.

II. 10=Dév. 67 P: 'ta placidité<sup>1</sup> envers lui appuyera (?appuyera) sa condition' — B<sub>1</sub>: 'même quand tu seras clément<sup>2</sup> envers lui à cause de sa charge' ou 'ne sois pas clément<sup>3</sup> envers lui à cause de sa charge'.

III. 2=Dév. 69: corr. 'qui est ton rival'<sup>4</sup> au lieu de 'qui pourrait être ton adversaire'.

III. 5-6=Dév. 72-73 B<sub>1</sub>: 'L'auditoire lui donnera son approbation, mais ton nom sera bon comme d'un (homme) utile aux nobles'.

IV. 4-5=Dév. 78-79 B<sub>1</sub>: 'Ne lui réponds pas, pense à ton avilissement, pense au plaisir de ton adversaire'.

VI. P<sub>3</sub>=Dév. 101: corr. 'quiconque dira' au lieu de 'si quelqu'un dit' con-

<sup>1</sup> *dir yb=k* mot à mot 'le domptage de ton cœur'.

<sup>2</sup> Conjonction *m* avec la forme *szm=f*.

<sup>3</sup> Impératif du verbe négatif *'my*+participe indéclinable+objet.

<sup>4</sup> Mot à mot 'qui est dans ta rivalité'.

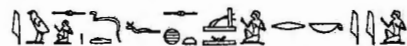
formément au vers 5, 8=Dév. 103, 111 et 'mais il sera privé . . .' dans le vers suivant.

VI. P 5-6=Dév. 103+107. Le texte hiératique est tout à fait correct; voici sa traduction: 'quiconque dira: "Je suis fort (par cela)" mais il avouera: "J'ai tissé pour moi mes bandes funéraires".'

Les vers Dév. 95: 'mais il avouera: "je formais des projets contre moi-même".'

Dév. 96: 'sans dire toutefois: "je formerai des projets conformément à mon devoir", ' sont des variantes du vers 107.

Il est donc évident que tous les trois vers Dév. 107, 95, 96 font partie d'un distique dont le premier vers avait vraisemblablement l'aspect suivant:



Quiconque dira: 'je formerai un projet contre un autre'.

VI. P 8=Dév. 111=VI. B<sub>1</sub> 3=Dév. 105: corr. 'Je dépouillerai quelqu'un' au lieu de 'Je frapperai quelqu'un'.

VI. P 9-12=B<sub>1</sub> 11-14=Dév. 115-18. 'L'inspiration de la peur aux gens n'a jamais eu de succès; il est toujours advenu ce que Dieu a ordonné. Pense à la vie dans la quiétude, et il arrivera ce qu'ils<sup>1</sup> donnent à eux-mêmes.'

VI. B<sub>1</sub> 4=Dév. 106: corr. 'que (cela) me [fasse un autre] supérieur à moi' au lieu de 'que mon maître me (frappe)'.  
VI. B<sub>1</sub> 5-6=Dév. 107-8. Le texte hiératique est correct: 'Quiconque dira: "j'attraperai au piège (quelqu'un) qui est au lit",<sup>2</sup> sans dire toutefois: "que (cela arrive) à moi-même".'

VI. B<sub>1</sub> 7-8, 9-10=Dév. 109-10, 113-14: corr. la traduction conformément au VI. P. 3-4=Dév. 101-2.

VI. B<sub>1</sub> 8=Dév. 110: corr. 'il se privera du pain du noble' au lieu de 'il échappe lui-même au pain du noble'.

VI. B<sub>1</sub> 10=Dév. 114: corr. 'celui qui ne le connaîtra pas', au lieu de 'celui qui ne le connaît pas'.

VII. P 1=Dév. 119: mieux 'Si tu es un des invités' que 'si tu es invité'.

VII. P 12=B<sub>1</sub> 14=Dév. 136: corr. 'son intention' au lieu de 'son humeur'.

VII. P entre les vers 12 et 13 manque dans la traduction le vers Dév. 137 'il donnera à celui qu'il se propose de récompenser'.

VII. P 18=Dév. 144. 'Même l'ignorant s'y soumet'<sup>3</sup> =B<sub>1</sub> 20, peut-être 'l'ignorant en souffre' au lieu de 'l'ignorant en a un peu'.

X. P 8=XI. B<sub>1</sub> 8=Dév. 182. 'C'est sa coutume à l'égard de ceux qu'il aime.'

XI. P 5=Dév. 190: mieux 'les devoirs' que 'les coutumes'.

XII. 2=Dév. 198: *nšm: ntr* 'à la joie de Dieu' au lieu de 'pour la grâce de Dieu'.

XII. P 6=Dév. 204: mot à mot: 'auquel appartient la semence de ton esprit' ou 'qui appartient à la semence de ton esprit'.

<sup>1</sup> C'est-à-dire 'les gens'.

<sup>2</sup> Lire *hry hmkv.t*.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. XXXV. 19=Dév. 498.

XII. B<sub>1</sub> 5=Dév. 201 et B<sub>1</sub> 13=Dév. 209: mieux 'sa conduite' que 'son action'.

XII. P 10=Dév. 210: corr. 'à tout ce qui a été dit' au lieu de 'à tout ce que tu dis'.

XII. P 11=Dév. 211: corr. 'et si sa bouche *se fait entendre* au lieu de 'et si sa bouche se fait entendre'=B<sub>1</sub> 15: 'et si sa bouche est *grossière*'.<sup>1</sup>

XII. B<sub>1</sub> 16=Dév. 212: corr. 'en ne te proposant pas d'être dans ses mains.'<sup>2</sup>

XIII. 1-4=Dév. 220-3. '(1) Si tu es dans la porte, (2) tiens-toi debout ou reste assis jusqu'à ton entrée. (3) Si l'on te refuse<sup>3</sup> le premier jour, (4) n'entre pas pour que tu ne sois chassé.'<sup>4</sup>

XIII. P 6=B<sub>1</sub> 5=Dév. 225: *š-t* 'Verwaltungsbüro' v. *Wörterb.* IV. 2, B 2. — ou peut-être 'large est la place de celui qui . . .' c'est à-dire, 'Il y a assez de place pour celui qui . . .'

XIII. 8=Dév. 228: '. . . est juste', mot à mot '. . . est après la mesure'.

XIII. B<sub>1</sub> 10=Dév. 230. Après la construction *šhnt š-t*, manque un point qui divise les vers, comme le fait voir le texte P.

XIII. P 10=Dév. 231: *n rryw* est le participe indéclinable avec la négation *n*. — On doit lire *r špdw* au lieu de *rdyw*.

XIV. 4=Dév. 235. P: *zd m h-t=f* mot à mot 'en parlant<sup>5</sup> par son ventre', B<sub>1</sub> *■ zd h-t=f* mot à mot 'parce que parle son ventre.'<sup>6</sup>

XIV. 12=Dév. 244. P: 'il donne sa haine au lieu de son amour'.

XIV. 13=Dév. 245: lire *yb=f fškw* mot à mot 'son cœur est dénudé', c'est-à-dire, 'privé d'espérance'; B<sub>1</sub> *hr=f šh-w hr rry yb=f r=f* mot à mot 'son visage est désolé sous ce que son cœur fait contre lui'.

XV. 6-8=Dév. 254-6. Le texte hiératique est parfaitement correct: '(6) Le noble qui s'opposera à sa chose, se trompe, (7) s'il pense qu'il (c'est-à-dire 'le messenger') sera puni pour cela; (8) il se taira en disant: "(Cela) m'a été dit".'

XVI. 5=Dév. 261. corr. ~~—~~ au lieu de ~~—~~.

XVI. 6=Dév. 262: corr. 'qui provoque la haine' au lieu de 'en devenant négligent'.

XVII. P 3=Dév. 266: 'qui se soulage' mot à mot 'jusqu'à ce qu'il nettoie son ventre'.

XVII. P 4=Dév. 267: corr. 'parce qu'il s'est proposé de te dire' au lieu de 'parce qu'il se propose de te dire'.

XVI. B<sub>1</sub> 7=Dév. 270: plutôt 'qu'il se porte mieux' que 'qu'il se portât mieux'.

XVI. B<sub>1</sub> 8=Dév. 271. Le déterminatif du pluriel au mot *hpr-tw* est faux; mot à mot 'jusqu'à ce qu'on fit la fin de l'audience'.

<sup>1</sup> Ou *impolie*; v. *ššš*, *Wörterb.* IV. 414.

<sup>2</sup> *wn-t* est le participe indéclinable (la base de la forme *šzm-t=f* simple et de la forme *šzm-t=f* relative), comme démontre la négation *n*.

<sup>3</sup> Le verbe *wdy* doit être déterminé par le

signe |.

<sup>4</sup> Mot à mot P: 'ou ton expulsion arrivera'; B<sub>1</sub>: 'garde toi de ton expulsion.

<sup>5</sup> *zd* est le participe indéclinable.

<sup>6</sup> Préposition *n*+la forme *šzm=f* simple.

XVII. P 8=Dév. 274: corr. 'pourquoi les (c'est-à-dire 'les instructions') viole-t-il?' ou 'pourquoi le commet-il?'=XVI B<sub>1</sub> 11: corr. 'pourquoi le fait-il?' au lieu de 'Pourquoi est-il ici, quand il se conduit de telle manière?'

XVII. P 9=Dév. 275: mot à mot 'tout ce qu'il a demandé n'est pas ce qui arrivera'.

XVIII. P 5=Dév. 281: mot à mot 'garde-toi et ne t'approche pas des femmes'.

XVIII. P 6=Dév. 282: corr. '(car) l'endroit où cela serait fait n'est pas convenable'<sup>1</sup> ou '(car) l'endroit n'est pas convenable que cela y soit fait'<sup>2</sup> ou '(car) ce n'est point convenable à cause de l'endroit où cela serait fait'<sup>3</sup>.

XIX. B<sub>1</sub> 11=Dév. 288a: mot à mot 'comme ce proverbe-là est connu'.

XVIII. P. 12=Dév. 293: *pry-tw hr 'ry-t=f yb=f* mot à mot 'on prendra courage'; *pry-tw* est le verbe auxiliaire.

XVIII. B<sub>1</sub> 3=Dév. 318: 'ne fais rien contre ce que tes gens désirent'.

XX. P 4=Dév. 319. La traduction: 'La supplication aimable est plus forte que la violence' est impossible vu la continuité logique.

XX. P 8=Dév. 323: mieux 'change même un homme calme en ennemi'.

XXII. P 1=Dév. 339: mot à mot 'Satisfais tes confidents'.

XXII. P 6=Dév. 344: mot à mot '... pour un honnête homme qui en est content'.

XX. B<sub>1</sub> 9-10=Dév. 348-9: corr. 'Le contentement ne doit pas être introduit comme (une chose) étrangère, devant être introduit<sup>4</sup> comme (une chose) bien connue, ou la perte viendra'.

XXIII. P 1=Dév. 350: effacer '18' chez le mot 'médiance'.

XXIII. P 3=Dév. 352: 'd'un passionné' ou 'd'un homme ardent de colère' mot à mot 'd'un (homme) du corps ardent'.

XXIII. P 4-6=Dév. 353-5. La modification de la suite des idées dans la traduction est motivée par la continuité logique du texte. La suite des mêmes idées dans le texte B<sub>1</sub> était autre.

XXIII. P 8-9=Dév. 357-8. Le texte hiéroglyphique est complètement juste.

XXIII. P 10=Dév. 359. B<sub>1</sub>: corr. 'Voilà la médiance<sup>18</sup> est (d'une durée courte comme) un rêve' au lieu de 'Voilà la médiance est d'une durée courte comme un rêve'. Dans le texte P, le mot 'médiance' est remplacé par 'punition', ce qui altère le sens du dernier distique.

XXV. P 5=Dév. 374: mot à mot 'ne lève pas ton cœur pour qu'il ne soit pas amer'.<sup>5</sup>

XXV. P 16-17=Dév. 386-7: mot à mot 'un autre sera pressé, en obéissant à son cœur contre l'ordre'.

<sup>1</sup> *nfr-n bw* est la forme *šzm-n=f*; *'ry-w št* est la forme relative passive du masculin *šzm-w=f*.

<sup>2</sup> *'ry-w št* est la forme simple passive *šzm-w=f*.

<sup>3</sup> *n nfr* est la construction d'après Erm. Gr.<sup>4</sup>,

§285, *n nb* est le datif. — La même construction se trouve dans le papyrus Westcar 12, 3.

<sup>4</sup> *'nm-tw* dans le vers B<sub>1</sub> 10 remplace le participe indéclinable passif *'ny-w*. <sup>5</sup> *dhy < dhr?*



XXVI. P 3 = Dév. 391: mot à mot 'son dommage deviendra contre celui qui l'inquiétait'.

XXVI. P 5-6 = Dév. 393-4: mot à mot 'Celui qui donne le mets avec le dieu est celui auquel on doit faire ce qu'il désire'.

XXVII. P 2 = Dév. 400: corr. 'que sa splendeur soit au milieu des gens' au lieu de 'que son image soit (caché) dans le cœur des gens'.

Pareillement corr. aussi B<sub>2</sub> 3a = Dév. 402 et P 7 = Dév. 408.

XXVII. P 8-9 = Dév. 409-10. Le texte hiéroglyphique est parfaitement correct. Corr. la traduction: 'car ta fonction que tu aimes est qu'il vive d'après cela<sup>1</sup> (c'est-à-dire: d'après l'éducation que tu lui donnes).'

XXVIII. P 1 = Dév. 415: Le mot *ḫnb-t* signifie plutôt 'corps d'administration' que 'corps judiciaire'.

XXIX. P 1 = Dév. 422: mot à mot 'si tu es doux outre mesure qui doit subsister'.

XXIX. P 2 = Dév. 423: mot à mot 'si tu as de l'affection pour un homme outre sa juste mesure'.

XXIX. P 4 = Dév. 425: corr. *zr gr = k n = f* au lieu de *zr gr = f n = k*, mot à mot 'à partir du jour que tu te taisais envers lui'. La traduction mot à mot du texte non-corrigeé serait 'à partir du jour qu'il se tait devant toi', c'est à dire: 'à partir du jour où il te cache sa faute'; mais cette idée n'a pas de continuité logique avec le texte précédent.

Dév. 426-7 = *x + XI*. B<sub>2</sub> 5-6 est la variante de XXXV. P 18-19 = Dév. 497-8: corr. 'Si quiconque est puni pour ce qu'il faisait (bien), on fait l'homme humble chef de la révolte'.

XXXI. P 7 = Dév. 448. On doit peut-être traduire 'Seulement le bras de celui qui veut voler ne plie pas dans la salutation'.

XXXII. P 7 = Dév. 456. P: 'qui attaque le voisinage', B<sub>2</sub>: 'qui attaque les voisins (ou "les prochains")'.

XXXIII. P 1 = Dév. 457. La construction *ḫm-t-ḫrd* mot à mot 'femme-enfant' est prise comme un substantif masculin, ce qu'on peut voir par les suffixes personnels masculins qui s'y rattachent.

XXXIII. P 2 = Dév. 458: *r mw ḫr ḫsty = f* mot à mot 'à cause de l'eau sur son cœur'. La construction *ḫby yb = f m* 'son cœur se refroidit par quelque chose', c'est-à-dire 'Il se contente de quelque chose', est bien connue. Pour cette raison la signification 'la froideur permanente du cœur', dans notre passage 'l'absence du désir sexuel', de la phrase mentionnée est très probable.

XXXIII. P 3 = Dév. 459: mot à mot '(tant qu)'il n'y a pas de refroidissement de ce qui est dans son ventre'. 'Ce qui est dans son ventre' peut avoir un sens physique, 'ses organes sexuels', ou psychique, 'ses désirs sexuels'.

XXXIII. P 4 = Dév. 460: mot à mot '(tant qu)'elle ne s'obscurcit pas contre l'offre de la protection'.

<sup>1</sup> La conjonction *ḫr* introduit la proposition l'attribut '*nḫ šw ḫr = š*, de nouveau une proposition nominale dont le sujet est *š ḫ = k mrr = k*, tion nominale.

XXXIII. P 5 = Dév. 462 : mot à mot : (tant qu')elle se refroidit quand elle diminue son cœur'.

Dév. 461 : Dans le texte B<sub>2</sub> entre P 4 et P 5 se trouve encore un vers partiellement détruit qui commence par les mots '(tant qu')elle ne se tait pas . . .'

XXXIV. P 1 = Dév. 463. 'Si tu examines le caractère de (ton) ami' est un sens plus vraisemblable de notre vers que 'si tu cherches l'amitié', comme le fait voir le contenu des vers suivants.

XXXIV. P 4-5 = Dév. 466-7. Le vers Dév. 467 a sa place devant le vers Dév. 466. Le mot 'h' doit être déterminé par le signe  $\Delta$  au lieu du signe  $\odot$ , et signifie 'Stillstand (nach einer Bewegung)', *Wörterb.* I. 220.

XXXIV. P 14-15 = Dév. 479-80. La traduction correcte de ces deux vers dans le texte B<sub>2</sub> est la suivante : 'Il n'est jamais arrivé que la fin de l'homme ne vint pas ;<sup>1</sup> il n'échappera pas des mains de celui qui l'a créé'.<sup>2</sup>

XXXV. P 1 = Dév. 481. La deuxième partie de ce vers dans le texte B<sub>2</sub> : 'si tu participes à une fête'.

XXXV. P 7-8 = Dév. 487-8 : corr. 'Le souvenir d'un bienfaiteur (est ce qui) subsiste (encore) pendant les années qui suivent la misère'.

XXXV. P 9-10 = Dév. 489-90 : corr. 'Songe à tes voisins,<sup>3</sup> ou ta fortune sera misérable et tu seras privé de tes amis'.<sup>4</sup>

XXXV. P 18-19 = Dév. 497-8 : corr. 'si quiconque est pris, mais pas pour avoir commis un crime, on fait l'homme humble chef de la révolte'.

XXXVI. P 1 = Dév. 499 : mieux 'si tu fais une femme malade de *špn.t*'.

XXXVI. P 4-5 = Dév. 501-2 : mot à mot 'qui était vraiment d'après la loi quand le temps était propice envers elle'.

A P 5 = Dév. 511 : ou 'parce que leurs passages sont beaux'.

A P 7 = Dév. 514 : dans le texte B<sub>2</sub> : 'et tu persisteras dans ce pays-ci à jamais'.

A P 13 = Dév. 518 : mot à mot 'Si un bon obéissant parle aux descendants, ils y obéiront'.

B P 4 = Dév. 573 : corr. 'Celui qui entend bien (est celui qui) parlera bien'.

B P 11-12 = Dév. 545-6 : ou 'Celui que Dieu aime, obéit ; désobéissant est celui que Dieu hait'.

B P 19 = Dév. 558 : mot à mot 'bon est le fils en tant que maître de l'obéissance'.

C P 10 = Dév. 574 : mieux 'l'imbécile est pressé (contre la terre)'.

D P 1-2 = Dév. 575-6 : corr. 'à l'imbécile qui n'obéissait pas, on ne fera rien (de bon)'.

D P 8 = Dév. 582 : mot à mot 'sa nourriture est mauvaise à décrire'.

<sup>1</sup> Mot à mot 'que sa fin n'a jamais fait la non-arrivée'.

<sup>2</sup> Le texte P diffère seulement par ce que le sujet du premier vers *phwy* est remplacé par le mot *šp* qui doit avoir dans notre phrase le sens 'fin, destinée, chute'. — Dans le deuxième vers le

sujet *tw* 'on' remplace le suffixe =f 'il'.

Notre distique ne fait pas partie du chapitre auquel il est ajouté, mais du chapitre suivant.

<sup>3</sup> Mot à mot 'connais tes voisins' ; B<sub>2</sub> 'estime tes amis'.

<sup>4</sup> Mot à mot 'et tu seras éloigné de tes amis'.

*D P 9* = Dév. 583: mieux 'Son mécontentement<sup>1</sup> à ce sujet est bien connu aux nobles'.<sup>2</sup>

*G P 3* = Dév. 611: corr. 'Garde-toi de laisser sortir *mauvaise herbe* de ton sein'.

*G P 7* = Dév. 615: mot à mot, '(ne) parle (que) ce qui te vient à l'esprit comme une chose d'art'.

*H P 3* = Dév. 620: corr. 'Préoccupe-toi soigneusement du salut de ton maître'.

<sup>1</sup> *by:t* 'mécontentement' ou sembl. est le substantif bien connu de la construction *m by:t* 'nein, keineswegs, im Gegenteil u. ä.', *Wörterb.* I. 442.

<sup>2</sup> Mot à mot 'est dans la connaissance des nobles'.




## LA DÉDICACE DU TEMPLE D'AMÉNOPHIS III A LOUXOR

Par ALEXANDRE MORET.

LES salles hypostyles et les sanctuaires du temple d'Aménophis III à Louxor sont édifiés sur un socle rectangulaire, en blocs de grès, long de 84 mètres, large de 39, épais de 2. En avant de la première hypostyle à trente-deux colonnes, la face nord du socle constituait un soubassement, ou petite terrasse, coupée, à l'origine, par un escalier central d'accès. Sur les trois autres côtés du rectangle, le mur extérieur du temple s'élève au-dessus du rebord du socle.

La partie supérieure du socle est décorée d'une *corniche*, en forme de 'gorge égyptienne'; des *tores* protègent les quatre angles. C'est sous la corniche que court une inscription dédicatoire, gravée en grands signes hiéroglyphiques, dont les quadrats ont environ 0.20 centimètres de côté. L'inscription se divise en quatre parties, une pour chaque face du rectangle. Elle n'a jamais été publiée, à ma connaissance. G. Daressy en donne un résumé très sommaire (côté sud) dans sa *Notice* sur le temple (p. 54). Aussi m'a-t-il paru opportun d'en publier la portion la mieux conservée dans ce recueil dédié à un grand savant, qui a si bien mérité de l'épigraphie égyptienne.

### FACE NORD.

L'inscription, aujourd'hui enterrée, partait à droite et à gauche de l'escalier central et s'arrêtait aux tores des angles ouest et est. Les textes sont très mutilés, mais par l'usure, non par le martelage; ils ne contiennent que les protocoles développés d'Aménophis III et des restes de formules sur les embellissements du temple: la place manquerait ici pour reproduire tous ces fragments.<sup>1</sup> Notons le fait le plus remarquable: au côté ouest de la double inscription, les cartouches du  sont cassés; mais le nom d'Amon, où  manque, n'a pas été martelé. Plus loin, la formule  présente peut-être le nom d'Amon, non martelé; mais on peut penser aussi à Aton. Concluons que le soubassement antérieur, et toute la terrasse avec son escalier, étaient enterrés dès la fin du règne d'Aménophis III. Lorsque ce roi, développant son plan, fit établir devant les hypostyles la grande cour à portiques, on remblaya le sol de la cour, et l'on substitua au soubassement un plan incliné qui conduisait à l'hypostyle, par dessus la terrasse et l'escalier primitifs.<sup>2</sup> C'est grâce à ces circonstances que le texte gravé sur la face antérieure du socle, enterré dès le temps d'Aménophis III, échappa aux martelages sous Ikhounaton, et aux réfections consécutives.

<sup>1</sup> M. Lacau avait copié, dès 1920, la dédicace des quatre côtés du temple; le texte de la face nord était un peu moins mutilé qu'aujourd'hui.


Je le remercie de m'avoir permis de collationner ses copies avec les miennes.

<sup>2</sup> G. Daressy, *Notice*, p. 51.

## FACE EST.

Le texte n'est pas entièrement conservé; il est, aujourd'hui, enterré sur toute sa longueur. Deux fragments subsistent:

1° Le début, qui commence non encadré de traits, à quelques mètres après la porte de l'est, 'à l'endroit où la corniche est ornée de feuilles; avant, cet ornement manque'. La remarque et la copie suivante sont de Lacau; cette portion du texte n'a pas été visible pendant mon séjour à Louxor. L'inscription part du nord:

→  'La suite est grattée soigneusement' (Lacau).





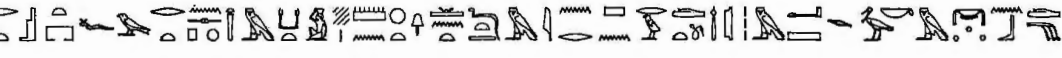


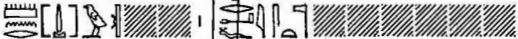
2° La fin, encadrée de traits, qui se termine au tore de l'angle est-sud du socle, c'est-à-dire à l'extrémité même du sanctuaire. Voici ma copie:

→  

Le martelage du nom d'Amon indique, ici et ailleurs, que le soubassement restait à découvert sur les trois côtés du socle, en dehors de la face nord.

## FACE OUEST

Le texte est encadré de traits horizontaux. Le début part de la petite porte, à escalier, percée dans le mur du temple. Le texte donne des détails sur la décoration du temple.

       — Trois blocs de restauration; lacune de dix quadrats environ. — 

<sup>1</sup> Amon martelé et refait.

<sup>2</sup> Les signes ⊙ ⊕ et ⊗ sont partout écrits ○.

<sup>3</sup> Amon, martelé, refait.

<sup>4</sup> Toute cette lacune, martelée, non refaite.

<sup>5</sup> Martelé, refait.

<sup>6</sup> Amon, martelé, refait. R<sup>c</sup> non martelé.

<sup>7</sup> Animal martelé.



## THE EGYPTIAN WORDS FOR 'MONEY', 'BUY', AND 'SELL'.

By T. ERIC PEET

(With Plates IO and II)

COINAGE, in the sense of pieces of metal or other substance bearing some mark simplifying official recognition as a means of exchange, was unknown in Egypt until the Ptolemaic period. Before this time trade consisted mainly of barter, the exchange of one commodity against another. This primitive system had very definite disadvantages, the most obvious of which was that the would-be buyer did not always happen to have or to wish to part with that which the seller happened to lack. Consequently there grew up a system whereby goods could be equated with weights of copper, silver, or gold: an ox was worth so many *deben* or *kite* of one of these metals, and a goat was worth, say, half that amount; and thus an ox might be exchanged for two goats. This system<sup>1</sup> had two advantages; not only did it enable any one who had one of the current metals to trade with any one who had the cloak or the sandals which he desired, but it also, by fixing the values in metal of common objects, simplified the old method of exchange, for he who grew figs or grapes now knew exactly how many he would have to give to obtain a loaf of bread or a jug of beer.

When once the idea has grown up of using as a basis of exchange substances which by reason of their comparative rarity are specially suited for the purpose, we have what practically amounts to an elementary monetary system, though there may still be no coinage. Under such a system the acquiring of and the parting with objects cease to be a mere exchange and begin to partake of the nature of what we now call buying and selling, and the metals on which the exchange system is based may be regarded as money.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to see to what extent the Egyptians produced a new vocabulary to deal with these new conceptions.

Gardiner was, I believe, the first to point out that the common verb *int* 'to

<sup>1</sup> That some such system of determining values was in operation as early as the Old Kingdom is evident from the well-known contract for the exchange of a house against three pieces of furniture, the equation being based on a unit called *f't*, which, to judge by its determinative, is an object of metal rather than, as has been suggested, an abstract measure of value. For this contract see K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Inschrift auf den Kauf eines Hauses aus dem alten Reich* (*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Band 63, 1911, pp. 135 ff.); H. Sottas, *Étude critique sur un acte de vente immobilière du temps*

*des pyramides*, Paris, 1913. Of a more primitive nature than this is the exchange of bread for beer typified by the *pfsu*-reckonings of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, Nos. 69-78, based on the amount of grain used to make the one and the other.

<sup>2</sup> I here use the word in the loose sense of a substance regarded purely as a means of exchange, and as of no practical use to the acquirer except in so far as he can exchange it for commodities—cf. 'cownie-money'. Money also has, of course, the narrower and etymologically more correct meaning of coinage (*moneta*).

bring' could be used in the sense of 'to buy'. See *Ä.Z.*, XLIII, p. 34, n. 22. The use is fully developed in the passage in Pap. Berlin 9784, line 22 on which Gardiner here comments: 'Buy for yourself two days (service) of the slave Henut' *in nk hrw 2 n hmt Hnwt*; for not only is the verb used absolutely, i.e. without any following prepositional phrase such as *r db* or *r isw*, but the commodity bought is abstract and consists of service. Of the other two examples quoted by Gardiner the first, Pap. Turin Pleyte-Rossi, Plate x, lines 6 and 10 (see below), again shows the absolute use of the verb; the person from whom the objects are bought is introduced by the preposition *m di*, as one would expect at this period. A further example of the absolute use is Pap. Mayer A, 8.14-15, where a man, questioned as to the provenance of a *deben* of gold and 4 *deben* of silver which he was known to have given for a piece of land and for a servant respectively, replies 'I bought (*int*) them (the 4 *deben*) from the Meshwesh, and I bought (*int*) the *deben* of gold from Nesamun.'<sup>1</sup>

This use is probably a shortened form of the old *int r isw*, which already occurs in the O.K. sale of a house.<sup>2</sup> In the Rhind Math. Pap., No. 62, we find *int hr* apparently in the same sense, and in the XXth Dynasty *int r db* is common with this meaning, e.g. Pap. B.M. 10052, 2.24, 10.15 and 11.7-8. It should be carefully noticed that the same phraseology is used whether the person from whose point of view the transaction is regarded procures commodities or 'money', in the sense of gold, silver, or copper. He may 'buy' corn for gold, or gold for corn. In the latter case we moderns would say that he 'sold' corn for gold, for we do not speak of buying money.

From this use of *int*, absolutely or accompanied by *hr*, *r isw* or *r db*, in the sense of 'buy' must be carefully distinguished the highly idiomatic use of the same verb followed by the preposition *m* in the sense of 'sell'. Two passages establish this usage beyond all doubt. In Pap. B.M. 10052, 6.7, a woman, questioned as to her disposal of some stolen silver, says 'I took one *deben* of it and bought *shesh*-grain with it', *iw-i int-f m šš*—literally 'I got it in the form of *shesh*'. Again in Pap. B.M. 10053, vs. 3.11, thieves confess the theft of 5 *kite* of gold, and add 'we bought barley with it in Thebes and divided it up' *iw-n int-w m it m Nwt iw-n pš-w n-n*. In *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xv. 275, I pointed out that a Middle-Kingdom example of this idiom may perhaps occur in Problem 62 of the Rhind Math. Pap.

The common Egyptian verb for 'sell' is simply *dit* or *rdit*, 'give', and the simplest method of recording a transaction is to say 'I gave him *x*, he gave me *y*'. Thus in Pap. B.M. 10052, 8.6-7, a witness says 'I gave some barley to the workman Pnūfer, and he gave me 2 *kite* of silver'. It is more usual, however, to find

<sup>1</sup> Add. Pap. B.M. 10052, 10.14, 18, 19, 20; 11.6; 15.12; all concerned with the buying of servants (*bikw*).

<sup>2</sup> Sethe, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-40, who quotes *Urk. des alten Reichs*, 4.8.



*dit* followed by *hr*,<sup>1</sup> *r isw* or *r db*: 'in exchange for': e.g. Pap. B.M. 10052, 2A.1-2, *di-i hd kdt 5 n Pn-imntt r db bit hnw 10*, 'I gave 5 *kite* of silver to Penemente in exchange for 10 *hin* of honey'. Similarly in the Turin Necropolis Journal for Year 17, B vs. 9.20-21, we read *di-i sm' nfr idg r db hmt dbn 8*, 'I gave an *idga*-garment of good Upper Egyptian linen in exchange for 8 *deben* of copper.'<sup>2</sup> From these two examples it will be seen that with *dit*, as with *int*, Egyptian phraseology makes no distinction of kind between a commodity and an amount of silver or copper exchanged for it. An Egyptian says indifferently 'I gave 5 *kite* of silver for 10 *hin* of honey' or 'I gave 10 *hin* of honey for 5 *kite* of silver'. We say 'I gave' or 'I paid sixpence for a jar of honey', but we never say 'I gave' or 'I paid a jar of honey for sixpence, nor 'I bought sixpence for a jar of honey'; and the reason of this is that we have the fully developed phraseology of a true monetary system, whereas the Egyptian, though he possessed the conception of money in the sense of 'exchange-metal', still clung to the language of barter.

Just as *int* can be used absolutely in the sense of 'buy' so we might expect *dit* to be used absolutely in the sense of 'sell'. Yet I can find no certain examples of this.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, quite clear that *dit r bnr* (Coptic ⲧⲉⲃⲟⲗ) had this meaning in the XXth Dynasty. In Pap. B.M. 10053, vs. 5.6, a man is accused of having stolen some wood; then follows *iw-f dit-f r bnr m Nwt, iw-f sp swn-f*, 'and he sold it in Thebes and received a price for it'. Similarly in Pap. B.M. 10054, ro.3.5, men sell (*dit r bnr*) certain silver and gold stolen from the tombs.

As Egypt did not possess money in the strict sense of the term we can hardly look to find a word for it. At the same time, since certain metals, namely gold, silver, and copper, were used for buying and selling, we may expect to find a term which covers these three 'exchange-metals'. And in fact we do, for the examples now to be given will demonstrate that the word for silver, *hd*, was used in this sense. In Pap. B.M. 10052, 2.17, begins a list headed 'Bukhaaf's share of the (stolen) *hd*'; the list itself contains items both of gold and of silver. We must therefore translate *hd* in the heading as 'precious metal' or similar. In 5.11 of the same papyrus a thief admits having stolen 'certain *theb*-vases of silver and *rer*-pieces of gold', and on further examination can only be got to say 'We brought away precisely the *hd* which I said'. Here again *hd* includes both metals.

But there are more striking examples than these. In the unpublished Necropolis Diary for Years 7 and 8 (see below) at Turin is entered on a certain day (Frag. 2080 and 2092) 'Receipt of the *hd* from the deputy Minkhau of the temple of Isis for the rations of the Necropolis: good gold 1 *kite*, equivalent to

<sup>1</sup> For *dit hr* see Turin Necropolis Journal for Year 17, B vs. 9.24 and 25; for *dit r isw* see *Urk. des alten Reichs*, 12.10-12, 36.9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Pap. B.M. 10053, vs. 3.13; 10052, 2.22, 23, 2A.4-5, 9-11, 12-13, also 10.19; Pap. Mayer A, 2.8, 6.24-5, 8.11-13, 21-2. For the

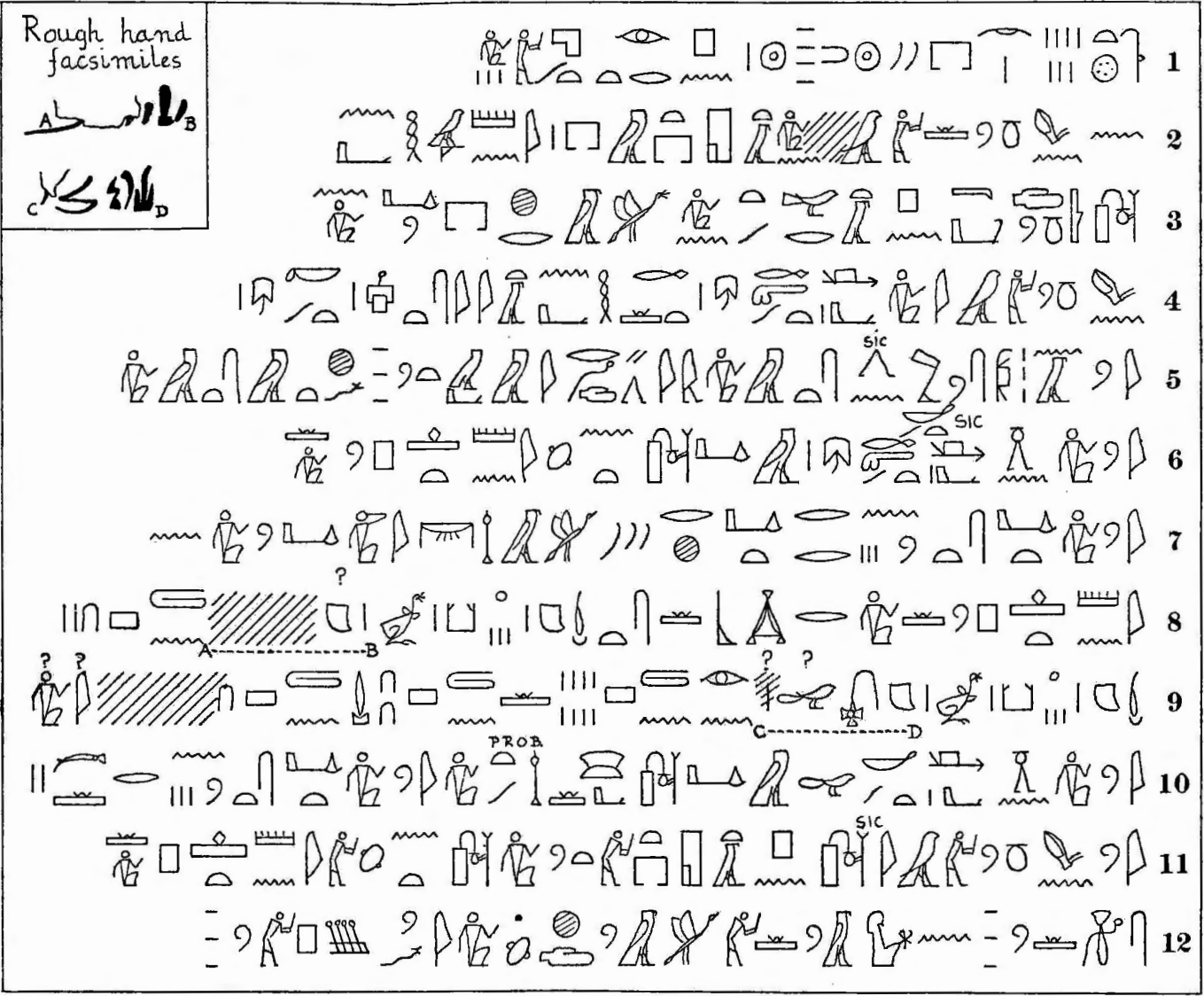
verb *db*: used absolutely in the sense of to 'spend' see Pap. Mayer A, 10.19-20, 'I received these 2 *deben* of silver and I spent them', *iw-i db-w*.

<sup>3</sup> Possible examples, all very doubtful, are Pap. Mayer A, 5.12; Pap. Ambras, 2.10 (Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, p. 182, n. 11).

Rough hand  
facsimiles

ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲃ

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Papyrus at Turin (Pleyte-Rossi, Pl. x)



5 *khar* (of corn); silver 4 *kite*, equivalent to 6 *khar*; an *idg*-garment, equivalent to 2 *khar*; and 20 *deben* of copper, equivalent to 5 *khar*.<sup>1</sup> Here *hd* includes not only three metals but even an *idg*-garment, and we must therefore translate it 'money', or at least 'payment'.

In the Turin Necropolis Journal for Year 17, 8 B vs. 22, is a list of *hd* paid by a woman called Tanezemt to a scribe Horisheru for a sarcophagus.<sup>2</sup> The list consists of various kinds of garments, grain, and oil, whose values are given in *deben*, apparently of copper (see line 40). Finally, in the same papyrus, 9 B vs. 19, we read<sup>3</sup> 'On this day was exacted the last of the money (*p*; *ph* *hd*) for the oxen of the chief priest by the scribe Pentehetnakht'; the exactions recorded (line 20), however, are not silver but *deben* of copper.

These examples make it quite certain that in the XXth Dynasty the word *hd*, literally 'silver', was used in the sense of 'money' or 'payment'. Whether this is due to the fact that silver was the first metal to be used as an exchange, or to the fact that it was the most frequently so used is not clear.

As a conclusion to this article I publish two short documents of late XXth Dynasty date, one of which offers the most perfect examples imaginable of the technical uses of *int* and *hd* which I have here been illustrating.

The papyri published by Pleyte and Rossi in their *Papyrus de Turin*, Plates I to X, occupy both sides of a long sheet which originally bore on its verso (V/H) a collection of model letters. These were partly cleaned off in order to accommodate the Necropolis Diary for Years 7 and 8 of a king whose name does not occur. The industry of Giuseppe Botti has led him to the discovery of another sheet of papyrus, of about half the length of this, which joins on to it, and contains further portions of the Diary for the same years. The pages published by Pleyte and Rossi as Pls. IX and X stand on the true recto of the sheet, but are written the opposite way up to the Diary entries with which the rest of that face is occupied. There is no outward indication to show whether these pages were written before or after the rest.

The text of Pleyte-Rossi Pl. X runs as follows (Plate 10):

(1) Year 7, first month of winter, day 14: on this day was held a court (2) for the deputy Hori of the Temple, in the House of Amün,<sup>4</sup> and for (3) the sculptor Pente-were of the Necropolis. (4) The deputy Hori gave me a full-grown she-ass with her

<sup>1</sup> This passage appears to give the comparative values at this period of good gold, silver, and copper: 1 *kite* of good gold = 3½ *kite* of silver = 20 *deben* of copper. From Pap. B.M. 10068, ro. 4.14 we know that ordinary gold was twice as valuable as silver (Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, p. 101, n. 21); consequently good gold should be worth 1½ times as much as ordinary gold.

<sup>2</sup> Botti-Peet, *Il Giornale della Necropoli*, Tav. 41. Cf. now Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Papyrus*

No. 1, Pl. xxvii, line 1. <sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, Tav. 43.

<sup>4</sup> This may be the place in which the court was held; but one suspects that the scribe has omitted after 'Temple' the words 'of Usimarē' Miamün', in which case 'in the House of Amün' would have formed part of the full title of Hori: 'deputy of the Temple of Usimarē' Miamün in the House of Amün', i.e. the temple of Medīnat Habu, from the archives of which the whole of this cemetery dossier seems originally to have come.

foal, (5) and the servants of the *sem-priest*<sup>1</sup> came and said, The *sem-priest* says you are to give them up. (6) So I bought a she-ass from the scribe of accounts Amenhotpe, (7) and I gave it to them. Account of the money which I gave to (8) Amenhotpe for it: one [large?] keth-vase of bronze, [equivalent to] 12 deben, (9) and one small keth-vase of bronze, equivalent to 8 deben; total 20 deben; remainder 10 deben. . . . (10) And I bought a young she-ass from the scribe Khahezet, and I gave it to them, making two. (11) The deputy Hori and the scribe Pentehetnakht and the scribe of accounts Amenhotpe (12) handed them over to the guard Paukhed, and he received them.

The nature of this document is in the main clear. A dispute had arisen between Hori and Pentewēre, and a court was held in order to decide the matter. The speaker in lines 4–12 must be Pentewēre.<sup>2</sup> Evidently he had parted with the she-ass and foal which Hori had given him and which the *sem-priest* now demanded back from him, and had to buy others to give in their place. As to the reason of the *sem-priest*'s demand we are left entirely in the dark—were the animals stolen property?—and in any case the page is but a fragment, for it contains neither Hori's statement nor the finding of the court. Its interest for us, however, lies in the facts that in lines 6 and 10 the verb *int* must mean 'bought' and not 'brought', and that in line 7 *hd* is used for the payment made, although this actually took the form of bronze.<sup>3</sup>

Now in the page which stands to the left of this, and forms Pleyte and Rossi's Pl. IX, we also find a mention of the deputy Hori, and of a she-ass and foal. This is more than a coincidence, and there can be no doubt that this page records a piece of evidence put in by Pentewēre in this trial. The text is as follows (Plate 11):

(1) Year 5, first month of winter, last day. On this day was given to (?) (2) the deputy Hori the grain which was given to him as a 'High Nile',<sup>4</sup> (3) (namely) 10 khar of spelt; this made 15 khar of spelt in Year 5. (4) I claimed<sup>5</sup> against him in Year 6, but he would not give it to me. (5) It amounted to 30 khar of spelt in Year 6. I claimed against him (6) in Year 7, fourth month of inundation, day 10, and he gave me a she-ass (7) with its foal; he gave them (as equivalent to) 80 deben of copper. (8) But I said to him, It is not [right];<sup>6</sup> and he said, I will give 10 (or 20 or 30) deben of copper (9) in order to pay you in full. Year 7, second month of summer, day 6 (or 7), the ass<sup>7</sup> was handed over (10) to the scribe Nebamūn by the deputy Hori.

<sup>1</sup> Hardly the proper name Sem, despite the absence of the definite article.

<sup>2</sup> We expect the words *gdtn Pntswrt*, 'Deposition of Pentewēre', to introduce his speech; the scribe has omitted them.

<sup>3</sup> Whether the *deben* given are the weights of the bronze objects, as is likely, or the values in silver is immaterial to the argument.

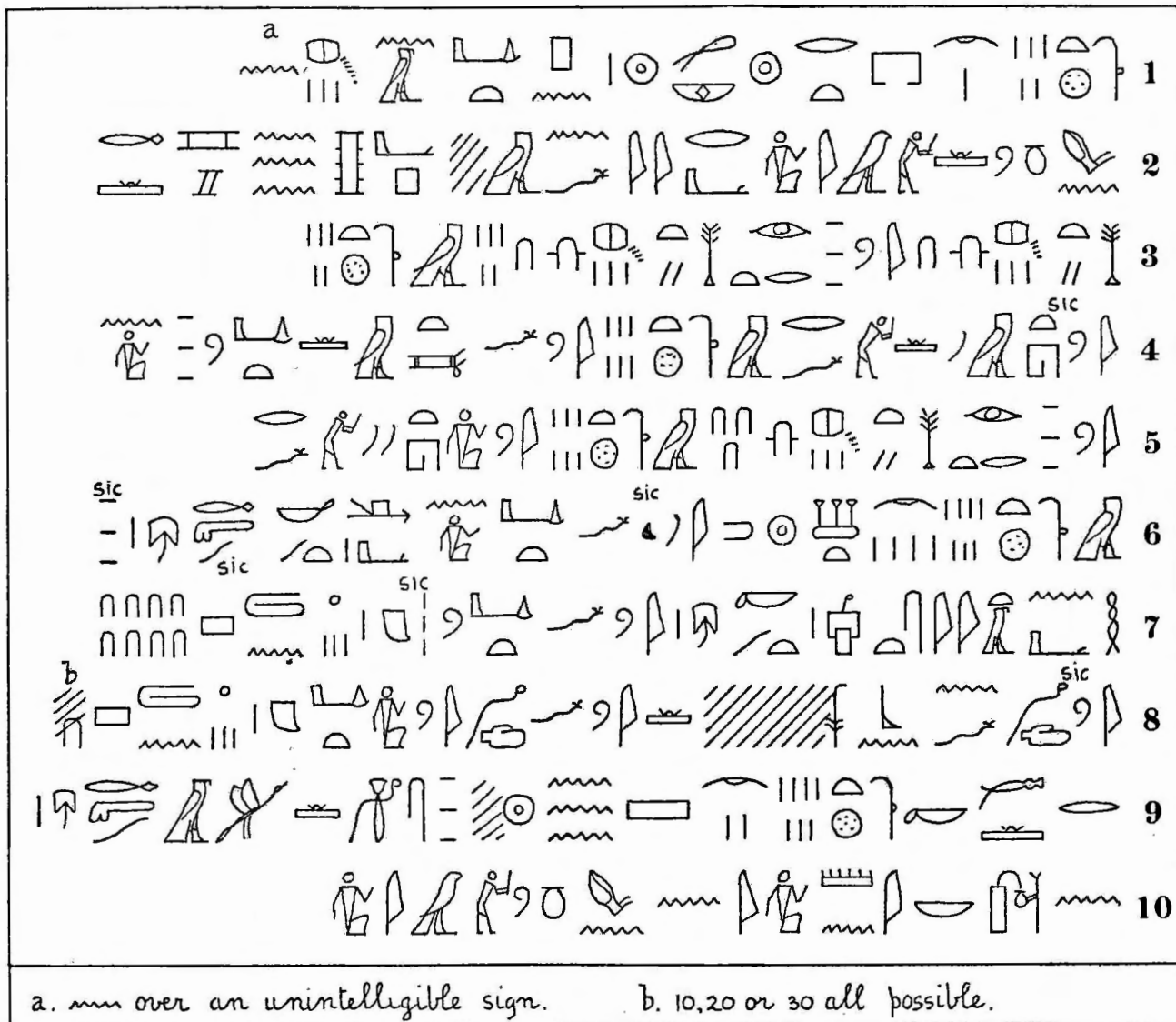
<sup>4</sup> The absence of the man-determinative and the lack of any preceding title make it impossible

to take this as the proper name Hapi'o. What, moreover, could the preposition *m* mean in that case? Was 'High-Nile' a name for some kind of Egyptian Excess Profits Tax?

<sup>5</sup> A guess. *thm* with a direct object seems to mean 'to collect'.

<sup>6</sup> Restore *bn šw m šs*; cf. Pap. Mayer B, line 1.

<sup>7</sup> Masculine, and so distinct both from the she-ass and from the foal, which is also feminine.<sup>8</sup>



Papyrus at Turin (Pleyte-Rossi, Pl. ix)



This document is not without its difficulties, but it seems to record the reason for the giving of the ass and foal by Hori to Pentewēre, which took place, through the scribe Nebamūn, on the 6th or 7th day of the second month of summer in Year 7. The speaker will here again be Pentewēre, and he is explaining how the ass and foal had been given to him as a substitute for certain quantities of grain which Hori ought to have paid him at intervals extending over a period of two years.

More than this it is impossible to say, and the two pages together are typical of the tantalizing half-glimpses of everyday life in Thebes at this period which are all that is vouchsafed to us.



## THE STATUE OF KHĀ'EMUAS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

By ALAN W. SHORTER

(With Plates 12 and 13)

THE statue No. 947 in the British Museum, representing Khā'emuas, favourite son of Rameses II, High Priest of Ptaḥ and famous in later legend as the greatest of Egypt's sorcerers, has long been known but, so far as I know, has not received full publication. Photographs of the statue will be found in the *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, p. 170, and in Budge, *Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum*, Pl. xxxvi, but I do not know of any literature dealing with the hieroglyphic texts which cover the back-plinth and base. It seems fitting, therefore, that an account of this statue should find place in a volume dedicated to the author of *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, and I have to thank Mr. Sidney Smith for permission to publish. My thanks are also due to Dr. Alan Gardiner, the late Dr. H. R. Hall, and Mr. S. R. K. Glanville, with whom I have had the opportunity of discussing the texts, for valuable suggestions.

The statue was presented to the Museum in the year 1866 by Samuel Sharpe Esq., and is said to have come from Assiût, but that it was originally set up at Abydos is evident, as will be seen later. The height (including base) is 4 ft. 8 in. and the material used is a hard vari-coloured flint agglomerate, most unsuitable for good work. The Prince, whose formal beard is now broken off, wears a short wig and the ancient so-called 'gala-skirt', and holds a standard erect in each hand. The standard held in the Prince's right hand was surmounted by three human figures, but the upper portion of these has been broken away diagonally, so that most remains of the innermost figure and least of the outer (Plate 12, A). Since the central figure is in mummy-form we are led to believe that the three are the Osirian triad, the innermost figure, which is male, being Horus, and the outermost, of which only the feet are preserved, Isis. The standard in the Prince's left hand is surmounted by the fetish of Abydos, in this case in the form of a jar with two *wraei* affixed in front (Plate 12, B, C).

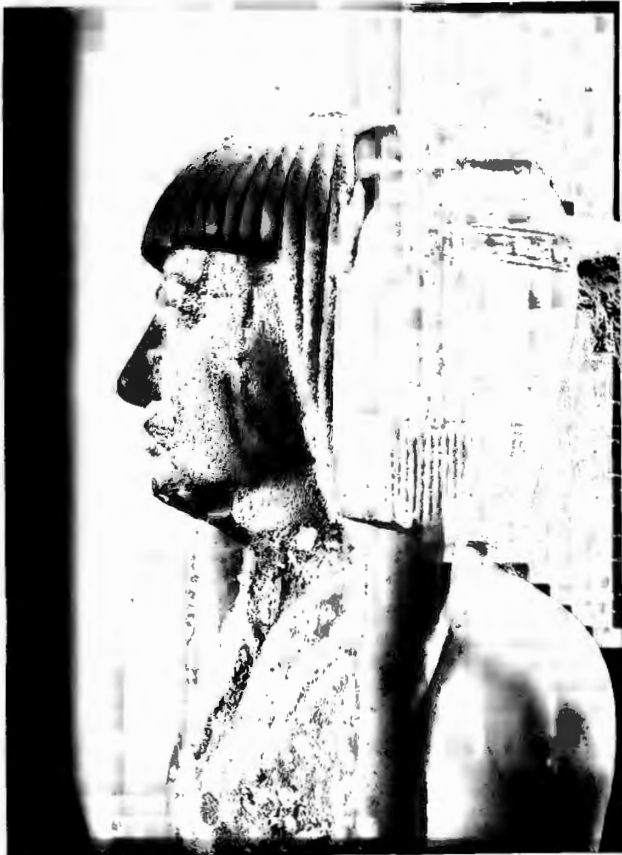
At first sight the bad nature of the stone, which has spoilt the sculptor's work in places, suggests that the statue is a piece of mediocre work, but a closer examination shows at once that the treatment is good throughout, and with better material might have proved more striking. Some now dark-coloured scraps of the stucco which originally covered the statue and made up flaws in the stone are still to be observed. The face is probably a portrait.

### THE INSCRIPTIONS

The statue is inscribed on the upper surface of the base and on all its four sides, on the back and the two sides of the plinth behind the figure, and on the



*a*



*b*



*c*

Statue of Khā'emuas, B.M. No. 947






- a.* Top of standard held in right hand.
- b.* Top of standard held in left hand, and profile.
- c.* The statue viewed from the left.





*of truth, the holy district of giving praise to the excellent beings (or 'statues'?) that it may open its road to this excellent spirit who resteth on the place wherein is the statue of the King's Eldest Son beloved of him, the Sem-priest Khā'emuas.*

*Commentary:*

1. 2. A preposition *m* or *hr* has been omitted after *wmn*. The *t* after  is a mistake, as also in III (2).  
 = *hry šn(w)* (??)
1. 3.  = *bw* (?)
1. 4. *ist dsrt* ■ *dit hknw*. The infinitive after the genitival adjective (Gardiner, *Egypt. Gr.*, § 305), the meaning being: 'the holy district where people give praise'.
1. 5. *wn-s wst-s*, the suffix of the verb and of its object must refer to *ist dsrt*.  stands for .

INSCRIPTIONS ON BACK-PLINTH (PLATE 13, II-III).







These are much damaged on the back face of the plinth, for ■ large rectangular portion has been broken out of the right-hand column (Plate 13, III (1)). On the sides, however, the texts are well preserved, with the exception of the gap in the right-hand side (Plate 13, III (2)) caused by the same large breakage which affects the back.

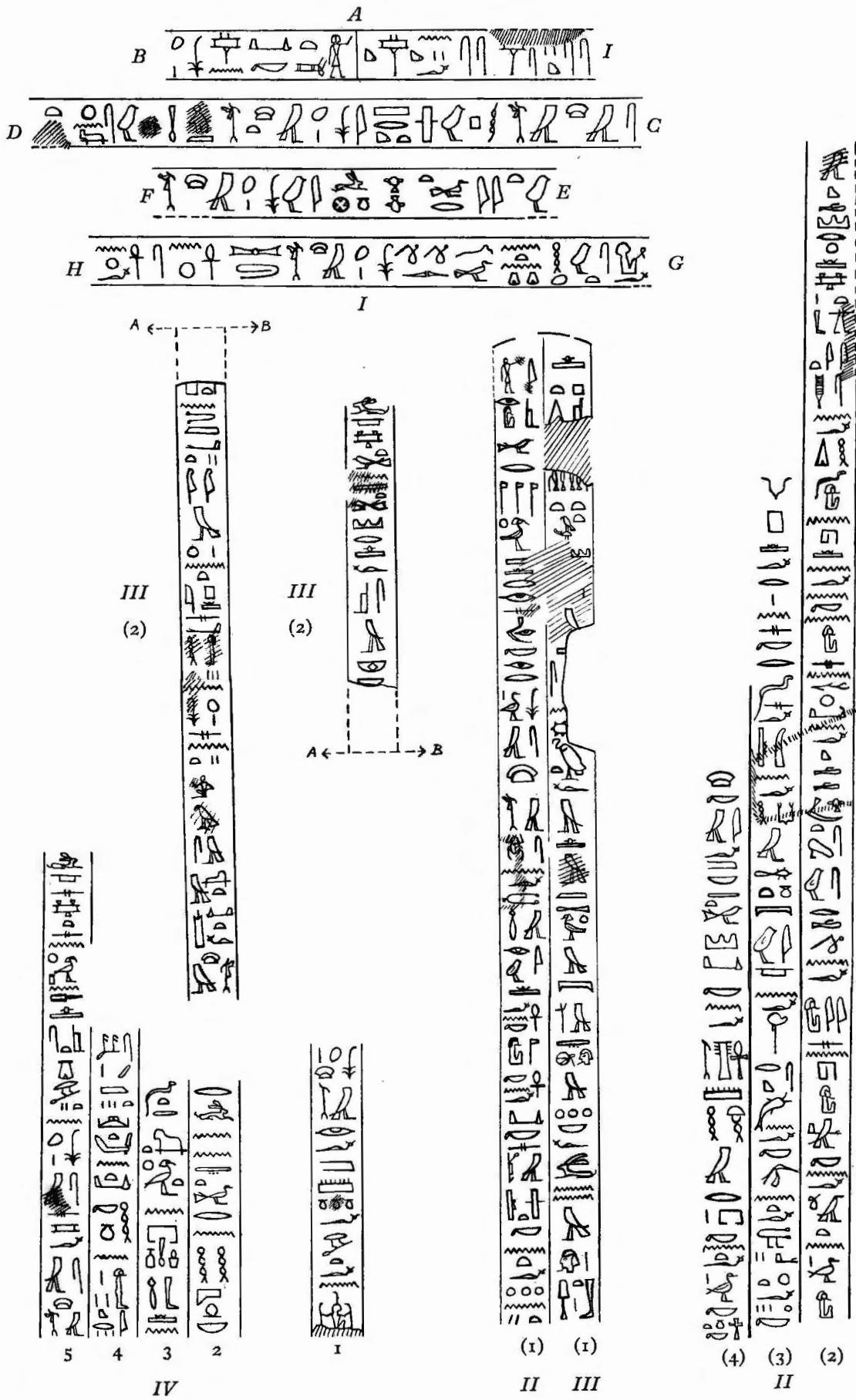
A. (Plate 13, II (1)-(4)).

*Translation:*

*O Osiris, greatest of the gods, more glorious than he who made him,<sup>1</sup> mayest thou behold that which the King's Son and Sem-priest Khā'emuas doeth.<sup>2</sup> He hath caused thee<sup>3</sup> to become great of form, he liveth through thee, O god, and thou livest through him.<sup>4</sup> Mayest thou appoint him<sup>5</sup> as thy sole chamberlain! He is ■ protector who goeth about the Necropolis,<sup>6</sup> one who knoweth the road of passing (?).<sup>7</sup> He hath raised up Hdid, he hath protected<sup>8</sup> Nkn,<sup>9</sup> he hath strengthened Him-who-sleepeth-upon-the-thigh,<sup>10</sup> he hath confirmed 'Ii and Snh, he hath protected ʾšstns (?).<sup>11</sup> He openeth the mouth of Sokaris himself; he hath created (?)<sup>12</sup> magic in the womb of Nūt, he openeth the Royal Placenta, he hath caused thy (?)<sup>13</sup> throat (?) to breathe, he is one who seizeth the arms of thine enemies every day. Mayest thou appear gloriously in (or 'through'?) him as lord of Ta-wer according as thou give unto him life, stability, well-being and duration in thy temple, (for) he is thy son and thy champion.*

*Commentary:*

1. — apparently for , as again below.
2.  must be for .
3.  apparently for .
4. i.e. the existences of Osiris and Kh. are interdependent.
5. See note 1.
6. For writing of *smt* with  alone see Gardiner, op. cit., p. 477. *nty m kd* is pseudo-verbal constr. with *m*+infinitive. (Gardiner, op. cit. § 331).



Inscriptions on Statue of Khā'emuas, B.M. No. 947



7. Perhaps the old expression for dying, *sb n ks*, is in mind. Or is the meaning transitive, 'conducting'? In the latter case Kh. would be conducting dead people.
8. For *nh* 'to protect' see *Berlin. Wörterbuch*, II. 281.
9. According to *Wörterbuch*, II. 347 *Nkn* is a name of Osiris.
10. Compare the being called *nty hr-f m mst-f* 'he-whose-head-is-on-his-thigh' mentioned in Chap. CXXX of the *Book of the Dead* (Budge, op. cit., p. 281), who is the enemy of the deceased when the latter sails in the boat of Re<sup>c</sup>. See also the *mstyw* 'Thigh-gods', who occur earlier in the same chapter. They are evidently star-deities.
11. Reading of this name doubtful.
12. The curious-looking sign after *dsf* is probably meant for  $\int$ , the group reading *kms. n.f.*
13.  $\int$  may be a garbling of  $\int$ , the word *htyt* being meant, but what of the  $\cup$ ? Possibly it is the pronominal suffix *-k* out of place, and we should understand *htyt-k* 'thy throat'.

B. (Plate 13, III (1)–(2).)

*Translation:*

*An offering which Osiris Chief of the West gives . . . whom his mother's womb created<sup>1</sup> in peace and in triumph, glorious in Heaven and powerful in Earth, Chief Carpenter in the protection of (?)<sup>2</sup> his lord; he who is at the head of the chisel,<sup>3</sup> who openeth the great road of Ta-wer so that he may rest upon its (?) place (?)<sup>4</sup> at every festival . . . the Hall<sup>5</sup> of the Two Truths on the day of reckoning the dignities of the King's Son, the Snt-ty-Hr, Sem-priest who acts as 'Pillar-of-his-mother', Khā'emuas.*

*Commentary:*

1. After  $\int$  restore  $\int$ , or  $\int$  only. Kh., of course, is being spoken of.
2.  $\int$  &c. either (1) to be rendered 'as the protected one of his lord', or (2) possibly with same meaning as *m hww* (Wörterbuch, III. 216), 'after the manner of', 'like'.
3. It has been hitherto unknown why the sign  $\int$  possesses the phonetic value *sb* (Gardiner, *Egypt. Gr.* p. 503); hence the occurrence of a word *sb*, almost certainly meaning 'chisel', should be important, leading one to suggest that we have before us the name of the actual object represented by the sign. On the unlikelihood of the leopard's hide  $\int$  having been the original form of the sign when the value was *sb* see Gardiner, op. cit. *m tp* must mean 'in charge of', 'at the head of'. [See, now, below pp. 133 f.].
4. Or is *r htp-f st (f)*, 'to take (his) seat' meant, the archaic writing of *st* as  $\int$  (Wörterbuch, IV. 1) being in mind?
5. Restore  $\int$ .

The manifest difficulties of this inscription, which shows strange and garbled writings sometimes suggesting a semi-enigmatic intent, preclude me from entering here upon a detailed discussion of the text, and it must therefore suffice to call attention to the most interesting points.

First, as is plainly shown by the standards held by the Prince and by the content of the inscriptions, the statue was set up at Abydos, probably in a temple where it would receive a share of the divine food-offerings (see Plate 13, IV).



Consequently the main text (Plate 13, II) is an address to Osiris, the patronizing nature of which is extremely interesting. Here is no prayer from a humble suppliant, but a demand from a great magician who considers himself the god's equal, and, indeed, largely responsible for the latter's glory.

The recital of the great powers of Khā'emuas in this text and in its fellow (Plate 13, III) is important for study. The list of supernatural beings mentioned by the magician does not convey a great deal to us, and most of them I cannot identify, but the statement that Kh. performs the ceremony of 'opening the Royal Placenta' is full of interest, in view of Miss M. A. Murray's article in *Ancient Egypt*, 1930, 65 ff. Whatever may be the exact significance of this mysterious rite, it is certainly important to be able to add to her list of persons who held this office (all of the Old Kingdom) yet another, of the XIXth Dynasty, favourite son of Pharaoh and High Priest of Ptah, and, moreover, standing in close relation to his father as celebrator of his *Sed*-festivals.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, the titles given to Khā'emuas in III (1), namely *Mdh tpy* 'Chief Carpenter', and *wmn(w) m tp sht* 'he who is at the head of (or "in charge of") the chisel' are new, as far as I know.

#### ADDENDUM

The British Museum possesses another object connected with Khā'emuas which may be of interest. It is a rectangular reddish-brown sandstone block (No. 48664), not cut very true, and measuring about 12.5 × 8.6 × 4.1 cm., the surfaces having been well smoothed. On one large face are cut the nomen and prenomen of Rameses II in two vertical columns:



On the other side, between two vertical lines which are closed at the top by a =-sign, are cut the name and titles of Khā'emuas:



It has been suggested that this object is a weight (it weighs 1065 grammes), but it is more likely to have been a foundation deposit.

<sup>1</sup> Four of the officials mentioned in Miss Murray's list were certainly royal sons, and there is good reason for thinking that the others were connected with the royal house.

## 𓄏 UND 𓄐

Von WALTER WRESZINSKI

UNTER den Hieroglyphen besitzen nicht wenige mehrere Lautwerte. Die beiden häufigsten Gründe dafür sind die Verwendung desselben Bildzeichens für verwandte Begriffe — { für *tr* 'Zeit' und *rnp·t* 'Jahr' — und die Zusammenwerfung ursprünglich verschiedener, äusserlich ähnlicher Zeichen und ihre mischweise Verwendung.

Dieser zweite Fall trifft für die beiden bekannten Zeichen 𓄏 und 𓄐 zu, die Nummern U 24 und 31 der Theinhardtliste, denen die Lautwerte *mr* und *sb* eignen. Von ihnen ist das erste Zeichen seit dem Beginn der Schrift gut belegt. Seine ältesten Formen liegen zwischen dem einfachen dreieckigen Dorn und dem voll ausgebildeten Werkzeug, bestehend aus dem Handgriff in Gestalt eines Kegelstumpfes und einer verschieden breiten, zugespitzten, angebundenen oder eingelassenen Klinge (H. Petrie, *Egyptian Hieroglyphs of the I and II Dyn.*

No. 801–809). Hieraus entwickelte sich zwanglos die Form des AR 𓄏 (Davies, *Ptahhotep I*, Taf. 13, No. 278), die in den sorgfältigen Inschriften jener Zeit immer wiederkehrt und sich ins MR 𓄏 (Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, No. 107) und in die

XVIII. Dyn. hinein erhält. Die Hieroglyphe zeigt einen gut in der Hand liegenden Griff in der Form eines umgekehrten Kelches, der sich nach der Klinge hin so verbreitert, dass die Hand nicht abgleiten kann. Am freien Ende ist eine Scheibe als Schlagfläche so aufgesetzt, dass die Hand unter ihr geschützt liegt. Das Umrissbild des Griiffs ist meist nicht ganz symmetrisch, vielmehr ist der Rand an der einen Seite etwas breiter ausgezogen. Die Klinge, lang, mit geschweiften Rändern, endet in eine rhombische Spitze oder in eine breite Schneide, sie ist in den Griff eingelassen. Der Gegenstand ist zweifellos ein Meissel. [Cf. now, p. 131.]

Das Zeichen 𓄐 erscheint in dieser von Lepsius unter die Typen aufgenommenen Form erst seit der Spätzeit. Doch ist es nicht etwa eine junge Ableitung des erstbesprochenen Zeichens. Es hat bestimmt in ältester Zeit zwei Zeichen nebeneinander gegeben, wie die ganz verschiedenen Formen ihrer hieratischen

Entsprechungen beweisen (Möller, *Paläographie*, I, No. 484–5),

𓄏	𓄐	𓄏
𓄏	𓄐	𓄏
<i>mr</i>	<i>sb</i>	


doch muss ihre Ähnlichkeit so gross geworden sein, dass schon im AR sie miteinander verquickt wurden; in den guten Mastaba-Inschriften gleichen sich die Zeichen für *mr* und für *sb* völlig bis auf die Innenzeichnungen; die sind aber untereinander so verschieden, dass man sie kaum als die eigentlichen Unterscheidungsmerkmale betrachten darf. Vielmehr werden bis ins NR hinein die Silben *mr* und *sb* praktisch mit dem gleichen Zeichen 𓄏 geschrieben. So erklärt es sich

auch, dass Gardiner in seiner Grammatik, S. 503, nur das eine Zeichen  $\overline{\text{f}}$  anführt und dazu bemerkt 'for unknown reason phon. *mr*' und später 'also for unknown reason phon. *sb*'. Eрман gibt in der Schrifttafel zu *Gram.*<sup>4</sup> beide Zeichen  $\overline{\text{f}}$  und  $\overline{\text{f}}$  nebeneinander mit den Lautwerten ohne Erklärung.

Aus diesem Tatbestand ergeben sich mehrere Fragen:

1. Was für einen Gegenstand hat jenes zweite, später zu  $\overline{\text{f}}$  gewordene Zeichen dargestellt?

2. Welcher Lautwert ist ursprünglich dem einen, welcher dem andren Zeichen eigen gewesen?

Zur Beantwortung der ersten Frage verhilft uns das bekannte Bild vom Sarg der *Kwt* (Navelle, *The XIth Dyn. Temple at Deir el Bahari*, I. 55, Taf. 20), das die Prinzessin unter den Händen ihrer Kammerzofe zeigt. Diese hat einige der fertigen Haarsträhnen mit einer Haarnadel aufgesteckt (vgl. m. Aufsatz 'Eine altägypt. Haarnadel' in *Kbg.er Beiträgen* 1929, S. 388 folg.) . Die dazu

verwendete Haarnadel hat die Form der Hieroglyphe  $\overline{\text{f}}$ , freilich nicht so schematisiert, wie die Drucktype sie zeigt. Ihr Kopf besteht aus einer länglichrunden Perle zwischen einer grösseren runden Platte oben und einer kleineren unten. Der Schaft ist nicht sicher zu erkennen, er kann aber für eine Nadel nicht anders als rund und glatt gewesen sein, wie ihn auch das Schriftzeichen zeigt. Haarnadeln dieser und ähnlicher Formen sind uns erhalten, freilich nicht aus der allerältesten Zeit, wo ihr Vorhandensein den sicheren Beweis dafür geboten hätten, dass sie wirklich das Vorbild für die Urform der Hieroglyphe  $\overline{\text{f}}$  gebildet haben, aber doch aus der Frühzeit. Immerhin ist nach dem Bild der *Kwt* nicht daran zu zweifeln, dass die späte Form des Zeichens  $\overline{\text{f}}$  eine Haarnadel darstellt; die Bündigkeit des Rückschlusses wird aber durch die unbestreitbare Tatsache zweifelhaft, dass es eben seit dem AR die Haarnadel in der Hieroglyphenschrift nicht gegeben hat, sie vielmehr durch ein andres Zeichen ersetzt worden ist.

Immerhin ergibt sich aus dem Vorstehenden ein Hinweis auf die Lösung der zweiten Frage.

Der uns bekannte altägyptische Wortschatz enthält kein Wort *mr* oder *sb* für den Meissel.<sup>1</sup> Und doch muss eine der beiden Lautverbindungen diese Bedeutung gehabt haben, denn als Begriffszeichen ist das Bild in die Schrift gelangt.

Von der Lautverbindung *sb* lässt sich eher etwas aussagen. Wir kennen sie für die Bezeichnung des Elefanten und seines Hauptproduktes, des Elfenbeins. Wenn wir uns vergegenwärtigen, dass die ältesten Haarnadeln fast ausnahmslos aus diesem Material bestanden haben, so werden wir schliessen dürfen, dass *sb(w)* ebenso, wie *bj* nicht nur das Metall, sondern auch die Waffen und Geräte aus ihm bedeuten kann, die (elfenbeinerne) Haarnadel bedeutet hat. Damit würde der zweite Lautwert *mr* für die Bezeichnung des Meissels frei.

<sup>1</sup> Vom Meissel *mh*  $\overline{\text{f}}$  ist hier abgesehen, er ist ein ganz anders verwendbares Werkzeug.

**PART III**  
**TEXTS AND PHILOLOGY**  
**(b) DEMOTIC, COPTIC, ARABIC AND OLD-NUBIAN**



## A NUBIAN PRINCE IN AN EGYPTIAN MONASTERY

By W. E. CRUM

SINCE Professor Griffith thought the legends here to be treated of worth mentioning at the end of his *Christian Documents from Nubia*,<sup>1</sup> a less condensed account of them may be of interest. Something must first be said of the work wherein they lie embedded, a work hitherto unnoticed, I believe, either by Arabists or folk-lorists. Four manuscripts were used:

### Arabic:

- A. Paris, *fonds arabe*, No. 278, A.D. 1294 (so De Slane).
- B. „ „ No. 279, 14th cent. (so De Slane).
- C. British Museum, Or. 8737, A.D. 1731.

### Ethiopic:

- D. „ „ Or. 768 (Wright, No. CCLXV), early 18th cent.

I have not seen Paris *arabe* 280 (A.D. 1605), nor the excerpts in *ib.* 283 (13th cent.) and, for the particular stories here in question, have but rarely consulted C, though for the remainder of the book I have been entirely dependent upon it and D. Text and translations are from A (foll. 117 b–130 a), with occasional variants from B (foll. 308 b–341 b) D (foll. 84 a–92 b).<sup>2</sup> A is finely written, and in pointing and grammar is somewhat more classical than B, whose script inclines to ligatures and whose pointing is more arbitrary.<sup>3</sup> BCD seemed to me not seldom to agree, as against A; but of this I cannot be sure. D is a servile version, even translating proper names now and then. What I here offer is a combination of abstract and translation (the latter in inverted commas), with the Arabic text of some interesting passages.

'The Paradise of Delight', 'The Garden of Monks',<sup>4</sup> or 'The Forty Stories of the Monks of the Wâdi Hubaib and others',<sup>5</sup> are alternative titles of a collection of tales of varying character and length, almost all relating to Egypt and presumably composed there, even when the scene is laid beyond its borders. I do not pretend to have read the work through and cannot say what further historical and topographical detail might be collected from a complete perusal. My super-

<sup>1</sup> In *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XIV (1928). I had also given a note on the subject in Winlock-Crum-E. White, *Mon. of Epiphanius*, I 142.

<sup>2</sup> When from C, they are so marked.

<sup>3</sup> A generally writes ذ ث, B regularly ط for ب. My copy aims at reproducing the features of A, including the often senseless stop, not used

in B

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'The Gardens of the Monastic Fathers'.

<sup>5</sup> بساتين الأبا الرهبان, or فردوس النعيم, or الأربعين خير التي للآبا الرهبان بوادي هيب وغيره. On works similarly entitled v. my *Ostraca*, No. 250 n., *Mon. of Epiphanius*, I 199 n., adding one attributed to Evagrius اوغرايه (Uri II 467 b).

ficial reading has shown a series of tales, wherein fact—or what is intended to represent it—and fantastic imagination both play their parts. Many questions are suggested by a work of this sort: sources<sup>1</sup> and date, relations with other such collections, non-Christian, perhaps, and non-Egyptian among them.<sup>2</sup> I will not attempt to discuss these; I can but offer a few notes upon the stories other than the three to be more particularly dealt with below.

In many cases the narrators are named; in only two, so far as I have noticed, are they otherwise known to history: the patriarch Benjamin (*ob. ca.* 662<sup>3</sup>) relates No. 9 and is mentioned as reigning in Nos. 1 and 2, while John, the next but one after him (*ob.* 689), is named in No. 13. But among the other narrators Isaac, abbot of Dair al-Kalamûn,<sup>4</sup> 'which is the monastery of Abba Samuel', begins his series with a precisely dated story, No. 24, telling of a barbarian attack on the monastery in A.M. 388 = A.D. 672; while another of his tales, No. 29, names a date two years later.<sup>5</sup> Both Isaac and another narrator, Victor, head of the celebrated monastery at the Henaton, 'named also the Monastery of Glass',<sup>6</sup> reappear in the Theban *Synaxarium*, which has taken over at least one piece by each of them,<sup>7</sup> besides one of those treated of below by Anastasius.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the relation of that interesting recension to our collection is one of the problems which would be worth investigation.<sup>9</sup>

The remaining narrators are Macarius 'the bishop', or 'bishop and scribe' (Nos. 17–23),<sup>10</sup> Anastasius abbot of St. Pachôm's monastery<sup>11</sup> (Nos. 32, 33, 34, *v.* below), Jacob bishop of Ausîm (Nos. 35, 36),<sup>12</sup> Theodore bishop of Danaṭû (No. 37),<sup>13</sup> and Isaac bishop of Niniveh, the seventh-century Syrian homelist, whose contribution (No. 38) is a discourse compiled from his writings.<sup>14</sup>

Topographical information may be had from most of the stories. No. 1 tells of an ascete from the village (ضبعة) of Ramsîs, in the district of Alexandria,<sup>15</sup> inveigled into various adventures by the demon, disguised as an aged monk. No. 2

<sup>1</sup> Two pieces at least have Coptic stories immediately behind them: Nos. 9 and 39.

<sup>2</sup> The Syrian month-names in Nos. 32, 33 (*v.* below) need explanation. The only parallel I can recall is Br. Mus. Or. 2328, a modern copy of the Egyptian (Coptic) *Synaxarium*, arranged according to the Syrian months.

<sup>3</sup> Chaîne, *Chronologie*, 252.

<sup>4</sup> In SW. of the Fayyûm (Amélineau, *Géogr.* 388).

<sup>5</sup> Date of the consecration of a church.

<sup>6</sup> *P.S.B.A.* xxix 301; Amélineau, *l.c.* 531.

<sup>7</sup> Of the former on 13th Kîhak, of the latter on 30th Hatûr. Another by Victor (on 7th Tûbah) is not in our collection. The stories by Victor of the Henaton in Paris *arabe* No. 305 may be by this author.

<sup>8</sup> No. 34, on 23rd Kîhak, *v.* below, p. 148.

<sup>9</sup> On this *Synaxarium*, which contained so much that the current, probably Nitrian, recension ignores, *v. Mon. of Epiphanius*, I 215 and *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> Not identified. Cf. M. the bishop in some diptychs, as *BIF.* v 97.

<sup>11</sup> Doubtless that at Pbow (Fâu).

<sup>12</sup> Wâsîm in *D.* *v. MIF.* xxxvi 231.

<sup>13</sup> In W. Delta, *v. Amélineau*, 385.

<sup>14</sup> *D.*: 'A compilation by one of the saints, from the words of the holy Isaac the Syrian; when the brethren begged of him a word of comfort,' beginning with the discourse on the 4 causes of sin (cf. Paris *ar.* 260, 4). His date is apparently disputed, as well as his precise creed. In Egypt, at any rate, the Jacobites claimed him (*v. Baumstark, Gesch.* 224).

<sup>15</sup> SE. of Damanhûr, Merkaz of Tah al-Barûd.





Cataracts or across the deserts on the east.<sup>1</sup> I have not attempted to relate the tale here told to the few known facts of Nubian history<sup>2</sup> and I leave it to others to decide whether the royal names in No. 33 are of Nubian origin; the scribes have so deformed them that they have an almost Muslim appearance.

### *The Thirty-Second Story*

This opens with two short anecdotes of an edifying character. A third (*A 118a*) describes a three-day trance into which a monk named Mercurius<sup>3</sup> had fallen, and the vision vouchsafed him of the blessed and the damned, with his consequent lamentations and admonitions. These at an end (*119 b*), he turns to the brethren and says, ‘‘O my brethren, go unto the cell<sup>4</sup> of George, the righteous brother, that is in the Desert of Salt,<sup>5</sup> and<sup>6</sup> be present at his death’’. And he arose and went before us. And this George had gone to the Salt Desert,<sup>7</sup> and had digged there a little cave, fitted to hold nine sitting<sup>8</sup> and not lying,<sup>9</sup> and therein he stayed till his body was penetrated<sup>10</sup> with the salt, and there was no healing it. And we journeyed and he (Mercurius) journeyed with us, and we found that brother dead, and his limbs not yet withered;<sup>11</sup> and we marvelled thereat, I and the brethren (*120 a*). And we lifted him, and bore him to the monastery, and we prayed over him, and buried him with much honour. And we sat mourning three days and three nights, according to the custom of that monastery.’ Mercurius remained in the community, revered by all, until one day when he addressed the Abbot as follows: ‘O my father Anastasius, the Lord pardon thee.<sup>12</sup> I desire to go to the monastery of the saintly Abba Shanûdah in the nome of Ahmîm,<sup>13</sup> to visit the monkish brethren. Dost thou consent to my so doing or no? For thy authority is over me and I may not disobey thee.’ Anastasius, realizing that Mercurius aims at withdrawing into the desert, is about to restrain him by an oath. Mercurius exhorts him not to do so, but to have patience awhile and he proceeds (*121 a*):

<sup>1</sup> Shenoute has described one such visitation, and the charitable treatment of the tribe by his monks. V. Leiboldt in *Aeg. Zeits.* 40 126 and *GSCO.* 42 67.

<sup>2</sup> Roeder’s article (*Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 33 364) is still the best résumé. V. also J. Kraus, *Die Anfänge d. Christentums in Nubien*, 1930, with full bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> *A* مرقوريوس, *B* مرقوريوس, *D* መርቆርዮስ. Why was this name popular among the Nubians? The king so named lived rather later than the age assumed for our story. Perhaps the fame of St. Mercurius’ shrine at Edfu might account for it.

<sup>4</sup> قلايه.

<sup>5</sup> بركة الملح (cf. p. 139 above), ዳወ(ዳወ):

<sup>6</sup> *D* ‘see him and’.

<sup>7</sup> الماخة, ዳ, ዳመ; ሐራዲት; later ኑራዲት; a word of which I can obtain no suitable explanation, though I have consulted eminent scholars.

<sup>8</sup> *D* om. ‘nine’.

<sup>9</sup> Lit. ‘sleeping’. *B* om. ‘not’.

<sup>10</sup> تقطع.

<sup>11</sup> *B* + ‘but were yet fresh’.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *επενδῆ καακ* &c., similarly in Coptic letters: *Mith. Rain.* 5 28, *BM. Cat.*, No. 582; *Coptic Dict.*, p. 95 d.

<sup>13</sup> The White Monastery.

ولكن كون على حدر من قوم من بني حام • ياتوك عراه الاجساد في اوساطهم جلود المعزي • وسلاحهم من جريد النخل • وطعامهم من دبيب الارض • ياكلون الفار والتعبان • والفريس<sup>2</sup> • والورن<sup>2</sup> • والسحلفه<sup>3</sup> • والذئب<sup>4</sup> (I2I b) والنمر والكلب والقط<sup>5</sup> • ولا ينجسون شيئاً من اللحوم الخبيثة النجسه • وهم اقوياء شجعان • لا يطبق بهم احدا من سكان هذه الارض<sup>6</sup> • فيملكون<sup>7</sup> اكثرها ويسبون اهلها • ويقتلون ابطالها • ويرعون باقواهم كرومها وبساتينها • ويكون على هذه الاعمال منهم وبالاغنياء<sup>8</sup> • ويأتون اليك يا ابي انسطاسيوس وقد طعنت في السن • ولا قدرة لك على القيام مستويًا • وتنظرهم بعينك وبعد ذلك تموت قبل مخاطبتهم • ويمدون ايضاً ايديهم في هذا الدير • ويريدون فساداً ومن فيه من الرهبان فلا يقدرين • فاندرو الرئيس الذي بعدك ان يعد لهم طعاماً وشراباً من جميع الاطعمة للحلال والحرام • فاذاهم اكلوا من الطعام وشربوا من الشراب • فانهم يعطوك<sup>9</sup> اماناً لهذا الدير • ولا يفسدون احداً فيه • لان الذي ياتي اليه ابن اخوا المقدم<sup>10</sup> فيهم • واصحابه<sup>11</sup> • وفيه رحمة • واعرف واوصي ولدك الذي له الرئاسة بعدك • يميز وجهه ويعرفه بشخصه • فهو ياتيه ليلاً ويدخل الى هذا الدير ويصير فيه راهباً • ويكون قديساً • ويكون لهذا الدير رحمة من الله عظيمه الذي ارسله اليه • لان هؤلاء الجند<sup>12</sup> يقيموا في هذه الارض ثلثة سنين (I22) ويجعلوها مثل القفار • ولا يتركوا فيها اثمار ولا اشجار • لانهم خلق كثير لا يحصى عددهم •

<sup>1</sup> BC العرس, **Ḥ077**: (or this ? = next word). <sup>2</sup> الوزغ. <sup>3</sup> **7-018**: (**7-018** tortoise).

<sup>4</sup> **Ḥ00** (**Ḥ00**), (ضبع) طبع **C**, وضب<sup>4</sup>. <sup>5</sup> **D om.** <sup>6</sup> الديار, **Ḥ0987** (**Ḥ0987**).

<sup>7</sup> **Ḥ064**: **Ḥ064**:. <sup>8</sup> وبها عظيماً **Ḥ0718**: **Ḥ0718**:. <sup>9</sup> يعطوه. <sup>10</sup> **Ḥ047**:.

<sup>11</sup> **Ḥ085**:. <sup>12</sup> **Ḥ08**:.

‘And beware of the people of the children of Hâm. They shall come unto thee naked of body, about their middles goatskins, and their weapons palm-branches and their food creeping things. They shall eat the mouse and the snake and the weasel<sup>1</sup> and the lizard and the tortoise and the wolf<sup>2</sup> and (I2I b) the leopard and the dog and the cat and shall deem naught unclean of vile meats and foul. And they are strong and brave and none among the dwellers in this land may prevail against them. And they shall possess<sup>3</sup> the most of it and shall take its people captive and slay its mighty ones and with their mouths they shall devour its vineyards and its orchards and by reason of them there shall be upon these provinces sore affliction. And they shall come unto thee, O my father Anastasius, when thou art far gone in years and not able to stand firmly. And with thine eyes thou shalt behold them and after that shalt die, ere ever thou hast talked with them. And moreover they shall stretch forth their hands in this monastery, with intent to destroy it and the monks within it; yet shall they not be able. But do thou admonish the abbot that (shall be) after thee, that he make ready for them meat and drink, of all meats permitted and forbidden. And when they shall have eaten of the meat

<sup>1</sup> A ‘horse’ (prob. error), D a word I cannot identify.

<sup>2</sup> B another sort of lizard, CD ‘hyena’.

<sup>3</sup> BD ‘destroy’.

and drunk of the drink, they shall give thee<sup>1</sup> a deed of protection for this monastery and shall do no hurt to any one therein. For he that cometh hither is brother's son to the chief among them and their fellows and he is merciful.<sup>2</sup> And tell and admonish thy son, that shall have the headship after thee, that he discern his face and know his appearance. By night shall he come and shall enter into this monastery and become a monk here and ■ saint; and there shall be unto this monastery great mercy from God that sent him hither. Now these soldiers shall abide in this land three years (122 a) and shall make it as the desert and shall leave therein neither fruit nor tree; for they are a mighty multitude, that cannot be numbered.'

He (*i.e.* the leader of the horde) will come like a thief and hireling (citing John x 10), but the monastery shall go unscathed.

فاذا كان في اليوم الرابع عشر من اب<sup>1</sup> • تاتي الي فتجدني في عنجق<sup>2</sup> • وهذا مكان في صدر (122 b) البرية • يسكن فيه طير السما وياوي اليه وحش البرية • وما فيها من السباع الوحشة • وذلك لاجل ما فيها من الما المجتمع من الامطار والسيول

<sup>1</sup> ابيب, ἰθῶ:.

<sup>2</sup> ἄνηϥ:.

'And', Mercurius proceeds, 'when the 14th day of Âb<sup>3</sup> is come thou shalt come unto me and shalt find me at 'Anjaḳ,<sup>4</sup> which is ■ place in the midst (122 b) of the desert, where dwell the birds of heaven and whither the beasts of the desert resort and wherein are all manner of ravening wild creatures and that by reason of the water gathered there from rains and torrents.' Anastasius is to remain by him three days, at the end of which Mercurius will die and the abbot is charged to carry his body back to the monastery for burial. Eventually the corpse is borne thither by three of the wild animals that had gathered to mourn the hermit's death. Mercurius dead, the story continues:

واذا قوموا قد وصلوا من ارض النوبة فملكوا ارض التخل والسدر والسشط<sup>1</sup> • وهي<sup>2</sup> اسوان واسنا وارمنت وايبود<sup>3</sup> • وجميع تلك الاعمال • (123 b) وكان كما قال هذا الراهب وما صار اليه

<sup>1</sup> ἰϥϥ: ωἰἰ: ἄϥϥ:.

<sup>2</sup> ارض +.

<sup>3</sup> ابنود, ἄ-ἰ-ϥ:.

'And lo, there arrived folk from the land of the Nubians, and they possessed the land of the date-palm and the lotus-tree and the acacia,<sup>5</sup> which is Aswân and Asnâ and Armant and Abnûd<sup>6</sup> and all those provinces (123 b). And it befell even as that monk had said.' Thus, after a few pious reflexions, the story ends.

<sup>1</sup> BD 'him'.

<sup>2</sup> Probably as D 'and among their fellows is mercy'.

<sup>3</sup> B by error Abîb. Corresponds to Coptic 21st Misrah, D Nahasê.

<sup>4</sup> D 'Anzaḳ. An imaginary oasis?

<sup>5</sup> D merely 'the date-palm and other trees'.

<sup>6</sup> So BD, A 'Abyûd'. Abnûd, a village below Kift, presumably of more importance formerly. May here indicate the northern limit of the district named. Cf. its use in next story.



في ارضنا • وقال ان روحي صارت (I25) الى السموات ورايت اهل العذاب وما هم فيه • ورايت اهل النعيم وما هم فيه • واظهر عجائب كثيرة • كان يقول ان روحي بعد قبصها عادت الى جسدي واندرنا انا ناتي الى هذه الارض ونملكها ثلثة سنين ونعود الى ارضنا • وكنت انا قد القيت نفسي<sup>1</sup> اليه ورغبت الى قدسه وبشرني اني اصير راهبا واسكن في دير انبا بخوم • المكان الذي كان<sup>2</sup> فيه راهبا • واسكن منزله<sup>3</sup> • واصلى على قبره • واوراني كيف صورة<sup>4</sup> القديس للليل انبا بخوم • وصنعها لي في لوحا من الخشب • وانا عملتها في<sup>5</sup> هذا اللوح الذهب • وان ذلك الراهب مضى الى جبل عتجق<sup>6</sup> من<sup>7</sup> ارضنا • وهوذا قد تم ما قاله • ولم يخجل منه شيئا<sup>8</sup> • فعلمت انا نسطاسيوس انه ولدي القديس مرقوريوس<sup>9</sup> الراهب • فتعجبت واطرقت بوجهي الى الارض • وكنت ساهيا<sup>10</sup> زمانا طويلا • فلما رفعت راسي • قال لي الترجمان يا ابي الراهب ما هوذا انت فيه مفكرا فقلت<sup>11</sup> سبحان الله الذي اعطى قديسيه ومختاره واصفياه • الراعيين اليه هذه العطية واجلهم بها • يا ولدي هذا الراهب الذي ذكرت وصوله الى ارضكم هو في هذا الدير كان راهبا<sup>12</sup> (I25B) وارضا الله باعماله • وهوذا ما كان من حاله • فسبح ذلك الرجل الله كثيرا • وقال ان هذا هو العجب • انه انباني بما كان كذلك هذا الاب • ثم التفت اليّ وقال لي اني اتيت لالبس الثوب<sup>13</sup> والاسكيم • واكون من اولاد القديس انبا بخوم • الى حين انقضى مدتي<sup>14</sup> • فبادر يا ابي الراهب والبسي الثياب<sup>15</sup> • فقلت انك راهبا من قبل اليوم • لان مرقوريوس اندرك بذلك • واندرني وانني لا اشك انك<sup>16</sup> ابن اخي الملك قال نعم • وانا اعطيتك امانا في هذا الدير • وفي هذا اليوم وهو السابع والعشرين من ايلول<sup>17</sup> عادوا بني حام الى ارضهم • وانا بعد ذلك في اليوم الثالث عشر من كانون الاول<sup>18</sup> البسته الثياب<sup>19</sup> والاسكيم • واسكنته بيت ذلك الراهب مرقوريوس • واوريته قبره • وكان فيه يصلى ويذكر قدس مرقوريوس<sup>20</sup> وقوله • انه لم يكذب في لفظه واحدة • انظروا الى قدس هذا الراهب وفضايله • وهذا ما كان من امر بني حام • انهم ما يبقى احد منهم في هذه الارض الا هذا الراهب • وكان قديسا كثير الصوم والصلاة • وهذا ما كان من امر هذا الراهب • وكنت (I26) وقت لباسه الثياب اسميته قفري<sup>21</sup> • كما كان في اللوح مكتوب • الذي اعطاني اياه امانا على هذا الدير • اسمعوا يا اخوتي واحباي انا نسطاسيوس المسكين • بينما انا جالس في ديري واذا سيارة قد اتت يطلبوني طلبا عنيفا<sup>22</sup> فخرجت اليهم وقلت ماذا تريدوا • فقالوا نريد نسطاسيوس اب هذا الدير • فقلت انا هو • فقالوا ان عندك رجل من اولاد حام وهو ابن اخو معمروا<sup>23</sup> ابن صلبان الملك الذي افسد هذه الارض • وقد جعلته راهبا وهو يكتب عمه باخبار هذه الارض • وانا نريده • والا نحن نقتل جميع من في هذا الدير ونطلق فيه النار • ولا نترك فيه شيئا من العماره<sup>24</sup> • وكان جميع ذلك من الشيطان عدوا الخير • فقلت هوذا الدير امامكم وجميع من فيه • وهوذا انا قائما في وسطكم<sup>25</sup> • فادخلوا واكشفوا وفتشوا جيدا • فاذا ما تدرتم عليه<sup>26</sup> فخذوه ولا تخافوا احدا • فاني ما اعرف من هذا الانسان الذي انتم تذكروه • وانهم دخلوا وفتشوا الدير ولم يتركوا فيه

<sup>1</sup> 89 b 7. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26.

هو.

مسكنه.

4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26.

5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26.

10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26.

15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26.

20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26.

24. 25. 26.

مكأنًا.<sup>٢</sup> ولم يدخلوا الى منزل هذا الراهب قفري • ولا علموا به ولا المنزل الذي كان فيه • فخرجوا وقالوا ان هذا امر اعظيما • وان (126 b) الساعي اليها قد كذب<sup>٣</sup> ولم يرشدنا • والتفتوا الي رجل كان معهم • من ناحية تسمى صغيرة<sup>٤</sup> كما اسمها • وكان ساعياً<sup>٥</sup> • لانه كان شريراً كذاباً • قتلاً<sup>٦</sup> سفيهاً • نماماً مقاطعاً • لا يخاف الله • ولا يعرف الاله<sup>٧</sup> • وكان لاهياً بالزنا وشرب الخمر • واكتساب المال من غير حل • فسلط الله عليه هولاً القوم عند وصولهم • فاخذوا جميع ما يملك • وسبوا له ثلثة بنات<sup>٨</sup> • وقتلوا له ثلثة<sup>٩</sup> اولاد من الرجال الاشداء الاقوياء • ولم يرجع عن طغيانه ولا اعتبر بما ناله<sup>١٠</sup> • وكان يقول انه ياخذ قفري الراهب ابن اخي الملك • فيقتله عوضاً عن بنية ويناته • ولم يدري انه<sup>١١</sup> بعض الانتقام • وفي اخره جهنم<sup>١٢</sup> • فاخذوه وربطوا في عنقه جبل من شعر المعز • وعلقوه على حايط الدير فمات لوقتته •

قاتولا<sup>٥</sup> . ٤ αὐτὸν φέρει . ٣ ἰσχυρῶς . ٢ . ولم يدخلوا اليه +<sup>٢</sup> .  
 من الرزايا +<sup>٩</sup> . ٨ Om., D = A. ٧ . ابكار +<sup>٧</sup> . ٦ . يعرف له اله<sup>٦</sup> .  
 نار جهنم<sup>١٢</sup> . D = اخلا واسا امام الله وانه انتقم منه في ديناه +<sup>١٠</sup> .

### The Thirty-Third Story

Relates how, after the arrival of the children of Ḥâm in the land of Abnûd<sup>1</sup> and Aswân, as 'the saintly youth' (Mercurius) had foretold, Anastasius began to observe their behaviour, 'how that they did eat what is forbidden rather than what is permitted and forbade naught among diversities of meats and how they hunted the beasts of the river<sup>2</sup> also and ate thereof and how that they ate of fish that no man eateth, nor took hurt thereby'. The barbarians carried fire and sword through the land and on (124 a) ■ certain night 'lo, there came to us a great horde of this Abyssinian<sup>3</sup> folk, the children of Ḥâm, naked of body and about their middles goatskins, wherewith to cover their nakedness, and in their hands weapons of palm-branches. And they encamped without the monastery and we suffered no hurt from them. And we brought forth meat unto them and they did eat and drink and they drank. And when they were minded to move on, the chief among them gave unto this monastery an undertaking and it was a tablet of yellow brass,<sup>4</sup> whereon were written three lines in the Greek character and therein it was thus: "I, Ḳafrîr,<sup>5</sup> son of the brother of Ghâyân, son of Marwâ, son of Şalbân,<sup>6</sup> have written this tablet for this monastery. I warn whoso shall do it harm or lay hands on its possessions or its victuals or aught else, that he

<sup>1</sup> As in last note.

<sup>2</sup> D 'of the desert'.

<sup>3</sup> B 'Nubian', D 'Ethiopian'.

<sup>4</sup> D 'gold-coloured copper.'

<sup>5</sup> B 'Ḳafrîl', D 'Ḳefreyâ.' Miswritten for Ḳafrî (v. below). The spelling would be against identifying this with كرى, a later king cited by Roeder, l.c. 369. Were the name and its bearer

imaginary, one might recall قفري 'anchorite' (Dozy, II 383). Kafri is again the name of a camel-herd in the 13th story—at least according to the *Synax.*, 30th Hatûr. But C has قوريل and D φούρι, recalling the reading of B here. Nothing connects him with Nubia.

<sup>6</sup> B 'Ghâbât, s. of Marwân, s. of Ş.' D 'Abôt, s. Marwân, s. Ş.'

shall go unto perdition."<sup>1</sup> And he departed and those with him, but the tablet stayed in this monastery. And the sojourn of that folk was three years and it was so that when in that space there came unto us people bent upon destruction, we brought forth to them that tablet and they did obeisance unto it and turned about and departed.

'And at the end of the three years of this folk's holding sway, there came unto us a man and with him three servants attending upon him and bearing up his raiment, lest it should fall to the ground. And in his hand was a staff of palm-branch, whereon he leaned, and in the other hand he bare a sword; and upon his head as it were an ell of (124 *b*) silken strip, bound about it, as women use. And when we beheld him we marvelled at him and said: "What manner of devil is this, that is come unto this monastery, and what would he?" But as for me, I knew from my son, the saintly monk, how that the time was fulfilled and that power no longer remained unto them. For this man was of the children of Hâm and was seeking to enter the monastery. And they<sup>2</sup> opened unto him the gate and he came in and sought the church and we led him thither. And I, Anastasius, went before him, for I remembered<sup>3</sup> from my son the monk what had been foretold me. And having entered the church he stood before the sanctuary and prayed. And when he had made an end of praying, he turned him about and said unto me: "I would that thou show me the chief man of this monastery." Now he was a barbarian and one of his servants interpreted for him. And I said unto him: "And what wouldest thou of him?" And he said: "When I see him, then will I tell him what I would have of him." And I said unto him: "I am he." And he sat down and caused me to sit and he brought forth from amid his garments that which hung about his neck upon his breast, a picture upon red gold, graven with an iron pen,<sup>4</sup> and it was a picture of our saintly father, Abba Pachôm. And I marvelled and said: "O master, know ye then in your land the saintly Abba Pachôm?" And he<sup>5</sup> said: "Yea, for there journeyed through our land a young monk, clothed in woollen raiment,<sup>6</sup> in whom we beheld much sanctity. And he preached<sup>7</sup> in our land, and said, 'My spirit went (125 *a*) to heaven and I saw the people of punishment, such as were there, and I saw the people of grace, such as were there; and many a marvel was revealed'. And he said (further), 'My spirit, after that it had been rapt away, returned unto my body'. And we were bidden come unto this land and possess it three years and (thereafter) return unto our own land. But I had set my heart upon it (*sc.*? this monastery) and longed for its holiness. And it had been foretold

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'be with the damned'.

<sup>2</sup> *BD* 'the gate-keeper.'

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'knew.'

<sup>4</sup> *D* 'iron reed', *AB* 'reed (pen)'.

<sup>5</sup> So *D*, *AB* 'they'.

<sup>6</sup> On monastic garments of wool *v. Mon. of*

*Epiphanius*, I 157. There is not much evidence for their use in Egypt. The woollen cloak or blanket in my *Theol. Texts* 158 is of hair in the Boh. and Greek parallels.

<sup>7</sup> *D* 'held service, said mass.'

me how that I should become a monk and should dwell in the monastery of Abba Pachôm, even where he had been a monk, and that I should dwell in his abode and pray upon his tomb. And it was revealed unto me of what aspect was the likeness of the saintly and revered Abba Pachôm and the same was made for me upon a wooden tablet; but I made it<sup>1</sup> upon a tablet of gold. And that monk journeyed to mount 'Anjak in our country<sup>2</sup> and, lo, what he said hath been brought to pass, neither hath aught thereof been diminished".'

Anastasius, recognizing in the monk thus referred to his spiritual son Mercurius, falls to meditating upon God's marvels. (125 *b*) He is interrupted by his visitor, who turns to him with the words: "I am come to don the robe<sup>3</sup> and the habit (σχημα) and to become of the children of the saintly Abba Pachôm, until such time as I finish my span.<sup>4</sup> And do thou make speed, O father monk, to clothe me in the robe." But I said: "Thou wast a monk ere this day. For Mercurius forewarned thee of this and forewarned me and I doubt not but thou art the king's brother's son." He said: "Yea. And I it was gave thee an undertaking in this same monastery". And upon that day, which was the 27th day of Ailûl,<sup>5</sup> the children of Hâm turned again to their own land. And thereafter, on the 13th day of Kânûn the First,<sup>6</sup> I clothed him with the robe<sup>7</sup> and the habit and set him to dwell in the chamber<sup>8</sup> of that monk Mercurius and I showed him his tomb. And there he was used to pray and to meditate upon the saintly Mercurius and his words, how that he had not been false in one of them".<sup>9</sup> (126 *a*) On the occasion of his taking the habit Anastasius gives the novice the name of Kafirî, that whereby he was called upon the tablet given to the monastery.

But the inhabitants of the surrounding district, which had suffered so much at the hands of the Nubian raiders, were bent upon revenge. A band of them arrived at the monastery and demanded of the abböt 'the son of the brother of Mamrû,<sup>10</sup> son of Şalbân the king,' who had become a monk, but who had sent back accounts of this land to his uncle. Anastasius, however, succeeded in concealing Kafirî's whereabouts, whereupon the barbarians turned upon their informer, a man of ill repute from the village of Şaghîrah,<sup>11</sup> and, convinced that he had misled them, they bound a cord of goat's hair about his neck and hanged him outside the monastery wall;<sup>12</sup> after which they took themselves off, leaving the monks unharmed. The story ends with an account of Kafirî's saintliness and prowess; for he cowed and then slew single-handed a terrific lion (127 *b*), a deed whereby his reputation among the brethren was greatly increased.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* 'I had it copied'.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 142. The phrase again recalls the Theban *Synaxarium*, where ٤٤٤ is similarly used of the district to which a group of the stories in it relate.

<sup>3</sup> *B* 'woollen (robe)'.      <sup>4</sup> *B* + 'of life'.

<sup>5</sup> Corresponds to Coptic 30th Tût, *D* Mas-karam.

<sup>6</sup> Corresponds to Coptic 13th Kîhak, *D* Taḥšâš.

<sup>7</sup> *B* 'woollen robe'.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. 'house'.

<sup>9</sup> The Arabic is printed beyond this, to the point indicated below.

<sup>10</sup> *B* 'Marwân'.

<sup>11</sup> *v.* above, p. 139.

<sup>12</sup> Printed Arabic text ends here.



*The Thirty-fourth Story*

Of this little need be said, since it is to be read, in a slightly abbreviated form, in the *Synaxarium*.<sup>1</sup> It tells how K̄afri, after three years in the Pachomian community, obtains leave to visit a friend in Shenoute's monastery and with him is miraculously transported in a single night to Jerusalem, whence, after visiting the holy places, they are as marvellously brought again to Upper Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> 23rd K̄ihak.

## A COPTIC MEMORIAL TABLET TO A YOUNG GIRL

By R. ENGELBACH

(With Plate 14.)

**D**URING the winter of 1929–30 the Antiquities Department of the Egyptian Government was fortunate enough to acquire from Mr. Fred Khayyât, a well-known Cairo dealer, an obituary inscription in the Sa'ïdic dialect of Coptic, which is of interest not only from philological considerations, but also from the unusual nature of the text.

The inscription is incised on a broken table of offerings, which resembled, when whole, one in the Cairo Museum dated to A.D. 786.<sup>1</sup> It is of yellowish marble, 0.96 m. in breadth, and is now in six pieces, one inscribed fragment being missing (Plate 14). Its provenance is unknown.

### THE TEXT

- (1) ✠ οὐτωσε ἡβηρε εὐψαπτααϥ επнаш
- (2) ἡϥει επте ἡτι ἡπῆнарпос αὐ[ω ε]ϥψап
- (3) ψωπε ἡтепнагрос ἡтапаβас[ис ψω]πε
- (4) ἡтенеμοоу жисе епж[се α̅]п[ . . . ἡсеμο]οὐτῆ
- (5) ρῆ οὐψпе ἡψωп [ο]ρῆп οὐλγпe[г] нашωпе ἡпῆρω
- (6) με αὐω ἡϥοὐωρ εβολ ἡпῆнаш ρῆ οὐα̅наρ ἡρηт
- (7) же апτωσε βωк ρῆ тῆμῆтβηре ἡпатῆти ἡпῆ
- (8) нарпос таг те ѳе ἡтешеер[е] ш̅α̅ ρ̅α̅ птресеи επте
- (9) ἡти нарпос ρῆ οὐψпе ἡψωп αὐп[ω]нес [εβο]λ αὐβитῆ
- (10) ερῆп οὐμῆтпнотуг еаскω ногрох[с ерраг есемо]ρ ἡпес
- (11) κωте етрῆошмес ἡтῆтасѳпос м̅ῆ̅ пе[с с]он ете
- (12) пессуμβиос пе ασβωк ератῆ епетере нibe п̅м̅
- (13) βηк ератῆ ппоуте ппаптонкратωρ παг тепоу ἡ
- (14) сопῆп αὐω ἡпаранаλει ἡμοϥ етρεпῆна таρο тῆ
- (15) таспролаβε ете тмакарта аросис пе ἡοὔноϥ ἡпа
- (16) ἡϥнаас ρῆ ἡῆпараδειсос етоὔααβ ἡῆσине ног
- (17) анапаγсис ἡωпаρ ша енеρ етῆ м̅н' тγβи 'ιβ' ιпзос α

### NOTES ON THE TEXT

The dialect is Sa'ïdic, but several peculiarities are to be noted.  $\pi$ , with one exception (line 8), does not change to  $\alpha$  before  $\mu$  and  $\nu$  (lines 2, 5, 7, 10, 14, and 16);  $\dagger$  is written  $\tau$

<sup>1</sup> Crum, *Coptic Monuments (Cat. gén. du Musée du Caire)*, No. 8703.

(lines 4, 7, and 9) and the relative τεῖτα is written τῖτα (lines 11 and 14-15). The other peculiarities are as follows:

Line 1 ἄκρε. Unusual variant of ἄρε (*vère* for *vërre*) *new* or *young*; also in line 7.

ταδϣ επκαϣ. The idiom is unknown to me, but seems analogous to the Boheiric ταρο- επκαϣ, meaning *to fence round with reeds*. Without knowing what kind of plant is meant it is impossible to conjecture in what manner the reeds were employed to protect it. That it was not a single reed prop is certain from line 6, where we have the plural κῖκαϣ.

Line 2 κῖει for the conjunctive κῖει.

Line 4 πεμοογ for the more usual πμοογ.

επσι . . . . . part of the unrestored portion of the lacuna (*a*) is a blundered pair of letters, the first of which may have been a κ and the second an ο. From the bottom of the ο an almost horizontal line runs towards the previous letter. There seems to me to be no room for more than three letters for the missing word if the remainder of the restoration is correct. κρο *bank* is a bare possibility. Dr. Carl Schmidt suggests τωσε for the noun, in which case the remainder of the restoration would have to be εγμοογτῖ from considerations of space. In any case the general meaning is clear: the plant was flooded out.

Line 5 ϣπε κῖωπ for ϣεν κῖωπ. Also in line 9.

Line 6 κῖογωρ for the conjunctive κῖογωρ.

Line 8 ϣκ for ϣκα. ϣκ had originally been written in error and converted into ϣκ.

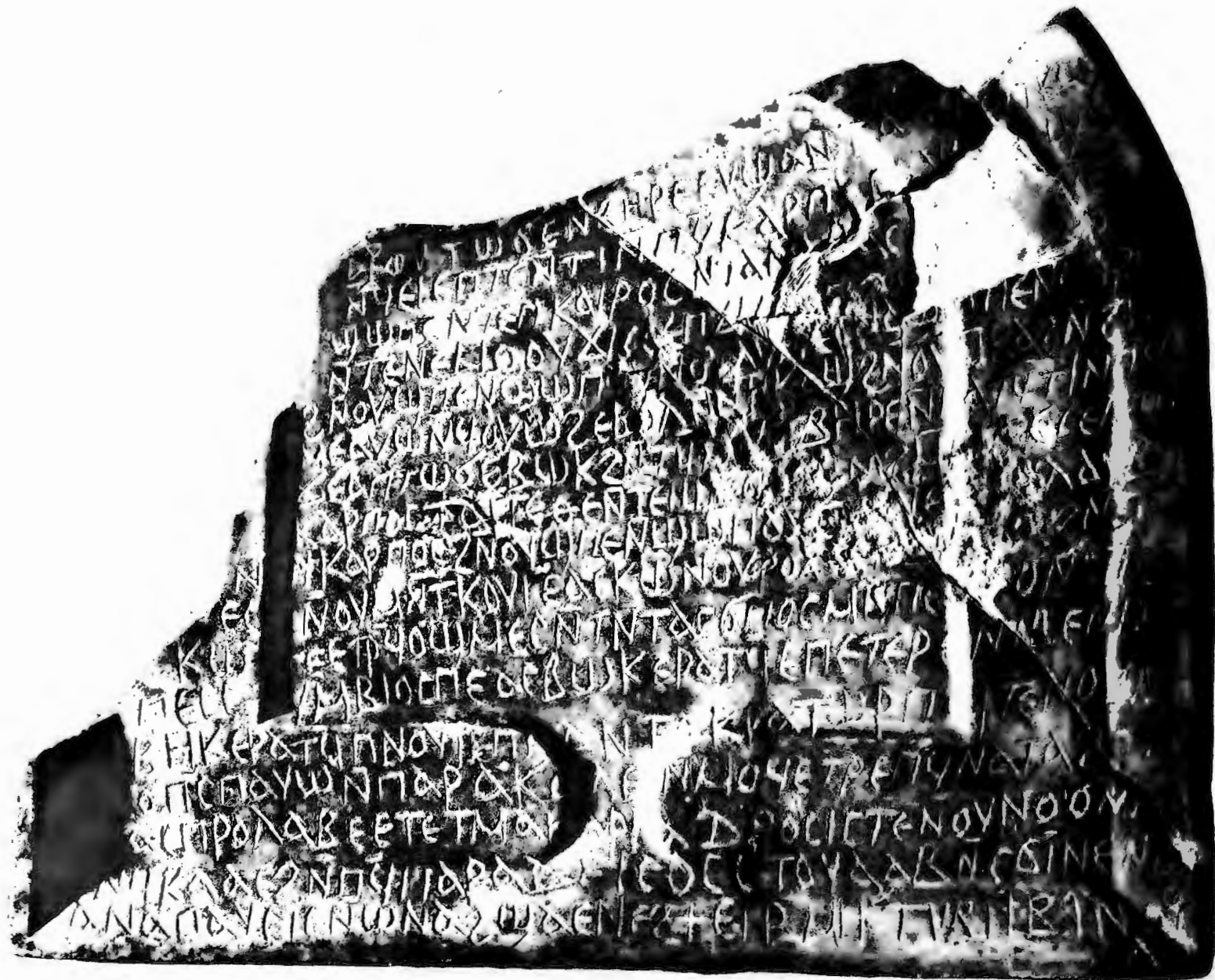
Line 9 κωπεс for κωπεс; from κωπε.

αγῖτῖ for αγῖτῖ.

Lines 10 and 11 ογροχῖ . . . . . A very obscure passage in which there is obviously an error. It may have been meant to read: ογροχ[ῖ ερραῖ εсμο]ρ κῖπεκωτε ετρεγωϣαес ρῖ τῖταспoc: *a burning fire around her to be extinguished by her who bore her, &c.*, implying that the girl was burned to death and the fire put out by her relatives. Since there are no traces of letters in the lacuna the restoration is purely conjectural. In the word ροχῖ (for ροκῖ) the line above the c is certain, but the c has completely disappeared. Another possibility has been suggested to me, namely that for οϣαес we should read ωϣκ.<sup>1</sup> This would give some such meaning as *she left a burning fire behind her to extinguish her who bore her, &c.* If this is true one might almost imagine that the relations of the girl had been carried off by the same illness as she. This translation gives perhaps a closer parallel to the opening parable of the plant and the flood, vague as it is. Against it may be said that in the laxest metaphor a fire can hardly be said to 'extinguish' a person, unless the verb ωϣκ has a wider meaning than has hitherto been supposed. Secondly, had the mother and brother died shortly after the girl Drosis, one would expect their names to be mentioned with hers or that a combined memorial tablet would have been made for all three.

спoc for κпoc.

<sup>1</sup> The complete verb would then be ετρεсωϣκ.



Coptic Memorial Tablet to a young girl

Scale  $\frac{1}{3}$



Line 12  $\pi\iota\beta\epsilon \pi\iota\alpha\alpha$  for  $\pi\iota\beta\epsilon \pi\iota\alpha\alpha$ . I know of no other example of this variant of  $\Psi\Upsilon\Upsilon\chi\eta \pi\iota\alpha\alpha$  &c.

Line 14  $\bar{\pi}\epsilon\sigma\eta\bar{\pi}$  for  $\epsilon\kappa\sigma\eta\bar{\pi}$ . For this form of the II Pres., see also line 15.

$\tau\alpha\rho\sigma \tau\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma\pi\rho\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon$  for  $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon \tau\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma\pi\rho\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon$  or  $\tau\alpha\rho\sigma \bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma\pi\rho\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon$ .

Line 15  $\pi\epsilon$  for  $\epsilon\tau$ .

#### TRANSLATION

(1) If a young plant is protected by reeds (2) and it comes to the time of giving *fruit*, and if it (3) happen that the *flood[ing] season* occurs (4) so that the waters rise above the level of the bank? [and ki]ll it (5), thereon a grie[f] will happen to its ow-(6)-ner (*lit.* man) and he will cast down his reeds with sorrow of heart (7) since the plant has departed in its youth before it gave its (8) *fruit*. This is the case of this young girl on coming to the time (9) of giving *fruit*. Suddenly she was ca[rried awa]y, she was taken (10-11) while she was in her youth, having left around her a [burning?] fire to be? extinguish[ed?] by her who bore her and by her brother who (12) *lived with* her. She has gone to Him (*lit.* That One) to Whom every breath (13) goes: God the *Almighty*. Him, now, we (14) beg and *implore* that His mercy take her (15) who has been *removed before her time*—the *blessed Drosis*—with a great mercy (16) and that He place her in His holy *Paradise* and that she find a (17) living *repose* for ever. *Written in the month Tybi, (day) 12, Indiction 1.*

During the time this interesting inscription lay in the Museum office, it was examined and commented on by many distinguished colleagues. Although nearly all the restorations are my own, I wish to tender my special thanks to Sir Herbert Thompson, the late Dr. Wilhelm Spiegelberg, and to Dr. Carl Schmidt, who have given me valuable advice. My thanks are also due to the Ministry of Education for permission to publish this text here instead of in the *Annales du Service des Antiquités*.

# A DEMOTIC CONTRACT OF THE THIRD CENTURY FROM THE FAYYUM

(Dem. P. Brit. Mus. 10616)

By S. R. K. GLANVILLE

(With Plates 15-20)

THE document discussed below was recently acquired by the British Museum through the generosity of Sir Herbert Thompson and Dr. Robert Mond.<sup>1</sup> It was reported to have been found in the Fayyum, and this is confirmed by the internal evidence. The precise provenance was probably Philadelphia (to-day Darb Gerzah, near er-Rubbayat on the eastern edge of the Fayyum<sup>2</sup>), for the document is a contract for sale of a property in that town. It is dated in the fourth year of Ptolemy III Euergetes—244-243 B.C.—and there are five copies each of both sale- and cession-forms. I have to thank the Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities for permission to publish it in this volume.<sup>3</sup>

The papyrus as now mounted in four frames is 10 ft. 2 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. long. A fifth frame of uninscribed and unplaced fragments from the end of the document probably added a blank margin of not less than a foot; and at least another foot, to accommodate the lost beginning of the text, together perhaps with a few inches of margin, is still missing. The average height of the papyrus, discounting obviously torn or rubbed edges, is 12 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. The distance between joins varies from 7 in. to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. The material itself is of mediocre quality, the colour a light but uneven brown with the exception of the first sheet, which is lighter in tone and a little finer in texture. The fibres run horizontally on the recto.

The ink for the most part stands out clearly, and the writing of all the hands is very legible, though inclined to deteriorate and to become cramped towards the end of the document. (Compare e.g. the two copies signed by *P-šr-ta-'mn*, A.5 and B.5.) Except for a few vertical tears which cannot now be joined owing to shrinkage of the papyrus, the last three frames are in good condition. The first, which contains the first three copies of the sale-form, consists of fragments joined together since the papyrus was unrolled, and exhibits large and small lacunae in addition to the total loss of the beginnings of these copies, already referred to. There is a blank space of about 13 in. between the end of the sale- and the beginning of the cession-copies. And since the overlap of the join immediately preceding the cession-copies is  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. wide as opposed to the average  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. of the joins elsewhere, it seems that the two series of copies

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Quarterly*, vi (1931), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Urkunden des Zenon-Archivs*, p. 6, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Neither specific references in the text nor a general acknowledgement here of constant help

with difficult readings and with references, and of the unlimited use of his unpublished lexicographical materials, state the full measure of my obligation to Sir Herbert Thompson.







were made on separate lengths of papyri, which were afterwards joined together. A tougher binding would naturally be made than when joining together two 8 in. pages. All but  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. of this 13 in. of blank space was the original margin at the end of the sale-copies.

The matter of this contract is of no intrinsic importance. But it is in itself a definite contribution to the form and character of demotic legal documents. It contains, for example, what appears to be the only known instance in demotic of a clause being inserted specifically to secure the right known as εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος in the Greek papyri. Again it does not exhibit that confusion between the clauses of sale and cession found in the two first-century Roman contracts from the Fayyum in the Rylands Collection, and commented on by Griffith (*Ryl.*, p. 174). Otherwise there is nothing unusual in the formulae employed or in their arrangement. The document's real claim to usefulness is that it is by far the largest and most complete, as well as being one of the earliest, of the very small number of sale contracts from the Fayyum. These have hitherto been represented by a first-century Ptolemaic cession at Cairo (No. 30612),<sup>1</sup> the two Rylands papyri already referred to, and less than a dozen fragments, chiefly at Cairo. Above all it is, so far as I know, the only example from the Fayyum in which witness-copies are used, although this practice was comparatively common in the South in documents of the Saïte to earlier Ptolemaic periods. This feature, of interest in itself, has the added advantage of procuring final readings where a single copy would often have left uncertainties.<sup>2</sup>

## TRANSCRIPTION

[As the disposition of the lines varies with each copy, the numbering of them given in the transcription and translation is that of the first (and most legible) copy of the Cession (B.1), except in the formulae peculiar to the Sale, where the first complete copy of the latter (A.4) is followed.]

## (SALE and CESSION)

(1) *H-sp*<sup>1</sup> *4-t tpy* <sup>2</sup>*h n<sup>2</sup> Pr-<sup>3</sup>o Ptwlmys*<sup>3</sup> *s<sup>4</sup> Ptwlmys erme* *rsns*<sup>5</sup> *n ntr-w sn-w w<sup>6</sup>b*  
*ilgsntrws*<sup>6</sup> *7erme n ntr<sup>8</sup>-w sn-w<sup>9</sup> irglws*<sup>10</sup> *s<sup>11</sup> Tm*<sup>12</sup> *a rsn*<sup>13</sup> *s<sup>14</sup>-t Plwmkrts*<sup>14</sup>

(2) *fy tn nb m-bh rsn*<sup>15</sup> *t ntry-t t mr*<sup>16</sup> *sn*<sup>17</sup>

*Z*<sup>18</sup> *e<sup>19</sup>r-wy* *bk Hnm nb*<sup>20</sup> *Smn-Hr p*<sup>21</sup> *ntr 'o Hry-w s*<sup>22</sup> *Wn-nfr mwt-f*  
*Ta-sy*<sup>23</sup> *n hr-hb n*<sup>24</sup> *tw rm-Try Pa-ko s*<sup>25</sup> *Z-hr mwt-f Hry-Wbst*

<sup>1</sup> Opening phrases lost from A.1, 2, and 3; see below, notes 8, 9, and 13 respectively. <sup>2</sup> om. A.4; 5; B.2; 5. <sup>3</sup> var. *Ptlmys* A.4; *Ptlwmys* B.3; *Ptrwmys* B.4. <sup>4</sup> om. A.4; 5; B.1; 5. <sup>5</sup> var. *rsn* A.4; om. A.5. <sup>6</sup> var. *ilgstrys* A.5; B.5; *irgsyntrs* B.1; *ilgsyntrs* B.2; *ilgsntrs* B.3; *ilgsnt[r]ys* B.4. <sup>7</sup> A.1 begins here. <sup>8</sup> A.2 begins here. <sup>9</sup> var. *n sn-w* B.3. <sup>10</sup> var. *irglws* B.2. <sup>11</sup> om. A.1; B.1; 2; 5. <sup>12</sup> var. *Tym(?)* A.3 (begins here); *Tmm* B.2. <sup>13</sup> var. *rsn* A.5; B.5. <sup>14</sup> var. *Pwlmkrts* B.3; *Pwlmgrts* B.4. <sup>15</sup> var. *rsn* B.5. <sup>16</sup> var. *mr-t* B.2. <sup>17</sup> var. *sn-w* B.4; *sn-t(?)* B.5. <sup>18</sup> A horizontal stroke of considerable length separates the end of the protocol from the text that follows in every copy except A.1 and B.1. <sup>19</sup> var. *w* (om. *e<sup>19</sup>r-*) A.1; B.1; *e<sup>19</sup>r-w* A.3; 4; B.3; *e<sup>19</sup>r-wy* B.2; *e<sup>19</sup>r-w<sup>19</sup>y* B.4. <sup>20</sup> om. A.3; B.2; 3. <sup>21</sup> *a p ntr 'o* A.1; B.1. <sup>22</sup> om. *s* A.5; B.1; 2; 5. <sup>23</sup> var. *Ta-n(?)*-*sy* B.4. <sup>24</sup> om. A.4; 5; B.1; 2. <sup>25</sup> om. A.5; B.2; 5.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Spiegelberg, *Cat. gén. . . . Caire, Die dem. Pap.* p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> The five copies of the Sale are referred to as A. 1-5, those of the Cession as B. 1-5.

(SALE)

(2) *Te-k mte ht-y p<sup>26</sup> ht swm pe-y 'y*  
*nt kt<sup>27</sup> zy*

(CESSION)

(3) *wy-k<sup>28</sup> e'r-k mn mte-y<sup>29</sup> mt*  
*nb n<sup>30</sup> p t e'r-n-k n<sup>31</sup> pe-k 'y*

(SALE and CESSION)

*hn<sup>c</sup> ne-f<sup>32</sup> wrh-w<sup>33</sup> nt m-s-f nt<sup>34</sup> t 'we rs<sup>35</sup> tme<sup>36</sup> p-' T-mr-sn<sup>37</sup> p tš rrsn<sup>38</sup> nt*  
*'r<sup>39</sup> mh-ntr-w 14 n<sup>40</sup> p-rs<sup>41</sup> a<sup>42</sup> pr-mht<sup>43</sup> hr h mh-ntr-w 14 pr-ybt<sup>44</sup> a<sup>45</sup> pr-'mnt<sup>46</sup>*  
*a<sup>47</sup> mh-hty (4) 196 nt e<sup>48</sup> ne-w hyn-w<sup>49</sup> rs n 'y-w<sup>50</sup> n<sup>51</sup> Wynn :ntptrs<sup>52</sup> s<sup>53</sup>*  
*P-rm-ht r mht n 'y-w Hm<sup>s</sup> ybt n 'y-w ■ Wynn-w<sup>54</sup> 'mnt<sup>55</sup> n 'y-w<sup>56</sup> hkm(??)*  
*Z-hr s<sup>57</sup> Wn-nfr a<sup>58</sup> mh n hy-w<sup>59</sup> n hyn-w*

(SALE)

(3) *n 'y-w nt hry 'n*  
*mte-k st<sup>62</sup> ne-k 'y-w ne-k wrh-w<sup>63</sup>*  
*ne<sup>64</sup> šp-y swm-w<sup>65</sup> n t-t-k ht-y*  
*mt-w<sup>66</sup> n'm-w e-w mh 't sp nb (4)*  
*bn<sup>67</sup> e rĥ rm nb p t 'nk<sup>68</sup> mie 'r syh*  
*n'm-w bl-k*

(CESSION)

*ne-k 'y-w<sup>60</sup> nt hry 'n<sup>61</sup>*  
(5) *a 'n-k<sup>69</sup> e'r-n-y e-tbe ht<sup>70</sup> e-y 'r n-k*  
*sh e-tbe ht ar-w h-sp 4 t tpy 'h n<sup>71</sup> Pr-*  
*'o 'nh z-t*

(SALE and CESSION)

*p nt e-f 'y e'r-k e-tbe-t-w e-y ty wy-w<sup>72</sup> e'r-k*

(SALE)

*nk<sup>73</sup> nb mġ nb p t mte-y ty w'b-w n-k*  
*n<sup>74</sup> sh nb qnb-t nb mġ nb p t*

(SALE and CESSION)

*mte-k sh nb a<sup>75</sup> 'r-y ar-w<sup>76</sup> hn<sup>c</sup> sh nb qnb-t nb a<sup>77</sup> 'r-w n-y ar-w hn<sup>c</sup> sh nb*  
*qnb-t nb a 'r-w ar-w<sup>78</sup> mte-k st hn<sup>c</sup> pe-w hp<sup>79</sup>*

<sup>26</sup> om. A.4 (both A.4; 5 omit *n* before *p*. The phrase is lost in A.1; 2; 3.) <sup>27</sup> var. *kt-w n zy* A.5. <sup>28</sup> var. *wwe-w* B.2; *wy-y-k* B.3; *ww-k* B.4. <sup>29</sup> var. *mn m-s* B.4; *bn e mte-y* B.5. <sup>30</sup> om. B.2; 4; 5. <sup>31</sup> om. B.2; 4; 5; var. *pe-k p* (sic) 'y B.2. <sup>32</sup> var. *pe-f* B.5. <sup>33</sup> var. *wrh* A.4; 5; B.2; 4; 5. <sup>34</sup> var. *nt e* A.5; B.5. <sup>35</sup> var. *rs n* A.1; 2. <sup>36</sup> B.1 inserts *e* before *p-'* &c. <sup>37</sup> var. *pr T-mr-sn* A.4; *pr-' T-mr-sn* B.4; *T* om. A.5; B.3. <sup>38</sup> var. *rrsn* A.5; B.5. <sup>39</sup> var. *nt e'r* B.5. <sup>40</sup> om. all except A.1(?); B.1. <sup>41</sup> var. *pr-rs* A.2; 3; 4; B.3; *rs* B.4. <sup>42</sup> om. A.1; 5; B.1(?); 2; 5. <sup>43</sup> var. *p-mht* B.4; 5. <sup>44</sup> var. *p-ybt* A.5; *ybt* B.5. <sup>45</sup> om. A.1; 5; B.1; 5. <sup>46</sup> var. *'mnt* B.5. <sup>47</sup> var. *nt* A.1; om. A.5. <sup>48</sup> om. B.4. <sup>49</sup> var. *hyn*. except A.3; B.3 (*ne-w* om.); 4; 5. <sup>50</sup> var. *'y* A.1; B.3. <sup>51</sup> om. A.1; 2; 4; B.1; 3; 4. <sup>52</sup> var. *stptrs* A.3.

<sup>53</sup> om. all except B.1. <sup>54</sup> var. *n n Wynn* (sic) B.2. <sup>55</sup> var. *pr-'mnt* B.2. <sup>56</sup> var. *'y* B.1. <sup>57</sup> om. all except A.4; B.3. <sup>58</sup> om. B.1; 2; 4; 5. <sup>59</sup> om. *n* A.4; var. *t hy-t* B.5. <sup>60</sup> var. *'y* B.5. <sup>61</sup> om. *nt hry 'n* B.2; *nt hry* B.4; *'n* B.5. <sup>62</sup> var. *s* A.5. <sup>63</sup> *w* of pl. A.5. only. <sup>64</sup> om. A.5. <sup>65</sup> om. *-w* A.4. <sup>66</sup> var. *mte-w* A.4; *mt* A.5. <sup>67</sup> var. *ebn* A.5. <sup>68</sup> var. *'nk-y* (sic) A.5. <sup>69</sup> om. ■ B.2. <sup>70</sup> var. *a 'n-k e-tbe ht e'r-n-y* B.3; *e-tbe ht* om. B.4. <sup>71</sup> om. B.4. <sup>72</sup> var. *wy-w-f* A.4; B.4; *wy-f* A.5; B.5. <sup>73</sup> var. *nnk'* A.1. <sup>74</sup> om. *n* A.3-5. <sup>75</sup> om. A.4; B.4. <sup>76</sup> var. *e 'r-w* (for *a 'r-y* and *ar-w*, and similarly in the next two phrases) A.5; B.5. <sup>77</sup> om. A.4; <sup>78</sup> om. *qnb-t nb* A.4; 5; var. *nt e 'r-w n-y(?) ar-w* A.4; *'r-w n-y ar-w* B.4. <sup>79</sup> for *a 'r-w . . . hp*. B.2 reads *nt e-y m'k n'm-w rn-w*.









(6) *mte-k p nt e-y m'k n'm-f<sup>80</sup> rn-w p 'nh p 'h r̄t nt e-w<sup>81</sup> ty-s<sup>82</sup> m-s-k<sup>83</sup> m-s-y a ty 'r-k s a ty 'r-y st<sup>84</sup> rn-w*

(SALE)

(5) *e-y 'r-f n<sup>85</sup> htr 't mn*

(CESSION)

*e-y 'r-f e-y<sup>86</sup> 'r n-k p sh nt hry e-k m-s-y p hp<sup>87</sup> n p sh e-tbe ht a 'r-y n-k h-sp 4:t tpy 'h n Pr-'o 'nh z:t a<sup>88</sup> mh sh 2 a<sup>89</sup>(7) 'r-y s n-k e-k m-s-y n'm-w hn' pe-w hp mte-y 'r-f n-k n<sup>90</sup> htr 't mn mte-k t myt pr<sup>91</sup> n 'y-w<sup>92</sup> nt hry a hn<sup>93</sup> a bl p nt e-f 'h h-k ar-s<sup>94</sup> e-y ty wy-w<sup>95</sup> e-'r-k nk' nb mt<sup>96</sup> nb p t*

(SALE and CESSION)

*sh N.*

Each copy (except the first for obvious reasons of sense) of both sale- and cession-forms is preceded by the name and titles of the scribe who signs it at the end, together with the phrase *e-f mtre ny* 'who witnesses these things' (i.e. the foregoing copy). The names, &c., are as follows:

## INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT OF WITNESS

## SIGNATURE

|                |                                                                                                                                    |                                                                               |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A.1 }<br>B.1 } | None. <sup>1</sup>                                                                                                                 | } <i>Hr-mwt-f &lt;s&gt; Wn-nfr</i>                                            |
| A.2<br>B.2     | Lost.<br><i>P-ate-<sup>2</sup>s s P-ate-Wbst mwt-f Hsm-wz(?) šwt bk Hr(?) nb Hr-r̄t(?) 's t ntr-t 'o-t e-f mtyr ny<sup>2</sup></i> |                                                                               |
| A.3<br>B.3     | Lost.<br><i>P-ate-Sbk-Hp s P-ate-<sup>2</sup>s mwt-f . . . 's(?) šwt<sup>4</sup> bk Ht-Hr t ntr-t 'o-t e-f mtre ny</i>             | <i>Hr s 'nh-Wn-nfr</i><br><i>P-ate-Sbk-Hp s</i><br><i>P-ate-<sup>2</sup>s</i> |

<sup>80</sup> var. *n'm-w* B.4. <sup>81</sup> om. *w* B.2. <sup>82</sup> om. *s* A.4; (cf. n. 85). <sup>91</sup> var. *n(?) my(·w?) ■ pr* B.2; *n(?) my·w-t(sic?)* B.3; *pr·w(?)* B.4; *n(?) my(·w?) pr·w* B.5. <sup>83</sup> var. *m-s-k-y* (sic) A.4. <sup>84</sup> *a ty 'r-yst* om. B.1-5. <sup>85</sup> om. *n*. A.2; 4; var. *t-htr* A.5 (cf. n. 90). <sup>86</sup> var. *e 'r-y* B.1; 4; B.5 inserts *n-k* between *'r-f* and *e-y*. <sup>87</sup> var. *n p hp-y* B.2; redundant *p* B.4. <sup>88</sup> om. B.1; var. *nt* B.3(?); 5. <sup>89</sup> om. *a* B.1. <sup>90</sup> om. *n* B.2-4; var. *t-htr*; B.5. <sup>92</sup> var. *'y* B.1; 2. <sup>93</sup> var. *hn-w* B.5. <sup>94</sup> Uncertain group between *h-k* and *ar-s* B.4. <sup>95</sup> var. *'r-w(sic)* B.3; *wy·w-f* B.4; *wy-f* B.5. <sup>96</sup> var. *n(?) a) mt* B.3.

<sup>1</sup> If there had been an introductory statement to A.1 it would have occupied the part of the papyrus which is lost—as doubtless did the introductions to A.2; 3.

<sup>2</sup> I was unable to read the mother's name (*Hsm-wz?*) or the witness's first title (*šwt*), both of which I owe to Sir Herbert Thompson. He also corrected my reading *Ht(?) - Hr nb Hr-r̄t(?) t ntr-t 'o-t* to *Hr nb Hr-r̄t(?) 's t ntr-t o-t*. For the

rare word *šwt* 'merchant' see Spiegelberg, *Cat. gén. . . . Caire, Dem. Pap.*, p. 4, n. 6. Another example of the word (not quoted by Spiegelberg) is in *P. Berlin 8043 Vo.*, col. K. l. 2 (Thompson, who suggests an alternative reading *šbt*). Pediese was therefore a 'merchant and slave of Horus of Harit(?) [Theadelphia, on the opposite side of the Fayyum to Philadelphia] and of Isis, the great goddess.' <sup>3</sup> Lost in A. <sup>4</sup> See above, note 2.



|                                                                                            |                                       |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| A.4 } <i>Hr s 'nh-Wn-nfr mw-t-f Ta-Nhy-t šwt bk<sup>1</sup></i>                            | } <i>Hr s 'nh-Wn-nfr</i>              |
| B.4 } <i>. . . nb H<sup>1</sup>-rt(?)<sup>2</sup> t ntr-t 'o-t e-f mtre<sup>3</sup> ny</i> |                                       |
| A.5 } <i>Wy<sup>4</sup> P-šr-ta-'mn &lt;s&gt; St-wt mw-t-f Gm-'s-</i>                      | } <i>P-šr-ta-'mn &lt;s&gt; St-wt.</i> |
| B.5 } <i>mr-w(?) e-f mtre ny</i>                                                           |                                       |

It will be seen from this tabulation of the scribes' names that, with the exception of A.3 and B.3, each pair of corresponding copies of the sale- and cession-forms (A.1 and B.1, A.2 and B.2, &c.) were written by the same man. But while B.3 was written by *P-ate-Sbk-Hp*, A.3 is *signed* by *Hor* the writer of A and B.4. The evidence, however, of both handwriting and orthography points, on the whole, to one individual having written A.3 and B.3, and if we had not lost the beginning of the former it is likely that we should find that it was introduced by the statement *P-ate-Sbk-Hp . . . e-f mtry ny*. We should then have to suppose that Pedisobkhap omitted to sign his copy, and that *Hor*, following immediately afterwards, noted the omission and supplied his own name—perhaps to render the document valid.

## TRANSLATION.

## (SALE and CESSION)

(1) Year 4, Thoth,<sup>1</sup> of King Ptolemy<sup>2</sup> son of Ptolemy and Arsinoë the Brother-Gods; the priest of Alexander and of the Brother-Gods (being) Archelaos son of Damas,<sup>3</sup> Arsinoë da. of Polemocrates<sup>3</sup> being (2) Kanephoros before Arsinoë the brother-loving goddess:

What was said by the husbandman<sup>4</sup> and servant of Khnum lord of Smen-*Hor*,<sup>5</sup> the great god, Herieu son of Wennofer, his mother (being) Tasi, to the cemetery-lector, the man of Tery,<sup>6</sup> Pa-ko<sup>7</sup> son of Zeho, his mother (being) Herieubasti:

## (SALE)

(2) Thou hast caused my heart to agree to the silver (for) the price of my house<sup>8</sup> which is (stone-)built (with) a wall,

## (CESSION)

I am (3) distant from thee—I have no claim<sup>9</sup> on earth against thee—from thy house,

## (SALE and CESSION)

together with its wastelands which are behind it, which (is in) the southern district of the town of Philadelphia<sup>10</sup> (in) the Arsinoïte nome, and which measures 14 god's-cubits from south to north, by 14 god's-cubits (from) east to west, making (4) 196 square cubits, of which the boundaries are: south—the property of the Greek Antipatros son of Premhetr;<sup>11</sup> north—the property of Hema; east—the property of the Greeks; west—the property of the barber(? ?)<sup>12</sup> Zeho son of Wennofer—which complete the survey (*lit.* measurements) of the boundaries

<sup>1</sup> B. *bk-t* (sic) *n*.<sup>2</sup> B. om. *nb H<sup>1</sup>-rt(?)*.<sup>3</sup> A. *mtē*.









Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a list of witnesses, on a parchment fragment. The text is arranged in approximately 15 lines, with some lines containing multiple names or entries. The script is dense and somewhat difficult to decipher due to the texture of the parchment and the quality of the image.

Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a duplicate list of witnesses, on a parchment fragment. The text is arranged in approximately 15 lines, mirroring the layout of the adjacent fragment. The script is dense and somewhat difficult to decipher due to the texture of the parchment and the quality of the image.

P. Brit. Mus. 10616; duplicate list of witnesses, *a* on verso of *Cession*, *b* on verso of *Sale*



## (SALE)

(3) of the property aforesaid. Thine it is—thy property, thy waste-lands are they. I have received their price from thee; my heart agrees thereto; it is complete without remainder. (4) No man on earth, nor myself either, shall be able to exercise authority over them except thee.

## (CESSION)

of thy property aforesaid; (5) which thou hast bought from me<sup>13</sup>, I making for thee a writing for silver with respect to them in Year 4, Thoth, of Pharaoh—may he live for ever!

## (SALE and CESSION)

Whoever shall come against thee on their account I will keep away from thee

## (SALE)

in everything whatsoever. And I will purge them for thee of every deed and every title<sup>14</sup> whatsoever.

## (SALE and CESSION)

Thine is every deed that I have made concerning them, and every deed and every title that has been made to me concerning them, and any (other) deed and any (other) title that has been made concerning them; thine they are, together with the rights they carry with them (*lit.* their right).<sup>15</sup> (6) Thine is that to which I am entitled (in) their name. The oath (or?) confirmation that shall be imposed on thee or me—that thou shalt make or that I shall make on account of them—

## (SALE)

(5) I will make without question or delay.<sup>16</sup>

## (CESSION)

I will make.<sup>17</sup> And I will make for thee the writing aforesaid, thou having a claim over me by right of the writing for silver that I made for thee in Year 4, Thoth, of Pharaoh—may he live for ever!—making two documents in all that (7) I have made for thee, thou having a claim over me by reason of them and the rights they carry with them (*lit.* their rights). And I will do it for thee without question or delay.

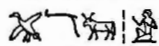
Thine is the approach to the property, both coming and going; any one who hinders thee in respect of it I will keep away from thee (and from) everything whatsoever (of thine).<sup>18</sup>

## (SALE and CESSION)

Written by N.



## NOTES


1. i.e. Oct. 23, 244-3 (?) B.C. (cf. ref. quoted in Note 3), assuming the 1st day of Thoth is implied (cf. Thompson, above, p. 16).
2. 'nh wz' snb is more often omitted than not in this document and for convenience has therefore been omitted altogether both from the transcription and the translation.
3. See Nos. (14) and (15) of Thompson's list, above p. 18, and his notes, p. 23.
4. Thompson suggests that the sense of the participle before wy' is that of our 'ex-' (*lit.* ('the one) who cultivated'). Alternatively it may be a stage in the evolution of Copt. ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉ : ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁ (only found as a noun) from the classical Egyptian 'wy' (only used as a verb). Demotic has the infinitive of the old verb in (p) wy' 'husbandry', and the forerunner of the Coptic substantive in wy' 'husbandman'. But this also must be derived from the earlier verb—perhaps through the participial phrase p-e-r-wy'. The absence here of the article p, which is required grammatically, is presumably due to the fact that the title preceded the name.
5. Identified by Brugsch (*Dict. Géog.* 718) with Sanhur, NW. of Fayum town, to which opinion Gauthier (*Dict. Géog.* 37) also inclines. Sinnuris (Psenuris of the Greek papyri<sup>3</sup>) is, however, also possible, and is nearer to Philadelphia, where the property in question lay.
6. Try is certainly a place-name, and the fact that Pa-ko's place of origin was sufficiently unusual to warrant its inclusion in his official description suggests that it must be somewhere outside the Fayyum. The names of Pa-ko's father and mother both originate in the Delta, so that Try may have been the ancient name of the modern village Tirah, a few miles WNW. of Talkha, on the Rosetta branch. I can find no ancient equivalent.
7. For the somewhat uncertain spelling of k in this name cf. Reich in *J.E.A.* xvii. 95. But  (of Lieblein, 1949) must surely be read P<sub>3</sub>-mr-ih-w not P<sub>3</sub>-ns-kw and therefore cannot be quoted as a hieroglyphic forerunner of the name.
8. The use of both singular and plural of 'y 'house' in this document, where we should have expected the singular throughout, seems not to be due to carelessness or to an idiosyncrasy on the part of the copyists, but to a clear distinction in meaning: 'y denotes 'house' in the sense of the building itself without its grounds, 'y-w 'house' in the sense of 'a property', by which term I have translated it.<sup>4</sup> The evidence is as follows: (i) 'y (sing.) is used only once (in the first clause of the terms of the agreement, 1.2 of the sale, 1.3 of the cession) and is there described as nt kꜥ zy (which can only refer to the house itself) and explicitly distinguished from the wrh-w, which with it make up the whole property. (ii) The four properties bounding that for sale are all referred to individually by the plural 'y-w. Yet three of them belong to single individuals and therefore presumably consist respectively of a single house and its grounds. That on the east is called 'n 'y-w of the Greeks (pl.)', but also probably refers to one house only. (iii) In the summary of the neighbours the property for sale is described as n (sale)—or ne-k (cession)—'y-w nt hry, so that the last two words equate n(e-k) 'y-w with pe-y (or -k) 'y nt kꜥ zy hn' ne-f wrh-w. (iv) The last clause of the cession (only) provides for a right of way to and from ■ 'y-w, where almost

<sup>1</sup> Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 165.

<sup>2</sup> Erman-Grapow, *Wb.* I. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Grenfell, Hunt, Hogarth, *Fayum Towns*, 14.

<sup>4</sup> For 'y-w (pl.) = τόποι, cf. Sethe, *Bürgs.* 264-5.

- certainly the whole property, not the house itself, is meant. (v) The word occurs once more, again in the plural, immediately after the delimitation of the boundaries (sale only), in the phrase *mte-k st ne-k 'y-w ne-k wrh-w ne*. *Ne-k . . . . ne* is here an amplification of *st* preceding. In the same way *wrh-w*, which at first sight—on my thesis—seems redundant after the plural *'y-w*, is really complementary (not supplementary) to it, emphasizing the completeness of the transaction. That the distinction between *'y* and *'y-w* is just as clearly felt here is shown by the absence of *hn'* between *'y-w* and *wrh-w*, as compared with its use in (i) above.<sup>1</sup>
9. The variant *mn m-s (mt nb, &c.)* in B.4 is certain; cf. the writing of *m-s-f* a little further on in the line. Translate '(I am distant from thee) not excepting<sup>2</sup> ? (in respect of) any claim, &c.'
10. For the writing *p-*, variant *pr-* (instead of the *pr-'y* of *P. Zenon* 2.7; 6.7, &c., ed. Spiegelberg) cf. *p-* *n ntr-w sn-w* (the name of the temenos of the θεοὶ ἄλφφοὶ at Philadelphia) in *P. Zenon* 3.B 2, and Spiegelberg's note 9 on p. 10, where he refers to similar spellings of Arsinoë (*P(s)-'rsyns*) and Alexandria (*P(s)-'lgsyntrs*) quoted by Sethe, *Bürgschaftsurk.* 482, §37. *ⲁⲗⲗ* is there shown to be a combination of the sound (written with 'great') of the word for house (ⲢⲚ), with the latter half of the usual word as determinative.
11. Probably a translation of ἱππῖος as the son is also called 'the Greek' (Thompson).
12. The most obvious reading is *hkm* or *tkm*, neither of which is a known word. If, however, what appears to be an *m* is really part of the determinative, it might be possible to read *hk* (= ) cf. *ⲉⲱⲱⲕ*) or, as Thompson suggests, the obscure word *the* = *βαφεὺς* of *P. Berlin* 5507,5 = 3098,5 (Copt. *ⲁⲱⲱⲉⲉ, ⲉⲟⲁ*).
13. See Sethe, op. cit. 268–9; cf. Peet, above, p. 122 ff.
14. Cf. Sethe, op. cit. 275, §36.
15. The variant in B.2 '. . . any (other) deed and any (other) claim to which I am entitled in their name' is nonsense and is clearly due to the scribe copying the following clause (which he then re-copied with a small omission) by mistake.
16. The variant in A. and B.5, whether it be read *t-htr* or *nht*, must be an error. The writer of the last copy of both parts of the document is full of idiosyncracies, as is shown by a comparison of the respective numbers of variants common to the two copies of each scribe. A,B.1 have 7, A,B.2 have 1, A,B.3 have 3, A,B.4 have 4, and A,B.5 have 14. Even if 30 per cent. is added to the figures of A,B.1, 2, and 3, on account of the lost portions of the texts of A.1, 2 and 3, A,B.5 still lead handsomely.
17. On the whole clause see Sethe, op. cit. 279–80.
18. This final clause (from *mte-k t my-t*) looks like an afterthought, as it is not a usual formula in these contracts, and *n htr 't mn*, which immediately precedes, is the natural

<sup>1</sup> The variants cast no doubt on the intended readings. Taking the five heads under which the evidence is grouped: in (i) *p 'y* occurs 6 times, the variant *p 'y-w* once, and the phrase is lost in A.1–3; in (ii) *n 'y-w* occurs 29 times, the variant *n 'y* 3 times, and the phrase is lost in the remaining 8 cases; in (iii) no variant; phrase lost A.1–3; in (iv) B.3–5 write *n 'y-w* and B.1, 2, variant *n 'y*; the phrase is omitted in A.; in (v) the phrase is

omitted from B., lost in A.1–3, and the remaining two copies read *ne-k 'y-w*. In each case the variant preserves the alternative reading in the article.

<sup>2</sup> Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gram.* § 356.

<sup>3</sup> So Edgar, in his edition of the Cairo Zenon papyri, IV. 172, note to ll. 34–7, of P. 59745, correcting, with Spiegelberg's concurrence, the latter's original interpretation of the name as an alternative word for 'Philadelphia'.

end to the document (as in the sale-form). The expression *t my-t* (or *n my-w*) *pr(-w)* (*lit.* 'path(s) of going out', but without any idea of direction, since that is determined by the words that follow<sup>2</sup>) *a hn a bl* is equivalent to the εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος of the Greek papyri.<sup>2</sup> It occurs—but with descriptive content only—in an unpublished papyrus<sup>3</sup> as *myt r hn r bl* and with the same Greek equation as above.<sup>4</sup> In Griffith, *Rylands*. 300=P. XLIV, B 11 (1st cent. A.D.), εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος is equated with (*m*)*yt pr nt e-t wn r a(r-f) mte-t pr ar-f*, 'the approach to which thou openest the door and to which thou goest out'. Here again the phrase simply describes one of the boundaries of the house. So far as I can discover, B.M. 10616 is the only instance of the right of εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος being made the object of a special clause in the demotic papyri.<sup>5</sup> In the examples quoted for comparison the word for road, 'path' is always the masculine *myt*, while B.M. 10616 uses the fem. *my-t*, though apparently preferring a plural *my-w*.

On the verso are two identical lists of sixteen witnesses, one each for sale and cession, and placed respectively towards the end of the first three copies of the sale (frame 1 as now mounted) and a little beyond the beginning of the first two copies of the cession (frame 3). That on the back of the sale is a little worn and in consequence not so legible as the other. The names of the signatories, so far as I can decipher them (with the help of Sir Herbert Thompson), are as follows:

- |                                            |                                          |
|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Pa-tš(?) s H'-R' (?)</i>             | 9. . . . . - <i>Hns</i>                  |
| 2. <i>Hr s P-ate-→s(?)</i>                 | 10. <i>Z-hr &lt;s&gt; P-ate-Wsr</i>      |
| 3. <i>Hr s 'nh-Wn-nfr</i>                  | 11. <i>Wsr-'nh s Hry</i>                 |
| 4. <i>Hr s P-ate-Thwt</i>                  | 12. <i>Hns-Thwt s 'nh(?) -Hp</i>         |
| 5. <i>Sm-t-w &lt;s&gt; P-ate-Hp</i>        | 13. <i>Pa-→np &lt;s&gt; Z-hr</i>         |
| 6. <i>Nht-f-ar-w s P-ate-→s(?)</i>         | 14. <i>P-šr-ta-→mn &lt;s&gt; St-wt</i>   |
| 7. <i>P-ate-Wsr s Glšr(?)</i>              | 15. <i>P-ate-Sbk &lt;s&gt; Pa-Hp (?)</i> |
| 8. <i>P-ate-→s(?) &lt;s&gt; P-ate-Wbst</i> | 16. <i>Sbk-Hp &lt;s&gt; P-ate-→s</i>     |

<sup>2</sup> Moreover in *P. Ryl. XLV. 14* (ed. Griffith) *myt pr* is equated with 1005 (= εἴσοδος) alone in the Greek.

<sup>3</sup> See R. Taubenschlag, 'Das Recht auf εἴσοδος und ἔξοδος in den Papyri' in *Archiv. f. Papyrusforschung*, VIII. (1927) 25-33, where the evidence of the Greek papyri is fully discussed. (I owe the reference to Mr. H. I. Bell.)

<sup>4</sup> The demotic copy of the Greek *P. Amherst II* (ed. Grenfell-Hunt), dated in the fifth year of

Cleopatra III and Soter II, from Thebes; see Spiegelberg, *Dem. Pap. v. Elephantine*, 26.

<sup>5</sup> But here apparently meaning a doorway simply. Taubenschlag, *op. cit.* 25, n. 3, interprets the Greek version similarly and quotes other examples of εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος with that meaning.

<sup>6</sup> But cf. *mte-k pr a-bl ar-s* 'you have egress by it' (of a house) in an unpublished legal document from Siut shortly to be edited by Sir Herbert Thompson.

# EIN FAIJUMISCHER BESCHWÖRUNGSTEXT

Von H. O. LANGE

VOR Jahren habe ich in Ägypten einige Fragmente einer Pergamenthandschrift erworben, die einen Zaubertext in faijumischem Dialekt enthalten. Nach der Zusammensetzung ergaben sich zwei zusammenhängende Blätter, 15 cm. hoch und 12.5 cm. breit; sie sind aus fünf Fragmenten zusammengesetzt, und es bleiben noch verschiedene grössere und kleinere Lücken. I<sup>v</sup> und II<sup>v</sup> haben 22 Zeilen, II<sup>v</sup> dagegen hat 28 Zeilen und ist mit einem griechischen Beschwörungstext beschrieben. Das Pergament ist sehr dünn und durchsichtig wie in den sehr alten koptischen Membranen, es ist zudem gelblich, und die bräunliche Schrift schimmert durch, wodurch die Lesung erschwert wird. Die Schrift ist eine kleine Majuskel, und ich möchte glauben, dass die Handschrift dem siebten Jahrhundert zuzuschreiben ist. Das σ ist umgekehrt wie gewöhnlich in faijumischen Membranen.<sup>1</sup>

Die Sprache ist faijumisch aber nicht rein. Man findet ιλι aber ιρε (32), λεν aber ρεν (15), λεν aber ερετ (41, 63), das sahidische ρη statt F. ρε. Wir finden εαϣ, εαδ, πιαδ für S. εεουϣ; εακ, πιακ für S. εεουκ; das Demonstr. abs. ist πει und πα. Für S. ϣε haben wir ηϣε. Griechische Worte sind sparsam verwendet, gar nicht die griechischen Partikeln.

Inhaltlich ist der Text sehr merkwürdig. Er steht ganz vereinzelt da unter den koptischen Beschwörungstexten. Der christliche Einschlag ist sehr gering, eigentlich nur die Erwähnung von Gabriel, aber sein Name wird nur als Zauberwort genannt. 41 und 29 wird 'der Vater' erwähnt, an der letzten Stelle mit dem Zusatz 'der Allherrscher', ob damit eine christliche Vorstellung verknüpft ist, ist nicht sicher, doch wird damit der Weltschöpfer (29) und der höchste Gott bezeichnet. Aber die Beschreibung dieses höchsten Wesens 42-50 lautet ganz heidnisch.

Wer I-II angerufen wird, ist ganz ungewiss; er wird nicht mit Namen genannt, er soll den Petbê in Bewegung setzen und Sachlabari erwecken, vielleicht ist dieser letzte magische Name nur ein anderer Name des Petbê. Dieser Petbê ist das eigentliche Objekt der Beschwörung, und unserer Text ist gewissermassen der erste, der ausführlicheren Bescheid über ihn gibt. Erman machte schon 1895<sup>2</sup> darauf aufmerksam, dass Schenute den griechischen Kronos mit πετθε erklärt ebenso wie Hephaistos mit πταρ. Dann hat Griffith nachgewiesen,<sup>3</sup> dass das Wort auch Demotisch in der Bedeutung 'der Vergelter' vorkommt, er schlägt daher vor, ihn mit Nemesis zu identifizieren. Hier wird gesagt, dass er im Abyssus wohnt, dass sein wahrer Name 'Donner' ist (14-15),

<sup>1</sup> Siehe Krall, *Mitth. Pap. Rainer*, I. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Ä.Z.* xxxii. 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1900, 162 f.

sein Aussehen, vorne ein Löwengesicht, hinten ein Bären Gesicht, wird beschrieben (17–23). Trotzdem dass er im Abyssus wohnt, wird doch gesagt, dass sein Kopf bis in den Himmel ragt. Dies alles ist ja ziemlich unklar, aber Klarheit und Zusammenhang in diesen Beschwörungstexten können wir nicht erwarten. Sonst wird  $\pi\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$  meines Wissens nur in Kairo Pap. 45060, Z. 74<sup>1</sup> erwähnt. Es ist wohl unsicher, ob es auch Petbê ist, der 36–41 angerufen wird. Ob Asamuth, der 50–55 angerufen wird, auch ein anderer Name des Petbê ist, wage ich nicht zu entscheiden.

Interessant und ohne Parallele in den koptischen Zaubertexten ist auch die Drohung (55 ff.), wo ausser verschiedenen Dämonen mit magischen Namen die 'siebzig Götter' und eine Reihe von griechischen Gottheiten angerufen werden um den widerspenstigen zu ergreifen. Leider ist der Schluss wegen der Lücken unverständlich.

Wie schon bemerkt, wird die Lesung erschwert durch die Durchsichtigkeit des Pergaments. Ich hoffe jedoch alles richtig gelesen zu haben. Der Horizontalstrich, den der Schreiber sehr unregelmässig verwendet, ist bisweilen sehr schwer zu sehen. Die in [ ] gegebenen Ergänzungen sind ziemlich sicher. Die Bemerkungen zur Übersetzung sind ganz kurz gehalten. Crum hat mir freundlichst verschiedene wertvolle Bemerkungen geschickt.

Der griechische Text II<sup>v</sup> ist hier ausser Betracht gehalten. Es ist sehr schwer einen leserlichen Text herzustellen; die Lücken sind sehr störend, es wimmelt von sonderbaren Zauberworten. Es ist mir nicht möglich gewesen etwas zusammenhängendes herauszulesen.

σωτεε ελαϊ επαου πετω  
 τεε σωτεε επαυεχι πετ  
 χι σεν λικι επεκεχε ελαϊ  
 ρη πουσηπε σωτεε ενσεχι  
 5 κλω[ι] εϊωψ εραϊ ψαλαν ρη που  
 σηπε ηχε κε[σαπ] εχαου ψαλαϊ  
 ρη πουσηπε με[η ο]γταχη ηκηη  
 φη ε[πετ]βη ετ[ρ]εε ηνοχη ηκτοχ  
 ηασ κ[εϊ η]σαχλαβαρι ηβι ηβγλι  
 10 επαου[γω]ψ η[ρ]ητ ηβχωκ εβαλ  
 επεπτιεε ηταψγχη δια  
 ηαιη εεακ επαου ρη τεκσαεε  
 πετβη ετρεε ηνοχη ηαιη εεακ  
 επαου ρη τεκσαεε ραραβαϊ  
 15 ηρηε εεητ επετβη εϊσωκ εεακ  
 εραϊ ησα ψηνη : ρωραεαε : φα η

<sup>1</sup> Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte*, I, 1931, 53.

- наpres петеде тѣн маб е ѿ  
 [ра]ммоуѣ еде пероу ммаб е пра п  
 [ла]баї етеде жѡб тнн рн тпн  
 20 еде летѣ тнн рѡи пкери еде фпн  
 летѣ малар ебад рѡи ѡалек : б̄ :  
 мппоуи
- IV  
 ѿже птак пе шѡгоѡ : машоуѡ  
 сепоуѡ ммапоуѡ мпафани ѿра  
 25 мет па мабар ѿвенипи ата пже  
 фтална маан пѡбѡѡѡѡ : б̄нѡѡ  
 б̄нѡѡѡ ѡбѡѡ : ѿжпсап а[1]а пже  
 фтална ма[н е]пшарп ѿстнл  
 лос ѿта пѡ[т п]ант[ѡк]ратѡр  
 30 тарач елетѣ [р]а пш[арп]пкар  
 етрѡи пн ѿже [е]несѡ[теле]пса  
 палѡї пнѣ псап[а]тат [п]кпре  
 пеї мпоуѡш мпаонт мп петн  
 ма ѿтаѡуѡхн рн оутахн мп поу  
 35 ѡнпн рѡрасѡс фа пнаpres коѡ  
 фпаракалѣ маан петѡоуи ра п  
 хероуѡн спеу поуѡп маpѡѡ  
 габрнл ммоуѡѡ мпрн палете  
 пже енесѡтеле пса палѡї пнѣ ѿ  
 40 сапатаѡ пѡи ѿта ѡпокр[. . .]п  
 еретѣ пелета ебад мпѡѡт пеї ет  
 мнр ѿфепсѡпн поуѡѡѡ ежен  
 теѡфп еѡнр мпѡѡс пнокнос  
 ежен теѡестѡнт
- II 45 пеї еде пѡрѡѡѡт ѡвенипи рѡи  
 теѡѡѡ поуѡѡнне пеї пшѡоуѡоу  
 ф елаб рн ппѡѡ леп етрнп пже  
 рѡмоуѡнѡ ѡб̄нѡ ѡѡпѡѡѡѡѡ  
 тѡпн мпеї ѿшѡ[ле] птноу мп паер  
 50 мп петнѡѡс с[ѡ]теле псѡѡ : аса  
 моуѡ фпаракал[1] мпеклен еент  
 пѡѡ псап мпѡѡоу мп тоушн пже  
 енеї пкоуѡпѡрн пеї ебад пнѡлѣ пеї  
 мпоуѡш мпаонт мп петнма ѿта

- 55 ψυχὴν ἀνῆστεε σωτее π̄σα παλωῖ  
 ἦνι ἦσανατατ φ̄νεῖπιναλι: σαλ  
 πιαζ: πεχινλ: σασειδ̄σας: εεσε  
 ειδ̄σειε >εεπ πιψβ̄η πογ̄φ̄ εεπ тарте  
 εις тееоу непог̄φ̄ тпrou εεп παπολ  
 60 λων̄ ε̄εп таθ̄нна [εεп] πετρωнос)  
 εεп φ̄εεpη >φ̄παλ[λας εεп] таφ̄ρωτηφ̄  
 φ̄ε̄ως >ψεpап̄ис >[пог̄ра]нос αεεp̄φ̄ εεαφ̄  
 αп̄т̄εp̄ еpет̄ ēт̄εp̄[. . . .]п̄ετ̄β̄η ет̄p̄ε  
 п̄пог̄η ᾱτ̄α ρ̄η т̄σα[ε. . . .]πετρωχ̄  
 65 πετρωχος πετ[. . . .]ιβ[.ρελε  
 ρελε таχ̄η αφ̄αω[η εβαλ]

Höre mich heute, Du, der Du hörst! Höre meine Worte, Du, der Du horchst! Beuge dein Ohr zu mir in Eile! Höre die Worte <sup>(5)</sup>meines Mundes, indem ich eilends zu dir rufe, damit Du dich beeilest mir eilends und in Schnelligkeit (τάχος) (Botschaft) zu schicken, und damit Du den Petbé, der im Abyssus ist, erregst (νήφειν), und mir den Sachlabari erweckest, dass er komme und meinen <sup>(10)</sup>Herzenswunsch ausführe und das Begehren (αἴτημα) meiner Seele (ψυχή) vollbringe, schnell!

Rüttle dich heute in deiner Kraft, Petbé, der im Abyssus ist, rüttle dich heute in deiner Kraft, Donner, <sup>(15)</sup>der wahre Name des Petbé, indem ich dich heraufziehe um dich zu fragen, das Aussehen ein Ebergesicht(?), Du, dessen Vorderteil ein Löwengesicht, dessen Hinterteil ein Bären Gesicht ist, dessen Kopf im Himmel, <sup>(20)</sup>dessen Fuss auf der Erde befestigt ist, (und) der Daumen seines Fusses ist mit den beiden Ringen des Abyssus gebunden.

Denn Du bist Schuth, Maschuth, Seluch, Maluch, der mit dem kupfernen Kopf <sup>(25)</sup>und mit den eisernen Zähnen.

Wohlan(?), denn ich beschwöre dich Niabathaba, Bêtha, Bêthai, Bôth siebenmal. Wohlan(?), denn ich beschwöre dich bei der ersten Säule (στῦλος), die der Vater, der Allherrscher (παντοκράτωρ), <sup>(30)</sup>aufgestellt hat unter die erste Ecke, die im Himmel ist, dass Du die (Worte) meines Mundes hörst und sofort(?) kommst und den Wunsch meines Herzens und das Begehren (αἴτημα) meiner Seele (ψυχή) in Schnelligkeit (τάχος) und <sup>(35)</sup>Eile ausführest . . . .

Ich rufe dich an (παρακαλεῖν), Du, der unter den beiden Lichtcheruben stehst, Mariôth, Gabriël, Amuath, die Sonne der Unterwelt, dass Du auf die (Worte) meines Mundes hörst und <sup>(40)</sup>sofort(?) kommst um meine Sache(?) zu den Füßen in die Gegenwart des Vaters zu bringen, der mit dem weissen Gürtel (ἐνζώνη) um seine Lende umgebunden ist, indem er mit der scharlachroten (κόκκος) Schnur um seine Brust umgebunden ist, <sup>(45)</sup>der, dessen eiserner Stab (ῥάβδος) in seiner rechten Hand ist, der mit dem grossen verborgenen Namen genannt wird: Hamuzêth, Bêth,

*Athanabassetōni, der, dem der Wind, die Luft (ἀήρ) <sup>(50)</sup>und das Finsternis (κνέφος) gehorchen.*

*Asamuth, ich rufe (παροκαλείν) deinen wahren Namen 21mal am Tage und in der Nacht an, dass Du dich mir offenbarst und meinen Herzenswunsch und das Begehren (αἴτημα) meiner Seele <sup>(55)</sup>(ψυχή) ausführst.*

*Wenn Du den (Worten) meines Mundes nicht gehorchest und sofort kommst, werde ich Salpiax, Pechiél, Sasmiasas, Mesemiasim anrufen (ἐπικαλείν) und die 70 Götter und Artemis, die Mutter aller Götter, und Apollon <sup>(60)</sup>und Athena und Kronos und die Schicksalsgöttin (μοῖρα), Pallas und Aphrodite, die Morgenröte (ἔως), Serapis, Uranos (οὐρανός): Fasset ihn, bringet ihn zu meinen Füßen um Petbé, der im Abyssus ist zu [. . . .], schnell! in der Kraft [. . . .] des Rades(?), <sup>(65)</sup>des Rades(?) der [. . . .] Fliege(?), fliege, eilends! Es ist beendet'*

Z. 6. ⲥⲁⲛ füllt eben die Lücke aus. — Man erwartet ⲉⲕⲉ[ⲥⲁⲛ] wie 31, 39, 53 nach ⲛⲁⲗⲉ, das hier = Sah. ⲁⲗⲉ ist.

Z. 7–8. ⲛⲏⲫⲏ] ⲛⲏⲫⲏⲓⲛ in transitiver Bedeutung in der Bedeutung 'erwecken, erregen', nach Mitteilung von Crum ziemlich selten, besonders deutlich *Pistis Sophia* 88, 6, parallel mit ⲕⲓⲁⲁ.

Z. 9. ⲛ[ⲉἶ ⲛ] scheint eine passende Ergänzung.

Z. 11. ⲁⲓⲁ] dieses in den Zaubertexten gewöhnliche Wort, auch in der Form ⲁⲓⲓⲟ, übersetzt Kropp mit 'wohlan'. Besser scheint mir die Übersetzung 'schnell!' als ein Ausruf, die in einer Mehrzahl von Stellen passt. Es kommt oft in Verbindung mit ⲧⲁⲭⲏ und ⲉⲧⲓ vor, so auch hier 64. Sonderbar steht das Wort zweimal 27 u. 28 vor ⲛⲁⲗⲉ ⲫⲧⲁⲕⲁ.

Z. 12. ⲛⲁⲓⲛ ⲙⲁⲕ] auch 13, Crum hat mit Recht auf Sah. ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲛ hingewiesen.

Z. 16–17. ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ ⲫⲁ ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉⲥ] diese beiden Worte kommen 35 wieder, daselbst mit folgendem ⲕⲟⲭⲭ. An beiden Stellen stehen sie ohne Zusammenhang mit dem Kontext, hier als ein sonderbares Einschlebsel. ⲫⲁ ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉⲥ hat mir Crum gewiss richtig als Sah. ⲛⲣⲟ ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉⲥ (κῶπρος) 'Ebergesicht' gedeutet. Die Verbindung ist mir unerklärlich.

Z. 17–19. Dieser Passus kommt auch London MS. Or. 5987 (Kropp I, D), 89–90 vor: ⲛ(ⲉ)ⲧ(ⲉ)ⲣⲉ ⲣⲏ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲟ ⲛⲣⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲟ ⲛⲣⲁ ⲛ[ⲗⲁ]ⲏ[ⲟ]ⲓ. — ⲉⲗ Sah. ⲟ 'sein'.

Z. 32. ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲧ] auch 39–40 hatte ich ursprünglich mit dem Boh. ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧⲓ 'sogleich' zusammengestellt. Der Ausdruck kommt auch Lond. MS. Or. 6794, 16 u. 21 vor. Kropp übersetzt da (II, 105) 'gemäss den Winken meiner Hand', was vielleicht besser ist.

Z. 35. ⲕⲟⲭⲭ] kommt auch in der griechischen Beschwörung II' vor. Die Erklärung von Kropp 'beschwörende Rede' (III, 138<sup>2</sup>) ist mir sehr zweifelhaft.

Z. 36. ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ] für ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ. — ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ bedeutet wohl hier soviel wie 'tragen' (nach Crum).

Z. 38. ⲛⲣⲏ ⲛⲁⲙⲧⲉ] meine Erklärung 'die Sonne der Unterwelt' setzt einen Fehler im Text ⲙⲙ[ⲛ]ⲧⲉ voraus. Die sah. Form ⲛⲣⲏ für die korrekte ⲛⲉ darf in diesem Text nicht auffallen.

Z. 40. ⲁⲛⲟⲕⲣ . . . .] Man erwartet hier ἀπόκρισις in der Bedeutung 'Sache, Angelegenheit'; das ⲛ ist aber ganz deutlich.



- Z. 52. 21mal] 21 ist  $7 \times 3$ ; beide sind heilige Zahlen.
- Z. 63. ⲉⲧⲉⲚ . . .] ich vermute ein Verbum wie ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲥ, Sah. ⲧⲱⲕⲥ 'anstacheln'.
- Z. 64 ff. Der Schluss ist mir unverständlich, und ich kann den Text nicht ergänzen.
- Z. 65. ⲑⲉⲗⲉ] Crum schlägt mir vor ⲑⲉⲗⲉ griech. ἤδη zu lesen. Es scheint aber deutlich λ und nicht ς da zu stehen. ἤδη kommt ja oft in Verbindung mit ⲧⲱϭ in den Zaubertexten vor. ⲑⲉⲗⲉ würde man wohl nur mit Sah. ⲑⲱλ in Verbindung bringen können.
- Z. 66. ⲁⲑⲁⲱ[. . .] Hier bricht der koptische Text ab vor einer Lücke. Crum vermutet sehr ansprechend ⲁⲑⲁⲱⲕ, vielleicht besser ⲁⲑⲁⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲁλ, wozu Raum vorhanden ist. Nach der Lücke steht nichts.

A HITHERTO UNKNOWN TERM IN EGYPTIAN FOR  
'STONE-CUTTER'

(THE GREEK-EGYPTIAN MUMMY-TICKET 572 OF THE NEW YORK  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY)

By NATHANIEL JULIUS REICH

(With Plate 70c)

THAT I am able to publish the following very interesting Greek and demotic inscription as a special offering to the jubilee of the distinguished scholar and decipherer, and my teacher, F. Ll. Griffith, I owe to the kindness of Mr. Alexander J. Wall, Librarian of the New York Historical Society, and of Mrs. Caroline Ransom Williams, Honorary Curator of the Egyptian Collection of the N.Y.H.S., to whom I express herewith my thanks.

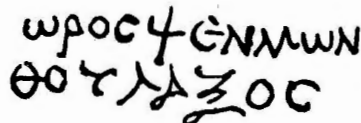
The mummy-ticket, probably of the Roman period, belongs to the Abbott Collection and is listed under the number 572<sup>1</sup> in the *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities* of the Museum of the N.Y.H.S. It is there described as 'a piece of wood with Greek and Enchorial inscriptions'. That it is from Thebes is doubtful.

The excellent photograph (natural size), assisted by my ink-tracing on a photostat reproduction, renders any further description unnecessary (pl. 71b). For the literature see Goodspeed<sup>2</sup> and Preisigke.<sup>3</sup>

THE GREEK TEXT

line 1. Ὡρος Ψενμών-

line 2. θου λαξός.<sup>4</sup>



'Horos, son of Psenmonthes, stone-cutter.'

The DEMOTIC TEXT beneath, consisting of four lines, repeats in the fifth and sixth line the text of the third and fourth, and reads as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue*, etc., p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Mélanges Nicole* (1905), p. 180, No. 5.

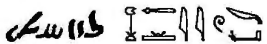


<sup>3</sup> *Sammelbuch*, I. 4290.

<sup>4</sup> I prefer the accentuation λαξός as Reil,

*Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes*, p. 26 ff., does in accordance with Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, I. 258.





word in the Rylands papyrus IX  *h'y*<sup>1</sup> 'tool',<sup>2</sup> where the right half of the determinative also looks like a demotic *t*, as in our case. This determinative is—as Griffith has shown<sup>3</sup>—a ligature for the two signs . It seems that some Egyptian scribes had this in mind when they divided the ligature again into two signs, but incorrectly, through ignorance of its palaeographical development.<sup>4</sup> For instance, the scribe of the Petubastis story (Papyrus Spiegelberg) writes our ligature usually in two parts thus: <sup>5</sup> suggesting that he intended to write the two determinatives on the right and left respectively.

I had in mind examples like this when, in our passage of the mummy-ticket 572 of the N.Y.H.S., I assumed that its scribe may have meant to write these same two determinatives, perhaps abbreviating, or interpreting, the left sign by his two little strokes on the left above the *t* (but omitting them in the second text).

Returning to the *h'y*-tool of the Rylands papyrus, I quote here this passage in full because it throws light on our problem in several respects:

"They went to the other tablet of stone of Iêb, which was in the holy place, saying: "We will have it (the inscription) defaced," but the stone-mason said: "I cannot deface it; it is a granite-worker (only) who can deface (it); *my tools* (*ne h'y*) will slip . . .," &c."<sup>6</sup>

This seems to indicate that the *h'y*-tools were not so strong (but blunt and pointless) as the tools of a granite-worker were, furthermore that the worker with the *h'y* worked on softer minerals than granite, perhaps with a tool like a pestle. These tools may have been used to break up the minerals into small pieces, to grind them to powder, or to mix them with a liquid, perhaps in order to turn them into cakes for the later use of painters. That possibly was one of the many activities of this occupation (besides the polishing of stone).<sup>7</sup>

If this guess is correct and the *hwt* is related on the one hand with the quoted verbs and on the other hand is a precise equivalent of the Greek λαξός, then this would throw a new light upon the nature of the occupation of the λαξοί.<sup>8</sup>

If, however, the two little strokes in the first of the two demotic versions were really an accident only, then we would have to read the word *hwt*, and this word, too, would be new in Demotic. In that case it might be a formation from *h·t* 'quarry',<sup>9</sup> as *hwtj* ('*hwtj*) 'agricultural labourer' is derived from *h·t* ('*h·t*) 'field'.

<sup>1</sup> I do not overlook the difficulty of the *Ayin*.

<sup>2</sup> F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the Rylands Library at Manchester*, IX, 18, 17, and *ibid.*, vol. II., p. 103, s.v.

<sup>3</sup> Griffith, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> As I have shown in other examples: Reich, *Demotische und griechische Texte* (2nd edition), 41 ff., 83 ff., &c.

<sup>5</sup> W. Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis* (1910), p. 94\*, No. 32.

<sup>6</sup> Griffith, *op. cit.* IX, 18, 15-17; vol. III pp. 102-3; p. 244; and *Indices*, s.v.

<sup>7</sup> [Cf. below p. 212 ff. Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> Whether this tool is identical with the Greek ἀκίσκλον of the λαξοί I do not know.

<sup>9</sup> See the quotations above

# AUS DER GESCHICHTE VOM ZAUBERER NE-NEFER-KE-SOKAR

Demotischer Papyrus Berlin 13640.

Von WILHELM SPIEGELBERG\*

(mit Tafel 21)

Hellbrauner Papyrus. Grösste Breite 14½, Höhe 30 cm. Links Blattklebung. Schrift parallel zur Faser.

[1929 zu Kairo im Altertumshandel mit anderen demotischen Papyri zusammen erworben, die in keinem Zusammenhang damit stehen.]

## UMSCHRIFT

- 1 . . . . .]  $n \rightarrow m=j(?)$   $pj$   $t_3$   $wnw \cdot t$   $dd \cdot t = s$   $a$   $r=f$   $lk$   $N_3-nfr-kj-Skr$   $t_3$   $kb_3$   
 $wn-n_3 \cdot w$   $hpr(?)$
- 2  
| . . . . .]  $r$   $n$   $rsj(?)$   $Pr-^c_3$   $m-s_3(?)$   $n$   $pj(?)$   $gj$   $n$   $wf(?)$   $n_3j=f$   $rmt$   $^c_3j \cdot w$  . . . .  
■  $hr=f$
- 3  
| . . . . .] . . . . .<sup>1</sup>  $Pr-^c_3$   $n$   $t_3$   $h \cdot t$   $p_3$   $wr$   $(n)$   $Bbl$   $hpr$   $w \rightarrow r=k$   $w_3h(?)$   $w^c$   
 $mtg_3$
- 4  
| . . . . .]  $n$   $r$   $p_3$   $ntj$   $mr=f-s$   $n \rightarrow m=w$   $t_3$   $h \cdot t$   $II \cdot t$   $nw$   $p_3$  [ $wr$   $a$ ]  $hr$   $n_3j=f$   $rmt$   $^c_3j \cdot w$   
 $w$   $mh=w$   $dr \cdot t$
- 5  
| . . . . .]  $w$   $t-s$   $p_3$   $wr$  . . . .  $n_3j=f$   $rmt$   $^c_3j \cdot w$   $ntj(?)$  [ $r$   $m=$ ]  $f$   $dr \cdot w$   $w=w$   $sm$   
 $a-r=f$   $dj$   $p_3$   $wr$
- 6  
| . . . . .]  $r$   $hr=f^2$   $s_3^c$   $p_3j=f(?)^3$   $nw$   $twn=f$   $n_3$   $h_3t \cdot w$   $n$   $p_3$   $t_3$   $(n)$   $Bbl$   
 $t_3j$   $n \rightarrow m=f$   $a$   $m_3^c$   $nb \cdot t$  . . . . .

\* One of Professor Spiegelberg's last instructions before he died was that the material for his publication of Pap. dem. Berlin 13640 should be offered as his contribution to this volume. The manuscript was found, among other papers of Spiegelberg's at Berlin, by Professor Sethe, who forwarded it with the request that the following note should accompany it:

'Als Zeichen seiner Verehrung und seiner Freundschaft für den hochverdienten Herausgeber der "Stories of the High-Priests of Memphis" hat der der Wissenschaft so früh entrissene Verfasser diese Arbeit noch auf seinem

Totenbette für die Griffith-Festschrift bestimmt. Es war ihm nicht mehr vergönnt, ihr die diesem Zwecke gemässe äussere Form zu geben. So muss sie denn hier, wie er sie hinterlassen hat, gegeben werden in einer Form, die ihrer ursprünglichen Bestimmung, als Teil einer grösseren Sammelpublikation Demotischer Papyri des Berliner Museums, entspricht.'

Professor Sethe has also been so kind as to read the proofs of the article.

<sup>1</sup>  $shn?$

<sup>2</sup> Kaum  $m-s_3=f$ .

<sup>3</sup> Wohl eher als  $p_3$ .

- 7  
| . . . . . m-s<sub>3</sub>(?)] n<sub>3</sub>j(?) h<sub>pr</sub> IV(?) n<sub>w</sub> s<sub>w</sub> XXVIII h<sup>c</sup>k N<sub>3</sub>-nfr-kj-Skr  
t<sub>3</sub>j=f h<sub>jn</sub>-w h<sub>bs</sub>-w t<sub>p</sub>-w ■
- 8  
| . . . . . ] n-d-t(?) p<sub>3</sub> w<sub>r</sub> n<sub>w</sub> r=f <sup>2</sup>w=f s<sub>bj</sub> bn-p N<sub>3</sub>-nfr-kj-Skr gm s<sub>bj</sub> 'n  
d<sub>j</sub>=f(?)
- 9  
| . . . . . ] .(?) . r<sub>h</sub> šn P<sub>3</sub>-R<sup>c</sup> a(?) n<sub>3</sub>j bn <sup>2</sup>w=f th a-r=s dd n-f p<sub>3</sub> w<sub>r</sub> 'n<sub>h</sub> Bl
- 10  
| . . . . . p<sub>3</sub>] n<sub>r</sub> 's(?) 'j <sup>2</sup>r=f p<sub>3</sub> 'h<sup>c</sup> n P<sub>3</sub>-R<sup>c</sup> st h<sub>pr</sub> n m<sub>3</sub>'t n<sub>3</sub> md-w ntj <sup>2</sup>=k  
dd n-<sup>2</sup>m-w <sup>2</sup>-r-j
- 11  
| . . . . . ] . . . . . t<sub>3</sub>j n<sub>3</sub> h<sub>bs</sub>-w s-t-h<sub>jm</sub>-t h<sub>r</sub> st-t-n h<sub>r</sub>(?) <sup>2</sup>r-n j<sub>p</sub>-t rmt-  
knkn 'n dd n=f
- 12  
| . . . . . <sup>2</sup>-] <sup>2</sup>r-h<sub>r</sub>-j(?) m-s<sub>3</sub> n<sub>3</sub>j dd n=f N<sub>3</sub>-nfr-kj-Skr <sup>2</sup>w-<sup>2</sup>r p<sub>3</sub> w<sub>r</sub> tm gm  
n<sub>3</sub>j lw<sub>h</sub> mtw tm(?)
- 13  
| . . . . . m] k<sub>dj</sub>(?) (n) 't(?) 's-t dd N<sub>3</sub>-nfr-kj-Skr m<sub>j</sub> <sup>2</sup>r n-j p<sub>3</sub> w<sub>r</sub>  
'n<sub>h</sub> p<sub>3</sub>j a tm d<sub>j</sub>-t<sup>x</sup> <sup>2</sup>r=w n<sub>3</sub>-j(?) b<sub>t</sub>w
- 14  
| . . . . . ] bn-p-j(?) n<sub>w</sub> (a) rmt n<sub>3</sub>-d<sub>r</sub>-f a-h<sub>r</sub>-j [ε ποι] t<sub>3</sub> wn<sub>w</sub>-t dd-t-s  
a <sup>2</sup>r=f trš h<sub>r</sub> p<sub>3</sub> w<sub>r</sub> <sup>2</sup>rm(?)<sup>a</sup>
- 15  
| . . . . . ] a-r=k(?) dd N<sub>3</sub>-nfr-kj-Skr p<sub>3</sub>j nb 's <sup>2</sup>-r=f p<sub>3</sub> 'h<sup>c</sup> n P<sub>3</sub>-R<sup>c</sup> III.n<sub>w</sub>  
<sup>2</sup>h-t s<sub>w</sub> I a 'rk<sub>j</sub> n<sub>3</sub>(?) hr<sub>w</sub>-w(?)
- 16  
| . . . . . ] <sup>2</sup>rm(?) t<sub>3</sub>j=f h<sub>jm</sub>-t n-<sup>2</sup>m-w t<sub>pj</sub> s<sub>h</sub>-t p<sub>3</sub>(?) n<sub>t</sub>i <sup>2</sup>r h<sub>3</sub>-t rnp-t n  
n<sub>3</sub> rmt-w (n) Km-t m-k<sub>dj</sub> t<sub>pj</sub> pr-t ntj <sup>2</sup>r h<sub>3</sub>-t
- 17  
| [rnp-t . . . . . P<sub>3</sub>-d<sub>j</sub>(?)] Bst-t . . . . . šm (a) n<sub>3</sub> p-t-w(?) n-<sup>2</sup>m-w n<sub>3</sub>-n<sub>h</sub>t-w  
[n?] h<sub>3</sub>tj rmt nb-t(?) ntj n Km-t m-šs
- 18  
| . . . . . ] n<sub>3</sub> <sup>2</sup>rpj-w n n<sub>3</sub> n<sub>r</sub>-w n-<sup>2</sup>m-w b-<sup>2</sup>r-w <sup>2</sup>r krr wtn h<sub>n</sub> n<sub>3</sub> hr<sub>w</sub>  
n rn-w<sup>6</sup>
- 19  
| . . . . . ] <sup>2</sup>r . . . . . n-<sup>2</sup>m-w b-<sup>2</sup>r-n <sup>2</sup>r b<sub>3</sub>k-w n-<sup>2</sup>m-w <sup>2</sup>s h<sub>pr</sub> n Km dr-j
- 20  
| . . . . . ] . . . . . gl<sub>t</sub> . . . . . <sup>2</sup>n n<sub>w</sub> 's p<sub>3</sub>j-  
n(?) wtb(?) p<sub>3</sub> ntj

<sup>1</sup> Diese Lesung verdanke ich Sethe.<sup>2</sup> Oder m-s<sub>3</sub>(?).

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Papyrus Berlin 13640





- 21 | . . . . .] *n3j-w(?) hrj-w mšc š3-tw(?)=w gm p3 dr<sup>1</sup> n-m-w p3 ntj*  
*dr3 hn-w b-r-w dj-t*
- 22 | . . . . .] *n(?) -m-b3h Pr-<sup>c</sup>3 w-w w3h w<sup>c</sup>(?) glm mtw-w dj-t hpr n=f*  
*nkt hn p3 nkt n*
- 23 | . . . . .] *n3-w kw(?) t3j=f nht-t R<sup>c</sup>(?)<sup>2</sup> . . (?) . . p3 w<sup>c</sup>b Mwl nb-t*  
*Wgi ■ p3 tš N<sup>3</sup>w-t ■ wn-n3-w*
- 24 | . . . . .] . . . . . *n-w n-m=f r-w skr ■ rs Swnw w<sup>c</sup>-t wnw-t t3*  
*r-r hpr r t3 p-t*
- 25 | . . . . .] *hn p3 mšc r-r j m kdj(?) w<sup>c</sup>(?) r=n sbh . . . nb-t r-r -hr*  
*n3 sn-w(?) '3j-w*
- 26 | . . . . .] *a n3-š-w a r=f . . . t3 wnw-t mnk(?) n3 md-w n*  
*dd ■ r N3-nfr-kj-Skr*
- 27 | . . . . .] *m-s3(?) 3rsn3j mj n-w Sns3 rrm 3kl3w mj*
- 28 | . . . . .] *mj n-w Msms rrm Grmjij a rmt s<sup>3</sup> XIV hn n3 hštrpj-w*
- 29 | . . . . .] *MMM ntj t3j kns 3rgwn tp w-w t3j hm3p rrm*
- 30 | . . . . . n] *mnj(?) šm p3 wr(?) (a) p3j=f 'wj (a) hr=f gb<sup>3</sup> m-šs šm n-w*  
*n3j=f rmt '3j-w*
- 31 | . . . . .] *n p3 ntj n3-dr=f a p3 tš (n) Bbl dr=f p3j w-w šw3j n-m=f*

ÜBERSETZUNG

- 1 | . . . . .] . . . In der Stunde, da er es sagte, nahm Ne-nefer-ke-Sokar<sup>1</sup> das Gewand<sup>2</sup> weg. . . . .
- 2 | . . . . .] . . . . . Freut sich nicht Pharao sehr über dieses Aussenden seiner Vornehmen<sup>3</sup> um seinen Befehl zu vollziehen
- 3 | . . . . .] Da . . . . .<sup>4</sup> Pharao zu der Familie<sup>5</sup> des Grossen von Babel.<sup>6</sup> Es geschah, dass du ein Lager aufgeschlagen hast<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lesung von Sethe.

<sup>2</sup> Oder 'rkj(?).

<sup>3</sup> Die Hochstellung des *g* zeigt, dass man *gb* (nicht *bg*) lesen muss.

- 4  
| . . . . . ] zu tun, was er dort liebt (in) den 2 Familien. Da sah der [Grosse das] Antlitz seiner Vornehmen,<sup>3</sup> wie sie die Hand [des N] ergriffen hatten<sup>8</sup>
- 5  
| . . . . . ] es sandte ihn der Grosse zu(?) seinen Vornehmen, die alle [mit] ihm waren, indem sie ihn begrüßten. Der Grosse liess
- 6  
| . . . . . sie standen] vor ihm bis zu der Stunde, da er sich erhob. Die Fürsten des Gebietes von Babel nahmen ihn zu jedem Ort, . . . (?) . . .
- 7  
| . . . . . ] Danach geschah es im 4.(?) Monat am 28.(?) Tage, da flickte<sup>9</sup> Ne-nefer-ke-Sokar. Er nahm einige feine Kleider der
- 8  
| . . . . . ] als der Grosse ihn sah, wie er lachte. Nicht konnte Ne-nefer-ke Sokar wieder lachen.<sup>10</sup> Er gab
- 9  
| . . . . . ] . . . den Phrê danach<sup>11</sup> fragen können. Er wird (soll) es nicht übertreten. Da sagte ihm der Grosse: Bei Bêl<sup>12</sup>
- 10  
| . . . . . ] mein grosser Gott, möge er die Lebenszeit des Phrê haben.<sup>13</sup> Sie sind in Wahrheit geschehen, die Dinge, von denen du sagtest (sagst) [: tuet sie!]<sup>14</sup>
- 11  
| . . . . . ] . . wir haben die Frauen-Gewänder<sup>15</sup> von uns genommen<sup>16</sup> (und)<sup>17</sup> tun (jetzt) wieder Kriegshandwerk. Da sagte zu ihm
- 12  
| [der Grosse . . . . . ] vor mir. Danach sagte Ne-nefer-ke-Ptah zu ihm: Wenn der Grosse an mir keinen Fehler findet und nicht<sup>18</sup>
- 13  
| . . . . . ] wie ein grosses Haus.<sup>19</sup> Da sagte Ne-nefer-ke-Sokar: Möge mir der Grosse einen Eid leisten,<sup>20</sup> dass man mir kein Unrecht tun wird
- 14  
| . . . . . ] Nicht habe ich einen Menschen gesehen, der stärker ist als ich. In der Stunde, da er es sagte, wurde das Gesicht des Grossen rot . . . . .<sup>21</sup>
- 15  
| . . . . . ] Da sagte Ne-nefer-ke-Sokar: Mein grosser Herr, möge er die Lebenszeit des Phrê haben<sup>13</sup>—Im 3. Monat der Überschwemmung (= Athyr) (bis) zum letzten Tage (dieses Monats), die Tage

16

| . . . . .] mit seiner Frau dort.<sup>22</sup> Im 1. Monat der Überschwemmung (= Thoth), welches der Jahresanfang<sup>23</sup> der Ägypter ist, der entspricht<sup>24</sup> dem 1. Monat des Winters (= Tybi), welches der Anfang

17

| [des Jahres . . . . . an] denen [Petu(?)]bastis<sup>25</sup> . . . .  
 . . . . zu den Himmeln ging.<sup>26</sup> Sehr stark<sup>27</sup> war das Herz aller Menschen, die in Ägypten waren

18

| . . . . .] in denen die Tempel der Götter sind (waren). Nicht pflegte man Brandopfer (und) Trankopfer in jenen Tagen zu machen

19

| . . . . .] . . . . . dort. Nicht pflegten wir Arbeiten zu machen. Es geschieht (wird geschehen)<sup>28</sup> in ganz Ägypten

20

| . . . . .] . . . . . grosse Lanze.<sup>29</sup> Unser . . . . . ist es, welcher

21

| . . . . .] ihre Obersten des Heeres, bis sie den Helden dort finden, welcher der Stärkste unter ihnen war. Nicht geben sie

22

| . . . . .] vor Pharao, indem sie ein . . . . . legten und ihm sein liessen<sup>30</sup> eine Sache von der Sache (dem Vermögen) des

23

| . . . . .] . . . . Naos . . . . . der Priester der Mut, der Herrin von Wgi<sup>31</sup> in dem Gebiet von Theben, der war

24

| . . . . .] in welchem ich ihnen . . . . . habe.<sup>32</sup> Da segelten<sup>33</sup> sie nach Süden nach Syene.<sup>34</sup> Eine Stunde dauerte es, da machte der Himmel

25

| [Sturm<sup>35</sup> . . . . .] unter dem Heer, welches gekommen war insgesamt.<sup>36</sup> Wir wehklagten zu jeder . . . . . vor den grossen Brüdern

26

| . . . . .] indem sie zahlreicher waren als er . . . . . In der Stunde, da Ne-nefer-ke-Sokar die Geschichten beendete<sup>37</sup>

27

| . . . . .] hinter *rsnsj*:<sup>38</sup> Möge man bringen *Snsj* und *sgl*  
 Möge man

28

| [bringen . . . . .] Möge man bringen *Msm*s und *Grmjds*, macht 14 Leute, in den Satrapieen<sup>39</sup>

29

| . . . . .] 3000(?), welche . . . .<sup>40</sup> wegnehmen, — vorzügliche Wolle (ἐπίον), indem sie ein goldenes . . . wegnehmen mit

30


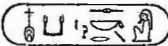







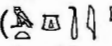

| . . . . .] täglich. Es ging der Grosse in sein Haus, (indem) sein Gesicht sehr betrübt<sup>41</sup> war. Es gingen die Vornehmen weg

31

| . . . . .] . . Ist jemand da, der stärker ist als das ganze Gebiet von Babel? Sie werden ihn verfluchen.

[Nur winzige Zeichenreste von den Zeilenanfängen der nächsten Kolumne sind noch erhalten.]

## BEMERKUNGEN

1. Der Name ist  *Nfr-nfr-kj-Skr* zu lesen und, wie Sethe richtig gesehen hat, der alte Königsname, der im Turiner Königsbuch  *Nfr-kj-Skr* geschrieben ist. Sethe hat weiter sofort erkannt, dass wir hier dieselbe Namensbildung wie in dem *Nfr-nfr-kj-ptḥ* des Setne-Romans vor uns haben. Nur hat unser Text für  die Gruppe *kj*<sup>2</sup> *κε* 'ein anderer' gebraucht. Der in dem n.pr. enthaltene Gottesname stempelt ihn zu einem memphitischen.
2.  *kbj*(*t*) ist mehrfach als Kleidungsstück belegt, z. B. in Mitgiftlisten (*Rylands*, III, S. 397.<sup>3</sup> In der Holztafel Turin 24 ist es unter Mumienstoffen genannt, ebenso in dem Apisritual 14/1 (*Ä.Z.* LVI. 22). Ebenda 10/1 (*Ä.Z.* LVI. 7) ist das Wort auch hieratisch  *kbj*<sup>2</sup> geschrieben und bezeichnet dort ein grosses Tuch. — Eine Lesung  *kbh*, an die Sethe dachte, ist nicht möglich, da das letzte Zeichen sicher  ist, und nicht das Wasserzeichen. Mit *wn* wird ein neuer Satz beginnen. Das partizipiale (*a*) *wn-nj* schreibt unser Text (Z.23) mit *a*.
3. So übersetze ich den sehr vieldeutigen Ausdruck *rmt* 'grosser Mann' (= *ρμμμμ*), der u. a. auch die 'Ältesten' (*πρεσβύτεροι*) bezeichnen konnte.
4. Nach dem Determinativ  ein Verbum der Bewegung.
5. Nicht 'nach der Weise', was *a t h t* heissen müsste.
6.  *Bbl* (besonders deutlich in der letzten Zeile) kann nur das mesopotamische Babylon sein, und nicht etwa das ägyptische, das ja einen eigenen einheimischen Namen *Hr-hj* oder *Pr-H'pj-n-wn* führt.
7. Das Wort *mitgt* ( [oder ]) scheint hier die Bedeutung 'Lager' zu haben, die ja sein assyrisches Prototyp *madaktu* 'Heerlager'<sup>4</sup> hatte. Dafür spricht die Verbindung

<sup>1</sup> Eduard Meyer: *Aegypt. Chronologie*, Tafel IV — Vgl. Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, I, 27 und 350.


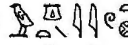

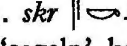

<sup>2</sup> Ich hatte zuerst *nj* gelesen, das aber Z. 12 anders aussieht. Freilich zeigt auch das *kj* eine sehr ungewöhnliche Form, der ich sonst nicht

begegnet bin.

<sup>3</sup> Das kopt. *κοῦν* existiert allerdings nach einer freundlichen Mitteilung von Crum nicht.

<sup>4</sup> Lidzbarski (*Ä.Z.* LV. 93).

- mit *wšh*, das auch sonst<sup>r</sup> vom 'Aufschlagen' des Lagers steht und vielleicht auch in der Serapeumsstele von Memphis, No. 110 (s. *Ä.Z.* LVII, 69) zu lesen ist, wo ich jetzt *w=f wšh[?]* *mtkꜥ* 'als er das Heerlager aufschlug' lesen und übersetzen möchte. An unserer Stelle ist das Wort männlich. Vielleicht dass der Geschlechtsunterschied auch ein solcher der Bedeutung war, indem *mtgꜥ* 'Heerlager' *mtgt-t* 'Heer' bedeutete.
8. Zu *mḥ dr-t* [(n) N.] 'die Hand des N. fassen' = 'begrüssen' (?) s. Sethe, v. 13-14. Sethe möchte übersetzen 'wie sie die Hand (d. ihre Hand) gefüllt hatten [mit]' d. h. das und das ergriffen hatten.
9. Zu dieser Bedeutung von *ḥḥ* *ꜥwꜥke:šwꜥk* siehe *Ä.Z.* LI, 93.
10. Die Lesung *sbj* und die richtige Auffassung der ganzen Stelle verdanke ich Sethe. Zu *gm* in der Bedeutung 'vermögen, können' s. Sethe: *Bürgschaftsurk.* S. 417.
11. Zu *šnj a* 'fragen nach' s. *Orakel-Glossar*, No. 248. Es könnte sich um eine Orakel-Frage handeln.
12. Die Lesung *Bl* = *Bël*, die mir zuerst noch zweifelhaft schien, ist nach der Glättung des Papyrus völlig sicher geworden, womit nun auch die Deutung von Babel ausser Zweifel gestellt ist.
13. Zu diesem Satz, der dem König die Lebenszeit des Sonnengottes Phrê wünscht, vergl. I. Kh. 4, 24. 5, 33 und *Ä.Z.* LIII, 112, No. 13.
14. So nach einem Vorschlag von Sethe.
15. Ich glaubte zuerst vor der Glättung des Papyrus *pkꜥw* ( $\square^2 \Delta \delta \mid$ ) zu lesen, doch ist das Zeichen vor  $\delta$  sicher kein *k*, und ich zweifele nicht an der Richtigkeit der obigen Lesung.
16. Nicht etwa 'auf uns genommen' d. h. 'angezogen'. Das müsste *dj-t ḥr-št* heissen.
17. Ich glaube *ḥr* lesen zu sollen mit der gnomischen Bedeutung von *ḥr sdm=f* (*Demot. Gram.*, § 129)
18. Bei der übrigens sehr zweifelhaften Lesung *tm* nehme ich an, dass das Subjekt des Satzes ein Nomen ist, vor dem die Negation stehen muss.
19. Eine Lesung *ntr-t š-t*, an die ich zuerst (vor dem ungeglätteten Original) dachte, ist ausgeschlossen. Vor dem sicheren *š-t* scheint die Gruppe  $\overline{\square} \square$  zu stehen. Zu *m kꜥdj* vgl. Zeile 25.
20. Trotz des Determinativs  $\overline{\square}$ , das auf 'Lebensunterhalt' hinweist, wird doch wohl eine unkorrekte Schreibung von *nḥ anꜥw* 'Eid' vorliegen.
21. Wenn man *m-s(?)* liest, könnte man den Satz ergänzen 'das Gesicht des Grossen wurde rot (vor Zorn) über (*Demot. Gram.*, § 356 d) [die Unverschämtheit des Ne-nefer-ke-Sokar].'
22. *m-w* könnte auch nach einem Vorschlag von Sethe der Schluss des Relativsatzes sein. Da der Zeichenrest vor *tꜥj=f* nicht zu *w* stimmt, wäre etwa eine Ergänzung wie *pꜥ mꜥ ntj w N.* *ꜥrm(?) tꜥj=f ḥjm-t n-m-w* '[der Ort,] wo [N.] und seine Frau war' möglich.
23. Derselbe Ausdruck wie Canopus 9:35.
24. Das wird der Sinn von *m-kꜥdj* = *καθάρτερ* (*Priesterdekrete*, No. 364) sein.
25. Um andere vor dem gleichen sehr verlockenden Irrweg zu bewahren, will ich gestehen, dass ich an eine Lesung [*Pꜥ-dj-*] *Bst-t Pr-š* 'König Petubastis'<sup>2</sup> gedacht habe. Sie scheidet aber daran, dass, wie Z. 3 und 22 lehren, *Pr-š* ganz anders aussieht. Doch
- <sup>1</sup> Siehe *Sitzber. Bayer. Akad.*, 1925, 4. Abhdlg., bekannten Nachstellung von *Pr-š* (s. *Sitzber. Berl. Akad.*, 1928, S. 609 (XIX).
- <sup>2</sup> Mit der freilich bisher nur aus der Perserzeit

- könnte das n.pr. Petubastis dastehen, wobei es aber sehr fraglich wäre, ob man an den bekannten König des Sagenkreises denken darf. Aber auch Sethes Vorschlag 'Bastet, welche Isis ist' ist nicht annehmbar. Das müsste *ntj'w* (sic) *'s-t t:j* heissen, was sicher nicht da steht. So muss ich die anscheinend recht wichtige Stelle unentziffert lassen.
26. Derselbe Ausdruck für sterben *šm a t:j p-t* (mit dem Singular von *p-t*) findet sich Canopus 43:9 = hierogl. *k r p-t* (μετελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ἀένναον κόσμον). Das *a* ist wie in Z. 24 und 30, sowie in Canopus 13 (Hisn) nicht geschrieben.
27. In *ns-nht =w* [n?] *hstj rmt nb* 'sie waren stark am Herzen (nämlich) alle Menschen' liegt die Konstruktion der Hervorhebung (*Demot. Gram.*, § 468) vor. Sie findet sich mehrfach bei den Adjektivverben mit *ns-*, so bei *ns-'s* (*Mythus*, IV. 15, 16), und das Beispiel Pap. Petubastis Wien L 13 *mj ns-'s-f ■ hstj p: ntr* 'möge Gott grossherzig [barm-herzig?] sein!' steht unserem Ausdruck sehr nahe und veranlasst mich vor *hstj* ein *n* zu lesen. — *ns-nht* 'stark sein' wird hier dieselbe Bedeutung wie in *naḥṯ-ḡḥṯ* 'trotzig, widerspenstig' haben. Es wäre also gesagt, dass die Ägypter nach dem Tode des [Petu]bastis(?) 'trotzig' waren und bei dieser Gesinnung auch (Z.18) die Götter nicht mehr ehrten.
28. Das klingt nach einer Prophezeiung. Aber auch die Übersetzung 'Wenn es geschieht' ist möglich.
29. Es liegt das demotisch<sup>1</sup> mehrfach belegte Wort *nw* vor, das auf altes  *njwj* (*Wb.* II. 202 ult.) zurückgeht und in kopt. *naḥṯ, naḥi* (B.) *ⲓβύνη* 'Lanze' erhalten ist. Der Pap. Petubastis Wien kennt (H 28; Q 12.18; R 26) eine Nebenform *'n-nw*, die hier vorliegen könnte, wenn man *'n* nicht als Verbum betrachten will. Die schwere Lesbarkeit und Dunkelheit der Stelle macht eine Entscheidung unmöglich.
30. *ꜥno* etwa in dem Sinne des Urkundenausdrucks 'erwerben'.
31. Der Ort  könnte mit dem *Wg* identisch sein, das als Kultort einer Hathor bekannt ist,<sup>2</sup> das Brugsch: *Dict. geogr.* 172 mit dem  im Wadi Hamamat schwerlich mit Recht identifizieren möchte. Wie ich Gauthier (*Géogr.* I. 180) entnehme, hat Chabas (*Voyage*, S. 61) ein *Wg* als 'bourgade du nome Diospolite' bezeichnet. Das würde gut zu der mutmasslichen Lage des hier genannten Ortes 'im Gau von Theben' stimmen. Leider hat aber Chabas die Quelle für seine Angabe nicht genannt.
32. So nach einem Vorschlag von Sethe. Das Verbum (*hn?*) vermag ich nicht sicher zu lesen.
33. *skr*  ist wohl das auch sonst aus der demotischen Literatur bekannte Wort für 'segeln' kopt. *ⲥⲏⲣ : ⲩⲥⲏⲣ*. Die vorliegende Orthographie mit  findet sich auch Dekret Ptol. IV, Z.27, Pap. Eleph. 13544,34, Moschion III, 5. Es steht vorzüglich wie hier vom stromaufwärts fahren.<sup>3</sup>
34. Oder etwa nach Sethes Vermutung Pelusium?
35. Oder 'verfinsterte sich' wie in der zuerst von G. Möller (*Amtl. Berichte der Berliner Museen*, xxxix (1918), S. 180 ff.) besprochenen Geschichte von der Auffindung des Buches vom Atmen (Pap. Berlin 13588).
36. Wörtlich 'wie einer' in dem Sinne 'zusammen, insgesamt' nach Sethes Lesung und Deutung.
37. Das Wort hinter *wnw-t* sieht zunächst wie *htp* aus, aber diese Lesung gibt keinen

<sup>1</sup> Siehe Lexa, Pap. Insinger, No. 236 und meine Bemerkung in *Sitzber. Bayer. Akad.*, 1925, 4. Abhdlg., S. 23, No. xxx.

<sup>2</sup> Champollion, *Not. Mscr.* I. 669 und Schrein

von Saft el Henne 8D  (Text, S. 13).

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Griffith, *Stories of the High-Priests*, S. 99.

befriedigenden Sinn. Daher ziehe ich Sethes Lesungsvorschlag *mnk* vor, obwohl sich dagegen ein leichtes paläographisches Bedenken geltend machen lässt.

38. Für die folgenden fremden Personennamen ist zweierlei zu beachten: (1) dass sie nach Z.28 männlich sein müssen; (2) dass sie wegen der Satrapieenbezeichnung am ehesten als Persernamen anzusprechen sind. Und das scheint in der Tat der Fall zu sein, so bei dem ersten Namen, den ich  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$  lese und bei dem ich an Aršan, Arsanes (Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, S. 29–30) denke. Den folgenden  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$  *Snsg* könnte man Sansakes (o. ä.) vokalisieren und darin eine -akes-Bildung (Justi, 522) sehen.  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$  und  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$  *Msm* lasse ich ungedeutet, bemerke aber, dass diese Namen, die wegen ihres Fremddeterminativs nichtägyptisch sein müssen, nicht griechisch aussehen. Bei  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$  *Grmjds* (oder *Grmjđj*) denkt man an die persische Kere-Bildung (Justi, 161).
39. Ich glaube mit ziemlicher Sicherheit  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$  zu lesen, was kaum anders als 'die Satrapieen' (σατραπεία) gedeutet werden kann. Höchstens könnte man noch an τὰ σατραπεία 'das Schloss des Satrapen' (Heliod. VIII. 12) denken, wozu freilich das Determinativ schlecht passt.
40.  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$  *kns* kann, so nahe diese Kombination liegt, wegen des Determinativs und der Schreibung mit *k* nicht mit  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$  identisch sein. Das Wort ebenso wie das folgende  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$  *rgwn* einen Stoff bezeichnen. In dem letzteren konnte ἔριον 'Wolle' stecken, mit der Wiedergabe von *r* durch *g*.<sup>3</sup> — Oder sollte ein persisches Fremdwort vorliegen nach dem auch das folgende  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$  *hmsp* aussieht?<sup>4</sup>
41.  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$  *gbj* 'schwach sein' (siehe: \**zēhi*) muss hier die Bedeutung 'betrübt, niedergeschlagen sein' haben. Das *a* (alt  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$ ) 'indem' vor dem nominalen Umstandssatz ist hier wie oft im Demotischen nicht geschrieben. Siehe Sethe, *Bürgschaftsurk.*, S. 125, § 26d.

#### INHALT

Es ist nicht leicht, sich von dem Inhalt dieses Papyrusfetzens einen Begriff zu machen, der nur eine Seite von einem langen Texte darstellt, und auch von dieser nur höchstens eine Hälfte enthält. Denn das rechte Stück fehlt. Nirgends gelangt man bei Ergänzungen, die ich hier und da versucht habe, auch nur zu einer Gedankenverbindung mit der vorhergehenden Zeile, geschweige denn zu einem Textanschluss. Das ist kein Wunder. In Z. 26–9 bekommt man einen Begriff von dem Umfang des verlorenen Textes. Da sollten vierzehn Leute genannt sein, und nur sechs Namen sind noch erhalten.

So lässt sich denn nur so viel sagen, dass wir eine Erzählung vor uns haben, deren Held ein Ägypter Namens Ne-nefer-ke-Sokar ist, dessen Name<sup>5</sup> nach Memphis führt. Aber die Geschichte selbst spielt nicht in Ägypten sondern in dem Gebiet von Babylon, woselbst der Gott Bêl (Z.9) verehrt wird. Dort herrscht ein 'Grosser' mit seinen Fürsten (Z.6) und er gebietet über 'Satrapieen' (Z.19). Der Erzähler denkt also wohl an das Perserreich, und dazu stimmen auch

<sup>1</sup> Oder  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$ .

<sup>2</sup> Sethe wollte *argum* lesen. Ich halte *m* für unmöglich.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. *Ä.Z.* LI. 71, 93.

<sup>4</sup> Sethe erinnert an  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{F}} \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{J}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{Q}} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}$ .

<sup>5</sup> s. oben, S. 176, Bem. 7.



die Namen der Z. 29 ff. genannten Personen, die durchaus persisch aussehen.<sup>1</sup> Als Gegner dieses 'Grossen von Babel' erscheint der 'Pharao' ohne Namensnennung, wie das in Märchen oft der Fall ist. Denn um ein solches, eine historische Novelle, handelt es sich offenbar, vielleicht in der Zeit verfasst, die die Hs. angehört, im 3. bis 2. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert. Da ist es auch zu verstehen, wenn der Erzähler den Grossen in 'Babel' zu einem Perserkönig macht, ganz wie in dem koptischen Kambysesroman Kambyses und Nabuchodonosor (Nebukadnezar) zu einer Person verschmolzen und Babylonier, Assyrer und Perser unterschiedslos durcheinander gemengt werden.<sup>2</sup> Und auch in anderer Hinsicht fühlt man sich an dieses spätägyptische Literaturwerk erinnert, in dem Nationalstolz, der trotz der Lückenhaftigkeit unseres Textes noch an mehreren Stellen (Z. 14, 21) zu erkennen ist.

Freilich so übertrieben wie in dem koptischen Mönchsprodukt tritt er hier nicht in die Erscheinung. Überdies ist auch der Gegenstand ein ganz anderer. Es scheint, dass der Held unserer Erzählung Ne-nefer-ke-Sokar die Sache des Pharao gegenüber seinem Gegner dem Fürsten von Babylon (= Persien?) vertritt. Ich möchte auf grund von Z. 14 'Möge er sehen, dass [ob?] ein Mensch stärker ist als ich!' die Vermutung wagen, dass im Mittelpunkt des Ganzen ein Wettstreit stand, in dem sich ein Ägypter mit einem Ausländer mass, natürlich so, dass der Sieg dem ersteren zufiel. Anscheinend hatte der Fürst von Babel seine Vornehmen (= Adel) für die stärksten Recken gehalten und war nun entrüstet (Z. 14-15), dass ein Ägypter es wagte, ihnen ihren anerkannten Rang streitig zu machen. Es kam schliesslich, wenn ich recht sehe, unter Anteilnahme beider Völker, der Babylonier wie der Ägypter (Z. 19), zu einem Zweikampf bei dem eine Lanze (Z. 20) eine Rolle spielte. Aber dieser Kampf ist kein gewöhnlicher. Auch die Naturmächte d. h. die Götter greifen ein. Der Himmel verfinstert(?) sich (Z. 24-5). Das sieht nach Zauber aus und regt die Vermutung an, ob wir nicht auch hier eine jener Zaubergeschichten vor uns haben, an denen die späte ägyptische Literatur so reich ist.<sup>3</sup> Dann wäre unser Held als ein ägyptischer Zauberer zu betrachten, der seine Taten echt ägyptisch mit magischen Kräften vollführte. Die Geschichte, von der unser Papyrus leider nur ein kleines Fragment erhalten hat, wäre also eine Wundererzählung ähnlich den Hohenpriestergeschichten von Memphis und anderen, die, wie ich einmal<sup>4</sup> vermutet habe, nach den Namen der Zauberer geordnet waren. Es würde also neben die Wundergeschichten des Sethon (I. Kh.), des Si-osire (II. Kh.) und der Hen-naw und Hiḥor (Pap. Heidelberg 736—*Ä.Z.* LIII. 30) wieder eine neue von Ne-nefer-ke-Sokar treten, dessen Name uns, wie ich oben erwähnte, in die Gegend weist, wo die *Stories of the High-Priests of Memphis* zu Hause sind.

<sup>1</sup> Darauf wies mich Sethe zuerst hin, der auch an den koptischen Kambysesroman erinnerte.

<sup>2</sup> S. Leipoldt, *Geschichte der christl. Literaturen*

*des Orients*, S. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. dazu *Ä.Z.* LIII. 32-3.

<sup>4</sup> Krugtexte, S. 8, Anm. 1 (*Demot. Studien*, v).

## ZUR VOKALISATION DES KOPTISCHEN

Von WALTER TILL

IM Folgenden sollen einige Teilprobleme der Vokalisation besprochen werden, die anderen Orts noch nicht ausführlich behandelt wurden. Die systematische Heranziehung des Koptischen für diese Fragen steckt eigentlich noch in den Kinderschuhen, doch verspreche ich mir von einer eingehenden Untersuchung des gesamten koptischen Sprachschatzes für die Kenntnis der ursprünglichen Vokalisation sehr viel. Es kommt mir hier nicht so sehr darauf an, endgiltige Resultate zu gewinnen, sondern mehr eine Methode vorzuschlagen, wie man der Lösung der für die älteren Sprachstufen des Ägyptischen so wichtigen Fragen näher kommen kann. Es sind bei diesen Untersuchungen jedenfalls immer sämtliche koptische Dialekte zu berücksichtigen und alle belegten Formen kritisch zu werten, eine Arbeit, die W. E. Crums *Coptic Dictionary*, dessen dritten Teil wir ja nun bald erwarten dürfen, ausserordentlich erleichtern, ja teilweise erst möglich machen wird.<sup>1</sup> Es ist auch immer auf die grammatische Kategorie der Wörter Rücksicht zu nehmen. Diese kann oft wesentlich zur Aufklärung beitragen und umgekehrt wird sich oft ein für die alten Wortformen interessantes Resultat ergeben.

Die Grundregel für \**ā* ist: *A A<sub>2</sub> F a, S B o*, wozu es natürlich viele Ausnahmen gibt, die schon an anderen Stellen erörtert wurden. Ganz merkwürdig ist jedoch der Lautübergang \**ā* > *A e*, der in einigen Wörtern vorkommt. Vor allem sind es männliche Pluralformen, deren Tonvokal auf Grund aller übrigen Dialekte \**ā* sein müsste. Solche Plurale sind:

*A νεκεγε, S κοογε, A<sub>2</sub> (νε)καγε, F νεκαγι bzw. B νεχωουπι, F νεκαγι*  
'andere',

*A μογιεγε, S μογειοογε* 'Gewässer',

*A ραιιεγε, S ραιιοογε, B ερωουγι, B λευιαγει*, 'Tränen',

*A ραιπεογε, S ραιποογε* 'Jahre',

*A σπιρεγε, S σπιροογε, B σφιρωουγι* 'Rippen',

*A τῆνεγε, S τῆποογε, B τεβνωουγι, A<sub>2</sub> τῆναγε, F τγῆναγι* 'Tiere'.

Es liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass es sich hier gar nicht um einen Lautübergang \**ā* > *e* handelt, sondern um blosse Analogieformen nach den häufigen Pluralen, die in allen Dialekten die Endung -*ew*<sup>(e)</sup> haben, wie z. B. *A ἔλλεεγε, S ἔλλεεγ, B ἔλλεγ, F ἔλληουγ* 'Blinde', oder *A σαβεεγε, S σαβεεγ, B σαβεγ, F σαβηουγ* 'Weise'. Doch steht hier im *A* und *S* gedoppeltes *e*, was auch im *F* durch den Übergang zu *η* zum Ausdruck kommt,<sup>2</sup> in den oben

<sup>1</sup> Allerdings kann ein Wörterbuch, und sei es noch so umfassend und verlässlich, niemals als einzige Quelle für solche Arbeiten dienen.

<sup>2</sup> S. meine *Koptische Dialektgrammatik* (im Folgenden, *Dial. Gr.*) § 11 e.



anders erklärt werden, als durch abnormen Lautwandel aus \**ä* entstanden.<sup>1</sup> Es scheint demnach, dass das *A* eine Vorliebe für die Endungen -*éw<sup>e</sup>* und -*éj<sup>e</sup>* hatte gegenüber -*äw<sup>e</sup>* und -*äj<sup>e</sup>*, die sich aber doch nicht überall durchsetzte, denn es gibt auch eine ganze Reihe gut belegter *A* Wörter auf -*äj<sup>e</sup>*, z. B.: *ταειε*.<sup>2</sup> 'Anteil', *S τo(ε)*, *B τoi*, oder *χαειε* 'Mauer', *S χo(ε)*, *B χoi*. Welche Umstände für Beibehaltung des \**ä* massgebend waren, kann ich nicht sehen.

Die Qual. von *ειπε* und *†* haben auch im *A<sub>2</sub>* einen abnormalen Tonvokal, nämlich *o*, das regelmässig im *A* und *A<sub>2</sub>* nur im Wortauslaut und als Doppelvokal vorkommt. Es haben also die beiden Qual. in beiden nahe verwandten Dialekten, *A* und *A<sub>2</sub>*, einen abnormalen Tonvokal, doch bewegt sich die Abnormalität sozusagen in entgegengesetzter Richtung. In beiden Dialekten wäre regelmässig *a* als Tonvokal zu erwarten: das *A* hellt es zu *e* auf, das *A<sub>2</sub>* verdunkelt es zu *o*. Im *A* hat diese Erscheinung eine Parallele in \*-*äw<sup>e</sup>* > -*éw<sup>e</sup>* der eingangserwähnten Wortformen, die aber im *A<sub>2</sub>*, soweit sie belegt sind, alle normales *a* zeigen. Im *A<sub>2</sub>* wieder haben die Qual. *οει* und *τοειε* eine lautliche Parallele in den Wörtern: *νοειν* 'bewegen' (ebenso *S*, *B* *νωιν*, *A* *παινε*) I. Infinitiv vierradik., \**näj<sup>e</sup>j<sup>3</sup>* und *εατοιε*, auch *εατοειε* (einmal *εαταει*) 'Soldat' (*S* *B* *εατοι*, *F* *εαται*).

Es scheint also, als hätte das *A<sub>2</sub>* die Tendenz, die Lautgruppe *äj* in *öj* zu verdunkeln; doch steht dem ein ganzes Heer von Wörtern gegenüber, in denen \**äj* auch im *A<sub>2</sub>* regelmässig *αι* bleibt, von denen ich nur wenige herausgreife: *χαιε* 'Schiff', alle Status pron. auf -*a* + *i*. sg. (*αραιε* 'zu mir', *τογχαει* 'mich retten' &c.), *ογαιε* 'Weg' und 'Bauer', *ογαιιν* 'Licht' und viele andere. Die Ursache, warum hier *äj*, dort *öj*, ist wiederum nicht erkennbar.

Es gibt im *A<sub>2</sub>* noch eine Wortform, in der im Inlaut einfaches *o* vorkommt, das ist *coe*, das Femininum zu *caγ* '6'. Dieses *coe* hat das *A<sub>2</sub>* auch mit dem *A* gemeinsam (*S* *co* und *coe*), wo das fem. zu *ϣταγ* '4' ganz analog *ϣτοε* heisst (*A<sub>2</sub>* nicht belegt, würde aber wohl ebenso lauten). Hier muss auch noch ein drittes Wort erwähnt werden, das im *A* im Inlaut einfaches *o* aufweist, nämlich *οε* 'Herde' (*S* *οεε*, *B* *οει*). Alle drei Wörter kommen aber im *A* auch mit *ω* statt *o* vor: *ωεε*, *ϣτωε*, *ωεε*. Doch kann der Vokal nicht lang gewesen sein, wie die *F* Formen *ca* und *αει* zeigen. Es gibt uns jedoch die einmal *A* und einmal *S* (bei Spiegelberg, *Handwb.*, S. 89, Fussnote 8 als unkorrekt bezeichnet) belegte Schreibung *οοε* einen Fingerzeig zur Deutung des abnormalen *o* im *A*. Richtig ist wohl das *oo*, woraus auch die Schwankung in der Orthographie zwischen *o* und *ω* hinweist, die im *A* auch sonst bei Wörtern mit *oo* vorkommt. Der einfache Vokal wird im *A* nicht selten für den doppelten geschrieben und *ω* für *oo* ist auch häufig genug.<sup>4</sup> Dass *ϣτοε* und *coe* niemals mit doppeltem *o*

<sup>1</sup> Der Übergang \**ä* > *e* kommt sonst nur im *F* regelmässig vor.

<sup>2</sup> Nicht *ται*, wie Spiegelberg, *Handwb.*, S. 140 angegeben.

<sup>3</sup> Sethe, *Verbum*, I. 417; II. 632, 2; 619.

<sup>4</sup> Meine *Achmimisch-koptische Grammatik*, § 16,

Bem. 3.

geschrieben werden, ist sehr leicht daraus zu erklären, dass man Vokal + Aleph (oder Ajin) nur vor einem weiteren Konsonanten als gedoppelten Vokal schrieb, während dies bei einer Lautfolge: Vokal + Aleph (oder Ajin) + Vokal nicht am Platze gewesen wäre. Dass dies tatsächlich so war, zeigt z. B.:  $\kappa\alpha\alpha\upsilon$  'ihn legen' =  $ka'f$ , das ähnlich wie  $k\alpha af$  klingt, jedoch  $\kappa\alpha\epsilon$  'dich (fem.) legen' =  $k\ddot{a}'\epsilon$  das niemals wie  $k\alpha\alpha\epsilon$  klingen kann. Daher haben wir in  $\kappa\alpha\epsilon$  so wie auch in  $\epsilon\tau\omicron\epsilon$  und  $\omicron\omicron\epsilon$  einen virtuell gedoppelten Vokal vor uns, auf dessen Rechnung die Lautverschiebung  $*\ddot{a} > \delta$  im  $A$  und  $A_2$  zu setzen ist.

$*i$  ist allgemein zu  $\epsilon$  geworden, das sich im  $A$ ,  $A_2$  und  $F$  hält, im  $S$  und  $B$  aber häufig zu  $\alpha$  wird.

Es gibt nun einige Wörter, in denen auch im  $A$  und  $A_2$   $*i$  zu  $\alpha$  wird. Und zwar sind das zunächst einige (II.) Infinitive von Verben II.  $\epsilon$ , III. inf.:  $n'j = *n'i'j^{\epsilon}t > A A_2 (\bar{n})\kappa\alpha$ ,  $S B \kappa\alpha$  'kommen' (auch zur Bildung des Fut. I. und II., dann  $F \kappa\epsilon$ ) (Qual.  $(\bar{n})\kappa\eta\upsilon$  so wie  $\epsilon\eta\upsilon$  von  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\chi\eta\upsilon$  von  $\chi\iota$ );  $n'$ , offenbar ebenfalls  $*n'i'j^{\epsilon}t > A A_2 \kappa\alpha\epsilon$ ,  $B \kappa\alpha\iota$ ,  $S \kappa\alpha$ ,  $F \kappa\epsilon\epsilon\iota$  (=  $n\check{e}-i$ , nicht mit doppeltem  $\epsilon$  zu lesen) 'sich erbarmen';  $h'j$ ,  $*h'i'j^{\epsilon}t > A \zeta\alpha\epsilon$ ,  $A_2 \psi\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ ,  $B \psi\alpha\iota$ ,  $S \psi\alpha$ ,  $F \psi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$  ( $\check{s}e-i$ ) 'aufgehen'.

Es muss gesagt werden, dass diese drei Wortformen mit dem Tonvokal  $*\ddot{a}$  vokalisiert in den einzelnen Dialekten ohne Annahme eines ausserordentlichen Lautwandels dieselben Formen ergeben müssten:  $A$  und  $A_2$  würden dieses  $\ddot{a}$  wie immer bewahren, so auch  $S$  und  $B$  auf Grund des Ajin, und im  $F$  müsste  $*\ddot{a}$  vor Ajin zu  $\epsilon$  werden. Wir kennen aber keine Infinitivform, der ein  $*n\ddot{a}'$  oder  $*n\ddot{a}'j^{\epsilon}t$  (als fem. Infinitiv eines Verbums III. inf.) usw. entspräche, wenn wir nicht vierradikalige Stämme annehmen wollen. Andererseits gleicht  $A_2 \psi\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ —ein Verbum, das ja ganz ohne Zweifel III. inf. ist—den  $A_2$  II. Infinitiven der Verba III. inf.  $\alpha\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$  'lieben' und  $\zeta\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$  'fallen' in der Vokalisation völlig und bei diesen beiden ist doch die Grundform  $*m'i'j^{\epsilon}t$  bzw.  $*h'i'j^{\epsilon}t$  ganz sicher:  $A \alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ ,  $B \alpha\epsilon\iota$ ,  $S \alpha\epsilon$ ,  $F \alpha\epsilon\eta\iota$  bzw.  $A \zeta\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ ,  $B \zeta\epsilon\iota$ ,  $S \zeta\epsilon$ ,  $F \zeta\eta(\eta)\iota$ . Bei diesen beiden Verben hat  $A$  das normale  $\epsilon$ , weil eben kein Ajin da ist, während  $A_2$  für  $\epsilon j$  offenbar überall, wo es nicht im Wortauslaut steht,  $\ddot{a} j$  hat. So auch  $A_2 \alpha\alpha\epsilon\eta\iota$ , ebenso  $S$ ,  $A \alpha\epsilon\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ ,  $B \alpha\epsilon\eta\eta\iota$ ,  $F \alpha\epsilon\eta\eta\iota$ , 'Zeichen';  $A_2 \tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $S \tau\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $A \tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ ,  $B \tau\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\iota$  '50' (das Wort für '90' ist  $A_2$  nicht belegt);  $A_2 \zeta\alpha\epsilon\eta\epsilon\epsilon$ , ebenso  $S$ ,  $B \zeta\eta\eta\eta\iota$ ,  $F \zeta\eta\eta\eta\iota$  und  $\zeta\eta\eta\epsilon\epsilon$  'Schatten', wo merkwürdigerweise auch  $A$  wieder  $\alpha$  hat:  $\zeta\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon$ , obwohl kein Ajin im Wort ist ( $h'j b' t$ ). Es scheint, als hätte im  $A$  auch das Aleph manchmal dieselbe Wirkung wie ein Ajin, so geht  $A S \chi\alpha\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ,  $B \chi\alpha\alpha\chi\iota$  'Feind' wegen  $F \chi\epsilon\chi\iota$  vielleicht auf  $*d'i's d^{\epsilon}z$ , nicht auf  $*d\ddot{a}s d^{\epsilon}z$  zurück.

$*i > A_2 \alpha$  auf Grund eines Ajin könnte ferner auch im Qual.  $\kappa\alpha\alpha\tau$  (Ev. Joh.) (von  $\kappa\omega$ ,  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon$  'legen') vorliegen. Diese Qualitativform ist aber leider ohne

<sup>1</sup> Sollte der Stamm dieses Verbums  $n'$ , also ebenfalls  $*n'i'$  anzunehmen: *Ä.Z.* LXIII, 148; *Dial.* zweiradikalig, sein, so wäre als Vokalisation *Gr.*, § 42a, 2.

Entsprechung in den übrigen Dialekten, die alle das normale zweiradikalige endungslose Qualitativ haben: *A*  $\kappa\epsilon\iota$  (=  $k\bar{i}$ ), *S*  $A_2$  *F* (Acta Pauli)  $\kappa\eta$ , *B*  $\chi\eta$ . Es könnte nun neben  $*k\bar{i}^{ew}$  der übrigen Dialekte das  $A_2$  (Ev. Joh.)  $*k\bar{i}^{tj}$  haben. Mit Rücksicht auf den Infinitiv  $\kappa\omega\epsilon$  der Acta Pauli ( $A_2$ ) der vielleicht noch die normale Vokalisation des ursprünglich dreiradikaligen Verbums zeigt:  $*h\bar{a}i^{ec} > *k\bar{o}i^{ec}$ , kann man bei  $\kappa\alpha\alpha\tau$  auch an ein dreiradikaliges  $*h\bar{a}i^{tj} > *k\bar{a}i^{tj} > \kappa\alpha\alpha\tau$  denken. Schliesslich aber kann auch  $\kappa\alpha\alpha\tau$  eine ganz sekundäre Form sein.

Dass  $*i$  unter Umständen zu  $\eta$  gelangt werden kann, ist uns aus dem *B*, *F* und  $A_2$  geläufig. Scheinbar gibt es Fälle, wo auch im *A* (und  $A_2$ )  $*i$  zu  $\eta$  wird, und zwar vor  $\varrho < h$ ; z. B.: *S*  $\varrho\alpha\rho\epsilon\varrho$ , *B*  $\alpha\rho\epsilon\varrho$ , *F*  $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\varrho$  — *A*  $\epsilon\rho\eta\varrho$ ,  $\alpha\rho\eta\varrho$  und  $\alpha\rho\eta\varrho\tau\epsilon$ ,  $A_2$   $\alpha\rho\eta\varrho$  'hüten', §  $h\eta h$ ; *S* *B*  $\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varrho$  — *A*  $\mu\epsilon\rho\eta\varrho$  'Lanze'  $\mu\epsilon\rho$ ; *S*  $\chi\bar{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varrho$ , *B*  $\chi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varrho$  — *A*  $\chi\bar{\alpha}\mu\eta\varrho$  'Apfel'  $\chi\bar{\alpha}\mu$ . Doch liegt die Sache hier nicht ganz einfach. Da normales  $\eta$  im *B* und *F* vor  $h$  regelmässig zu  $\epsilon$  wird, sind wir vom rein lautlichen Standpunkt nur auf das *S* angewiesen. Und auch dieses erweist sich hier als nicht verlässlich, denn wir bemerken bei vielen Wörtern mit  $\eta\varrho$  im *S* ein Schwanken zwischen  $\eta$  und  $\epsilon$ ; z. B.  $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\varrho$  neben  $\mu\epsilon\eta\varrho$  'voll sein'  $*m\bar{i}h^{ew}$ ,  $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\varrho\epsilon$  neben  $\mu\epsilon\eta\varrho\epsilon$  'Feder'  $*m\bar{i}h^{et}$ . So könnte auch in den oben angeführten Beispielen gerade das im *A* und  $A_2$  stehende  $\eta$  das ursprüngliche sein. Bei *SBF*  $\kappa\epsilon\varrho$  — *SA*  $\kappa\eta\varrho$  'Öl'  $n\eta h$  ist dies auch sehr wahrscheinlich:  $*n\bar{e}h^{(h)}$ .

Auch das weitere Hilfsmittel, die Zuweisung zu grammatischen Kategorien, deren Vokalisation bekannt ist, ergibt hier kein ganz sicheres Resultat. Die beiden Lehnwörter aus dem Semitischen können uns hier nicht helfen. Es kommt nur das zuerst genannte Wort, der Infinitiv  $\varrho\alpha\rho\epsilon\varrho$  :  $\alpha\rho\eta\varrho$  in Betracht. Das wortbeginnende  $\varrho$ , das von allen koptischen Dialekten nur das *S* mit dem Demotischen gemeinsam hat, ist wohl als sekundär zu betrachten, da sonst das anlautende  $\alpha$  sonderbar wäre. Am ehesten ist an dieser Stelle ein ursprüngliches *Ajin* zu vermuten:  $*r\bar{h}$ .

Nimmt man als ursprünglich ein langes  $e$  nach dem zweiten Radikal an, so ergibt sich die Vokalisation der Gruppe  $\psi\lambda\eta\lambda$ . War jedoch der Tonvokal ursprünglich kurz, so ergibt sich  $*a\bar{r}\bar{i}h$ , also die Gruppe  $\sigma\gamma\chi\alpha\iota$ .<sup>1</sup> Letzteres scheint mir nun durchaus wahrscheinlicher zu sein, denn: (1) schwankt gerade bei diesem Wort das *S* nicht; meines Wissens ist *S*  $*\varrho\alpha\rho\eta\varrho$  nicht belegt. (2) sind sonst bei ursprünglichem  $\eta\varrho$  im *S* die Schreibungen mit  $\eta$  häufiger als die mit  $\epsilon$ ; letztere gehen vielleicht auf einen gelegentlichen Einfluss der beiden nördlichen Dialekte (*B F*) zurück;<sup>2</sup> und (3) kommt meines Wissens  $*i\bar{h} > \epsilon\varrho$

<sup>1</sup> *Dial. Gr.*, § 41c; vergl. *B.I.F.A.O.* xxx. 366 eingereiht.

mit Fussnote 3. Bei Sethe, *Verbum*, I 338 wird  $\varrho\alpha\rho\epsilon\varrho$  als unregelmässige Bildung in keine Klasse

<sup>2</sup> Der sich in den betreffenden Texten auch sonst bemerkbar machen müsste.

im *A* und *A*<sub>2</sub> nicht vor. Das alles weist darauf hin, dass \**ih* > *eh* im *A* und *A*<sub>2</sub> zu *h* wird.

*S B F* επερ — *A A*<sub>2</sub> ανηρε 'Ewigkeit' *nḥh* gehört vielleicht nicht hierher. Es scheint sich hiebei um zwei verschiedene Wortformen zu handeln. Die *S* Entsprechung zu *A A*<sub>2</sub> ist επηρε (neben επερε, so Crum, *Dictionary*, S. 57). Übrigens scheinen die *F* Nebenformen: εἰρ (so einige Male im Hebräerbrief, der nicht ganz reines *F* schreibt) und επαρ<sup>1</sup> auf eine Betonung \**ēn<sup>e</sup>h* für die erste Wortform hinzuweisen. Noch deutlicher zwei verschiedene Wortformen sind: *S* μαρ, μααρ, *B* μορ — *A* μηρε 'Nest' *mḥ*. Ich denke dabei z. B. an *S* саш, *A* сар — *S* снше, *A* снре 'Schlag' *sh*, wobei die zweiten Formen vielleicht 'Plurale' sind, während *A* μηρε als Singular gebraucht wird.

Auch bei dem Qualitativ *S* сарагт — *B* сарегт — *A* сарнег<sup>2</sup> 'ruhig sein' liegt etwas Abnormales vor. Die Qualitative der *s*-Kausativa dreiradikaliger Wurzeln haben normalerweise \**a* als Tonvokal:<sup>3</sup> \**s<sup>e</sup>nāht<sup>e</sup>j* > *S* санашт, *A* санагт 'gemästet sein'; \**s<sup>e</sup>wtānt<sup>e</sup>j* > *A* соутант neben 'endungslosem' \**s<sup>e</sup>wtān<sup>e</sup>w* > *SBA* соутан 'aufrecht sein'; \**s<sup>e</sup>hwārt<sup>e</sup>j* > *S* сроуорт, *A* сроуарт 'verflucht sein'. So auch \**s<sup>e</sup>grāht<sup>e</sup>j* > *S* сарагт. Die *B* und die *A* Form (letztere 'endungslos', daher mit langem Vokal) weisen jedoch auf ein \**i* als Tonvokal hin, zu dem ich keine Parallele weiss.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Worrell, *The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, S. 325, 1. Zeile, jedoch unsicher. Auf der Abbildung Tafel XII glaube ich eher Reste von *ε* als von *α* zu sehen. Wäre επαρ richtig (bei Crum, *Dict.* nicht angeführt), so hätten wir eine Form wie τωβαρ, ογωπαρ, &c., wie sie das *F* liebt.

<sup>2</sup> So, nicht сарнег, wie Spiegelberg, *Handwb.*, S. 136.

<sup>3</sup> Sethe, *Verbum*, II. 79, 92, 104, 2. *Dial. Gr.*, § 45c.

<sup>4</sup> Ob шорегт 'eitel sein' und шнрт 'sich schämen', die wie mit \**i* vokalisierte Qualitative aussehen (\**šwījt<sup>e</sup>j*, \**špījt<sup>e</sup>j*, vgl. Sethe, *Verbum*, II. 91) wirklich Qualitative sind, ist sehr fraglich. Jedenfalls gehörten sie auch als Qualitative nicht in diesselbe Gruppe wie сарнег.

## NEUE SPRACHDENKMÄLER DES ALTNUBISCHEN

(Mit Ergänzungen zur Grammatik und Anhang: Ein meroitisches Lehnwort.)

Von ERNST ZYHLARZ

UNSERE Kenntnis des altnubischen Literatur-Dialekts hat durch die im Jahre 1928 von Griffith publizierte beiden neuen Texte<sup>1</sup> eine bedeutende Erweiterung erfahren. Gleichzeitig boten die Texte die Möglichkeit, den Weg der inneren Erfassung der Sprache, wie er in der vom Verfasser des vorliegenden Aufsatzes seinerzeit zusammengestellten grammatischen Skizze aufgezeigt worden war,<sup>2</sup> nachzukontrollieren und zu ergänzen.

Das neue Sprachmaterial besteht in einer auf Leder geschriebenen Rechtsurkunde und der Gedenkschrift auf einen nubischen König namens Georgios, die sich im Innern einer Opferschüssel eingraviert befindet. (Beide Texte sowie die näheren Fundumstände s. in Griffiths Publikation.)—Die Rechtsurkunde, die sich nunmehr als ein landwirtschaftlicher Kontrakt herausstellt, soll hier der Übersicht wegen an erster Stelle behandelt werden. Ihr folgt der weitaus längere und inhaltlich schwerer zu erfassende Text der Gedenkschrift.

Besondere Schwierigkeiten boten beide Texte wegen der vielfach unbekanntem Wörter und der terminologischen Ausdrücke. Doch stellt sich der innere Zusammenhang ziemlich deutlich darin dar, so dass Schlussfolgerungen hinsichtlich der annähernden Wortbedeutung ohne allzuweitführende Konklusionen aufgestellt werden können.

Zum Abschluss des Vorliegenden folgt ferner eine Übersicht der neu gewonnenen Gesichtspunkte sowie eine Zusammenstellung des neuen Wortmaterials als Ergänzung zur Grammatik, auf die übrigens im Verlaufe der Besprechung stets paragraphweise Bezug genommen ist.

### I. DAS TEXTMATERIAL

#### I. *Ein altnubischer Bauern-Kontrakt*

(II. Jahrhundert)

Griffiths paläographischer Scharfblick hat die graphischen Zeichenwerte der Urkunde von Nauri in ihrer grösseren oder geringeren Sicherheit zur Anschauung gebracht. Ohne paläographischer Beurteilung vorgreifen zu wollen, scheint der Text nun etwa in folgendem Zusammenhang verständlich zu werden:

<sup>1</sup> Griffith, *Christian documents from Nubia* (Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. XIV, London, 1928).

<sup>2</sup> Zyhlarz, *Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik im christl. Frühmittelalter*, Abh. d. D.M.G. XVIII. Leipzig, 1928.



1. † βασιλ̄ οτροτε-λ̄ ομαρι οτρ-ιν-π̄
2. ζιμεω̄π̄ι ζαιε παπας-α ειπ.π̄
3. καττικοσδα επιαχωρα· ειςοτσιαραρεττ-ιν-π̄
4. αϊ-οτ θαδεοσι-λο οππινι-ᾱ ἴσοτβα ρα-κοτς-σι  
τορπα-κι απ-πι-κα φορρ-α τομτ-α-τερ-α  
μαρτι-π̄ παρρε τορπα-κ-κε-κα :
5. τεμ-ε-λο-καλο τορπα ρεταγ-δε ροττι-π̄  
τοτρι-λ-λο-ορο ρεταγ-λ-λον ειςταροπ-λο :
6. οττι εις-σι-λον μερ̄ ·ᾱ-ρ-οτ μαυε ·ει-λο :
7. ειπ-ιν ματαρι-τοτ-λ-λον  
ἴσοτσηκοσδα π̄-λο  
ειαροτπ-λο  
σι-λο  
ρα-λο  
ειραει-λο  
μαρι-λο  
κατιπο-λο
8. αϊ-οτ μαριανα π̄ παει-σε μα
9. καπα-λ-λον τοτσκ̄λ̄ :ει-λο

Anm. Abteilung und Interpunktion sind hier vielfach dem syntaktischen Sinne nach eingesetzt. Die Schleife verbindet in enger Konnexion stehende Ausdrücke (§ 29).

## BEMERKUNGEN

- 1-3. sind temporale Nebensätze im Sinne von § 345. — ομαρι dürfte zu lesen sein. — επιαχωρα ist wohl Abbriviatur des bekannten byzantinischen Epithetons ἐπίλοξος χώρος. — ειςοτσιαραρεττι nubischer Titel; nach dem ersten Bestandteil jedenfalls eine kirchliche Funktion (dem Bischofsrange untergeordnet).
4. ist der eigentliche Rechtspassus der Urkunde. — οππινι-ᾱ lokativ (vgl. § 11). — ἴσοτβα Name des zweiten Kontrahenten (vgl. den Namen ειςοτ in Pap. Berlin, II. 277). — ρα-κοτπ- bedeutet sichtlich 'mit-haben' d. h. in Gemeinschaft besitzen. — τορπακι enthält torba(r) 'Bauer'; (ein Nomen auf -κι, s. § 27 wie ειτ-κι 'Produkt'); τορπα-κι bedeutet also etwa 'Bauernertrag, Feldertrag' o. ä. — φορρ scheint zu lesen zu sein. Der erste Buchstabe sieht auf der Urkunde wie π aus; offenbar *Korrektur* (Auch von Griffith vermutet.), ἵοττ- bedeutet n.n. 'abschneiden'. Da τεμ- (weiter unten) Ähnliches besagt, ist hier wohl von einer *Trennung* eines Gemeinbesitzes die Rede. — τομτα-τερ-α prädikatives Partizip eines Kausativs auf -τερ- (wie auf Pap. Berlin, II. 277) statt -τ̄π-. Zu τομτ vgl. n.n. tom (tomb) 'abbrechen'. Der ganze Ausdruck \*ἵοττ-οτ-μα-τομτα-τερ-α geht sicher auf eine *Teilung* mit einem Anderen, nämlich mit dem an zweiter Stelle

genannten ἵσοῦσα. — μαρτι Agrar-Terminus (n.n. mali: marti) und bezeichnet den Bewässerungskanal, der das Feld in *zwei Hälften* schneidet (vgl. Schäfer *Nubische Texte* usw. No. 419). Zugleich bezeichnet der Ausdruck die Feldbeet-Reihe längs des Kanals, also eine  *Hälfte*  des ganzen Feldes. — παρρε (n.n. farre) 'Grundstück'. — τορπακκε Nomen auf -κε; da der Wortstamm \*ke in Massbezeichnung der 'füglichen' Abschätzung vorkommt, ist τορπα-κ-κε wohl Abstraktum mit dem Sinne dessen, 'was dem Bauern zukommt'.

5. τεα- n.n. erhalten in tēm-a fi 'gebrochen sein'; den Sinn: 'nach der Trennung' gibt der Zusammenhang an die Hand. — ψεταί ist ein agrar-iuristischer Terminus; was gemeint ist, geht nicht völlig klar hervor. Hier wird von zwei Arten des ψεταί gesprochen: 1. der τορπα\_ψεταί; 2. der κορυ-λ-λο-όρο ψεταί. — λουριτ-η vgl. n.n. dūtin 'jeder'; die Form dieses Ausdrucks ist sichtlich *verbal* (subjunktiv) 'indem jeder einzeln es ist'. Zu \*dugit gehört jedenfalls auch das bereits bekannte λουριτ 'jeder', als dessen Stamm im zweiten, nachfolgend behandelten Text λουριτ erscheint. — κορυλ vgl. n.n. gōril 'Erntearbeiter'. — εισταρονι vgl. n.n. istā 'wann' (tā verb. 'kommen'); ειc wäre altnub. Fragepronomen; zu -ονι vgl. n.n. -onī 'wenn'. Der ganze Ausdruck etwa: 'wenn wann er ist', d. h. es ist hier ein von andern Umständen abhängiger, nicht genau zu fixierender *Zeitpunkt* genannt. — Gedenkt man der traditionellen Agrarwirtschaft der Nubier von heute, so erscheint es wenigstens annähernd möglich, sich vorzustellen, was oben unter dem ψεταί gedacht werden kann. Der Nubier ist nicht Grundeigentümer, sondern er hat als Gemeindeangehöriger bloss auf ein relatives Ausmass an Bebauungsgrund Anspruch. Zweimal wird aufgeteilt: das erstemal nach der Überschwemmung wenn die einzelnen Felder neu vermessen werden; das zweitemal wenn die gesammte Ernte eingebracht ist. Der oben genannte Ausdruck ψεταί hängt sicher mit diesen Dingen zusammen, da durch Teilung eines Ackerloses natürlich zwei *gesonderte* Teilansprüche zustande kommen. Man wird also vielleicht etwas wie das Losrecht oder Anteilsrecht in ψεταί erblicken können.
6. ορπι \*ειτ-αι vgl. n.n. urti 'Besitz, Sache'; 'und was ich realiter erhalten habe' weist hier auf *entgeltliche* Teilung. — μαρ (n.n. mōr) = ἀρτάβη. — ἄ.ροτ; das Zahlwort ορερ 'eins' endet auf -r und ist das hier der Konstruktionsdeutlichkeit wegen zugeschrieben. Die Endung -οτ ist statisch; (vgl. *Grammatik* Text II, s. 46 αρτοσι ορερ-οτ ορπι σαρη ορερ-α-λο). Hiernach ist also zu lesen: \*mōr uer-u maše irkiis-a-lo 'es ist ein Ardebb und vierzig Scheffel'. Soviel hat er als Entgelt empfangen.
- 7-8. sind klar.
9. Zusatz in der linken Ecke der Urkunde. Dass der Notar und die Zeugen nach Abschluss eines Rechtsgeschäftes eine 'Zehrung' zu bekommen haben, ist heute noch stehende Tradition. — τοτκαλ scheint zu lesen zu sein; was gemeint ist, bleibt unsicher.

#### ÜBERSETZUNG

Unter den oben gegebenen Gesichtspunkten mag der Kontext der ganzen Urkunde etwas zu verstehen sein:

Zur Zeit da König Basil zu Omari regiert —  
während Simeon Bischof auf Šai ist —  
während der illustre Kattikuda isusiaṅgetti ist —

teile ich Thaddäus (wohnhaft) in Oppini, der ich gemeinsam mit Isuñia meinen Ackerertrag innegehabt habe, ihm die Gerechtsame an dem marti-Grund zu.

Nach erfolgter Teilung besteht Bauern-šeudi jederseits, und der šeudi seitens des Erntenden besteht zu seiner Zeit (o. ä.). Und was ich realiter erhalten habe, ist ein Ardebb und vierzig Scheffel.

Zeugen hiervon sind:

Isusikuda, Priester.

Jagupi.

Si.

Ña.

Irai.

Mari.

Katipo.

Ich, Imariana, Priester, habe (es) als Zeuge geschrieben.

Und die Zehrung beträgt fünf tuskil.

## 2. Die Gedenkschrift für König Georgios (1130-58)

Ungleich schwieriger als der relativ unkomplizierte Inhalt des vorangegangenen Textes bietet sich der altnubische Teil der Inschrift auf dem 'offering-tray' dar, schon im Hinblick auf den überwiegend abstrakt-religiösen Tenor desselben. Ausserdem zeigen sich hier einzelne beschädigte Stellen der Inschrift als nicht unbedeutende Hindernisse für die erste intuitive Groberfassung des Zusammenhanges.

Allein wenn man sich im Zusammenhang mit der griechischen Randumschrift, die den altnubischen Text wie ein Kranz umgibt, einmal klar geworden ist, von was die Rede sein muss, kann auch hier von ernstlichen Schwierigkeiten kaum mehr gesprochen werden.

Es handelt sich um eine altnubische Version zu dem bekannten griechischen Totengebet, welches, meist nach allgemeineren Betrachtungen und Nennung der Personalien des Toten, in die Formel übergeht: Ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου . . . . . usw. und gilt hier für einen König Georgios von Nubien. Soviel war von Anfang her klar.

Zur Übersicht folgt nun der in Sätze geordnete Kontext, wie er sich in groben Zügen darstellen kann:

1. † [ ]δε-π ροττοτ ταμιαστ-ε-πα :

2. ραα-εε-αν-πο τεετ-ροφ-δι-λ-ποτ-να ραριερ-ιλ-αω-αε πιητ-ροφ-δ-λ-ποτ-α-αο ταμια-α εκε-δ-α ονον-καει ροτητ-λο ονον-κρ-α μορ-ε-λ-αε·

3. οτλ-λο-ειοη οηοη-ηαιε-τοτ-η-λ̄ ηη-ηο-ηη αιαλ-λα φαα-ερ-αη-ηο  
 ὀμοσεα-λ̄-λο μοτλοτ-ταν-ηην-η-αηα :
4. σεη-η̄-ηηε εκελ-η̄-ηηε εη̄-ηαιε-τοτ-η αηαη-ηα τωεκ-ηα [. .]α-ρ-α  
 ειλαητε-λο η̄α-α-ρ-α αφδ-α · δοτη δοτρη-λο ατει-ε-αη · αφδ\_ελ-  
 λην\_ηεταλλην\_οτη-λ̄ εηε\_ηαιε-ηην-α-λ̄-λα ·
5. ειρ ηηαδοτ τωορη οτροτει-η αε-λ̄-ηα λοτλα-α-τρ-ε-εω ορωσε  
 η̄η̄ηαη-αε ο\_ροηηατε-λ-αε-ηελλω :
6. αβραηηη-αε ἱσαηη-αε ἱαηωβη-αε ηηαλλ-αφ-ηη τοτα-α-ε-η-ηα αροτ-  
 α-τρ-ε-εω παραεισοε-οτ ηηαετ-η-οτ λοτερ-η-οτ η̄εη-λ̄ η̄η̄ηαη-  
 τοτ-λα λοτε-η-τοτ-λ-λα :
7. τα-η φαπε-τοτ-η-οη αηη-ιδ-α-ταηη · τα-η οτη-λ̄ ατει-δ-ηε-η-τοτ-ηα  
 οη μοτη-λ̄ ατει-δ-ηε-η-τοτ-ηα · ει-ε-λ̄ ατει-δ-ηε-η-τοτ-ηα ηηαιε-λ̄  
 ατει-δ-ηε-η-τοτ-ηα · εαλ-α ηην-ηη φειε-α ηην-ηη · αηη-ταηη ατει-  
 δ-εε-τοτ-λ̄ η̄η-ο-η-αε-ηε-η\_ηελλω · τ̄λ̄λ-α φαε-λ̄ αηε-ηο-α τοηαερ-  
 ηο-η-ηε-ρ-α · αηηη :
8. [. .]-λο τωορη οτροτει-ηα οηηηη-ταν-εε-ηλ-αε ταποτ-η̄ σοταει-λα  
 ηη-ηε-ρ-οτ\_ειτ-α απο ηαρητρηοη-ηα ὀη̄η̄-λο η̄η-ο-ηα :
9. τα-η ηοαηη-ρη-τοτ-ηα ὀροηοε-λ̄-λο τηε-εε-ηη-ηοη ταποτ-η̄ σοταει-λα  
 ·α· απο ηαρητρηοη-ηα ὀη̄η̄-λο η̄η-ο-ηα :
10. οτροτ-αφ-εε-η̄-ηα δεηη-ηη-τοτ-λ̄ η̄η̄-λο · τα-η δεηη-τοτ-λ̄-λοη τηη-  
 ηη-τρ-α η̄η̄-λο · τα-η φεε-εε-λ̄-λοη απο ηαρητρηοη-ηα ὀωᾱ ὀωθ-  
 λα ·η· οτη-ηα η̄α ποτση-η̄ ·η̄-λο η̄η-ο-ηα :

## BEMERKUNGEN

- 1-3. Der Verfasser des Textes verwahrt sich davor, dass menschliche Obsorge für das Schicksal Verstorbener irgendwelchen Wert hätte. (Der Grund hierfür ist darin gelegen, dass das Totengebet auf einer Opferschüssel *altheidnischer* Brauch ist, der speziell bei den *Meroiten* reichlich gepflegt worden war.)
1. \*[ir]g-e-n dugtu 'jede Darreichung' scheint im ersten Passus gemeint zu sein (vgl. n.n. irg- 'darreichen'). Jedenfalls ist das erste Wort wohl ein Ausdruck für Totenopfer. — ταηηηαε- dürfte in \*tar-mas-zu zerlegen sein = 'kommen-gutsein'. Sinn: 'es muss recht sein, es mag genügen' (vgl. ηαετ-α η̄ε 'gut reden' Gr. Text IV, s. 6 u. Anm. 2).
2. Hauptsatz (nominal): οηοηηαιε\_ροηηη-λο οηοηηα ηορελ-αε — οηοη- 'eitel sein' wie aus Phil. II, 16, zu entnehmen ist: οηοη-[τα] ρηα-δι-ηηη[-ηε-λοτ̄]η = ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον. Hiernach: \*οηοη-ηαηη 'einer der Eitlen tut' und οηοη-ηρ- 'Eitlen wirken'. Sinn: 'in der Vergänglichkeit derer, die Eitles tun (ist) auch das Ende des eitlen Wirkens (gelegen).' — ταηη-α εηεδ- 'allerlei vornehmend' (Geht auf die Totengebräuche). — τεετρηορηλοτ 'die Hoffenden', ηηηηορηδ̄λοτ 'die Illuminaten, die höheren Seligen' (Seligkeitsstufen der christl. *Gnosis*).

3. **στ'λ-λο** = \*ur-lo von **στρ** 'selbst'. — **-πλ-** 'zugehörig' (§ 222) **ειδλ-λα** \*ijar-la 'im Wissen'. — **φδδ-** 'lobpreisen, eulogisieren', nach Phil. II. 16, **φδδ-κττ** [ . = **καύχημα**. — **ομοσεδλ** part. fut., wahrscheinlich zu einem Ausdruck \*om-os- 'zählen herausziehen' = **eligere** o. ä. — (Die Verbalform des Verb. finit. s. Ergänzungen.)
4. **εῖ-καει-τοτ** pl. zu \*ik-katti; Bedeutung nicht präzise zu fassen, da Assimilation des Stammes vorliegen kann; n.n. **ik-kir-** heisst 'verbieten'. Der Passus paraphrasiert sichtlich die Wendung des griechischen Totengebets: ('Ο θεός τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός,) ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας καὶ τὸν Ἄϊδην καταπατήσας κτλ. Wenn **εῖκαειτοτ** mit **ikkire** 'verbieten' zusammenhängt, dann wäre etwa an dämonische Wesen der nubischen Jenseitsvorstellungen zu denken. — Das dazu gehörige Verbum ist im Text zerstört. — **δοτηδοττ-λο** (v. **-δοτη** 'weil' u. **δοττ** 'Grund'); Sinn: 'in Konsequenz'. — **απεισαν** subjunkt. 'da sie gemacht haben' (scil. den Ausspruch). — \***εψεκαπ-** 'das Rösten fressen = zur Hölle verdammt sein' (n.n. **es-** 'rösten').
- 5-7. Paraphrase des griechischen Totengebets der bekannten Formulierung:  
 Ἄναπασσον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ἐν τόπῳ φωτινῶ. ἐν τόπῳ ἀναψύξεως, ἐνθα ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός. Πᾶν ἁμάρτημα πραχθέν, ἢ λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ, ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν, ἄνεσ ἄφεσ· συγχώρησον τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀγαθός καὶ φιλόνηθρωπος.
5. **μεδδοτ** = **δοῦλος** plur. **μεδδ-πι-τοτ**. — **οφοκκ**; das **π** von **οπ** ist mit dem folgenden **φ** zu einer lautlichen Einheit verschmolzen (Phonetische Schreibung!).
6. **τοτδδε-λ** 'das was geschehen wird' (v. **τοτ-**) = das Schicksal (ἡ κληρονομία). — **-π-οτ** und **-κ-οτ**; Rektions- und Direktions-suffix in *appositiver* Stellung (§ 87). — **δοττ** 'das Bleiben' (v. **δοτ-** II).
7. **-ταμκ** (r. **ταμ**) negat. Imperativ, § 172.
- 8-10. Aufführung der Lebensdaten des verstorbenen Königs.
8. **κικεροτ\_ετ-α** 'so nehmend = ungefähr'. Das genaue Geburtsdatum weiss er nicht. Die Annalen führten wohl nach sudanischer Gewohnheit nur die Zahl der Regierungsjahre genau.
9. **κοαπριτοτ** wohl 'die Vorfahren'.
10. Neben dem ägypt. Sonnenmonat (**σοτδαι**) rechnete man in Nubien also auch nach Mondmonaten (**οπκ**).

## ÜBERSETZUNG

1. Jedes Opfer mag genügen (o. ä.).
2. In der Vergänglichkeit solcher, welche allerlei eitle Werke verrichten mit Bezug auf die Auferstehung der Hoffenden, so da Fleisch gewesen sind, oder mit Bezug auf die Seligen, darin ist auch (schon) das Ende (solch) eitlen Wirkens gelegen.
3. Wenn man sich beim Eulogisieren (nur) bewusst ist: Wir selbst sind ja auch solche eitel Wirkende! so wird man in der Darstellung füglich recht geleitet.
4. Ich bete und flehe, o Heiland, der Du die Todesgewalt der ikkaigu (brechen, vernichten o. ä.) wirst, da Du kommen wirst in der Fülle (der Zeit), in

- Konsequenz dazu, dass man (das Wort) geprägt hat: Wer das ewige Leben liebt, der wird die Hölle nicht verkosten:
5. Lass Du den Diener Georgios aus königlichem Stamm dauern in aller Ehre und Glorie!
  6. Giesse aus (über ihn) all das, was Abraham, Isaak und Jakob zuteil wird, die Dauer des Seligkeitsparadieses an den Stätten aller Freuden!
  7. Seiner Sünden aber gedenke nicht; was er wissentlich tat und was er unwissentlich tat, was er mit dem Wort getan, was er frevelnd getan, weder dem Worte noch dem Werke nach, gedenke dessen nicht, was immer er getan hat, o vielerbarmender Gott, bei dem die Vergebung liegt! Amen.
  8. (Siehe,) die Geburt des Königs Georgios war ungefähr im Monate Tapot, im Jahre 822 der Martyrerära.
  9. Die Besteigung des Thrones seiner Vorfahren war am 4. des Monats Tapot im Jahre 846 der Martyrerära.
  10. Die Regierungsjahre betragen 27; seine gesammten Jahre betragen 52; sein Hinscheiden aber erfolgte im Jahre 874 der Martyrerära, am 20. Thot, am 14. im Mondmonat, am 2. Tage der Woche.

## II. ERGÄNZUNGEN ZUR GRAMMATIK

Wie zu erwarten stand, bieten die beiden altnubischen Texte nicht nur lexikographischen Zuwachs, sondern liefern naturgemäss weitere Gesichtspunkte für die Grammatik. Um das bisher Festgelegte auf brauchbarer Höhe zu erhalten, empfiehlt es sich, gleich im Anschluss an die eben gemachten Ausführungen, an die notwendigen Ergänzungen zu denken.

### (a) Grammatisches.

*Lautliches:* Zu § 9, r 2 wäre zu bemerken, das  $\sigma\tau\lambda$ - $\lambda\sigma$  'selbst' (in I<sub>2</sub>, s.3) gegenüber  $\sigma\tau\rho$ - $\rho\omega$  in Hebr. v. 4 die Lautassimilation  $r+l = ll$  zeigt. Ihr stellt sich im selben Satze  $\epsilon\iota\lambda\lambda$ - $\lambda\lambda$  (= \*ijar-la) zur Seite. Es handelt sich wohl um eine *lokal* verschiedene Lautierung gegenüber der von Serrē.

*Plural:* Zu § 81 b. Unterschied zwischen Plural mit und ohne - $\mu\iota$ : (I<sub>2</sub>, s.10)  $\delta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota$ - $\mu\iota$ - $\tau\sigma\tau$ - $\lambda$  'die (speziellen) Jahre' (scil. der Regierung).

$\delta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota$ - $\tau\sigma\tau$ - $\lambda$  'die (gesamten) Jahre' (scil. des Lebens).

Zu § 83. In enger Konnexion fällt die Endung - $\tau\sigma\tau$  ab: (I<sub>2</sub>, s.2)  $\sigma\rho\sigma\eta$ - $\kappa\alpha\epsilon\iota$   $\tau\sigma\tau$ - $\lambda\sigma$  'in der Vergänglichkeit derer, die Eitles wirken'.

*Anm.* Demnach können die Plurale ohne -gū im Neunubischen als solche, vordem syntaktisch verkürzte, Plurale angesehen werden, ähnlich wie der alte konstruierte Plural auf -ē im Syrischen schliesslich dominant geworden war.

*Rektion u. Direktiv:* Zu § 87. In I<sub>2</sub>, s.3 liegt nun ein weiteres Beispiel für die dort aufgestellte These vor, dass - $\eta\bar{\lambda}$  die determinierte Form des Rektionssuffixes ist.

Zu § 87 und § 93. In I<sub>2</sub>, s.6 bestätigt sich die Vermutung, dass das Rektionssuffix sowie

das des Direktivs in appositivem Zusammenhang der Satzglieder die Endung des status appositivus annehmen: παραδεισος-οτ μαεῖτι-η-οτ αοτερ-η-οτ (als Objekt zu αρотагресω) mit folgender Apposition ηῆσιλ . . . -λα.

*Verbum*: Zu § 154. Weiteres Beispiel für sogenanntes Gerundivum: τοναερ-ηοη-ηερ-α 'dem die Vergebung zusteht' (I<sub>2</sub>, s.7).

Neuer Modus: Thematischer Adverbialis. Sichtlich aus dem athemat. Adverbialis II (§ 194) gebildet finden wir nun eine thematische Form in I<sub>2</sub>, s.3: μοτμοτ-ταν-ηερ-ηαηα 'sie werden füglich (recht) geleitet'. Ein Fragment dazu lag schon Matth. v. 13 vor: ]-τηη-ηερ-ηαη[.] . . . 'mag man' [scil. salzen].

Zu § 172. Beispiele für negativen Imperativ auf -ταληη resp. -ταηη in I<sub>2</sub>, s.7.

*Syntax*: Zu § 315. Beispiel für einen Nominalsatz mit determiniertem nominalem Prädikat in I<sub>2</sub>, s.2: οηοη-ηαι-φοτηη-λο οηοη-ηρ-α μορ-ε-λ-ηε 'in der Vergänglichkeit derer, die Eitles tun, liegt auch das Ende des eitlen Wirkens'.

(b) *Glossar der neuen Wörter.*

|                                                           |                                                    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| αε Spross, Nachkomme                                      | οηοη-ηαηηι Einer der Nichtiges tut                 |
| ραα-ε fleischlich, leiblich sein                          | οτη Mondmonat (vgl. n.n. un-atti 'Mond')           |
| ροερ- erntearbeiten (n.n. gōr)                            | οτρ-ηη- regieren                                   |
| αα-κοτη- in Gemeinschaft besitzen                         | οτροτ-αφ- König werden                             |
| αοτηη- einzeln sein (o. ä.)                               | οτηηι Anteil, Besitz                               |
| αοτηηοτ jeder (αοτηηοτ)                                   | ηῆσι Freude                                        |
| αοτηε Stätte, Ort (τόπος)                                 | ηοτη Montag (Beginn der alten nubischen            |
| αοτηερ Bleiben, Dauer                                     | Woche, n.n. fūš).                                  |
| αοηαα-α-ερ weilen lassen                                  | *ταηη-μαε- recht sein, genügen (o. ä.)             |
| εηε-δ- einzeln aufheben                                   | ταηοτ Monatsname des nub. Jahres                   |
| εηε rösten; übertr. Hölle                                 | ταηη- trennen                                      |
| εηαρ wissen (Nomen: *ij-ar)                               | ταηηηη-ερ- zusammen nehmen                         |
| εηε Rede, Wort                                            | τοηηηα-τηρ- mit Jem. teilen                        |
| εη-ηαιη-ροτ s. I <sub>2</sub> , s.4                       | τοηηα Bauer (meroïtisch?)                          |
| εηοτηαφατηηι e. kirchl. Titel                             | τοηηα-ηηι Feldertrag                               |
| εηε-ταρ-οηηι zur entsprechenden Zeit ('wenn wann es ist') | τοηηαη-ηε Bauerngerechtsame                        |
| ηοαηη-ηη-ροτ Vorfahren                                    | *τοτηηηι eine Naturaleinheit                       |
| μααα-αφ- insgesamt werden                                 | ηηεηαηι jurist. Terminus (s. I <sub>1</sub> , s.5) |
| μαρηι Bewässerungskanal                                   | (δεηη) plur. δεηηηοτ u. δεηηηηη-ροτ 'Jahre         |
| μαεδοτ Diener, Sklave (meroïtisches Lehn-                 | δοτηηδοτηηηι) Folge, Konsequenz                    |
| wort?) <sup>1</sup>                                       | φαα- lobpreisen, eulogisieren                      |
| μαῖρ Ardebb (άρτάβη)                                      | φεε- verscheiden, sterben                          |
| *οηηοε- hervorheben (o. ä.)                               | *φοαα- abschneiden, teilen                         |
| *οηοη- nichtig, eitel sein                                | φοαα-οφ in Teile gehen                             |
| οηοη-ηρ- Nichtiges tun                                    | φοτηη Vergänglichkeit                              |

Unsicherer Gestalt: \*[i]r]de Opfergabe (cf. n.n. irg 'darreichen')

<sup>1</sup> So! Im Wörterbuch der Grammatik ist in μαεδοτηη das Auslaut -ηη zu streichen.

## ANHANG

*Ein meroitisches Lehnwort*

Die Sprache der alten Nubier musste, schon wegen der kulturellen Dominanz ihrer nächstgelegenen Nachbarin im Niltale, nämlich der meroitischen Sprache, aus dieser manches Lehnwort erhalten haben (vgl. *Grammatik*, § 56). — Wenn man sich das in seinem Lautbestand nunmehr gesicherte  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\delta\sigma\tau$  =  $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  näher ansieht, so erinnert dasselbe einigermassen an das in Meroiten-Titulaturen häufige Wort  $\zeta\chi\beta$   $md'$  (sowie  $/\chi\beta$   $md'$ ) wie z. B. 'mni- $md'$ -s 'der zu Amon in  $md'$ -Verhältnis steht' (Amara, *Mer. inscr.* II, pl. VI) u. a. m. ebenso in dem nach dem Muster der bekannten Blemmyernamen:  $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha-\chi\eta\eta$ ,  $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha-\rho\iota\epsilon\tau$ ,  $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha-\rho\alpha\tau\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho$  gebildeten Namen  $\eta r-m\delta'-y'$  des Blemmyerkönigs von der grossen meroitischen Talmis-Inschrift [*Mer. inscr.* 94]. — Bekanntlich handelt es sich beim meroitischen  $\chi$  um einen dieser Sprache eigentümlichen Laut, zu dessen Wiedergabe sich die Meroiten der Hieroglyphe des  $w\delta\iota.t$ -Auges bedient hatten, weshalb das Zeichen von Griffith anfangs auch wie das ägyptische  $\delta$  gelesen worden war. Später erkannte Griffith aber, dass dasselbe Zeichen den r-Laut in  $\text{Μερόη}$  und  $\text{Πρῆμις}$  wiedergibt.<sup>1</sup> Aus diesem Grunde wurde das Zeichen von mir in Anlehnung an *Reinisch* mit  $\delta$  wiedergegeben, womit das dem Bedaue eigene 'r mit einem Schläge' gemeint ist.<sup>2</sup> Phonetisch stellt sich ein solcher Laut, der dem Nubischen *fremd* ist, als koronal heraus und wird derselbe neuerdings von *Klingenheben* mit  $\zeta$  gekennzeichnet.<sup>3</sup> — Um so etwas muss es sich bei dem meroitischen  $\chi$  handeln, u. z. w. um einen zwischen Palataldental und r gelegenen Laut. Die Gruppe  $\alpha\delta$  entspricht im Alt nubischen (vgl. Tabelle zu § 9 d. Gr.) auch  $r+\acute{g}$  (oder  $dj$ ). Wenn die aufgestellte Gleichung der beiden Ausdrücke zurecht besteht, dann hätten wir also den ersten Fall einer greifbaren fremden Umschrift dieses für den meroitischen Lautbestand charakteristischen Lautes.

Was nun einen solchen *Sinn* der Titulatur betrifft, so wäre derselbe im Zusammenhang mit Götternamen klar. Der Titelträger wäre als 'Diener des Gottes X.Y.' gekennzeichnet. Daneben aber erscheint der verbale Ausdruck  $t-md'$  auch im Zusammenhang mit *graduier-ten Personen* sowie ' $md'$  in Pachoras' geradezu als *Funktionstitel*. Eben dieser Umstand würde ein blitzhaftes Licht auf die dem Nil-Sudan eigenen Verhältnisse noch unserer Zeit werfen. Gerade im Machtbereich des alten Meroë erscheint die Bezeichnung 'Sklave' — ganz im Gegensatz zu dem ursprünglichen Sinn! — direkt als *Adelsepithet*. Stolz und selbstbewusst bezeichnet sich der königliche Vasall und Funktionär als 'Sklave' gegenüber 'Freien' also unkultivierten, resp. nicht mit Hoheitsrechten versehenen Leuten.<sup>4</sup> Solche Verhältnisse würden zu dem alten Meroë mit seinem unsichtbar durch Funktionäre regierenden gottentsprossenen König ausgesucht passen.

Wenn nicht alles täuscht, dann haben wir hier neuerdings einen konkreten Stützpunkt für die Erforschung des Meroitischen an die Hand bekommen, nämlich ein Verbum  $md'$  'herrschen' o.ä.

<sup>1</sup> Griffith, *Meroitic Studies VI, Journal of Egyptian Archeology*, 1929, pp. 69-74.

<sup>2</sup> Zyhlarz, 'Das meroitische Sprachproblem', *Anthropos*, 1930.

<sup>3</sup> Klingenheben, *Die Silbenauslautgesetze des Haussa, Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-sprachen*.

<sup>4</sup> Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, pp. lvi-lvii.





PART IV  
TEXTS AND PHILOLOGY  
(c) GREEK



# A CHRISTIAN STELE FROM QAU EL-KEBIR

By H. I. BELL

(With Plate 22.)

+ ΑΓΙΟCΑΘΕΟC +  
 ΑΓΙΟCΕΙCΧΥΡΟC  
 ΑΓΙΟ'C'ΑΘΑΝΑ  
           ΤΟC  
 5 ΑCΤΑΥΡΩΘΙC  
   ΔΙΕΜΑC  
   Ε ΛΗΕCΟΝ ΑΝΑΠΑΥ  
   CΟΝΤΗΝΥΥΧΗΝΤΕCΔΟ  
   ΥΛΗCΟΥCΟΦΙΑCΕΙCΚΟΛ  
 10 ΠΟΥCΑΒΡΑΑΜΚΑΙΕΙ  
   CΑΑΚΚΑΙΙΑΚΩΒ +

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ΕΚΥΜΕΘΗΑΙΔΟΥΛΕΤΟΥ  
 ΘΥ ΕΝΤΗΑΓΙΑCΑΜΒΑ[  
 ΤΟ ΥΠΑCΧΑΩΡΑΔΕΚΑΤ[  
 15 ΔΙ ΑΦΑΟΥCΑΙCΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ  
 ΤΑΙCΑΝΑCΤΑCΕΩCΤΟΥΧΥ  
 ΜΗΝΙΦΑΜΕΝΩΘ ΚΘ✕  
           ΠΑΡΟΥ ΔΙΝΑ<sup>S</sup>  
           CΗC

2. C of ΑΓΙΟC apparently added later. 3. C of ΑΓΙΟC inserted over the line, the letter first made having been deleted. After it, remains of another letter, perhaps C, possibly not deleted; CC was perhaps cut, the first C being then deleted by a corrector but later erroneously reinserted (by another hand?). 4. ΤΟC, being squeezed in between ll. 3 and 5, was perhaps a later insertion. 7. After the first Ε of ΕΛΗΕCΟΝ a letter (Ε) has been deleted. A chip runs through Λ, giving the letter the appearance of Α. After this word there is a cut in the limestone, probably ancient; the letters ΑΝΑ are badly made, the stone having apparently flaked when they were being cut. 10. The break which disfigures Π may date from the cutting of the letter; the big lacuna is more recent. 12. Υ of ΔΟΥΛΕ perhaps inserted later. 13-15. The spaces in these lines after ΘΥ, ΤΟ, and ΔΙ (see the plate) are due to an ancient break in the stone. 14. Τ very doubtful, but on the whole probable; only the bottom of the down-stroke remains. 17. The surface of the stone is damaged before ΚΘ. 19. CΗC possibly added later by another hand.

**T**HE stele here published (see Plate 22) was found at Qau el-Kebir during the excavations of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt in the season 1922-3, and was afterwards presented to the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities in the British Museum, where it is now exhibited (in the Early Christian Room, case 14). Not perhaps of great intrinsic importance, it yet seemed well worth publishing, both as a further example of a late Christian monument from Egypt and owing to several unusual features which it possesses. The publication of the text was suggested to me by Mr. O. M. Dalton when the

stele was first acquired, but other claims on my time then prevented my undertaking the task. The preparation of a volume in honour of a scholar to whom Egyptology is so much indebted, and whose name is in particular associated so closely with the study of the Christian period in Nubia and Egypt, offers a suitable occasion for putting Mr. Dalton's suggestion into practice.

The stele, which measures 53 cm. × 35.5 cm., is of white limestone, reddened on the surface. The cross is deeply cut and is coloured inside with a specially deep red; it may conceivably once have been filled up in some way. The limestone is chipped in places, with small lacunae, but on the whole is in good condition. Since the plate sufficiently shows the arrangement of the lettering, I have in the above diplomatic transcript omitted the central cross and the palm-branch at the foot, and have adopted the ordinary capital form of alpha, though in the original two forms are employed, one approximating to the uncial form,  $\alpha$ , and one being the capital form familiar in inscriptions,  $\text{Α}$ . Similarly, epsilon is now square,  $\text{Ε}$  (see the end of l. 10), but more often rounded,  $\epsilon$ . I have here used the latter form only.

I now give the text of the inscription in modern form and in more correct Greek: <sup>1</sup> Ἅγιος (ὁ) Θεός, <sup>2</sup> Ἅγιος Ἰσχυρός, <sup>3</sup> Ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος, <sup>4</sup> (ὁ) σταυρωθ(ε)ῖς <sup>5</sup> Δι' (ἡ)μέρας, <sup>6</sup> ἔλ(ε)σον, ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τ(ῆ)ς Δούλης σου Σοφίας εἰς κόλ(ι)πους Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. <sup>12</sup> Ἐκ(οι)μ(ή)θη (ἡ) Δούλη τοῦ <sup>13</sup> Θε(ο)ῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ σαμβά[του?] <sup>14</sup> τοῦ πάσχα ὥρα δεκάτ[η?] <sup>15</sup> Διαφασούσης κυριακῆς <sup>16</sup> τ(ῆ)ς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ <sup>17</sup> μηνὶ Φαμενώθ κθ̄ <sup>18</sup> παρούσης <sup>19</sup> ἸνΔ(ικτίωνος).

13. It is very doubtful whether there was room for ΤΟΥ at the end. ΤΟ (=τω) may have been cut, or possibly nothing followed Α, and we have to read σαμβά[του πάσχα] or σ. (τοῦ) πάσχα; but if ΟΥ were written small or in a monogram it seems possible to read as in the above text. 14. Here again it is not beyond doubt that anything followed Α at the end of the line; the apparent Τ may be illusory, and in that case we should perhaps read ΔΕΚΑ<sup>15</sup>ΔΙ <ΔΙ>ΑΦΑΟΥΣΑΙΣ. 15. Διαφασούσης: a variant spelling of Διαφασούσης; Διαφάου is a variant of Διαφάσκω.

The first point which deserves attention is the date, which seems at first sight to contain a contradiction in terms. I have found no exact parallel, but it should mean, literally translated, 'The servant of God died on the holy Saturday of Easter at the tenth hour, when the Sunday of the Resurrection of Christ was dawning, the month of Phamenoth 29, in the present 4th indiction.' The stele, as exhibited in the gallery of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities, is thus described: 'Tombstone, dated A.D. 601, commemorating a woman named Sophia who died on Easter Morning.' ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ σαμβά[ should, however, mean Saturday (the natural supplement is σαμβά[του], understanding ἡμέρα; but since in this illiterate Greek little regard need be had to genders and the space is small, σαμβά[το] [sic] may be read in the same sense). But if Sophia died on Saturday at the tenth hour, how could she die on Easter morning? There are, moreover, two ambiguities. σαμβά[ is naturally taken as Saturday, but σάββατον was also used as 'week', even in Greek (see Sophocles, *Greek Lex.*



Christian stela from Qau el-Kebir. British Museum

Scale 2 : 5



of the *Rom. and Byz. Periods*, s.v.), and Mr. Crum informs me that this use was common in Coptic. The word may therefore be interpreted as 'in the holy week of Easter', in which case there is no inconsistency as to the date. On the other hand, if two days are really mentioned, it is uncertain to which of them the date Phamenoth 29 refers.

Fortunately we have another indication which may help to solve the problem. The indiction was the fourth; and we must therefore look for a year which was a fourth indiction, in which Easter (or Holy Saturday) fell on Phamenoth 29. This month-date, Phamenoth 29, in an ordinary year corresponded with 25 March, in a leap-year with 26 March. In Egypt the extra day was inserted after the five intercalary days following Mesore, in the year preceding the Julian leap-year; that is to say, that in a year which, divided by 4, has a remainder of 3, the first of Thoth fell not on 29 but on 30 August (L. Ideler, *Handb. d. math. u. techn. Chronologie*, I. 143). As Phamenoth roughly corresponds with March, it is in the Julian leap-year, i.e. in years exactly divisible by 4, that its dates are affected by the intercalation.

If, then, in the period which best suits the epigraphical evidence, we find that only one year suits all the requirements, we can accept that year as the date. If  $\Phi\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\theta\ \kappa\theta$  refers to Saturday, Easter Day fell on 26 March in an ordinary year or on 27 March in a leap-year; if to Sunday, then Easter Day fell on 25 or 26 March respectively. I cannot pretend to be an expert in epigraphy, but, so far as I can judge, the period assumed in the description quoted above, namely the sixth or seventh century, suits the characters well. Now a search through the tables printed in *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, I. 1-40, shows that in the two centuries from 500 to 700 Easter Day only once fell on any one of the days 25, 26 or 27 March in a year which was also a 4th indiction, namely in 601, when it fell on 26 March. Hence, assuming that it is correct to assign the stele to that period, the year-date must be 601, Phamenoth 29 must be 25 March (since the year was not a leap-year), and  $\sigma\alpha\mu\beta\alpha$  must mean 'Saturday', not 'week'.

There remains, however, the question how we are to explain the statement that Easter Day was 'dawning' at the tenth hour on Saturday. The Egyptian day is universally assumed to have begun at dawn, and that it did so normally is shown by the numerous invitations to dinner, &c., preserved among the Greek papyri, in which the usual time for the dinner is the ninth hour. Even if we assume that in the present case, exceptionally, perhaps under ecclesiastical influence, the time was reckoned by the canonical hours, from Saturday evening, the difficulty remains that on any reckoning which brings us to dawn on Sunday, 26 March, it is inconsistent to reckon the hour as an hour of *Saturday, the 25th*; for if Sunday began on Saturday evening, then the hour was the tenth hour of Sunday, not of Saturday. The only explanation I can see is that the reckoning of the days of the week and month is by the ordinary civil calendar, i.e. the hour of death was on the afternoon of Saturday, 25 March, but that since the Easter



office begins in the Greek rite, as in the Latin, on the Saturday, Easter day is described as *διαφωσούσης*, meaning, by an easy transference, not literally 'dawning', but 'beginning'. The obvious desire to associate Sophia's death with the great festival of the Resurrection would amply account for the addition. Hence the year-date in the description, A.D. 601, can be accepted, but the death actually occurred not on Sunday morning but on Saturday afternoon.

The invocation also shows some interesting features. The insertion of the Trisagion in particular deserves comment. I have found no instance of it in Lefebvre's *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* or elsewhere; and though I am far from affirming that it does not anywhere occur on a funeral stele—indeed it would be rather strange if this were the only instance—it is clearly very unusual. Were this a western inscription the insertion would have a special propriety, for in the Latin liturgy the Trisagion is sung only in the Good Friday office (*Catholic Encycl.*, s.v. 'Agios o Theos'), so that it might the more readily occur to the author of an inscription intended for a woman who died in Holy Week; but in the Greek Church it is used daily. In this case, however, the attribution of the invocation to Christ by the addition of the words *ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς*, for which see *Cath. Encycl.*, l.c., gives it a special appropriateness so soon after Good Friday, though the insertion was in the first instance made with heretical intention. Moreover, the not uncommon use of the Trisagion as a charm (see, e.g., Hastings's *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*, III. 425 b; A. D. Nock, *Folklore*, xxv. 96) would sufficiently account for its occurrence here also. It is found as an inscription on a pyx, *S. B.* 3940<sup>1</sup>.

The other elements of the invocation are much more familiar. The reference to the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is found most often in Nubia, but is not unknown in Egypt, e.g. Lefebvre, *Recueil*, Nos. 48 (Alexandria), 67 (Old Cairo), 107 (Fayum?), 790 (Fayum), 541 (Esneh). The palm-branch at the end of the inscription has parallels in inscriptions from various parts of Egypt, e.g. Lefebvre, 51, 56 (both Alexandria); 59 (Abukir); 205 (Antinoopolis; here two palm-branches enclose the cross at the foot, with  $\alpha$  and  $\omega$  to left and right respectively); 207 (Antinoopolis); 597 (Philae; here used repeatedly); 603 (Philae).

In conclusion I should like to express my thanks to Mr. R. A. Smith, Keeper of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities, for permission to publish the stele.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. O. H. E. Burmester writes to me: 'As regards the *ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς*, it is very interesting; one would expect, since the death was on Holy Saturday, that the clause *ὁ ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνεληθὼν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς*, which is the addition to the third clause of the Trisagion in the Coptic Church, would have been used as more appropriate to the occasion. *ὁ*

*σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς* is of course Syrian Monophysite, and in Egypt one would expect either the Melkite form without additions or the Coptic form with the addition which I have already mentioned. Of course the deceased may have been of the Syrian Rite, and this might explain the Monophysite form.'

## DEMONS OF THE BATH

By CAMPBELL BONNER

IT is no new thing to students of ancient superstition that in the later age of the Greek world demons were supposed to haunt baths; but so far as I know, the subject has been touched upon only incidentally, and certainly one of the most interesting illustrations of it has been overlooked. Perhaps it may be worth while to devote a few paragraphs to this feature of ancient demonology, especially in a book presented to a distinguished scholar who has made important contributions to our knowledge of magic and superstition.

Let us begin with the passage which has been overlooked. It occurs in the apocryphal Acts of John, which purport to have been written by his disciple Prochorus, and are to be distinguished from the so-called Gnostic Acts attributed to Leukius. The Leukian Acts are well known through the admirable publication of Lipsius and Bonnet; but, although an edition of the Acts of Prochorus was published by Zahn in 1880, they appear to have been somewhat neglected in recent years.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the work is so full of pious absurdities and nauseating unctiousness that it is no wonder that serious students should be repelled by it. On the other hand, the language of these Acts would well repay a careful investigation, and the narrative contains several episodes which are interesting and valuable contributions to the treasury of ancient folk-lore.

With his disciple Prochorus, who tells the story, John comes to a place near Ephesus, where the two wanderers find employment in a bath belonging to a wealthy man named Dioscorides.<sup>2</sup> John tends the furnace and Prochorus becomes *περιχυτής*, or bath-valet.<sup>3</sup> One day Satan appears to John in disguise and threatens him with the poker or shovel (*σκεῦος τοῦ καμίνου*), trying to drive him away; but John recognizes him as the demon that haunts the bath (*ὁ δαίμων ὁ προσπαράμενον τῷ βαλανείῳ*) and chases him away by invoking the Trinity (pp. 20 f. in Zahn).

A short time afterwards there is another visitation of the demon, this time a fatal one. Since the writer leads up to the event by telling the history of the diabolical haunting, the passage should be given in full (pp. 24 f.)

ἐν δὲ τῷ κακῷ τούτῳ βαλανείῳ τοιαύτη τις διαβολικὴ ἐνέργεια ἐγένετο. ἐν τῷ κτίζεσθαι αὐτὸ διὰ τὸ εὐχηρὸν καὶ τὸ ἰλαρὸν τῶν λουτρῶν ποιητικὰς ἀφορμὰς ὁ σατανᾶς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπενοήσατο, ὥστε ὅτε ἐκτίζετο διορυττομένων τῶν θεμελίων νεανίσκον ἔφηβον ἢ νεᾶνιν ἐμβαλεῖν κάτω ἐν τοῖς θεμελίοις, καὶ τιμωρούμενοι, ἐσθίοντες καὶ τὰς σάρκας αὐτῶν, ἀπέθνησκον. ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ βαλανείῳ ἡ τοιαύτη πρόφασις ἐγένετο, καὶ τρίτον τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. Lipsius et Bonnet, II. 1, Leipzig, 1898; M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 229-70; *Acta Joannis*, ed. Th. Zahn, Erlangen, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> Although the word *βαλανείον* occurs several times, the bath is more commonly called *πριβάτον*,

a special and apparently a rare use of *privatum*, private property. The same use is found in Pap. Flor. 384 (saec. v?), II, 39, 77. *δημόσιον* for public bath is more common; several examples are cited by Sophocles s.v.

<sup>3</sup> The word is found in this sense in several late papyri (saec. IV-VII); see Preisigke s.v.

ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁ Δαίμων ὁ προσπαραμένων τῷ περιβάτῳ ἔπνιγεν ἔσω νεανίσκον ἢ νεᾶνιν. ὁ οὖν Διοσκορίδης ὁ κύριος τοῦ βαλανείου ἐγγράφως εἶχεν ταῦτα, ἐν ποίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ γίνονται.

εἶχεν οὖν υἷὸν εὐμορφώτατον πάνυ, ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ὑπάρχοντα, καὶ παρετρεῖτο τὰς ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς ἐπιβουλή αὐτῆ ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐκ εἶα αὐτὸν λούεσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄλλαις ἡμέραις καθ' ἑαυτὸν μόνον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν φθόνον τῶν ἀνθρώπων. μετὰ οὖν τὸ ποιῆσαι ἡμᾶς πάντα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ περιβάτου ἔτυχεν τὸν υἷὸν Διοσκορίδους μόνον εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ, καὶ εἰσῆλθον καὶ γὰρ ἔχων τὸ σκεῦος τῆς ὑπηρεσίας, ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ. ἀσχολουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω τοῦ βαλανείου πρὸς τὸ ἀναψῦξαι, ὀρμήσας ὁ ἀκάθαρτος Δαίμων καὶ εὐρών αὐτὸν μόνον, ἀπέπνιξεν τὸν νεανίαν, τὸν υἷὸν Διοσκορίδους, καὶ ἀπέθανεν.

The passage may be rendered into English as follows—and the reader who has carefully examined the original will not lay the slovenly style entirely to the charge of the translator:

'In this evil bath-house there was a working of the devil after this wise. At the building of it, Satan devised for men sure means that the baths might be pleasant-sounding and cheerful; so that when it was building, they dug a hole in the foundations, and cast a youth or a maid down into the foundations, where in torment, even eating their own flesh, they died. Such a matter, then, had befallen in this bath<sup>1</sup> and thrice in the year the demon that abode in the bath was wont to strangle within it a youth or a maid. Now Dioscorides, the owner of the bath, had written down on what day this thing was done.

'Now he had a son most comely, eighteen years old; and he watched the days when the attack of the demon happened, and forbade the youth to bathe in the bath-house, but suffered him to bathe on other days, himself alone, having regard also to the envy of men. Now after we had done all the work of the bath, it happened that the son of Dioscorides entered into it alone, and I also went in with the vessel of my service, and likewise the servants of the young man. And while they were busy refreshing themselves outside the bath, the demon started forth, and finding him alone, he strangled the young man, the son of Dioscorides, and he died.'

From this story it appears that the mischief began when Satan suggested to the builders of the bath the wicked device of burying a youth or a maiden alive in the foundations, in order that the bath-house might be attractive and pleasantly resonant. Such foundation sacrifices appear in local legends of many parts of the world, notably in connexion with famous bridges, but also in con-

<sup>1</sup> After some hesitation I have ventured to translate πρόφασις as above. In order to give it its ordinary meaning of *pretext, occasion, opportunity*, one would have to supply τῷ σατανᾷ or τῷ Δαίμονι with ἐγένετο, which does not seem permissible. I had thought that from the primitive notion of *showing forth* or *setting forth* there might have developed some such meaning as *arrangement, state of affairs*; in which case one might translate freely 'such was the manner of this bath'. Mr. H. I. Bell's suggestion that πρόφασις might come

to mean *business, affair, incident, matter*, may be better. That the word was sometimes employed in a sense which departed rather far from its ordinary meanings seems to be indicated by a passage in the pseudo-Dioscoridean treatise περὶ ἰοβόλων (Kühn, chap. 3 *ad fin.*, p. 66), τὰς σημειώσεις αὐτῶν ὑπὸ μίαν ἐκθησόμεθα πρόφασιν. Sarracenus translated this *uno contextu trademus*, Sprengel *unam secuti normam trademus*. Sophocles, in whose *Lexicon of Byzantine Greek* I found the reference, gives the meaning *general view*.

nexion with churches, fortresses, and other important edifices.<sup>1</sup> Symbolic or substitutionary ceremonies in place of the ancient sacrifice have continued down to modern times. In the story in the Acts of John, the malice of the demon appears in his using the original sacrifice as a pretext for further demands. Three times a year he strangles (or suffocates or drowns—πνίγω is ambiguous) a youth or ■ maiden in the bath, and although the owner, Dioscorides, has noted the times when these killings occur, and keeps his son from the bath on those days, the demon appears when he is not expected and strangles the youth at a moment when the attendants are away from him. As might be expected in such a story, John uses his miraculous powers to restore the young man to life.

One further point should be noted. Although the evil eye (φθόνος) might naturally be feared in a place where beautiful bodies are exposed to the gaze of strangers, and although because of this fear Dioscorides makes his son go to the bath without companions, the chief danger is a more palpable one—a bodily demon with strength to strangle and kill. The writer's fondness for this horror leads him to repeat the incident in another connexion (pp. 122 f. in Zahn). While John is on the island of Patmos, the son of a priest is strangled (ἀπεπνίγη) in a bath by an evil spirit. The pseudo-Prochorus naively tells us that it was the same demon that John drove away from Ephesus. One curious feature of this second death in the bath deserves special notice because of its relation to modern Greek folk-tales. When the priest's son has been restored to life by John and is questioned by him, the boy says, 'When I was bathing in the bath-house, an Ethiopian rose up from the pool (ἔμβασις) and strangled me'. So, adds the narrator, John knew that it was a demon. Now in the modern stories about spirits that haunt springs and wells, these beings are often said to appear in the form of Arabs or Moors.<sup>4</sup> In Gregory of Tours's epitome of the Miracles of Andrew (ch. 22, p. 838) two demons in the form of Ethiopians appear to the proconsul Lesbius and beat him.

The Acts of John attributed to Prochorus are assigned, on good grounds, to the first half of the fifth century. Two similar stories, of slightly earlier date, have been known to various students of Greek superstition from Leo Allatius to our own times.<sup>3</sup> One of these is from Eunapius' *Life of Porphyry*: φησὶ δὲ καὶ Δαιμόνιον τινα φύσιν ἀπὸ λουτροῦ τινος ἐκδιώξαι καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν. Καυσάθαν τοῦτον ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι.<sup>4</sup> The fact that a name (probably Syriac) is given to the demon indicates that Eunapius has incorporated a genuine local super-

<sup>1</sup> Interesting illustrations are collected in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, II. 850 f. and VI. 114 f. For modern Greek examples, see B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, pp. 196 f., Garnett and Stuart-Glennie, *Greek Folk Poesy*, I. 70-3, 390-2; N. G. Polites, *Μελεταὶ περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ* (Παραδόσεις) I, §§ 481-3.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Polites, *op. cit.*, I, § 433.

<sup>3</sup> Leo Allatius, *De Graecorum hodie quorundam opinionibus epistola*, cap. 22; Hubert in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *Magia*, p. 1511; Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber*, I, §§ 195, 770; Eitrem on Pap. Oslo. I, 75 and 334.

<sup>4</sup> P. 10 in Boissonade's edition of 1822; p. 358 of Wright's edition of Philostratus and Eunapius, *The Lives of the Sophists* (Loeb Classical Library), 1922.

stitution into his narrative. The other, which is too long to quote in full, is from Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus* (Migne, *P.G.* XLVI, coll. 949, 952). Gregory has sent a deacon on a mission to a distant town. The deacon arrives towards evening, weary and travel-stained, and hopes to refresh himself at a bath. But the bath is haunted—ἐπεκράτει δὲ κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον δαίμων τις ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἐπιχωριάζων τῷ λουτρῷ—and since the malignant power is active after dark, the place is deserted and locked up. The deacon can scarcely prevail upon the unwilling and horrified attendant to admit him to the bath; but the man finally gives him the key and withdraws to a safe distance. Upon entering, the deacon hears terrible noises and sees spectral phantoms in various forms, shrouded in fire and smoke, pressing close upon him; but making the sign of the Cross and calling upon the name of Christ, he passes unharmed through the room. When he enters the inner chamber, the phantoms become still more alarming; besides the other terrors, the building is shaken by an earthquake, the earth opens and reveals the infernal fires, burning sparks spring out from the water. Again the deacon drives away the terrors as before, and bathes and refreshes himself. When he starts to leave the bath, the demon holds the door fast; but it yields to the sacred sign, and the demon cries aloud to him not to lay his escape to the credit of his own powers, for it was the voice of the master who had commended him to God that had saved him from harm.

The Acts of Andrew, which are known to us through an epitome by Gregory of Tours,<sup>1</sup> record three miracles of the saint which testify to the belief in bath-demons. At the beginning of chapter 5 a son of Cratinus of Sinope (Gratinus Senopinsis) is bathing in the women's bath, and is cruelly tortured by a demon, falling senseless to the ground. Andrew drives away the evil spirit, which departs with a loud cry. When the Apostle is at Patrae the adulterous wife of the proconsul Lesbios goes to the bath with her steward. While the two are bathing together, a very ugly demon (*daemon teterrimus*) appears to them, strikes them, and both fall dead. Andrew restores the woman to life at the prayer of her old nurse (ch. 23, p. 839, l. 25). Again in Corinth (ch. 27, p. 842) Andrew goes to a bath and sees there an old man possessed of a demon and palsied (*tremementem valde*). While he is looking at the sufferer a youth comes from the swimming-bath, falls at the Apostle's feet and cries, 'What have we to do with thee, Andrew? Art thou come to drive us from our places?' Andrew drives the demons out of them, and says to the people who stand by, 'The enemy of mankind lieth in wait everywhere, in baths and in rivers.'

A few other allusions to demon-haunted baths are found here and there. Tertullian (*De baptismo*, 5) says that unclean spirits, maliciously imitating the brooding of the spirit of God upon the waters (Gen. i 2), haunt dark springs, streams, pools in bath-houses, cisterns, and wells, where they are said to seize

<sup>1</sup> *Liber de Miraculis Beati Andreae Apostoli*, ed. Max Bonnet: in *Monum. Germ. Hist. (Scriptores Rerum Meroving., tom. 1, pp. 827-46)*.

upon men. Psellus (*De operatione daemonum*, p. 20 f., Boissonade) explains the fact that demons haunt baths and cisterns by their fondness for moisture, which also drives them to attack living creatures (for their blood). In that strange text, the Testament of Solomon (ch. xviii, 21 in McCown's edition), the seventeenth of the thirty-six στοιχεῖα or δεκανοί says to Solomon ἐπὶ τοῦ στομάχου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθέζομαι καὶ ποιῶ ἀσπασμούς (i.e. σπασμούς, see McCown's note) ἐν βαλανείῳ. Demons that dwell in baths are mentioned also in an exorcism attributed to Gregory Theologus and published from an eighteenth-century manuscript by A. Delatte (*Anecdota Atheniensia*, p. 239, l. 6; Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, fasc. xxxvi, 1927). The list may be closed with a reference which I owe to the kindness of Mr. W. E. Crum. In his monograph *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters*, Fritz Pradel publishes a series of prayers and exorcisms from a Venetian manuscript (cod. Marc. app. gr. II. 163), which mentions in a long series of demonic dangers, ἡ συνάντημα ἢ ὑπὸ μνημείου ἢ ὑπὸ βαλανείου.<sup>1</sup> That the fear of demons haunting water affected even the rite of baptism is shown by a passage which Pradel cites from the ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος. The priest is directed to breathe into the water, make the sign of the cross over it, and say μὴ ὑποκρυβήτω τῷ ὕδατι τούτῳ δαιμόνιον σκοτεινόν.<sup>2</sup>

A belief that spirits of springs might be beneficent seems to lie at the back of the story found in the 'rejected' readings of John v. 3-4: the pool of Bethzatha or Bethesda acquired a healing power from an angel who descended into the water (according to some texts, bathed in it).

For the sake of completeness, we may add a reference to the strange story about Iamblichos calling forth the spirits of two warm springs in the forms of beautiful boys (Eunapius, *Life of Iamblichus*, p. 15, Boissonade, pp. 368-70, Wright).

The belief in the diabolical haunting of baths continued to exist in Egypt down to medieval and modern times. 'The bath is believed to be a favourite resort of *ginn* (or *genii*), and therefore when a person is about to enter it, he should offer up an ejaculatory prayer for protection against evil spirits, and should put his left foot first over the threshold.'<sup>3</sup> This circumstance, taken together with the Syrian or Anatolian origin of some of the writers already cited (pseudo-Prochorus, Gregory of Nyssa, Eunapius) suggests that the superstition about bath-demons may be of Oriental provenience. For certain reasons, however, it seems safer to say that it grew up among various widely separated peoples, and merely took on a special development in eastern countries, probably due, at least in part, to the use of elaborate baths (*hammams*)

<sup>1</sup> Pradel's study forms a part (Bd. III, Heft 3) of the series *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, Giessen, 1907. The passages cited are p. [20], 272, l. 17 and p. [97], 349.

p. 289, l. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, vol. II, ch. 16, p. 37. Compare also vol. I, p. 282, and the same author's *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum*,

in those warmer regions. Russian folk-lore knows a special form of the household spirit (*domovoi*) called *bannik*, or bath-spirit, who lives in the bath-room and may work harm to anybody who goes there alone in the evening or by night. 'When the inmates of the house bathe, they leave a little water in the bath, and a little soap upon the bench, as it is believed that the *bannik* and other domestic spirits will wish to bathe a little later. To ensure the prosperity of the bath room, a black hen is buried under the threshold as a sacrifice.'<sup>1</sup> The sacrifice, by the way, was probably originally intended to secure a friendly indwelling spirit for the protection of the structure.

It should also be observed that superstitions about baths are natural outgrowths from ancient Greek beliefs about river-gods, nymphs, and nereids, who may be now friendly, now dangerous, and are always to be approached with caution. Such a myth as that about the seizure of Hylas by the fountain-nymphs (Theocritus, XIII) has in it, if one allows for the changes which would inevitably be wrought by Christianity, the makings of stories like those connected with the names of John the Apostle and Gregory the Wonder-worker. Modern Greek folk-lore has many stories about the στοιχεῖα that dwell in wells, streams, and the sea; and they seem to be legitimately derived from the ancient beliefs in spirits of the waters.<sup>2</sup>

It may not be out of place to call attention to the fact that stories of the drowned who are afterwards regarded as divine (such as Hylas, Palaemon and others) suggest that the belief in the deification of the drowned, which is clearly made out for Egypt, was also Greek. The subject has been treated in interesting papers by Professor Griffith and Miss M. A. Murray (*Ä.Z.* XLVI. 132-4, and LI. 127-35). Miss Murray (p. 130) points to the commonness of the belief that 'certain waters claim one or more victims within a given time, generally a year, though the interval is sometimes longer'. It will be remembered that the demon in the story of pseudo-Prochorus takes a victim three times a year.

Several scholars—Hubert, Hopfner, and Eitrem, as cited above—have noted that the belief in the demonic haunting of baths plays a part in magical practice. It is true that some of the examples that they cite might be accounted for by ordinary homoeopathic magic, as when a charm inscribed with names or figures of demons is placed in the hot room or the furnace of a bath in order to compel the uncanny powers to do the operator's will (Eitrem on Pap. Oslo. I, 334). But it is likely that the belief that demons were usually to be found in such places was also a motive for the procedure.—

Since this paper was put into type, I have found some reasons for returning to my view that πρόφασις, in the story quoted from the Acts of John may mean *manner*, as suggested in a footnote on p. 24. I hope soon to publish a note on several peculiar uses of the word.

<sup>1</sup> Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, IV. 627.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, *op. cit.* pp. 182 ff; Polites, *op. cit.* pp. 250-313.

## FOUR PETRIE PAPYRI REVISED

By C. C. EDGAR

THE documents in the Petrie papyri concerning the quarrymen of the Fayum are full of interesting matter illustrative of Egyptian life in the time of the Ptolemies. Unfortunately, they are not easy reading in the original edition and have never been republished in an improved form; many points are still obscure and many errors have eluded correction owing to the fact that some of the papyri were lost for thirty years and have only lately come to light. It has therefore seemed to me worth while to reprint, with the corrections made since the first edition and with some new readings of my own, four of these puzzling texts and try to make their meaning a little clearer. Perhaps this attempt may suggest to others a better solution of the difficulties than I have succeeded in finding.

The first text is *P. Petr.* II, 4, 9 (= III, 42 C, 2). In addition to the corrections of Smyly and Wilcken I read the interpolation in l. 8 as ἐπέσται and restore the preceding words as λέκα τῆι Διμήνωι. It is tempting to read ἐπεῖναι, which would improve the grammar, but comparing the form of the letters in ἐστίν in l. 9 one is forced to prefer ἐπέσται; moreover the future tense accords with the alteration of τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας to Θῶσθ ι, for the letter was written on the 9th.

The writers complain that they cannot continue their work until Cleon sends them a gang of labourers (σώματα, λειτουργοί) to clear away the sand. The quarrymen themselves were not expected to shoulder a basket and carry away the surface rubbish, but were usually provided with unskilled labour for this purpose (cf. *P. Cairo Zen.* 59176, 16-18, 214-15, 274-7). The main difficulty of the text lies in ll. 7-8. After saying 'we have no assistants', the petitioners add 'and the time they have worked will be ten days over the two months'. If εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν refers to labourers who were now leaving the work (and the interpolated λοιπῆς and καὶ ἡμεῖς might be thought to favour this hypothesis), there must be some omission or error in the text; it is possible for instance that the Δέ inserted after τὰς should have been placed after ἀπό in l. 6. But taking the sentence as it stands I can only suppose that the subject of εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν is the quarrymen and that the scribe was for the moment not thinking of himself as one of them.

[Κλέ]ωνι χαίρειν οἱ λατόμοι οἱ ἐν Παστῶντι  
 [ἐρ]γασζόμενοι. [[α]] παρελάβομεν π[αρ]ὰ σοῦ  
 καὶ  
 τὰς πέτρας ἐν Τιτνούει λελατόμητ[α] ἡδη.  
 νυνὶ δὲ ἀργοῦμεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν σώμ[α]τα  
 5 ὥστε ἀνακαθᾶραι τὴν ἄμμον τὴν ἐπάνω  
 λοιπῆς Θῶσθ ι  
 τῆς πέτρας [ἀ]πὸ μηνὸς Ἐφείπ ἕως [[τῆς σήμε-  
 e e



Δέ

ρον ἡμέρας]], τὰς ἡμέρας ἃς εἰργασμένοι εἰσὶν  
 ἐπέσται.  
 Δέ[κα τ]ῆι Διμήνωι οἴδας Δέ Διότι ὁ τόπος  
 ἔστιν  
 ἔρημός καὶ οὐκ ἔχομεν σῖτον. βουλόμεθα οὖν  
 10 συντελέσαι τὰ ἔργα, ἵνα τὴν ταχίστην  
 ἀπέλθωμεν. ἀπόστειλον Δέ λιτ(ο)υργοὺς ἡμῖν  
 καὶ ἡμεῖς.  
 ἐν τάχει, ἵνα μὴ ἐγκαταλίπωμεν εὐτύχει.  
 L λ, Θῶυθ θ̄.

Verso

Κλέωνι.                      L λ, Θῶυθ θ̄. παρὰ τῶ[ν λατό]μων  
 15 ἔντευξις.

‘To Cleon greeting from the quarrymen working in Paston. We took over from you the rocks in Titnouis and we have already quarried them. But now we are idle because we have had no labourers to clear away the sand covering the rest of the rock from Epeiph to Thoth 10, and the days which they have worked will be ten more than the two months. You know that the place is lonely and we have no corn. We wish therefore to finish the work in order that we may depart as soon as possible. Send us labourers quickly, lest we also abandon it. May you prosper. Year 30, Thoth 9. (Addressed) To Cleon. (Annotated) Year Year 30, Thoth 9. Petition from the quarrymen.’

The interpretation of the second text, *P. Petr.* II, 4, 8 (= III, 42 C, 1), is still more doubtful. I reprint it below with supplements, largely due to Wilcken, which probably give the general sense, though not in the actual words of the original. The crucial point is the restoration of l. 1. Wilcken takes νεα[ to be the beginning of a proper name in the dative; but Φιλόξενος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ is a strange expression for the writers to use, and moreover it seems more likely that the letter was addressed to Cleon. I feel little doubt therefore that we should read οἱ λοιποὶ νεανίσκοι. When used in the papyri of a class of men, νεανίσκοι denotes the military cadets who were settled on the land in various districts; and presumably that is what the word means here. But what reason could these young cleruchs have had for writing to Cleon about the quarrymen? The answer is not obvious, but here is one possible explanation. We know from *P. Cairo Zen.* 59153, that just about this time houses were being built for the νεανίσκοι at Philadelphia and that Apollonius urged Zenon more than once to see that the work was executed promptly. Such houses would of course be made of mud brick, but a certain amount of stone was also required (see *P.S.I.* 496 and *P. Mich. Zen.* 37, 3 and 41, 9). I suggest, then, that a body of νεανίσκοι was anxious about the provision of stone, whether for house-building or for some other purpose, and appealed to Cleon to stir up the quarrymen, reminding him that the dioecetes was interested in the matter.

The papyrus is not the original letter of Philoxenus, but a fragment of a copy of several letters, for it contains the ends of eleven lines of a preceding column. One of these lines gives the date Λλ Θῶσθ β; the letter of Philoxenus might be a little later; and the letter of Apollonius cited above was received on the 23rd of the following month. These dates would accord very well with the above explanation. But I do not pretend that the supplement *περὶ τῶν οἰκήσεων* in l. 10 is more than an interesting possibility.

Φιλότη[εν]ος καὶ ο[ἱ λ]οιποὶ νεα[νίσκοι Κλέωνι]  
 χαίρειν. οἱ ρμ λατόμοι [. . . . .]  
 οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐργάζονται διὰ τὸ μ[ὴ ἔχειν τὰ δέ-]  
 οντα· τὸ γὰρ προδοθὲν αὐτοῖς δόμ[α ἀνήγγελλον]  
 5 ἡμῖν καταβεβρωκένας σχολάζον[τες, οὐδενὸς]  
 παραδεικνύοντος ἔργα. δοκιμά[ζομεν οὖν καλῶς]  
 ἔχειν προσέσθαι σε ἐκ τοῦ βα[σιλικοῦ εἰς ἕκασ-]  
 τον πυ(ροῦ) ἄρ(τάβην) α, ὅπως τὰ ἔρ[γα συντελέσωσιν]  
 καὶ μὴ παρὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτία[ν παρέλκωσιν],  
 10 τοῦ διοικητοῦ σπεύδοντος [περὶ τῶν οἰκήσεων].  
 παρὰ πάντας γὰρ τοὺς λατόμους ἔ[δει γίνεσθαι πρὸς]  
 τοῖς ἔργοις.

ἔρρωσο.

'Philoxenus and the rest of the cadets to Cleon greeting. The 140 quarrymen . . . are not working at all because they have no provisions; for they tell us that what was given them in advance they have consumed sitting idle, nobody showing them what to do. We consider then that it would be well for you to give them one artab of wheat per head from Crown stores in order that they may finish the work and not have this excuse for wasting time, as the dioecetes is urgent about the buildings. For the quarrymen above all ought to have been busy. Farewell.'

The third text, *P. Petr.* II, 4, 1 (= III, 42 C, 3), is one of those which were lost at the time of publication and not recovered till last year. A revision of the recto (the verso is hidden by a cardboard mounting) confirms what I had already conjectured, that in place of the inexplicable σῶμα of l. 5 we must read στόμωμα. Though *εἰσαναλίσκειν* is almost always used of the spending of money and though in *P. Petr.* II, 4, 3 we have a complaint from certain quarrymen about the expense of procuring good iron for their tools, it is not necessary to supply *εἰς* before *σιδήρου*. The phrase *εἰσαναλίσκοντες σιδήρου στόμωμα* may quite well mean 'expending so much of the metal used for the edges of our tools'. But apparently the cost of rewelding fell upon the quarrymen. *P. Cairo Zen.* 59782 (a) contains much information about στόμωμα and the quantities of iron required for giving a hard edge to various implements. We learn in particular that quarrymen's tools, *λατομίδες*, were rehardened two or three times a month, the amount of iron required for each tool being ■ quarter of a mina.

When hard rock was encountered, the wear and consequent cost would be much greater. Hence the present complaint.

Κλέωνι ἀρχιτέκτονι χαίρειν οἱ δεκάταρχοι τῶν λατόμων ἀπὸ τῆς  
 ἐγβατηρίας. ἀδικούμεθα ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ ἐργοδιώκτου ἐμβαλῶν  
 ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν στερεὰν πέτραν ο[ὐ δι]ελομένος [. . . . . 5] ἡμῖν πρὸς  
 τοὺς λοιπούς, τὴν δὲ μαλακὴν τ[οῖς] παρ' αὐτοῦ παρέδειξεν. νυνὶ δὲ ἀπολ-  
 5 λύμεθα εἰσαναλίσκοντες σιδηρο[υ σ]τόμωμα. δεόμεθά σου, ἵνα τοῦ δικαίου  
 [τύχωμεν, . . . . . πλ]εῖω τετμήκα[μ]ες τὴν στερεὰν  
 [πέτραν . . . . . τοὺς ρ]μ λατόμους, ἵνα μὴ ἡμεῖς θλιβώμεθα.  
 εὐτύχει.

Verso

L λ, Φαῶφι κΔ. Κλέωνι.

10 οἱ δεκατοκῦριοι

οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐγβατηρίας.

'To Cleon the architect greeting from the decatarchs of the quarrymen from the landing-place. We are being wronged by Apollonius the taskmaster who has set us to work on the hard rock, not dividing it between us and the others, while he has assigned the soft rock to his own men. And now we are being ruined through using out the edges of our tools. We beg you, in order that we may have justice, seeing that we have quarried the hard rock more . . . the 140 quarrymen, lest we be oppressed. May you prosper. (Addressed) To Cleon. (Docketed) Year 30, Phaophi 24. The decatarchs from the landing-place.'<sup>1</sup>

The last text, *P. Petr.* II, 4, 6 (= III, 42 C, 11) is another of the recently recovered pieces. My transcription has been revised by Mr. Bell, to whom I am indebted for the reading of the name Ἡφαιστίων in l. 7. Another word in the same line remains unexplained; we cannot well regard it as a bungled attempt at ὁ πρεσβύτερος (though the letter which seems to be erased might be a β), for in l. 12 οἱ πρεσβύτεροι is written quite correctly. The translation and conjectural supplements show how I interpret the text; but the story about Hephaestion and the donkey is far from clear. Whose brother was Hephaestion? And what is the subject of διακέκοφεν? It may be noted that Arsinoë (see l. 8) would seem from allusions in the Zenon papyri to have been in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia.

Δημήτριος Κλέωνι χαίρ[ε]ιν. κῆ καταβάντος  
 μου ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ ἐπιλαβομένου λατομίλος οὔσαν  
 Ψενχώνσιος παρω[ι]νήθ]ην ὑπὸ Πρωτάρχου καὶ τῶν  
 ἀδε[λ]φῶν αὐτοῦ [ἐναντίον] πάντων τ[ῶ]ν δεκατάρχων[ν]  
 5 καὶ τ[ῶ]ν ἀρχόντων[ν] καὶ οὐκ ἀντεῖπα αὐτ]ῶι διὰ τὰ ἔργα  
 τὰ ἐνηστηκότα [ἵνα μὴ πάντα συνταρά]σση. καταβάς  
 δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ρυπρυσ[.]τος ὦι ὄνομα Ἡφαιστίων  
 ἐξ Ἀρσινοείδος δι' ἡμερῶν ἔ συνέντεσεν ὑποζυ-

2. Read οὔσης. 6. Read ἐνηστηκότα. 8. Read συνήντησεν.

<sup>1</sup> [Cf. with this letter above, pp. 168 ff. Ed.]

γίωι ἄρτων, βουλομένου ἑμοῦ ἐπιΔιελεῖ(ν) ἑκάστωι  
 10 ἄρτους ξ Διά τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄρτους ἐν τῇ κοίτηι,  
 καὶ λατομῖ(μι)δα Διακέκοφεν, ὥστε ἑμφένας  
 ἔξεβιάσατό μη καὶ τὰς χέρας προσένηκεν ἕως  
 Πεμψᾶς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οἱ παρεστηκότες Δι-  
 ἔλυσαν. εἰ οὖν περὶ τούτων ἐπιστροφῆν μὴ ποιήσει,  
 οἱ τε λοιποὶ τὰς χέρας προσοίσοισιν· Δι γάρ ἐστιν  
 15 ἐν ὄχλωι ἀτιμάζεσθαι· ἐὰν γὰρ εἰδῶσιν  
 οὔτι οὔτοι καταπεφρονήκασιν, οὐθέν τῶν ἔργων  
 σ  
 συντελεθῆσεται. [[καὶ λατομι]]  
 ἔρρωσο. Lλ, Χίαχο α.

11. Read ἑμφήνας, με, προσήνεγκεν.

12. Πεμψᾶς: the σ is written like ο, perhaps by accident.

14. Read προσοίσοισιν. 16. Read ὅτι.

'Demetrius to Cleon greeting. Having gone down to the works on the 28th and having taken up a tool belonging to Psenchonsis I was insulted by Protarchus and his brothers in front of all the decatarchs and archons, and I refrained from answering him on account of the works in progress, fearing that he might upset everything. But his brother . . ., who is called Hephaestion, coming down from Arsinoïs after five days' absence met a donkey carrying loaves, for I was meaning to distribute 60 loaves to each man as there were no loaves in the camp, and he has broken a tool, so displaying this he thrust me away and laid hands on me, until Pempsas and the elders who were standing by pacified him. Now if you take no notice of this, the others also will lay hands on me, for it is dangerous to be disgraced before a crowd; and if they know that these men have treated me with contempt, none of the works will be finished. Farewell. Year 30, Choiak 1.'

## TWO GREEK POPYRI

By S. EITREM

THE papyri of which transcriptions are given below belong to my own small collection of Greek papyri (being Nos. 8 and 9) and ostraca (cf. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. xvii, 1931, p. 44) and were acquired during a visit to Egypt in 1910. Though they reflect rather conventional types, and though the former still presents some unsolved problems of reading and interpretation, I think the publication, put off so long, is desirable, and the 'lack of better' may excuse my publishing them on this festival occasion, in a volume dedicated to the eminent Egyptologist now ἐβλομηκοντούτης.

With my best thanks I have to acknowledge the substantial help received from Professor Schubart, to whom I showed my copy of the first papyrus some years ago, and from Mr. Leiv Amundsen.

|                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |  |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| No. 8<br>22·8 × 5 cm. | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>List of Names (accounts ?).</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;">2nd cent. A.D.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">]της Ἀσκλαῖς Ἦρωγ[ος<br/>         ] Ὠρίων Πτολείωνος<br/>         ] Μάρων Ἀκοῦτος<br/>         L μῆ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) β<br/>         ] Ὠρίων Πτόλλωνος <sup>[—]</sup><sub>ῆ</sub><br/> <i>(interval of 1 line.)</i></p> |  |
| 5                     | <p>ῆτ Ὠρίων Ἦρωνος<br/>         L μῆ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ<br/>         ] Φιλάδελφος Ἰσᾶς<br/>         ] Ἀρποκράς Μάρωνος<br/>         ] Ἠλεῖς Αὔνειωνος<br/>         ] Ἦρων Πρόκλου<br/>         L μῆ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ιδ</p>                                                                                                                                                   |  |
| 10                    | <p style="text-align: center;">] Ἦρων Ἦρωνος ῆ<br/> <i>(interval of 1 line.)</i><br/>         ] Ἦρων Ἀπίωνος<br/>         ] Διδᾶς Διδᾶ<br/>         ] Ἀμμώνιος Χαιρᾶ<br/>         ] Ἦρων Ἀμ[ω]νος ῆ<br/> <i>(interval of 2 lines.)</i></p>                                                                                                                                  |  |
| 15                    | <p>X]αιρήμων Κάστορος<br/>         ] Φαῦστος ἀπ(άτωρ) Ἀθηναρ[ίου<br/>         L μῆ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ις<br/>         ] αρίων Χαιρᾶ<br/>         Κα]πίτων Ἦρωνος<br/>         Κάσ]τωρ Κάστορος ῆ<br/> <i>(interval of 5 lines.)</i></p>                                                                                                                                        |  |
| 20 (2nd hand)         | <p style="text-align: center;">]ος σῆση (μείωμαι)?</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |  |
|                       | <p>16. ἀπ(άτωρ) Ἀθηναρ[ίου deciphered by Wilh. Schubart.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |  |

The papyrus seems to be complete on the right (to judge from the lines of the *verso*, containing accounts by a different hand); on the left not much is missing, the abbreviation (or symbol) in l. 5 seems just to mark the beginning of the line. The handwriting may be assigned to (c. middle of) the second century A.D. The list, probably complete, appears to have been a register of persons, arranged in four definite groups, marked at the conclusion of every line with  $\bar{\eta}$ . The intervals have been left by the original scribe, to whom the inserted lines also may be due. The drift of the whole list remains obscure. And what do the inserted lines mean? The beginnings  $\Lambda\mu\eta$  are difficult to understand—perhaps abbreviations of  $\mu\eta(\nu\iota\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma)$  or the like. More likely that, I think, than fractions of *arourae* ( $\Lambda$ ) upon which a definite tax (e.g. the *annona*) had been assessed in fractions of *artabae*. But certainly  $\Lambda$  looks just like the symbol for *artabe*. Neither is the reading  $\varsigma\eta$  in ll. 4, 10, 14, 19, quite certain; the  $\varsigma$  concluding the preceding genitive might also be read together with  $\eta$  as  $\Lambda\bar{\eta}$  (i.e.  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{8}$ ) or as  $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\eta}$ . The correct supplement of  $\text{]}\tau\eta\varsigma$  in l. 1 ( $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\rho\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma?$ ), and the solution of the abbreviation in l. 5 might make it possible to get hold of the sense of the list.

Line 2:  $\text{Πτολείων}$ , commonly  $\text{Πτολλίων}$ , and so the scribe probably meant to write in l. 4. Line 6:  $\text{Ἰσᾶς}$  ( $\text{Εἰσᾶς}$ ) for  $\text{Ἰσᾶτος}$ . Line 8:  $\text{Ἡλεῖς}$  P.S.J. 53, 14, cf. Wuthnow, *Sem. Menschennamen in gr. Inschr. u. Pap.*, p. 51, 16. The *Faustus* may have been the son of a legionary and  $\text{Ἀθηνάριον}$  (cf. Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, p. 282 f.).

No. 9

*Tax-receipt.*

5 × 5 cm.

3rd cent.

Philadelphia.

Τετελ(ώνηται) Διὰ πύλ(ης) Φιλαδελ(φείας) λι(μένος)  
 Μέμφεως Αὐρήλ(ιος)  
 Σαβεῖνος ἐξ(άγων) ἐπὶ ὄνω  
 ἐνί, α, ὀσπρέων ἀρτάβας  
 5 τέσσαρες, —Δ. (ἔτους) β<sup>=</sup>  
 Φαμενώθ ἕκτη, 5.

1. The  $\lambda$ 's are written, as usual, above the lines;  $\lambda\iota(\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma)$  is written  $\lambda^{\text{—}}$ .  
 5.  $\beta^{\text{=}}$  (not  $\beta^{\text{||}}$ ).

3. ἐξ—.

A receipt for the tax 'for the harbour of Memphis' of the usual kind. The receipt was paid by a man named Sabinus carrying pulse from Philadelphia to the Memphite on an ass. The writing (probably to be dated rather early third century A.D.) is along the fibres of the *recto*, the *verso* remaining unused. There are no vestiges of sealing.

The nature of this and other tolls, levied at the custom-houses of the border villages of the Fayûm on traffic between the Fayûm and Memphis or the oases, is well known from a great number of tax-receipts (see especially Grenfell and Hunt in their introductory note on P. Fayûm 67-76; for literature see P. M.

Meyer on P. Hamb. 76).<sup>1</sup> They are quittances, as Wilcken correctly defined them (*Grundz.* p. 191, note 3), but they may, of course, have been used as tickets for free passage also. The sums have not been specified, the rates of duty being quite conventional. The taxes are: (1) the 3 per cent. tax, the ρ' και ν' (= ἑκατοστὴ και πεντηκοστὴ); (2) for protection by the desert police (ἐρημοφυλακία); (3) for 'the harbour of Memphis' (λιμὴν Μέμφεως), as is the case in our receipt. A parallel to this 'harbour' and the tax levied on it is seemingly the 2 per cent. tax levied for the harbour of Syene (πεντηκοστὴ λι[μένος] Σοήνης, Wilcken, *Ostr.* II, Nos. 73 and 250, text in vol. I, pp. 276 ff., but see *infra*). It is rather perplexing that this duty for availing oneself of the harbour of Memphis had to be paid when starting from the Fayûm instead of when arriving at the harbour, but it may have been safer to control the goods for freight at the starting-point at the same moment when the export taxes were paid. The crossing of the desert and the valley down to Memphis may have offered a good opportunity for smuggling away something of the burdens (from P. Hibeh, 80 = Wilcken, *Chr.* No. 290, 250 B.C., we see, however, that export duties might be paid in the Heracleopolite nome as well as in the Arsinoite, i.e. at the place of export as well as that of import). The 'harbour' may perhaps have been an artificially widened basin of the Nile surrounded by quays where goods were brought for export, an expensive enterprise worthy of good Ptolemaic times, and so expensive that a special duty had to be levied on the transit goods. At any rate this tax is not likely to correspond to the 2 per cent. tax λιμένος Σοήνης, for goods exported from Syene; we cannot well imagine that the donkey-drivers had to pay two different taxes for exporting their goods when leaving the Arsinoite. The commodities brought from the Arsinoite to Memphis, to the 'harbour', are wheat, olives, beans, &c., just as in the other receipts of this kind that have come to light. The only commodity imported is wine, probably brought from abroad via the 'harbour'. And we may assume that all commodities leaving the Arsinoite from these border custom-houses for the Nile valley, and not for the oases, had the 'harbour of Memphis' as their next terminal (cf. Clauson, *loc. cit.*), and so it is fairly clear that the λιμενάρχης—mentioned in P. Wisc. 16, as a controller of the amounts that every month had to be delivered to the government—had his station in the Arsinoite and not at the λιμὴν (cf. N. V. Clauson, *Aeg.* IX, p. 280). Probably he only controlled the amounts concerned with the 'harbour of Memphis', and P. Wisc. 16 may simply be a registry of this kind. So it is quite intelligible that we should find quittances for protection by the desert police and for the 3 per cent. tax on the same papyrus (*B.G.U.* 1593) or in one formula (P. Fayûm, 76), the quittances for the harbour being always kept separate.

<sup>1</sup> From the Bacchias we know of c. 40 specimens; from Philadelphia alone we know of c. 10 parallels to our receipt for 'the harbour of

Memphis' (*B.G.U.* 763 and 1593-5, *Stud. Pal.* XXII. 11; P. Grenf. II. 50 l; P. Hamb. 77 ff. and our present papyrus)

On such small receipts as ours the custom-house registries (the best specimen of which is—until now—P. Wisc. 16) are based. In P. Wisc. 16 there is a puzzling item recurring thrice: Ἑρμῆς, col. II. 1 and 2; IV. 27 (= *Sammelbuch* 7365, 38, 49, and 130). This 'Hermes' we already knew well from P. Lond. 1169 (second century A.D.), I, 5, &c., where the editors took it for the name of an official, an explanation correctly refuted by Mr. Clauson *loc. cit.*, p. 274 who, referring to *B.G.U.* 812 (second-third century), ll. 4, 7, al. κερδῶν Ἑρμῆς—an account of the surplus (τὰ περιγεγόμενα) of a shipping company—takes the note as an indication that no shipping was done. He further supposes that the Ἑρμῆς alone is a shortened form of the phrase κερδῶν Ἑρμῆς and suggests a parallelism with κερδῶς. The editor is certainly on the right track. I think that the solution of the riddle is very simple: 'Hermes' denotes 'nothing'. Avoiding the word οὐδέν, so detested by the man of trade and of ill omen, the clerk prefers filling out the vacant item with the auspicious name of the god of trade, the Ἑρμῆς κερδῶς himself—the Ἐ. ἀγοραῖος, ἐμπολαῖος, the god of the ἑρμαία λῶσις and of the best cast of the die, &c. (cf. art. 'Hermes' in the *Realenc.*, col. 788, and for the Ἑρμῆς πλουτοδότης in Egypt compare moreover R. Förster in *Röm. Mitt.* xxix. 169). The best proof for this explanation is afforded by a papyrus adduced by Mr. Clauson himself, viz. *Stud. Pal.* xxii, No. 64 (second-third century), l. 7: ὁμοί]ως ια — Ἑρμῆς/τῆ[ς ἡμέρας, i.e. ὁμοίως ια οὐδέν (γίνεται) τ. ἡ.—and not (as Mr. Clauson takes it) ὁμ. ια Ἐ. (γίνεται) τῆ[ς ἡμέρας (οὐδέν). *B.G.U.* 812, ll. 4, 7, 9, &c. κερδῶν Ἑρμῆς consequently means: 'of receipts nothing', merely the more expanded form of Ἑρμῆς. That this way of booking the zero was quite traditional in the bureaux and not the whim—nor a joke!—of a particular clerk, appears from the different sources adduced.

## NOTES

Line 1. τετελ(ώνηται), not τετέλ(εσται)—so, written in full, only existing, as far as I can see, in P. Grenf. II. 50 f (No. 2)—is the correct expansion of the abbreviation, now commonly accepted. *Stud. Pal.* xx, Nos. 9, 10 write τετελώνηται in full.

Line 3. ἐπὶ ὄνῳ ἐνί. Outside of Philadelphia we sometimes find in this sort of quittance ἐφ' ὄνῳ (or ὄνοισ). The aspiration may be due to ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ, often following in our formula, but more probably we have simply to do with a misplacement of the rough breathing—as in ἐφ' ἔτος (see Moulton, *N.T. Grammar*, II, p. 28) and in an Oslo papyrus (to be edited in fasc. III.) 'εφ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα.

Line 4. ὄσπρέων, and not ὄσπρίων (Mayser, *Gramm.* I, p. 82—cf. λεγεών: λεγιών), also in *B.G.U.* 763 and 1593. P. Hamb. 78 (all from Philadelphia). *Et. M. s.v.* ὄσπριον λεῖ λέγειν καὶ οὐκ ὄσπρεον, see Moulton, *loc. cit.* II, p. 76, 6. For ὄσπρεα, 'legumes', see Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft im hell. Ägypten*, I, p. 185.

Line 5. τέσσαρες in the accusative, not τέσσαρας, is extremely common in papyri, in the LXX quite regular (Thackeray, *Gr.*, p. 148), and for N.T. see Moulton, *loc. cit.* II, p. 170 (130); Blass-Debr., p. 18, 1.

In P. Hamb. 78 an ass carries five artabae of ὄσπρεα, but in P. Grenf. II, 50 l and *B.G.U.* 1592 four artabae (in the latter papyrus two asses carry eight altogether), as is the case in our quittance, and this seems to be the ordinary burden.



# MITTEL- UND NEUGRIECHISCHE LEKANO-, LYCHNO-, KATOPTRO- UND ONYCHOMANTIEN.

Von THEODOR HOPFNER

(mit Tafel 23)

DIESE Gattungen der magischen Divination habe ich bereits in meinem *Griechisch-ägyptischen Offenbarungszauber* eingehend behandelt, da sie sowohl in den griechischen als auch ganz besonders in den von Griffith-Thompson herausgegebenen demotischen Zauberpapyri aus Ägypten<sup>1</sup> eine sehr bedeutsame Rolle spielen.<sup>2</sup>

Nun bieten die von A. Delatte in den *Anecdota Atheniensia* (Liège-Paris, 1927) herausgegebenen mittel- und neugriechischen magischen Traktate nicht weniger als zwei und dreissig Rezepte, die — wie das Folgende zeigen soll — die alte Zaubertradition fortsetzen, wenigstens in der Methode, mögen auch die alten Götter und Dämonen dem Gott des Alten Testaments, seinen Erzengeln und Engeln, den Seraphim und Cherubim, dem Beelzebub und seinen Teufeln und namentlich auch der allerheiligsten Dreifaltigkeit, Jesus Christus, der Gottesmutter und allen möglichen christlichen Heiligen gewichen sein und nur noch die Seele der heidnischen Sibylle und vielleicht einmal auch noch der böse Ahriman der Perser auftauchen.<sup>3</sup>

Eshandelt sich vorwiegend um Lekanomantien,<sup>4</sup> d. h. jene Art der Hydromantie

<sup>1</sup> F. Ll. Griffith and Sir H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, London, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, I, II (= *Stud. z. Palaeogr. u. Papyrusk.* herausgeb. v. C. Wessely, XXI, 1921 u. XXIII, 1924), im Folgenden als O Z. I, II zitiert; vgl. Bd. II, §. 220: *Pap. Lond.* 121, z. 549-87, §. 241: *Pap. Paris*, z. 154-285, § 214: *ib.*, z. 930-1114, § 247: *ib.*, z. 1928-2005, § 245 A: *ib.*, z. 3209-45, § 245 B: *ib.*, z. 3246-54, § 264: *Dem. Mag. Pap.*, col. I-III, § 219: *ib.*, col. V, z. 3-32, § 224: *ib.*, col. VI-VIII, z. 11, § 260: *ib.*, col. IX-X, z. 22, § 252: *ib.*, col. X, z. 22-35, § 257: *ib.*, col. XIV, z. 2-33, § 268: *ib.*, col. XXI, z. 1-9, § 253: *ib.*, col. XXII, z. 1-5, §§ 222, 223: *ib.*, col. XXV, z. 1-22, XXVII, z. 13-24, 30-1, §§ 251, 255: *ib.*, col. XXVIII, z. 1-10, 11-15.

<sup>3</sup> Im folgenden sind die Rezepte mit den Ziffern I bis XXXII bezeichnet; bei Delatte ist No. I = pp. 37-40 (cod. Bibl. Nat. Athen, 1265, saec. XVI-XVII, fol. 20<sup>v</sup>); II = pp. 40-2 (*ib.*, fol. 32<sup>v</sup>); III = pp. 43-4 (*ib.*, fol. 33<sup>v</sup>); IV = pp. 45-6 (cod. de la Soc. Hist. Athén., 115, s. XVIII., fol. 34); V = pp. 48-9 (*ib.*, fol. 36); VI = pp. 50-1 (*ib.*, fol. 38); VII = pp. 51-3 (*ib.*, fol. 38); VIII = p. 53

(*ib.*, fol. 38); IX = p. 54 (*ib.*, fol. 39-40); X = pp. 54-6 (*ib.*, fol. 40-2); XI = p. 57 (*ib.*, fol. 42<sup>r</sup>-42<sup>v</sup>); XII = p. 64 (cod. Bibl. Nat. Athen, 1265, s. XVI-XVII, fol. 26-7); XIII = p. 82 (*ib.*, fol. 34); XIV = pp. 429-30 (cod. Harleian. 5596, Brit. Mus., saec. XV, fol. 37); XV = pp. 430-1 (*ib.*, fol. 37-8); XVI = pp. 432-4 (*ib.*, fol. 38<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>v</sup>); XVII = p. 434 (*ib.*, fol. 39<sup>v</sup>); XVIII = p. 480 (cod. Paris. gr. 2419, saec. XV, fol. 249); XIX = pp. 493-8 (*ib.*, fol. 271); XX = pp. 499-500 (*ib.*, fol. 271<sup>v</sup>); XXI = p. 504 (*ib.*, fol. 274<sup>v</sup>); XXII = p. 576 (cod. Bonon. Univers. 3632, saec. XV, fol. 345<sup>v</sup>); XXIII = p. 577 (*ib.*, fol. 345<sup>v</sup>); XXIV = pp. 579-80 (*ib.*, fol. 346<sup>rv</sup>); XXV = p. 581 (*ib.*, fol. 346<sup>v</sup>); XXVI = p. 584 (*ib.*, fol. 347<sup>v</sup>); XXVII = p. 584-5 (*ib.*, fol. 347<sup>v</sup>); XXVIII = pp. 586-7 (*ib.*, fol. 348); XXIX = pp. 588-9 (*ib.*, fol. 348-9); XXX = pp. 591-2 (*ib.*, fol. 349<sup>rv</sup>); XXXI = pp. 592-4 (*ib.*, fol. 349-50); XXXII = pp. 595-6 (*ib.*, fol. 350<sup>v</sup>-1); dazu kommen noch No. XXXIII = p. 706 (cod. Harleian., fol. 24) u. No. XXXIV = p. 473 (cod. Paris, fol. 218<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> No. XIV, p. 429 ist eigentlich ein Exorzismus, so dass die Ergänzung Delatte's γαστερομαντεία nicht ganz berechtigt ist.

oder Hygromantie, bei der die beschworenen Geistwesen in der Flüssigkeit einer Schüssel oder eines Bechers (Skyphomantie) sichtbar werden<sup>1</sup> und 'antworten' sollen; da an die Stelle der Flüssigkeit auch andere Medien mit glänzender Oberfläche treten können, z. B. Spiegel, glänzend polierte Fingernägel oder Handflächen und endlich auch eingölte Eier, so bieten unsere Rezepte auch Anweisungen für *Katoptro-*, *Onycho-* und *Oomantien*.<sup>2</sup> Dazu kommen noch ein paar *Lychnomantien*, d. h. jene Art der Pyromantie, bei der die Geistwesen in der Flamme einer Lampe, eines Leuchters oder einer Fackel erscheinen.<sup>3</sup> Allen diesen Offenbarungsmethoden gemeinsam ist, dass der Zauber fast ausnahmslos *mit Hilfe eines als Medium dienenden Kindes* vorgenommen werden muss, da die Geistwesen nur einem solchen, nicht aber dem erwachsenen Zauberer sichtbar werden können, eine charakteristische Eigenheit dieser Zauberarten, die sich durch die griechischen und demotischen Zauberpapyri hindurch bis in das Heimatland dieser Divinationsmethode, das alte Babylonien, zurückverfolgen lässt.<sup>4</sup>

Eine wichtige Rolle spielt auch in unsern mittel- und neugriechischen Rezepten die *Reinheit*,<sup>5</sup> denn der Zauberer, der Zauberkünstler oder Zauberkundige,<sup>6</sup> der mit Rücksicht auf das als Medium dienende Kind auch 'der Lehrer'<sup>7</sup> oder 'der Meister' heisst,<sup>8</sup> muss 'rein von jeder Sünde sein'<sup>9</sup> oder 'rein von allem Schmutz'<sup>10</sup> oder 'rein in jeder Reinheit', ja er hat sich schon acht Tage vor der Durchführung des Zaubers (πρᾶξις) rein zu halten,<sup>11</sup> wird doch der hl. Georg und die Sibylle geradezu 'wegen der Reinheit', bzw. 'bei der Kraft der Reinheit' des Zauberers beschworen.<sup>12</sup> Dasselbe gilt auch für das als Medium fungierende Kind, denn auch der Knabe muss rein sein<sup>13</sup> und 'unver-

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. xviii, p. 480, 8-9: Μέθοδος προγνωστικῆ τῆς χύτρας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ἔστιν δὲ Λόκιμος.

<sup>2</sup> Katoptromantien sind: xvi, pp. 432-4; xvii, p. 434, 9 ff. (frgt); xxvi, p. 584; xxvii, p. 585 u. xxx, p. 591, 1 ff., wodurch aber lediglich der Ausgang von Krankheiten festgestellt werden soll; eine Krystallschau ist xx, pp. 499-500; Onychomantien: xi, p. 57; xxiv, pp. 579-80; Handflächenschau: xvii, p. 434; xxiii, p. 577 (Kombination mit Lychnomantie) u. xxx, pp. 591-2; Oomantie: xxv, p. 581; Lychnomantie: xxvii, p. 584; xxiii, p. 577, 2 ff.; No. xii, pp. 64-5 ist eine Lekanomantie, die sich auf die Hebung eines Schatzes bezieht.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. OZ. I, §§ 785, 846; II, §§ 155 ff., 191, 220 ff., 237, 254-5, 258, 260, 263-5, 268, 272, 275, 277-8, 286-8, 68; Th. Hopfner, *Die Kindermedien in den griechisch-ägypt. Zauberpapyri*, Recueil de N. P. Kondakow, Seminar. Kondakovian., Prag, 1926, pp. 65-74; für die Lekanomantie bei den Persern (Parthern), Hebräern (Juden) u. Babyloniern-Assyriern vgl. OZ. II, §§ 230-7.

<sup>4</sup> Eine Lychnomantie ohne Medium ist xxiii, p. 577, 2 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. OZ. I, §§ 487, 574, 635, 838, 843 ff, 862 ff.

<sup>6</sup> τεχνίτης z. B. xxvi, p. 584, 10-11.

<sup>7</sup> διδάσκαλος z. B. xvi, p. 433, 18, xix, p. 496, 8, denn das Medium ist der μαθητής des Zauberers: iv, pp. 45, 24.

<sup>8</sup> μαστόρης: xvi, p. 433, 5.

<sup>9</sup> vii, p. 51, 8: νὰ ἦσαι καθαρὸς ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν.

<sup>10</sup> xxxii, p. 596, 14 ὀφείλεις . . . ἵνα καθαρὸς ᾖς ἀπὸ παντὸς ῥύπου; xviii, p. 480, 26-7.

<sup>11</sup> iv, p. 45, 21-2: κάθαιρε μετὰ πάσης καθαρότητος; xix, p. 496, 2: προαγνίσας ἡμέρας ἧ', vgl. OZ. I, §§ 845 ff.

<sup>12</sup> xxiii, p. 577, 11; xxxi, p. 593, 17-18: διὰ τὴν παρθενίαν μου; ὀρίζει (σε) ὁ μαστόρης . . . καὶ εἰς τὴν δύναμιν τῆς παρθενίας.

<sup>13</sup> iii, p. 43, 16: βάλε ἔμπρὸς ἕναν παιδίον καθαρὸν; vgl. xvi, p. 434, 3; xvii, p. 434, 9; xxxi, p. 593, 1.

dorben und gesittet'<sup>1</sup> und wieder werden die Dämonen 'wegen der Jungfräulichkeit des Knaben' zitiert.<sup>2</sup> Und dass mit dieser 'Reinheit' namentlich die geschlechtliche Reinheit, bzw. Jungfräulichkeit gemeint ist, beweist der Umstand, dass — bis auf eine einzige Ausnahme<sup>3</sup> — regelmässig ein παρθένον παιδίον oder παιδί gefordert<sup>4</sup> und bei weiblichen Medien ebenfalls ihre Jungfräulichkeit besonders betont wird.<sup>5</sup> Eben deshalb werden auch stets noch geschlechtsunreife Kinder von acht,<sup>6</sup> neun,<sup>7</sup> neun oder zehn Jahren<sup>8</sup> gefordert und nur einmal 'ein jungfräulicher Knabe von sechzehn Jahren'.<sup>9</sup> Besonders bemerkenswert sind *die weiblichen Kindermedien*, da die ältere Zauberpraxis hiefür keine Parallele bietet. Da das Medium ferner die Geister *sehen* soll, muss es 'gute' oder 'helle Augen' haben und die Geister werden ausdrücklich gebeten, 'die Augen des Mädchens zu öffnen, dass es sie sehe', bzw. 'die Augen des Knaben' zu dem gleichen Zweck 'zu reinigen'.<sup>10</sup> Endlich muss das Medium 'geistig rege sein'<sup>11</sup> und 'gelehrt', d. h. es muss lesen und schreiben können.<sup>12</sup>

Der Zauber wird *im Hause des Zauberers*<sup>13</sup> oder *in einem Hause* vorgenommen, das 'rein' sein muss,<sup>14</sup> weshalb der Zauberer das Haus fegen und leer machen soll.<sup>15</sup> Als *Zeit* kommt besonders der Sonntag oder der Sabbath in Betracht, ersterer als christlicher, letzterer als jüdischer Feiertag, mit Rücksicht auf Salomon, den Patron dieser Zauberarten;<sup>16</sup> einmal aber wird der 5., 7., 13., 17., 21., 25. oder 29. Tag des Mondes vorgeschrieben,<sup>17</sup> natürlich aus astrologischen Gründen, da wir auch lesen, dass man die 'Stunde des Helios und des Löwen' aussuchen<sup>18</sup> und die beiden Dämoninnen Keratiletta und Apagata bei den sieben Planeten,

<sup>1</sup> XXI, p. 504, 2-3: παιδίον ἄρρεν καὶ ἀφθορον καὶ φρόνιμον.

<sup>2</sup> XIX, p. 497, 2; p. 498, 17: Διὰ τὴν παρθενίαν τοῦ παιδὸς u. auch wegen der παρθενία des Johannes des Täufers; XXXI, p. 593, 17-18; XVI, p. 433, 5 ff.

<sup>3</sup> XXVII, p. 584, 25: λάβε ἕνα παιδί ohne Zusatz.

<sup>4</sup> I, p. 37, 16; II, p. 40, 15; V, p. 48, 31; p. 49, 24; VI, p. 50, 26; VII, p. 51, 15; VIII, p. 53, 12; IX, p. 54, 4; XII, p. 64, 13-14; XIV, p. 429, 3-4; XV, p. 430, 9-10; XVI, p. 432, 19; XVII, p. 434, 1; XIX, p. 495, 12; XXIV, p. 580, 1; XXVI, p. 584, 3-4; XXX, p. 592, 13; XXXI, p. 593, 1.

<sup>5</sup> XI, p. 57, 6: ἔπαρε ἕνα παιδί παρθένον ἢ κόριτζι; X, p. 54, 23: εὔρε μίαν κόρην παρθένον; XXXII, p. 595, 8-10; XVIII, p. 480, 13-14: βρέφος ἄρρεν ἢ θῆλυ . . . ἀφθορον λαβών.

<sup>6</sup> XVI, p. 432, 29: χρόνων ὀκτώ; XXXI, p. 593, 1.

<sup>7</sup> X, p. 54, 23: εὔρε μίαν κόρην παρθένον· νὰ ᾗναι ἐννέα χρόνων, vgl. ibid, p. 54, 24; p. 55, 3, 4, 7, 16, 20 (κοράσιον); p. 56, 2, 6, 12.

<sup>8</sup> XIII, p. 82, 5-6: Knabe von 9 oder 10 Jahren; XXXII, p. 595, 8-10: ein Kind, männlich oder weiblich, bis 10 Jahre alt; XVIII, p. 480, 13-14: βρέφος ἄρρεν ἢ θῆλυ ὡσεὶ χρόνων 1' ἀφθορον

λαβών.

<sup>9</sup> II, p. 40, 15: παιδίον παρθένον χρόνων 15'; in XXI, p. 576, 8 heisst das Medium einfach ἀνθρώπος ohne jeden Zusatz.

<sup>10</sup> XVI, p. 434, 3: τὸ παιδίον νὰ ᾗναι καθαρὸν καὶ καλόφθαλμον; III, p. 43, 16: γαληνοματικόν; X, p. 56, 5-6: ὀρκίζω σας . . . νὰ ξεσκεπάσετε τὰ μάτια τῆς κόρης ἐτούτης, Διὰ νὰ σας ἴδῃ μικροὺς τε καὶ μεγάλους; I, p. 37, 3 ff: νὰ καθαρίσετε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ παιδίου τούτου, νὰ ἴδῃ τὰ στοιχεῖά σας μέσα εἰς τὴν γαστέραν.

<sup>11</sup> I, p. 37, 16: παιδίον ἐλαφρόστοιχον.

<sup>12</sup> XXI, p. 504, 10: γραμματισμένον; XVI, p. 432, 19-20: ἐπιστάμενος καὶ γράμματα; XXXI, p. 593, 1-2 ebenso.

<sup>13</sup> VIII, p. 53, 10-11.

<sup>14</sup> VI, p. 50, 23-4: πῆγαυε εἰς ἕνα σπῆτι παστρίκον.



<sup>15</sup> XXIV, p. 580, 1-2: πρῶτον φιλοκάλησον τὸ ὀσπίτιον καὶ ὡς ἐνε εὐκαιρον, μηδὲν ἔχον τι.

<sup>16</sup> VII, p. 51, 6: νὰ κάμῃς ἐρώτημαν ἡμέραν κυριακήν; IV, p. 45, 19: γίνεται τὴν κυριακήν; X, p. 56, 4-5: ὀρκίζω σας, νὰ με δουλεύσετε τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ὥραν τοῦ σαββάτου.

<sup>17</sup> XV, p. 430, 8-9.

<sup>18</sup> XIX, p. 495, 12.

Sonne und Mond, bei allen Heiligen und der ὅλη οὐράνιος κρίσις<sup>1</sup> und einen andern Daemon bei dem 'Planeten des Tages und dem Tierkreiszeichen des Monats' beschwören muss;<sup>2</sup> endlich werden einmal auch 'die Engel des Tages' angerufen, die Daemonen dem Zauberer dienstbar zu machen.<sup>3</sup> Da es sich aber durchwegs um verschiedene Arten des Lichtzaubers handelt, muss natürlich Helios, *die Sonne*, als Quelle allen Lichtes ungestört wirken können, weshalb die πράξις an einem schönen, hellen Tage, bei wolkenlosem Himmel und Windstille vorzunehmen ist.<sup>4</sup>

Das wichtigste Instrument ist für die hier in Betracht kommenden Zauberarten *die Schüssel*,<sup>5</sup> zumeist wohl aus Ton,<sup>6</sup> doch werden auch Gefässe aus Bronze<sup>7</sup> und Glas<sup>8</sup> erwähnt. Unter allen Umständen aber muss die Schüssel neugefertigt,<sup>9</sup> unberührt,<sup>10</sup> ungebraucht,<sup>11</sup> unbeschädigt,<sup>12</sup> rein<sup>13</sup> und leicht sein;<sup>14</sup> einmal wird eine grüne Schüssel gefordert.<sup>15</sup> Weiter ist die Schüssel mit *Zaubercharakteren*, die, wie in alter Zeit, die Geister in ihr festhalten sollen,<sup>16</sup> oder auf der Unterseite mit dem *Zauberwort* ΤΖΕΤΕΡΕΛ<sup>17</sup> zu beschreiben, und ersteres gilt nicht nur für den *Becher*, sondern auch für den Topf (χύτρα), der dem Becher als blosse Unterlage dient.<sup>18</sup> Dann ist das Gefäss auf ein *weisses, reines Tuch* zu stellen,<sup>19</sup> das man auch zuerst auf den Ort breiten muss, wo ein Daemon einen Schatz behütet.<sup>20</sup> Ein andresmal hat die Schüssel an einem reinen Ort *auf einem Stein* zu stehen,<sup>21</sup> zumeist aber *auf einem reinen Untersatz* oder *Untergestell*,<sup>22</sup> wenn nicht *auf dem Tisch*,<sup>23</sup> *dem Kamin*<sup>24</sup> oder *im Fenster*,<sup>25</sup> natürlich damit die Sonne dazukann, denn wir lesen auch, dass sie der aufgehenden Sonne gegenüber aufgestellt werden soll.<sup>26</sup> Eine Abbildung zeigt ferner die Schüssel *innerhalb eines Hexalpha*  stehend,<sup>27</sup> das offensichtlich dieselbe Bedeutung hat, wie die *Linie* (βίνα), die 'ähnlich wie bei einem Grab', also wohl in Form eines Rechtecks, auf die Erde zu zeichnen ist, ringsum mit Pentalpha (Drudenfüßen)  versehen; denn dann stösst der Zauberer sein Zaubermesser innerhalb dieser

<sup>1</sup> xxii, p. 576, 18-20.

<sup>2</sup> xii, p. 65, 25-6.      <sup>3</sup> vii, p. 51, 8-11.

<sup>4</sup> xxiv, p. 580, 31-3; iv, p. 45, 19-20; vii, p. 51, 6-7.

<sup>5</sup> Sie heisst, γαστέρα, i, p. 38, 2; vii, p. 51, 11; viii, p. 53, 9; xii, p. 64, 11; γαστέρα τοῦ Σολομώντος iv, p. 45, 18; βικίν xix, p. 496, 1; μπουκάλι iv, p. 45, 25; ἱμπρίκιν v, p. 48, 31; μεσοῦριν iii, p. 43, 11; πινάκιν ii, p. 40, 12; ix, p. 54, 1; πιβακτόριον i, p. 37, 13 u. daher πιβακτορομαντεία i, p. 37, 11; πιβατάριν xv, p. 430, 6; ἀγγεῖον xxix, p. 588, 21; ἀμπούλα neben γαστέρα u. ὑαλίν vii, p. 51, 13, 11, 16.

<sup>6</sup> iii, p. 43, 14.

<sup>7</sup> χαρκοπίνακον xxviii, p. 586, 5; χαλκόν ib., p. 587, 2.

<sup>8</sup> ὑαλίν v, p. 50, 13; vii, p. 51, 14, 16.

<sup>9</sup> iii, p. 43, 14; μεσοῦριν καθαρὸν καὶ νεοῦργιον ἀπὸ καμίν; v, p. 49, 1-2: ἡ ἀμπούλα νὰ ᾖναι

καινουργία; v, p. 49, 1: καινουργόν; ix, p. 54, 1; xii, p. 64, 11; xix, p. 496, 1: καινόν.

<sup>10</sup> iv, p. 45, 22-3: ἀπιάστη; ix, p. 54, 1: ἀπιάστον; v, p. 49, 1: ἀσύντυχον.

<sup>11</sup> xv, p. 430, 6: ἀφόρεστον; ii, p. 40, 12: ἀφόριον.

<sup>12</sup> Ib.: ἄσυλον.      <sup>13</sup> iii, p. 43, 14.

<sup>14</sup> xii, p. 64, 11: εὐχερής.

<sup>15</sup> ix, p. 54, 1: πράσινον.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. OZ. I, §§ 569, 816, 819 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, Suppl. iv, Sp. 1183 ff.

<sup>17</sup> ix, p. 54, 1-2; xxviii, p. 586, 5-6.

<sup>18</sup> xxi, p. 504, 5 ff.

<sup>19</sup> v, p. 49, 6-7.

<sup>20</sup> xii, p. 64, 11-13.

<sup>21</sup> xix, p. 496, 2-3.

<sup>22</sup> iv, p. 45, 25; vii, p. 51, 12-13; viii, p. 53, 11.

<sup>23</sup> xii, p. 67, 15.

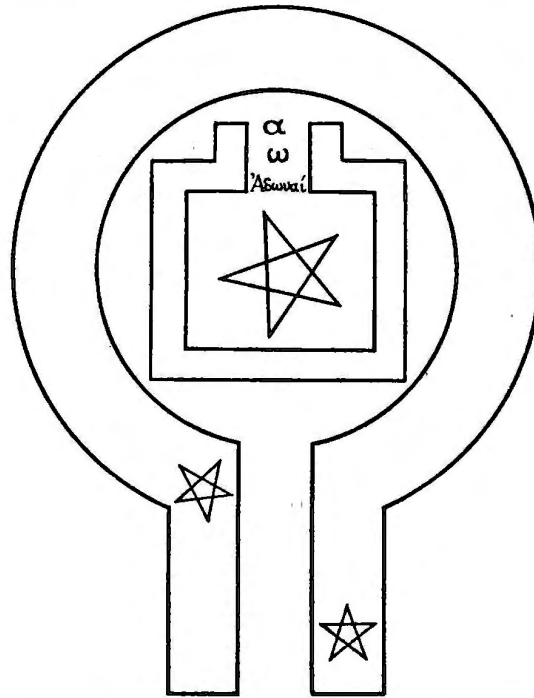
<sup>24</sup> καμνί: iii, p. 43, 15-16.

<sup>25</sup> i, p. 37, 14-15.

<sup>26</sup> i, p. 37, 15.

<sup>27</sup> iv, p. 46.

Linie in die Erde, legt den Spiegel auf den Griff und jetzt muss der Knabe ihn mit beiden Händen halten und unverwandt in den Spiegel sehen.<sup>1</sup> Den gleichen Zweck hatte der sehr oft erwähnte *Zauberkreis*.<sup>2</sup> So ist mitten in diesen Kreis ein umgestürzter, neuer und nicht glasierter Topf zu setzen und auf ihn der Glasbecher 'vom Kamin weg', worauf sich der Knabe dazu setzt und zwar so, dass er nach Osten blickt.<sup>3</sup> Oder der Kreis ist unter dem Stuhl des Mediums zu



ziehen<sup>4</sup> oder um die Füße des Knaben.<sup>5</sup> Zum Ziehen dieses Kreises und zum Einkratzen der Charaktere in die Gefäße muss *das Zaubermesser* verwendet werden,<sup>6</sup> mit schwarzem Griff,<sup>7</sup> von einem Schmied, während er rein ist, aus einem Eisen, Messer, Säbel oder überhaupt einem Instrument gefertigt, womit ein *Mord* vollbracht wurde — eine Reminiszenz daran, dass bei Lekanomantien sehr oft die Seelen Ermordeter, Hingerichteter oder überhaupt Getöteter zitiert wurden — mit dem Horn einer schwarzen Ziege als Griff versehen und ohne Nägel, das ohne Scheide an einem reinen Ort aufbewahrt werden muss.<sup>8</sup> Gelegentlich muss der Knabe auf einem *dreibeinigen Stuhle* sitzen,<sup>9</sup> jedenfalls wegen des Dreifusses der Pythia und da die Drei überhaupt eine heilige Zahl ist, einmal aber wird er auch *auf das Wassergefäß* gesetzt, während ihm die

<sup>1</sup> xxxi, p. 593, 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> κύκλον: II, p. 40, 14; IV, p. 45, 24; μίλα: I, p. 37, 16–17; βίνα του Σολομών: xv, p. 430, 11–12.

<sup>3</sup> xviii, p. 480, 10 ff.; vgl. xxxii, p. 595, 3 ff. u. Abb. 1.

<sup>4</sup> xxiv, p. 580, 3–4; das Messer hat hier im

Griff drei Nägel.

<sup>5</sup> xix, p. 496, 7–8.

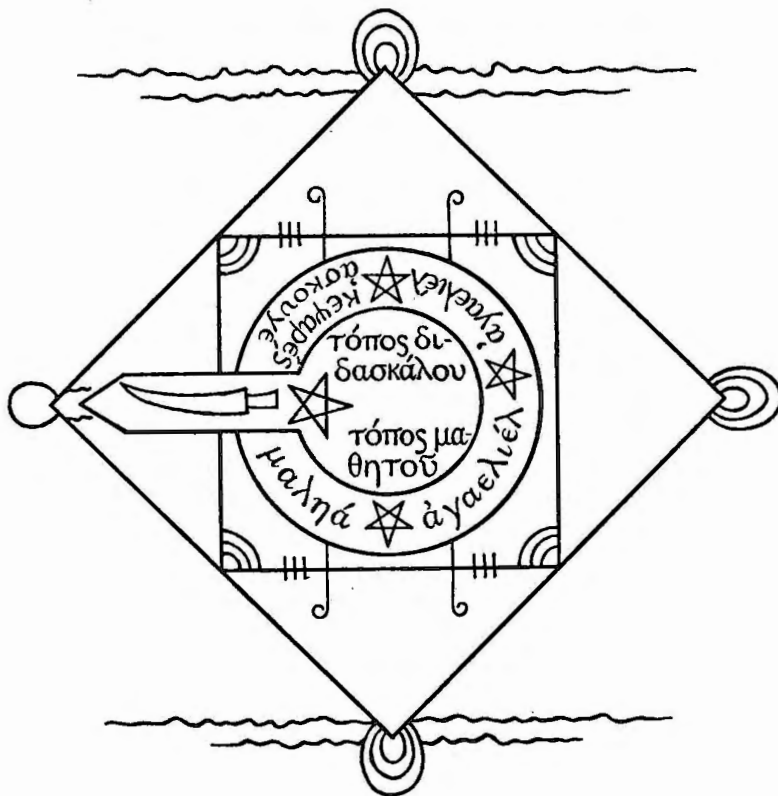
<sup>6</sup> μάχαρα της τέχνης: xv, p. 430, 11; vgl. xxvii, p. 585, 3–4; xvi, p. 432, 20.

<sup>7</sup> xvi, p. 432, 20.

<sup>8</sup> xxxiii, p. 406, 15 ff.; vgl. xxxiv, p. 473, 3 ff.

<sup>9</sup> xxiv, p. 580, 1.

Geister in seinen Fingernägeln erscheinen.<sup>1</sup> Meist sitzt das Medium *im Zauberkreis*<sup>2</sup> und der Zauberer setzt sich zu ihm, entweder hinter ihm<sup>3</sup> oder auch dem Kinde gegenüber auf der andern Seite der Schüssel;<sup>4</sup> im ersten Falle legt der Zauberer eine Hand auf die Schulter des Knaben.<sup>5</sup> Oder der Zauberer sitzt und der Knabe steht vor ihm, an seine Knie gelehnt, mit der Schale in beiden Händen, während der Zauberer seine Hände gegen das Medium ausstreckt.<sup>6</sup>



Auch die obigen zwei Zeichnungen aus den Kodices verdeutlichen das alles:<sup>7</sup> Auf dem Pentalfa in der Mitte des 'Haus' steht der Knabe mit der Schüssel und hinter ihm steht der Zauberer. Haben sie dort Platz gefasst, so wird die 'Tür des Hauses' durch auf die Erde gezeichnetes  $\alpha$ ,  $\omega$  und  $\text{'Αδωναι}$  geschlossen, natürlich damit nicht andere Geister als die gerufenen eintreten können. Die Rückwand des Hauses muss von dem Eingang in den Zauberkreis, der auch durch zwei Pentalfa 'geschützt' ist, drei Fuss entfernt sein. Daraus ergibt sich auch das Verständnis der zweiten Zeichnung: Den Eingang in das 'Haus' sperrt hier ausser dem Pentalfa auch noch das Messer; die Schale steht zwischen Zauberer und Medium. Der 'Zauberkreis' aber hat hier rechteckige oder quadratische Form 'wie ein Grab'. Denn auch für einen Spiegelzauber wird das

<sup>1</sup> xxx, p. 592, 13; vgl. 592, 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> II, p. 40, 16; xxix, p. 588, 23 ff.

<sup>3</sup> v, p. 49, 8-10; xxxii, p. 596, 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> iv, p. 45, 25-6. <sup>5</sup> xxxii, p. 596, 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> xxviii, p. 586-7; vgl. auf p. 586 Taf. 23 a.

<sup>7</sup> xix, p. 494, 18 ff. (Abb. p. 494) u. p. 25.

verlangt.<sup>1</sup> Auch das weist wieder darauf hin, dass der Zauber sich an unterirdische und Totendaemonen wendet, und das Gleiche gilt auch für die Vorschrift in XIX, p. 496, 3-4, der Knabe müsse mit nackten Knien vor der Schüssel knien, denn dadurch soll der unmittelbare Kontakt mit jenen Dämonen hergestellt werden. Da der Sonnenaufgang bedeutsam ist, soll das Medium nach Osten blicken<sup>2</sup> oder im Zauberkreis gegen Osten zu sitzen.<sup>3</sup> Ferner ist der Ort des Zaubers und das Glasgefäß zu *beräuchern*<sup>4</sup> oder man hat Nusslaub, Galbanum, männlichen Weihrauch und guten Moschus unter den Tisch mit der Schüssel zu legen,<sup>5</sup> beim Zauber selbst mit Weihrauch zu räuchern<sup>6</sup> oder bei der Anrufung der 'Engel des Tages' Weihrauch, Raute und getrocknete Rosen zu verbrennen, damit man sich die Dämonen dienstbar mache'.<sup>7</sup> Alles das bedeutet eine direkte Fortsetzung des alten ἐπίθυμα.<sup>8</sup> In die Schüssel ist *reines Wasser* zu giessen<sup>9</sup> oder 'lebendes Wasser von einer Quelle',<sup>10</sup> 'die gegen Osten liegt',<sup>11</sup> und das Eingiessen solchen Wassers hat 'gegenüber der Sonne' zu erfolgen.<sup>12</sup> Einmal wird *Regen-* und einmal '*Meerwasser* von sieben Wellenschlägen her' gefordert.<sup>13</sup> Indess darf die Flasche, in der das Wasser geholt wird, bezw. die Schüssel, mit den erwähnten Wasserarten nicht ganz gefüllt werden, sondern man muss dann noch *Weihwasser der Phota*, bezw. *Weihwasser von den hl. Theophanien* nachfüllen, 'damit keine bösen und schlechten Geister eintreten können'.<sup>14</sup> Während es sich hier also um eine Schutzmassnahme handelt, die der christlichen Ära dieser späten Rezepte eigentümlich ist, taucht auch die uralte, bereits für altbabylonische Anweisungen belegbare Vorschrift auf, in das Wasser Öl, bezw. *Lorbeeröl* zu giessen<sup>15</sup> oder *grünes Öl*,<sup>16</sup> ja 'die Schüssel sogar nur mit Öl allein zu füllen'.<sup>17</sup> Eine Opferablösung für die Geister bedeutet es weiter, wenn in die Schüssel eine Silbermünze geworfen werden muss,<sup>18</sup> dagegen ein magisches Zwangsmittel, wenn man mit dieser Münze auch noch Rebholz und einen 'lebenden' Magnetstein,<sup>19</sup> bezw. eine Brennesselwurzel allein hineinzuwer-

<sup>1</sup> XVI, p. 432, 22 ff.

<sup>2</sup> XVIII, p. 480, 14.

<sup>3</sup> XXXII, p. 595, 8.

<sup>4</sup> XIX, p. 496, 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> XII, p. 64, 19-20: καρυόφυλλον, χαλβάνιον, ἀρσενικὸν θυμίαμα, μοσχοθυμίαμα, ἔχε καὶ μόσχον καλόν; ebenso auch XIV, p. 429, 2-3.

<sup>6</sup> V, p. 49, 8: κάπνιζον λιβάνιον καθαρόν.

<sup>7</sup> VII, p. 51, 8-11: καπνίσματα λίβανον καὶ ἀπήγανον καὶ τριαντάφυλλα ξηρά.

<sup>8</sup> vgl. OZ. I, §§ 803, 385, 396, 539 ff., 541, 544, 867; über ihre narkotisch-halluzinatorische Wirkung ib. §§ 385, 396, 539 ff.

<sup>9</sup> X, p. 54, 24-5: πρῶτα ἔπαρον νερόν καθαρὸν εἰς γαστέραν.

<sup>10</sup> I, p. 37, 13-14: γέμισον αὐτὸ νερὸ ζωντανὸν ἀπὸ πηγᾶδιον.

<sup>11</sup> II, p. 40, 12-13: νερόν ἀπὸ βρύσιν ἀνατολικήν. IV, p. 45, 23-4: γέμισέ την νερόν καθαρὸν καὶ νά

ἦναι ἀπὸ βρύσιν ἀνατολικήν; VII, p. 51, 11-12.

<sup>12</sup> XV, p. 430, 6-7: ἄμε εἰς βρύσιν τρέχουσαν ἀντικρυς τοῦ Ἡλίου.

<sup>13</sup> XIX, p. 496, 1: ὕδωρ δμβριον; VIII, p. 53, 8-9: ἔπαρον ἀπὸ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπτὰ φούχταις νερόν καὶ βάλει τὸ εἰς τὴν γαστέραν.

<sup>14</sup> V, p. 49, 1-4: ὅς λίπη τὸ νερόν κάμποσον καὶ γέμισέ την ἀγίασμα τῶν Φώτων, διὰ νά μὴν ἐμποροῦν νά ἐμποῦν πνεύματα πονηρά καὶ κακά; III, p. 43, 15: ἀγίασμα τῶν ἀγίων Θεοφανείων; VI, p. 50, 21-2.

<sup>15</sup> XV, p. 430, 10-11: ἀπογέμισον τὴν γαστέραν ἕως ἄνω λάδιον τῆς Δάφνης; IX, p. 54, 2-3.

<sup>16</sup> VI, p. 50, 29 ff.

<sup>17</sup> IX, pp. 54, 2-3; vgl. OZ. II, § 230.

<sup>18</sup> II, p. 40, 13-14: βάλει ἓναν ἄσπρον μέσα.

<sup>19</sup> XIX, p. 496, 6-7: βάλει ἐντὸς τοῦ ἡλίου νόμισμα ἔν ἀργυρίου καὶ ξύλον οἰναρίου καὶ μαγνητίν ζώνταν.

fen hat, die ebenso wie die Unterseite der Schüssel mit dem Zauberwort ΤΞΕΤΕΡΕΛ zu beschreiben ist.<sup>1</sup> Während man die Schüssel füllt, darf man nicht sprechen, niemanden anreden und sich auch nicht umschauen<sup>2</sup> und das gilt auch für den Knaben, der das Wasser zunächst in einer Flasche holt, und zwar sowohl auf dem Hin- wie auf dem Herwege;<sup>3</sup> dabei soll das Kind einmal sogar nach rückwärts gehen.<sup>4</sup> Wie in alter Zeit sind bei den Lekanomantien auch *Lichter* anzuzünden,<sup>5</sup> wobei die *Kerzen* als 'heiliges Licht' bezeichnet werden, 'bei dem die Engel beschworen' werden, damit sie in die Schüssel eintreten.<sup>6</sup> Dieses Licht muss natürlich 'rein' sein<sup>7</sup> und deshalb nimmt man eine *Kerze von der Feier der Phota* und tauft sie sogar auf den Namen des Vaters, des Sohnes und des heiligen Geistes<sup>8</sup> oder man taucht vier Kerzen in das Weihwasser der Phota, zündet sie an und setzt sie auf die vier Ecken des Untergestells, auf dem die Schüssel steht,<sup>9</sup> oder man stellt drei Kerzen in Abständen von je drei Spannen auf;<sup>10</sup> es können aber gelegentlich auch *Lampen* verwendet werden.<sup>11</sup>

Während der ganzen Dauer des Zaubers muss das Kind *unverwandt in die Schüssel blicken* und darf nicht anderswohin schauen oder seine Aufmerksamkeit auf andere Gegenstände lenken.<sup>12</sup> Um letzteres zu verhindern, legt der Zauberer dem Medium ein gelbes *Tuch* auf den Kopf, das über seinen Nacken auf den Rücken und vorn auf seine Schultern fällt, wie das auch eine Abbildung deutlich zeigt.<sup>13</sup> Oder der Knabe ist mit einem 'reinen Mantel, der bis auf die Füße reicht' zu bedecken<sup>14</sup> oder, während er vorher nackt war, mit einem *roten Mantel oder Tuch*;<sup>15</sup> letztere sehr lebhaft Farbe soll wohl zugleich die Dämonen vom Medium selbst ablenken und auf den Mantel ziehen. Denn unterirdische und Totendämonen sind schon an sich böseartig und auch noch über den Zauberzwang erbost und daher gewillt, *das Medium zu schädigen*.<sup>16</sup> Betet doch der Zauberer genau so wie in den Zauberpapyri, 'das Medium möge ohne Furcht sein und keiner der Geister möge es wagen, das Kind zu schrecken',<sup>17</sup> oder

<sup>1</sup> xxviii, p. 586-7, 2: τζουκνίλας βίζαν.

<sup>2</sup> vii, p. 51, 11-12: γέμισε . . . ἄλαλος; xv, p. 430, 7-8: ἄλαλον, ἀσύντυχον, ἀνυπόστροφον; xix, p. 496, 1-2; ii, p. 40, 12-13.

<sup>3</sup> viii, p. 53, 9-10: οὔτε πηγαίνοντας οὔτε ἔρχοντας, νὰ μὴν κυττάξης ὀπίσω σου; xxi, p. 504, 2-5.

<sup>4</sup> xxi, pp. 504, 2: ἀνάτριχα.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. OZ. II, §§ 236 ff.

<sup>6</sup> vi, p. 50, 28-9: εἰς τὸ ἅγιον φῶς, ὅπου σας ἀλῶ, ὀρκίζω, καθορκίζω σας.

<sup>7</sup> xxii, p. 576, 7-8: φῶς καθάριον.

<sup>8</sup> v, p. 49, 4-6: νὰ ἔχη καὶ κερὶν, τῶν Φώτων ἄς ἦναι, καὶ βαπτίσης (τὸ) κερὶν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, καὶ ἀναψε καὶ τὸ κερὶν.

<sup>9</sup> iii, p. 50, 22 ff.: βᾶπτισέ τα μέσα εἰς τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τῶν Φώτων; xii, p. 64, 16-17: ἀναψε καὶ δ' ἁγιοκέρια.

<sup>10</sup> xix, p. 496, 4-5; vgl. xxii, p. 576, 10: τὸ κερὶν, ἄς ἦνε β' σπιθαμῶν ἢ γ'.

<sup>11</sup> xxix, p. 588, 22: μετὰ λαμπάδων φωτεινῶν.

<sup>12</sup> xix, p. 496, 19-20; xxxii, p. 596, 1-3; xvi, p. 432, 28-p. 433, 1: auch der Zauberer selbst aber muss εἰς κέντρον, d. h. in das Zentrum der Schüssel blicken: xxix, p. 588, 23.

<sup>13</sup> xxxii, p. 595, 10-p. 596, 3; vgl. die Abb. auf p. 595.

<sup>14</sup> xii, pp. 64, 14: σκέπασέ το (παιδί) μὲ μίαν ποδιάν καθαράν.

<sup>15</sup> xix, p. 496, 3-4; ii, p. 40, 15-16: σκέπασον αὐτὸ μὲ κόκκινον μαντίλιν ἢ παρασκέπασμαν; iii, p. 43, 17-p. 44, 1.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. OZ. II, § 68; i, §§ 729, 692, 785 ff., 875-6.

<sup>17</sup> x, p. 56, 7-8: νὰ ἦναι χωρὶς φόβου καὶ νὰ μὴν τολμήση κανεὶς ἀπὸ ἐσᾶς, νὰ τὴν φοβέριση.



er bittet die Geister selbst, *weder dem Knaben noch ihm selbst etwas anzutun*,<sup>1</sup> 'seine Vernunft nicht zu zerrütten, seinem Sinn kein Ärgernis zu geben, seine Augen nicht zu verdunkeln und seine Glieder (durch Krämpfe) nicht zu erschüttern';<sup>2</sup> er fleht aber auch zu Jesus Christus: '*Beschütze mich, Herr, wie einen Augapfel im Schutz deiner Flügel! Schütze mich in dieser Stunde und richte mich auf!*'<sup>3</sup> Diese Bitten waren sehr wohl begründet, da namentlich nervöse und hysterische Kinder, die als Medien besonders tauglich waren, durch derartige Experimente schweren psychischen Schädigungen ausgesetzt waren.<sup>4</sup> Da man sich aber auf die Kraft solcher Beschwörungen und Gebete doch nicht allein verlassen wollte, musste das Medium auch noch durch die viel wirksameren *Charaktere* oder *Signa magica* 'geschützt' werden, die wegen der Sicherheit des Knaben zu zeichnen waren,<sup>5</sup> wohl auf die Erde, doch 'mit Krokos, Moschus und Rosenwasser auch unten auf den rechten Fuss (auf die Fussohle?) sowohl des Mediums als auch des Zauberers'.<sup>6</sup> Oder der Knabe muss ein 'Siegel' oder ein auf ein Blatt Papier gezeichnetes Pentalpha als *Amulett* bei sich haben,<sup>7</sup> und die bösen Folgen des Zaubers sollte wohl auch der *Lorbeerkrantz* abwenden, den das Kind nach der Rezitierung der Formel aufgesetzt erhielt.<sup>8</sup> Auch muss der Zauberer während der Beschwörung das 'Siegel zur Rechten und das Messer zur Linken haben,<sup>9</sup> bezw., wenn die Geister schon gekommen sind und das Kind sie bereits sieht, das Messer rechts von dem Knaben in die Erde stossen und das Siegel Salomo's links von ihm hinlegen.<sup>10</sup> Dieses Vorgehen hatte aber gewiss auch *herbeibannende, bezw. festhaltende Bedeutung*; diese Absicht lag auch zu Grunde, wenn ein *Zaubercharakter* (σφραγίς, χαρακτήρα) mit Tinte aus Öl und Russ auf *die Handfläche* und die Namen Νηπηζηήμ, bezw. 'Ανήν und \*Αρζητι *auf die Stirn, bezw. auf die Nase* des als Medium dienenden Mädchens zu schreiben waren: denn, wenn die Geister wieder verschwinden sollten, war das Gesicht des Mediums abzuwaschen.<sup>11</sup> Ebenso hatte auch das weisse Papierblatt mit einem Pentalpha festhaltende Bedeutung, mit dem die Mündung der (jedenfalls gläsernen) Ampulle zu bedecken war, in die der Knabe hineinzuschauen hatte.<sup>12</sup> Indess erfolgte der Eintritt der Geister in das Gefäss eigentlich erst durch *das Rezitieren*

<sup>1</sup> II, p. 41, 21-3: ὀρκίζω σας εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἄγγελον τοῦ Ἰασεῖ τοῦ Ἑλμιχέλ, νὰ μὴν κάμετε τίποτε τοῦ παιδιοῦ μήτε ἐμέναν; vgl., p. 43, 9-11.

<sup>2</sup> IV, p. 45, 9-12: φρίξτε, πνεύματα, καὶ μὴ σαλεύσητε τὸν λογισμὸν οὐδὲ τὸν νοῦν μου μὴν σκανδαλίσητε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μου μὴν σκοτίσητε μηδὲ τὰ μέλη μου μὴν συντρομάζητε.

<sup>3</sup> VII, p. 53, 1-3: φύλαξόν με, κύριε, ὡς κέρην ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐν τῇ σκέπη τῶν πτερυγῶν σου σκέπασόν με ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ κἀνάστησον.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl., OZ, II, § 68.

<sup>5</sup> XXIX, p. 589, 1: τοῦ παιδὸς Δι' ἀσφαλείας.

<sup>6</sup> VII, p. 51, 17-19: νὰ γράψης καὶ ταῖς κάτωθεν

χαρακτήραις μὲ κρόκον καὶ μὲ μόσχον καὶ ῥοδοσταγμον, νὰ ταῖς βαστάτῃ καὶ ἐσύ καὶ τὸ παιδί, εἰς τὸ πῶδι τὸ δεξιὸν ἀποκάτω.

<sup>7</sup> XIV, p. 430, 1-2; XII, p. 64, 24-6.

<sup>8</sup> I, p. 37, 15-16, p. 38, 2.

<sup>9</sup> IV, p. 46, 22-3.

<sup>10</sup> II, p. 41, 1-3: καὶ ἀφ' οὗ ἔλθουν καὶ τοὺς ἴδη τὸ παιδίον, μπῆξε τὸ μάχαιριν ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν τοῦ παιδιοῦ καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ Σολομώντος (εἶη Hexalpha mit κύριε, ὁ θεός, ὁ Λέων Σαβαώθ usw.) ἐξ ἀριστερῶν.

<sup>11</sup> X, p. 54, 23-4; p. 55, 1-3, 4, 5-6; p. 56, 12.

<sup>12</sup> VII, p. 51, 13-15.

der Formel (ἐπωδή)<sup>1</sup> oder des Gebets,<sup>2</sup> dem gelegentlich auch das Rezitieren von Psalmen vorausgehen musste.<sup>3</sup> 'Rezitieren' heisst διαβάζειν, also eigentlich 'lesen',<sup>4</sup> doch zeigen die Abbildungen, dass der Zauberer die Formeln tatsächlich von einem Papierstreifen ablas;<sup>5</sup> 'Rezitieren' heisst aber auch ψιθυρίζειν 'flüstern',<sup>6</sup> da die Formel als Geheimnis natürlich nicht laut ausgesprochen werden durfte. Sie wird dem Medium *ins Ohr* geflüstert<sup>7</sup> und zwar in das rechte Ohr,<sup>8</sup> oder zuerst in das linke Ohr, und wenn das nicht wirkt, in das rechte, worauf die Geister bestimmt kommen.<sup>9</sup> Gelegentlich ist die Formel aber auch — genau wie in den demotischen Papyri — 'in den Kopf' des als Medium dienenden Mädchens zu sprechen,<sup>10</sup> oder 'über den Kopf' und 'in die Glasschüssel'.<sup>11</sup> Neu ist die Vorschrift, 'dass der Knabe alles, was der Zauberer spricht, ebenfalls zu sprechen hat'.<sup>12</sup> Die Formel ist dreimal,<sup>13</sup> siebenmal,<sup>14</sup> vierzehn-, d. h. zweimal siebenmal,<sup>15</sup> und gelegentlich auch elfmal zu sprechen,<sup>16</sup> da jedem Zauber alles Ungerade angemessen ist. Doch muss die Formel dreimal nur dann wiederholt werden, wenn die Geister nicht gleich gehorchen,<sup>17</sup> sie darf aber auch nicht öfter als dreimal gesprochen werden, da sonst eine Menge Geister mit sehr vielen Schmerzen (für das Medium) kommt.<sup>18</sup> Andererseits aber hören wir auch, dass die Formel so lange zu rezitieren ist, bis zwei Daemoninnen in der Kerze sichtbar werden.<sup>19</sup> Einmal muss der Zauberer nach der dreimaligen Rezitation der Formel *in den Sindonumhang des Mediums hineinblasen*,<sup>20</sup> natürlich um sein Pneuma auf den Knaben zu übertragen. Genau wie in den griechischen und demotischen Zauberpapyri ist auch in unsern jungen Rezepten *ein zweites Gebet*, die sogenannte *Zwangformel* (ὄρκισμός) zu sprechen, wenn der Geist auf die erste εὐχή nicht erscheinen will, ja gegen einen offenbar sehr harthörigen Daemon, der einen Schatz hütet, sind sogar zwei solche ὄρκισμοί zu sprechen,<sup>21</sup> und auch eine Drohung gegen denselben Geist lesen wir, die auch die alten Texte in Fülle aufweisen, da der Zauberer schliesslich zum Schatzdaemon spricht: 'Ich beschwöre dich bei dem feurigen Fluss, dass ihn der allbeherrschende Gott herbeibringt, damit er dich verbrenne!'<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1</sup> xxxi, p. 593, 12.<sup>2</sup> v, p. 49, 11-12.

p. 480, 21; xxix, p. 588, 24.

<sup>3</sup> ib.<sup>4</sup> xii, p. 64, 20; iv, p. 45.<sup>14</sup> v, p. 49, 10-11; iii, p. 44, 1; xvii, p. 434, 11-12.<sup>5</sup> Vgl. pp. 582, 583, 593.<sup>6</sup> xxi, p. 504, 10.<sup>15</sup> xxiv, p. 580, 14-15.<sup>7</sup> l. p. 37, 17-18; vii, p. 51, 24-5; xv, p. 430, 13-14; xxiv, p. 580, 11; xxxii, p. 596, 6.<sup>8</sup> xxvi, p. 584, 4.<sup>16</sup> xv, p. 430, 13-14. <sup>17</sup> xvi, p. 434, 1-3.<sup>18</sup> xxix, p. 588, 24-6: εἰ γὰρ πλείον εἴπησ ταῦτα, μέλλει ἔλθειν πολὺν μετὰ πλειόνων ἀλγηδόνων.<sup>19</sup> xxii, p. 576, 22: λέγε τό, ἕως οὐ νά ἔλθῃ εἰς τὸ φῶς der Kerze.<sup>9</sup> xviii, p. 480, 19 ff., 25-6; xxxii, p. 596, 5-6, 12-13.<sup>10</sup> x, p. 55, 5-6: εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν.<sup>20</sup> ii, p. 40, 21-p. 41, 1: φύσησον εἰς τὸ σινδόνικαι πάλιν λέγε τὰ λόγια τοῦτα, ἕως οὐ νά ἔλθουν.<sup>11</sup> xix, p. 497, 4-5: λέγε καὶ ἐπάνωθεν τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ταῦτα; doch vgl. ib., p. 497, 11: εἰς τὸ κεφάλιν τοῦ παιδός.<sup>21</sup> v, p. 49, 21; p. 50, 1 ff.; viii, p. 53, 25; vii, p. 52, 23; xii, p. 65, 1 ff.; vgl. OZ. I, §§ 692, 729, 786, 876.<sup>12</sup> xvi, p. 433, 1-2; xxi, p. 504, 11; xxix, p. 588, 23.<sup>22</sup> xii, p. 65, 24-5: ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὸν πύρινον ποταμόν, ὃν νά τὸν φέρῃ ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεός, νά σε κατακάσῃ, ἂν δὲν εὐγῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέσα.<sup>13</sup> ii, p. 40, 17; vii, p. 52, 18; ix, p. 54, 5; xviii,

Oder der Zauberer *droht* den Geistern, dass er sie mit dem Siegelring Salomos siegeln (d. h. bannen) werde, den [ihm] Gott schenkte.<sup>1</sup> Um diesen Schwierigkeiten zu entgehen, bittet der Zauberer, die Geister sollen mit heiterer Miene und in demütiger Haltung erscheinen.<sup>2</sup> Sie sollen ferner 'mitten in die Schüssel eintreten, dass sie das Kind sehe',<sup>3</sup> und so sieht es denn auch in ihr 'vier strahlende Männer', d. h. wohl Engel, die dann jede Auskunft geben,<sup>4</sup> während der schatzhütende Daemon als schwarzer Mensch sichtbar wird; denn er ist die Seele eines Verdammten, dem der Zauberer für die Herausgabe des Schatzes einen bessern Aufenthaltsort im Jenseits verheißt.<sup>5</sup> Die Daemonen sollen auch *vollzählig, scharenweise* und *mit ihrem König* kommen,<sup>6</sup> bezw., wenn der Knabe die Geister bereits in der Schüssel sieht, so hat der Zauberer ihnen zu befehlen: 'Bringet auch eure Kameraden!' und hat der Knabe gemeldet, dass sie da sind, hat der Zauberer erst die eigentliche Beschwörung zu sprechen.<sup>7</sup> In andern Fällen spricht der Zauberer: 'Bringet dem König *den Thron*, dass er sich setze!'<sup>8</sup> wozu ein griechischer Papyrus eine direkte Parallele bietet.<sup>9</sup> Auch muss das Medium die erschienenen Geister fragen, *ob sie essen wollen*,<sup>10</sup> oder es hat sie zuerst zu begrüßen: 'Seid zu gutem Glück gekommen!'; dann müssen die Geister *zwei Zelte*, ein grünes und ein weisses, bringen und aufschlagen; dann soll der Herr (αὐθέντης) kommen und, nachdem die Geister *gekocht* haben, soll er essen.<sup>11</sup> Anderswo wird ihnen befohlen, ein Rind oder Schaf zu holen, es mit dem Zaubermesser des Magiers, das unter dem Stuhl des Mediums in der Erde steckt, zu schlachten, es dann zuzubereiten und davon zu essen, oder es sollen zu dem gleichen Zweck auch Hirsche erscheinen.<sup>12</sup> Auch für diese Mahlzeit, die die Geister offenbar als Ersatz für ein durch den Zauberer darzubringendes *Opfer* sich selbst — allerdings erst auf Befehl des Zauberers — zubereiten, bietet der demotische magische Papyrus Parallelen.<sup>13</sup> Danach müssen die Geister *schwören*, dass sie die Wahrheit sagen wollen, und zwar wird ihnen entweder die Schwurformel vorgesagt,<sup>14</sup> oder sie haben *auf das Buch*, das einer der Geister oder ein Priester herbeibringt,<sup>15</sup> *die Hände aufzulegen und zu*

<sup>1</sup> VIII, p. 53, 27-8: βουλλώνω σὰς μὲ τὸ λακτυλίδι τοῦ Σολομώντος, ὅπου τὸν ἔλωσεν ὁ θεός; vgl., OZ. I, §§ 204, 484, 787 ff.; II, § 187, 210, 224, 260, 294 ff., 341, 346, 351, 367.

<sup>2</sup> IV, p. 45, 14-15: μὲ ἰλαρώτατον πρόσωπον καὶ ταπεινὸν τὸ σχῆμα.

<sup>3</sup> V, p. 50, 13-14; VII, p. 52, 17-18.

<sup>4</sup> XXXII, p. 596, 8-9: τέσσαρες ἄνδρες λαμπροί.

<sup>5</sup> XII, p. 64, 21 ff.: ἐρ ἰστ εἰν ἀνθρωπόπνευμα.

<sup>6</sup> XV, p. 430, 22 ff.: ἡ συντροφία σας . . . τὸ φουσατόν . . . ὁ βῆγᾶς.

<sup>7</sup> VII, p. 52, 19-22: τοὺς συντρόφους.

<sup>8</sup> I, p. 38, 11-13: Φέρετε τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ θρονίον, νὰ καθίση.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl., P. Lond. 46, z. 2-52: OZ. II, §§ 156-7.

<sup>10</sup> XV, p. 430, 23 ff.: hier werden die Daemonen

auch bei ihren sieben gewaltigen Königen (d. h. bei den Planeten) beschworen und beim purpurroten Schaf (= Widder) u. dem starken Löwen (d. h. Tierkreisbildern); in XXVI, p. 584, 7 heisst der erste der Daemonen Μπελτζαμπήλ.

<sup>11</sup> III, p. 44, 5-11; νὰ φέρουν δύο τένταις usw.

<sup>12</sup> XXIV, p. 580, 23-8; XXVI, p. 584, 11 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. Demot. Mag. Pap., col. I-III, OZ. II, § 264.

<sup>14</sup> III, p. 44, 5-11.

<sup>15</sup> XV, p. 430, 23 ff.: Sie haben ihr ὄφικιον u. ihr βιβλίον τῆς Διαθήκης zu bringen u. auf ihre πρωτόθρονοι u. ἀρχηγοὶ Βαβέτ, Βαλτασάρ, Παλτασάρ, Βεελζεβούλ u. Σιεχαπόν zu schwören; XXVI, p. 584, 11 ff.: das Buch bringt ein παπᾶς; vgl. auch XIX, p. 497, 12-15; XXII, p. 576, 22 ff.



*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*

Zauberer und Medium in  
*a*, Lekanomantien (vgl. oben S. 223.)  
*b* und *c*, Katoptromantien (vgl. oben S. 230.)  
*d*, Lychnomantien (vgl. oben S. 231.)



schwören,<sup>1</sup> wobei dieses Buch einmal als *'Buch der Philosophie des Salomon'* bezeichnet wird; dabei hat sich der Zauberer auf den 'Thron Salomo's' zu setzen. Doch nicht genug damit, die Geister müssen auch noch *auf den 'Ring der Kraft Salomo's' schwören!*<sup>2</sup> Dann erst werden sie befragt und jetzt antworten sie 'durch den Mund des Knaben'<sup>3</sup> oder machen ihre *Zeichen* in der Schüssel sichtbar.<sup>4</sup> Dabei muss der Zauberer den Knaben und dieser den Zauberer *berühren*<sup>5</sup> oder letzterer muss seine Hände auf das Gesicht des Mädchens legen und seine Nase fassen und neuerlich Zauberworte rezitieren.<sup>6</sup> Natürlich wollen sich die Geister dem lästigen Zauberzwang entziehen; daher hat der Knabe nach ihrem Erscheinen die Mündung der Schüssel mit einer geweihten Kerze, die ein Pentalpha aufweist, zu versiegeln<sup>7</sup> oder ein mit einem Pentalpha beschriebenes Blatt Papier darauf zu legen.<sup>8</sup> Doch darf der Zauberer die Geister *nicht länger als eine Stunde in der Schüssel festhalten*, da sie ihn sonst 'versuchen' würden;<sup>9</sup> andererseits aber soll er den Geist im Zauberkreis erst *drei Tage festhalten*—jedenfalls um ihn mürbe zu machen—und dann befragen und entlassen.<sup>10</sup> Einmal sollen die Geister dem Knaben einen *Dieb* in der Schüssel sichtbar machen<sup>11</sup> oder ihm den *Ort eines Schatzes zeigen*.<sup>12</sup> Endlich ist einmal ein *Exorzismus* mit einer Lekanomantie kombiniert: der Apparat ist genau wie bei einer solchen, doch muss *der Besessene* (σεληνιαζόμενος) dabei stehen, worauf der Zauberer den Daemon aus ihm austreibt und in die Ampulla zwingt, wo er dem Knaben als άνθρωπος σαρκικός sichtbar und mit Hilfe der Kerze und des Papiers eingesperrt wird.<sup>13</sup> Hat der Zauberer seine Absicht erreicht und sollen die Geister wieder verschwinden, so ist—genau wie in den griechischen und demotischen Zauberpapyri<sup>14</sup>—ein eigenes Verfahren (ἀπολογίασμα)<sup>15</sup> notwendig: denn es muss die sogenannte *'Entlassungsformel'* gesprochen werden, in der der Zauberer die Geister bittet, sich an ihre Stätte zurückzubeben und, wenn er es wünscht, wiederzuerscheinen;<sup>16</sup> auch hier aber lesen wir wieder die Bitte, *beim Verschwinden niemanden zu schädigen*.<sup>17</sup> Ferner ist Schwarzräucherwerk mit Koriander<sup>18</sup> oder Weihrauch zu verbrennen, das Zaubermesser aus der Erde zu ziehen und der Charakter auf der Stirn des Mediums auszulöschen.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> XIX, p. 497, 14.

<sup>2</sup> XXII, p. 576, 22 ff.

<sup>3</sup> I, p. 39, 7 ff., 12 ff., 17 ff.

<sup>4</sup> X, p. 55, 15; doch vgl. ib. p. 56, 1; III, p. 44, 12-13.

<sup>5</sup> III, p. 44, 13.

<sup>6</sup> X, p. 56, 1-3.

<sup>7</sup> XII, pp. 22-4: ὅς ἔχη ἀγιοκέρην ἑτοιμον, νὰ βουλώσῃ τὴν γαστεροπούλαν, καὶ ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ κερὶν νὰ ἔχη μίαν γραμμένην πεντάλφον, καὶ βάλτην ἀπάνω.

<sup>8</sup> XIX, p. 430.

<sup>9</sup> IV, p. 46, 21-2: νὰ μὴν τοὺς κρατῆς περισσῆν ὤραν, καὶ σε πειράζουν.

<sup>10</sup> XXIX, p. 588, 26-7: κέλευσον ἐμβῆναι μέσον...

καὶ ἔχε ἕως ἡμερῶν γ' καὶ ἐρώτα . . . καὶ οὕτως ἔα.

<sup>11</sup> I, p. 38, 15 ff.

<sup>12</sup> I, p. 39 ff.

<sup>13</sup> XIV, p. 429-30.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. OZ. I, §§ 414, 416, 541, 678, 688, 705, 878; II, §§ 14, 196, 214 ff., 217, 239, 257 f.

<sup>15</sup> X, p. 56, 11 ff.; V, p. 50, 16-17; XVI, p. 434, 3-5.

<sup>16</sup> IV, p. 46, 20-1: "Ἀμετε εἰς τὸ καλὸν καὶ πάλιν, ὅταν σας χρειασθῶ, μετὰ πάσης χαρᾶς νὰ ἔλθετε; I, pp. 70, 1-3: 'Im Namen Gottes Ἄμπράμ Ἄμπαρκεέλ, gehet in Frieden fort auf eure Wege!

<sup>17</sup> XXVI, p. 584, 22-3: Δίχως νὰ βλάψῃτέ τιναν.

<sup>18</sup> X, p. 56, 15-16: μαυροθυμίαμα καὶ κολίανθρον.

<sup>19</sup> XXIV, p. 580, 28-31.

Auch muss das Kind aufstehen, der Spiegel ist wegzunehmen und gleichzeitig erfolgt das Verwischen des Zauberkreises mit dem Pentalpha.<sup>1</sup>

Im Einzelnen ist noch folgendes bemerkenswert: in der Formel einer *Lychnomantie*, bei der die Daemoninnen Κερατίλετα (vgl. Κερατῶς, der Gehörnte, der Teufel?) und Ἀπαγάτα sichtbar werden sollen, ist auch das Zauberwort Κάμαρα zu rezitieren, das wohl einfach καμάρα 'die Kammer' bedeuten und bewirken soll, dass — genau wie in einem griechischen Papyrus<sup>2</sup> — die Flamme des Lichtes 'kammerartig' sich weitet, um die beiden Geistinnen aufzunehmen.<sup>3</sup>

Bei der Vornahme von *Spiegelzaubern*<sup>4</sup> — wobei der Zauberer von niemandem gesehen werden darf<sup>5</sup> — muss der Spiegel<sup>6</sup> selbstverständlich 'rein' sein<sup>7</sup> und gelegentlich ist er ringsum mit vier X und in der Mitte mit Zaubernamen zu beschreiben.<sup>8</sup> Einmal wird gefordert, dass 'die Herrin, die Königin *Sibylla*', die im Spiegel erscheinen und antworten soll, den Spiegel zuerst schwarz, dann rot und endlich gelb und in ihm auch eine öffentliche Strasse erscheinen lassen soll, auf der dann die zitierten Geister sichtbar werden müssen.<sup>9</sup> Anderswo muss zuerst 'der hinkende Reiter, der Koch' erscheinen, der den Befehl erhält, seinen Knecht auf den höchsten Berg zu schicken und von dort drei schöne Schafe zu holen, die der Koch zu schlachten hat; nachdem er *von ihrem Blut aus einem goldenen Becher getrunken* hat, 'damit er sich freue', hat er die Schafe zu braten, *goldene Throne* aufzustellen und *eine Tafel* mit silbernen Bechern und gutem Wein herzurichten und endlich die Königin *Sibylla* mit ihrem Volk zu holen, damit sich alle setzen und essen und trinken. Hierauf muss die Sibylle ihren Knecht *hinunter nach Lakedaimon schicken, zum König Salomon*, dass er 'das versiegelte Buch hole, auf das die Sibylla und ihre ἀρχοντες die Wahrheit ihrer Aussagen beschwören müssen, worauf die Befragung erfolgt.<sup>10</sup> Nach einem andern Rezept ist der ehernen Spiegel *in ein Gefäss voll Wasser zu legen*, und wenn er untersinkt, erblickt der Knabe darin einen Rinderkopf, der alle Fragen beantwortet.<sup>11</sup> Ähnlich muss ein Spiegel *in immerfliessendes Wasser gelegt werden*, einen Finger unter seine Oberfläche; spricht man jetzt den Namen eines *Kranken* darüber und erscheint dieser im Spiegel, so wird er genesen, im Todesfalle aber zeigt der Spiegel, wie er zur Bestattung weggetragen wird;<sup>12</sup> das erinnert auffallend an das Spiegelorakel beim Demetertempel zu Patrai.<sup>13</sup> Zur Verdeutlichung reproduziere ich zwei Abbildungen von p. 582 und 592.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> XVI, p. 434, 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. P. Paris, z. 930-1114; vgl., OZ. II, §§ 214 ff.

<sup>3</sup> XXII, p. 576, 11.

<sup>4</sup> XVI, p. 432, 18: πράξις τοῦ καθρέπτου.

<sup>5</sup> XVI, p. 432, 21: μὴ ὑπὸ τινος θεωρούμενος.

<sup>6</sup> Er heisst ἔσοπτρον: XXX, p. 591, 1; καθρέπτῃς u. καθρεύτης: XXVI, p. 584, 3.

<sup>7</sup> XXX, p. 591, 1.

<sup>8</sup> XXVII, p. 585, 1-2.

<sup>9</sup> XVI, p. 433, 5 ff.: κυρά, βασίλισσα Συμπιλία; XVI, p. 433, 7-9: νὰ γυρίσης τὸν καθρέπτῃν ἐτοῦ-  
τον, νὰ τὸν κάμης μαῦρον, κόκκινον καὶ κίτρινον, καὶ  
νὰ γένη καὶ μία στράτα Δημοσία ἐλῶ μέσα.

<sup>10</sup> XVI, p. 433: ὁ κοτζὸς καβαλλάρης, ὁ μαγέρας.

<sup>11</sup> XXVII, p. 585, 5 ff.: βάλε εἰς χαρκοπίνακον ἀγγεῖον γεμάτον νερόν.

<sup>12</sup> XXIX, p. 591, 1 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Pausan. VII, 21, 12, vgl. OZ. II, § 272.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. Taf. 23 b and c.

No. xx ist eine *Krystallschau*:<sup>1</sup> während das Kind einen Krystallstein in den Sonnenstrahl hält, sagt der Zauberer: 'Christus Nazaret, der König der Juden', spricht siebenmal 'in das Auge des Kindes'<sup>2</sup> Zaubernamen und beschwört durch On, Atonai, Sabaoth, El, Eloï, Sapher, Emanuel, α und ω die heiligen Namen Christi, den Dieb in das Kind zu senden [*sic*], dass es ihn sehe und erkenne.<sup>3</sup>

Ganz neuartig, aber im Orient noch heute sehr verbreitet,<sup>4</sup> sind *die Handflächen- und Fingernägelfoffenbarungen*: der Zauberer hat mit einer Mischung aus der Asche eines Papyrusstengels und aus gutem Öl seine Handfläche zu bestreichen; dann ergreift er eine brennende Kerze und beschwört den 'hl. Georg, den Ritter, den König Hyxabel',<sup>5</sup> dass er in seine Handfläche komme und die Wahrheit sage; doch kann auch die Handfläche des Knaben ebenso mit Öl und Pfannenruss 'geglättet' werden. Bei der *Nagelschau* glättet (poliert) der Zauberer die *Daumennägel* des Mediums mit einem Glasstück, salbt sie mit reinem Öl, bindet die beiden Daumen mit roter Seide zusammen und stellt das Kind der Sonne gegenüber; dann sagt er dem Medium ins Ohr, dass es auf seine Nägel blicke, spricht siebenmal die 'Namen' und fragt, *ob das Kind einen Daemon auf seinen Nägeln sitzen sehe*, der hierauf 'antwortet'. Sagt er dabei die Wahrheit, so schüttelt (wiegt) er den Kopf, lügt er aber, so hält er ihn ruhig (?).<sup>6</sup> An anderer Stelle ist nur der rechte Daumennagel des Mediums zu polieren und mit gutem Öl zu bestreichen und unterhalb des Nagels mit Zinnober der Charakter ΠΕΙ, oberhalb der Charakter ΙΑΟΠ zu zeichnen, ebenso endlich auch auf die Stirn des Mediums noch ein drittes Zauberzeichen.<sup>7</sup> Die Abbildung von p. 579<sup>8</sup> beweist, dass an die Stelle der Sonne auch eine brennende Fackel treten kann.

Für die *Eierschau* bieten Delatte's Texte nur einen einzigen Beleg: man legt, wenn der Mond jung ist, das erst gelegte Ei einer schwarzen Henne—es muss aber am fünften Tage (der Woche) gelegt worden sein—in Öl und lässt es dort von früh bis Mittag liegen; dann stellt man sich allein und still an einem sonnenbeschienenen Orte auf, hält das Ei in den Sonnenstrahl und spricht die Formel, worauf man im Ei sogleich sieht, was man sehen will.<sup>9</sup> Die dazu gehörige Abbildung von p. 581 aber zeigt den Zauberer mit einem Medium, das das Ei in die Höhe hält.

Da die Lekanomantie aus ihrem Heimatlande Babylonien durch Vermittlung *der Perser* zu den Griechen kam,<sup>10</sup> wird auch noch in unsern späten Texten in den Beischriften der Abbildungen der Zauberer ausdrücklich als ὁ Πέρσος, ὁ

<sup>1</sup> xx, pp. 499–500: ὑγρομαντεία ἢ κρυσταλλομαντεία.

<sup>2</sup> εἰς τὸ ὀπτικόν.

<sup>3</sup> παρακαλῶ σας, ὅτι ἔσεῖς νὰ στείλητε τὸν κλέπτην εἰς ἐτούτο τὸ παιδί, νὰ τὸν ἴδῃ καὶ νὰ τὸν ἐγνωρίσῃ.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl., G. Roheim, *Spiegelzauber*, Imago v (1917), pp. 63–120.

<sup>5</sup> xxiii, p. 577, 3 ff.: ὄγιε Γεώργιε καβαλλάρη,

ρήγας Ὑξαμπέλ; xvii, p. 434, 10–11 (frgt); xxx, p. 592, 13–14.

<sup>6</sup> xi, p. 57, 1–18: εἰ μὲν καὶ εἶναι ἀλήθεια, κουνάει τὸ κεφάλιν του, εἰ δὲ καὶ εἶναι ψεῦματα, σταματάει.

<sup>7</sup> xxiv, p. 580, 4–11.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. Taf. 23 d.

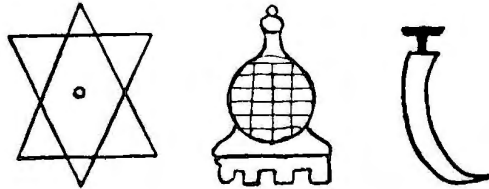
<sup>9</sup> xxv, p. 581, 3 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. OZ. II, §§ 230 ff., bes. §§ 234–6.



λεκανόμαντις bezeichnet, τοῦνομα Ἀπολλώνιος — womit zweifellos der Erzzauberer Apollonios von Tyana gemeint ist<sup>1</sup> — der auch die für die Perser charakteristische *hohe Mütze (Tiara)* trägt,<sup>2</sup> und an anderer Stelle heisst der Zauberer *Pheremides*, was offenbar ein persischer Name sein soll.<sup>3</sup> Daher ist es nicht verwunderlich, wenn in der Anrufung einer Fingernägeloffenbarung neben der Ἀναίς und neben dem Ἀστραξαμόν, Ζαμγή und Ζυγαέλ auch noch der *böse Ahriman* (Ἀβριμάν) *der Perser* erscheint.<sup>4</sup>

Ἰδοὺ ἡ γαστέρα, ἡ βούλλα καὶ τὸ μαχαίριν



<sup>1</sup> XIX, p. 495, 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. die Abbildung a. a. O.

<sup>3</sup> XXII, p. 577.

<sup>4</sup> XXIV, p. 580, 23. — Die Schlussleiste nach Delatte, a. a. O., p. 46.

## THE WARREN MAGICAL PAPYRUS

By ARTHUR S. HUNT

OF the small collection of Greek papyri formed by the late E. P. Warren a few specimens have already been edited on two recent occasions similar to the present (*Bull. de l'Institut français*, xxx, and *Raccolta Riccobono*), and although this is not the mode of publication contemplated by their owner, it would assuredly have had his approbation. The text here printed is the only one in the collection of a kind other than documentary. It is contained on a rather worm-eaten but otherwise fairly well preserved sheet measuring 18·9 × 30·6 cm. and inscribed on both sides mainly with magical formulae. On the recto are two columns of which the first belongs to an incantation having the amatory purpose (l. 18) so frequent in this class of literature. It is continued in Col. ii, with directions for procedure in case of delay on the part of the deity addressed and for procuring his eventual dismissal (ἀπόλυσις, l. 35). There follows a short numerical formula (ll. 45–9) for determining whether a person would live or die. The contents of the verso, on which there are two more columns with some remains of a third, are more disconnected. Col. i gives four horoscopes, of which three are dated, the first two in the second year of Elagabalus, A.D. 219, the fourth in the first year of Philip, A.D. 244. The third, which is undated, has been ascertained from the astronomical evidence by Dr. J. K. Fotheringham to refer to the year 217. The second column is largely occupied by a series of magical words and signs arranged within and around a figure which, as the superscription shows, was meant to be heart-shaped. To what use this elaborate figure was to be put is not stated, but presumably it is to be connected with the four lines at the foot giving a short amatory incantation followed by instructions for the appropriate accompaniments. Col. iii (ll. 127–53) is headed κᾶτοχος, 'Spell' (cf. e.g. P. Oslo I. 1 and n.), but only beginnings of the lines remain which give no connected sense and are hardly worthy of reproduction *in extenso*; the following extracts will serve in illustration: 128 λαβ[ών] οὔρογ (hardly room for λάβ[ε ἀϊλ]ουρογ) [, 130 . . . βάλει εἰς . [, 132–5 ὁ λε-| γόμενος λόγ[ος . . . | ἐστιν οὔτος [ . . . | γῆ Ποσειδῶν [, 137–8 μὴ γάμηται[ι . . . | γρ(άφε) εἰς ὄστρακ(ον) [, 141–5 magical words, 151 ἐπίθουε . . [, with ■ paragraphus below the preceding line. The loss of the ends of the lines in this column, which corresponds to the first of the recto, confirms the natural inference from the internal evidence, that that column, in spite of ■ broad blank margin, was not originally the first, so that the sheet may have come from a more or less extensive treatise.

Neither recto nor verso shows a uniform script. Recto i, with the exception of the first and last lines, is in a small clear cursive. The hand of Col. ii, which is written in rather longer lines, is not dissimilar, but is smaller and less clearly

formed, and the ink is lighter in colour. Evidently it was the writer of this second column who inserted the first line and completed the last in Col. i. These two hands have been distinguished in the text below, but, notwithstanding that obvious contrast, it may be that they represent a single person writing at different times. Col. i of the verso is in a rather larger and more cursive hand, which is succeeded in Cols. ii and iii by a slightly more formal style; these I have called the third and fourth hands, but again the doubt arises whether they are really distinct, and the possibility remains that both recto and verso were penned by a single scribe. With regard to the date, a *terminus a quo* is supplied for the verso by the last of the horoscopes, and the later decades of the third century suit the palaeographical indications on either side of the papyrus.

The commentary appended to the translation of the recto does not aim at completeness but is rather designed to enable more competent interpreters to elucidate difficulties here left unsolved.

*Recto, Col. i.*

1st h. οδ( ) κρεμαστός α . . . τ( ) χρηστῶ ἐλαίῳ λυχνίαζε καὶ κέδρω.

2nd h. σὺ [ι] τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον τὸ παρακίμ[ενο]ν

τῶ μεγάλῳ θεῶ Ὁσορνῶφρι Ὁσορ . . . [ . . . ]

[δι]ακονήσας αὐτῶ ὅτε ἠράσθη τῆς ἰδ[ία]ς

5 [ἀδ]ελφῆς Σενεφθῦτος καὶ ἔδραμες [ ]

ἕξ ἐπὶ ἑξήκοντα σχοίνους καὶ περιε-

κυκλεύσας ἕξ ἐπὶ ἑξήκοντα ὄρη. οὕτω

δι[α]κονή[σ]ον κάμοι τῶ δι(νι) πρὸς τὴν δι(να), ἰ δὲ

μή, ἔρῳ [τ]ὰ ὀκτώ γράμματα τῆς [σ]ελή-

10 νης τὰ κατεστηριγμένα εἰς τὴν καρδίαν

[το]ῦ ἡλίου, ἰ δὲ μέλλω λέ[γ]ειν καὶ οὕτω ἔ-

προρεύθης, εἰσελεύσομαι ἐσώτερος τῶν

[ἐ]πιτὰ πυλῶν τῶν περὶ Δαρδανιήλ καὶ σί-

σω τὸ στ[ε]ρέωμα [τ]ῆς γῆς καὶ συνελεύσε-

15 ται τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἴν' ὁ [ἐ]κ τού-

των μηδὲν γένηται. ἀναλύθητι εἰς τὴν σε-

αυτοῦ φύσιν καὶ μίγητι τῶ ἀέρι καὶ γενοῦ

πρὸς τὴν δι(να) τῆς δι(νος), κοινά, καὶ κατάξον αὐτὴν

ἔ[μ]οι π[υ]ρὶ τῶ κεραινίῳ. ὀρκίζω σε θεὸν μέ-

20 γαν τὸν ἐν τῇ καθαρᾷ γῆ κείμενο[ν,] ᾧ τὸ πῦρ

ἄσβεστον δι' αἰῶνος παράκνιται, αθουιν γ'

ιαθαουιν σιβελθιουθ ιατητ ατατητ αδωνε,

κοινά. (1st h.) φυλακτῆρ(ιον)· σεληνόγ[ο]να γ περιελήσας φοροῦ ἀριστερῶ

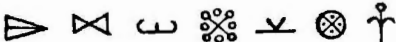
βραχ(ιον).

2. ἰ : so ll. 8, 11, also 4 ἰδ[ία]ς, 15 ἴν, 21 αθουῖν, 22 ἰαθουῖν . . . ἰατητ. 4. 1. [δι]εκόνησας. 15 ω of toutων blotted. 18 κ of καταξον corr. from τ. 21 ᾗ

*Col. ii.*

25 ἔλθέ μοι ὁ τῶν θεῶν θεός, ὁ ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος φανίς,  
μόγος ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὁ τὸ σκότος τέμνων,  
ὁ κύριος τῶν πνευμάτων, λωθ μουλωθ πνουτ'εἰ εσιωθ.

- χαίροις, κύριε λαμπουρη ιααω ιασιβ. ταῦτα λέγε πολλάκις,  
 ἐὰν δὲ σοῦ Διῶκοντος βραδύνη τὸ φάσμα,  
 ἀνυγε, οὐρανέ, ἀνυγε, Ὀλυμπίε, ἀνυγε ἔδη, ἀνυγε ἄβυσσε, Διασταλήτω  
 30 τὸ σκότος κατ' ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ ὑψίστου καὶ προελθέτω τὸ ἱερὸν φῶς  
 ἐκ τοῦ ἀπίρου εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον.  
 ἐπὶ πάλιν βραδύνη, λέγε ἐκφωνῶν οὕτως πάλι καμβύων τὸν παῖδα,  
 αβρα ἄ ὄ γα βαβρουθι βιε βαραχε. ὁ θεὸς εἴσελθε, κύριε,  
 καὶ χρημάτισόν μοι περὶ ὧν σε ἀξιῶ. καὶ ὁ θέλις πυνθάνου.  
 35 [ ] . . ( ) ἀπόλυσις· εἰ[ύ]χαριστῶ ὑμῖν ὅτι ἤλθατε κ[α]τ' ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ, ἀξιῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς  
 τηρήσαί με ὑγιή ἀθάμβητον ἀνιδωλόπληκτον, αθαθε  
 αθαθαθε αδων[α]ι. ἀποκατάστητε εἰς τὰς ἀποιερώσεις ὑμῶν.  
 ἐπὶ φιάλης εἰς τὴν βαλ[εῖ]ς ἐλαίου χρηστοῦ κοτ(ύλην) α καὶ θήσις ἐπὶ πλίνθου  
 καὶ γλύψ[ι]ς τοὺς χαλακ[τῆρ]ας τούτους εἰς μάγνητα τὸν πνέοντα.  
 40 οἱ δὲ χαλ[α]κτῆρες οὗτοι π[οιο]ῦνται  
 καὶ πήξις τὸν λίθον ἐξ ἀ[ρι]στερῶν τῆς φιάλης ἔξωθεν καὶ συνπεριλαβῶν  
 ταῖς δυοῖς χερσὶ Δίωκε ὡς ὑπεδίχθη σοι, βάλλε δὲ εἰς τὴν φιάλην (καὶ ?) βύθιζε  
 χόριον κυνὸς καλουμένης(ς) λευκῆς (ἢ ?) κυνὸς λευκοῦ γεγεννημένον πασηλιον . .  
 — εἰς δὲ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ παιδὸς γρ(άφε) ζ(μύ)ρ(νη) καρβαωθ.  
 45 μέθοδ[ος] Δ[ι]ὰ ψήφου μαθ[ί]ν εἰ ζῆ ἢ ἔτελεύ[τ]ησεν, οἶον·  
 προήσ[ον] αὐτὸν ψηφίσ[α]ι τὸ Δ' τῆ φιά[λ]η, πλησάτω  
 ταύτη[ν] ὑδ[ρα]τος, προσθοῦ . . . . . τῆ ψήφω χιβ ὃ ἐστίν  
 θεοῦ ὄνο[μ]α οἶον Ζεὺς, [τοῦ] δὲ μακροῦ ἀπ[ο]βαλέτω τγ ὃ ἐστίν  
 Ἐρμῆς. ἐὰν οὖν εὔρεθῆ ζεύγη ἐν τῇ ψήφ[ω] ζῆ, εἰ δὲ μή, . . εἰ θάνατος.

50 

*In the margin, opposite ll. 33–8.*

51 χαῖρε ἱερέ | φῶς, χαῖρε | ὀφθαλμέ | κόσμου, | χαῖρε αὐ- | γή ξω ἐπί | κόσμου

27 ἱασιβ. 30 ἱερον; so l. 51. 35 ὑμας. 36 ὑγιη. 37 αποίερ. ὑμων. l. ἀφιερῶσ(ε)ις.  
 39 l. χαρακ[τῆρ]ας; so l. 40. 42 κε of Δίωκε corr. ὑπεδ. 43 η of λευκης corr. from ρ. 44 ~~ξ~~.

*Verso, Col. i.*

- 3rd h. (ἔτους) β Ἀντωνίν(ου) κορυ. ( )  
 Μεχείρ 5 εἰς τὴν 3,  
 ὦρ(ας) 5 νυκτός.  
 55 Κρό(νος) ὦρ(οσκόπος) Σκορπίω,  
 Ζεὺς(ἥλιος) Ὑδροχ(ό)φ,  
 Ἄρης Κριῶ,  
 Ἄφροδ(ίτη) (σελήνη) Ἐρμῆς Αἰγόκ(ερφ).  
 (ἔτους) β τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 60 Μεχείρ 13 εἰς 1η,  
 ὦρ(ας) 1α νυκτός.  
 Κρό(νος) Σκορπίω,  
 Ζεὺς (ἥλιος) [[Ἐρμ(ῆς)]] Ὑδροχ(ό)φ,  
 Ἄρης Κριῶ,  
 65 Ἄφροδ(ίτη) ὦρ(οσκόπος) Ἐρμ(ῆς) Αἰγόκερφ,  
 σελήνη Διδύμοις.  
 Δί[Δ]υ[μ]ος). Κρόνος Ζ[υ]γῶ,  
 Ζεὺς (σελήνη) Αἰ[γ]όκ(ερφ),  
 Ἄφροδίτη Κρ[ι]ῶ,  
 70 (ἥλιος) Ταύρω,

Ἑρμῆς Ἄρης Διδύμοις,  
ὦρ(οσκόπος) Λέοντι.

Διόνυσια. (ἔτους?) α Φιλίππ[ο]ν Ἐπειφ ἡ ὦρ(ας) β ἡμέρ(ας).

Κρό(νος) Ἄρη[ς Παρθέν]ω, Ζεὺ(ς) ἌφροΔ(ίτη) Τάυ[ρω],

75 Ἑρμῆς Διδύμοις, ὦρ(οσκόπος?) (ἥλιος?) Καρκίνω, [(σελήνη) Ζυγῶ.

57 s of ἑρμης above the line. 63 ὕδροχ.

Col. ii.

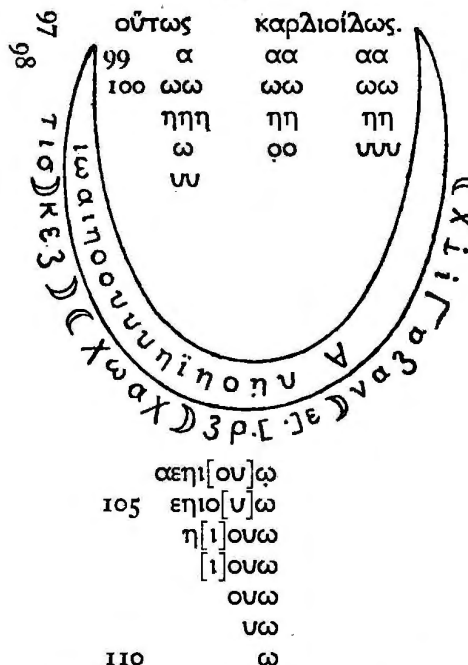
4th h. [[αρ . . . . .]]

φνοουμφειροουωερμηθωαρ.ιβαραρεουβεο[.]εααλαω  
αριουαθωρμενερτιουμαϊ  
ριουαθωρμενερτιουμαϊσι

80

85 βαρλητεις  
γαρις  
βυξ[ ]  
ταφι.υ  
μαν . .

90 . . ρωλ  
. ρ . ρεν  
βαρναραξ  
βρ . . νωρει  
βραιωχιω  
ανι . . . [ . . ]  
σιφιω . [ . . . ]  
95 κλυγακ[ . . . ]  
σιβυι



αρμαρε  
ταρερσου  
αθρυω  
σιβιβιθ

115 τιωωξ  
αβραυαθ  
λαρυ . . ω  
κασβε

αθραμο  
120 ορκιε[ . . ]ρ[ . ]  
ορωπορσ[ . . . ]  
θνααπω[ . . . . ]  
ερ . . ωρ[ . . . . ]

ασηι[ου]ω  
105 εηιο[υ]ω  
η[ι]ουω  
[ι]ουω  
ουω  
υω  
ω

110 ω

125 ἀνυγέτω ἡ φύσις καὶ ἡ μήτρα τῆς Δι(νος), καὶ αἷμα θέσσω νυκτὸς  
καὶ ἡμέρα{ι}ς καὶ τὰ μῆγ . . αρ . . . χρῶ αἷματι καὶ προΔί[ω]κε  
τα . . . αθε . . νύκτος γε . . . [ . . ] . ικειομ . πρώτη ἡΔίκτησε,  
καὶ χῶσον παρὰ ροῦν ἡ παρὰ . . χα . . ον ἐν τιττε . . [ . . ] . [ . . ]ω

76 αρ . . . . . crossed through. 82 καρδιοιδως. 98 The first )) and perhaps the first 3 over a deletion.

ll. 2-51. "Thou art the fire unquenchable that is set beside the great god Osor[on]nophris Osor . . . ; thou didst minister to him when he fell in love with his own sister Senephthys and didst run six times sixty leagues and didst encompass six times sixty mountains. Even so minister to me, NN, in regard to

NN, or else I will utter the eight letters of the moon which have been fixed on the heart of the sun, and if I am about to speak and you have then departed, I will go within the seven gates round Dardaniel and will shake the foundation of the earth and the four elements of the world shall be merged together in order that their product may become nought. Be thou dissolved into thine own nature and mix with the air and go to NN daughter of NN (ordinary speech), and bring her to me with thy thunderous fire. I adjure thee, the great god, set in the pure earth, by whom the fire is set unquenchable for ever, athouin thrice, iathouin sibelthiouth iatet atatet adonai (ordinary speech).”—A safeguard: wrap three peonies round your left arm and wear them.—“Come to me, god of gods, manifestation from fire and spirit, who alone wearest truth on thy head, who cleavest the darkness, lord of spirits, loth mouloth pnoutei esioth, hail, lord, lampsoure iaao iaasib.” Say this many times, and if as you proceed the phantom delays, “Open, heaven; open, Olympus; open, Hades; open, abyss; let the darkness be divided at the command of the most high god and let the sacred light come forth from the infinite into the abyss”. If it again delays, speak thus aloud, . . . your boy: “Abra a o na babrouthi bie barache, approach, O lord god, and give me an answer concerning the things I beg of thee. (Marginal insertion, l. 51) Hail, sacred light; hail, eye of the world; hail, ray of dawn upon the world”; and ask what you wish.

‘Release: “I thank you that you have come at the god’s command and beg you to keep me whole, unaffrighted, un-spectre-struck. Athathe athathachthe adonai. Betake yourselves to your hallowed seats.”

‘. . . on a cup, into which put a cotyle of good oil, and place it on ■ brick, and inscribe these characters on a live magnet. These characters are made—[they were added at the foot of the column]. Set the stone outside on the left of the cup and, grasping them with both hands, proceed as was explained to you, and put into the cup at the bottom of it the membrane of a bitch called white or (?) of a dog that has become white . . . And write with myrrh on the boy’s breast karbaoth.

‘A method to find by a number whether one is living or dead, thus: make him reckon the quarter of (?) the cup, let him fill this with water, add . . . to the number 612, which is the name of a god, such as Zeus, and from the greater number let him subtract 353, which is Hermes. If then pairs are found in the number, he lives, if not, death has come (?).’

1. This line, like most of l. 23, was apparently a later addition. It may be complete in itself or directly connected with something in the previous column, and this uncertainty adds to the difficulty of interpretation. The abbreviation at the beginning seems to be a Δ having a small o attached to the left of the apex. This can hardly be meant for the symbol for ἥλιος, which on the verso is formed quite differently, otherwise ἀνατ(ολη), which might perhaps be read after κρεμαστός, would not be unattractive. It seems preferable to suppose that the subject of κρεμαστός was λύχνος, which may have stood in the

- preceding column, with ἀμίλτ(ωτος) as the next word and perhaps some case of ὀδός for the initial abbreviation; cf. e.g. P. Bibl. Nat. suppl. Gr. 574 (Preisendanz, IV) 3190-1 λαβών λύχνον ἀμίλτωτον (so too 2372)-γέμισον ἐλαίω καθαρῶ.
2. Cf. l. 21 and P. Bibl. Nat. cit. 1118-19 Ϝ ὁ ἄσβεστος λύχνος διηνεκῶς παρακάεται, 3069-70 Ϝ τὸ ἄσβεστον πῦρ διὰ παντὸς αἰῶνος προσπαρακάεται, whence it appears that παρακίμ[ενο]ν here and -κίται in l. 21 are corruptions of παρακαόμενον and -κάεται.
- 3-5. For the form Ὀσορνῶφρις, which is for Ὀσοροννῶφρις, cf. P. Brit. Mus. 46 (Preisendanz, V). 353. Σενεφθῦς is probably a combination of Ἴσις and Νεφθῦς; cf. P. Leyden J 384. 235 (Preisendanz XII) Ησενεφως, which was thought by Leemans to conceal Isis-Nephthys: should ἡ Σενεφ(θ)ῦς be read there? Nephthys was the wife of Seth, but Osiris included her as well as her sister Isis in his affections; cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.* 14; P. Bibl. Nat. cit. 100 sqq.; Griffith, *Ā.Z.* xxxviii. 99.
- 8 sqq. Threats of this kind are a common feature of magical texts; cf. Iambl. *De myst.*, vi. 5, and e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 46. 260 sqq. and the cryptographic papyrus in *Proceed. Brit. Acad.* xv. The 'eight letters of the moon' and the 'seven gates round Dardaniel' are unfamiliar to me. P. Brit. Mus. 122. 44 (Preisendanz VIII) mentions an ὄνομα πεντεκαϊδεκαγράμματον corresponding to the number of days of the waxing moon.
- 21-2. Cf. l. 2 and n. γ at the end of l. 21 = τρίς. A very similar combination of magical words occurs in P. Bibl. Nat. cit. 387 αθθουιν ιαθουιν σελβιουωθ.
23. For φυλακτήρ(ιον) cf. e.g. P. Bibl. Nat. cit. 79 φυλ. . . . φορεῖ περὶ τὸν ἀριστ. βραχ. λίνω Δήσας, 2506, 2897.
25. Cf. P. Bibl. Nat. cit. 1013 περιβεβλημένος τῶ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ πίστεως κύκλω.
28. Cf. l. 32 and e.g. P. Bibl. Nat. cit. 917 ἐάν δέ βραδύνη . . ., and for Διώκοντος l. 42 and e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 46. 395 Δίωκε ἐπιθύω[v.]
- 30-1. Cf. P. Berlin 5025 AB (Preisendanz I) 342-3 πῦρ τὸ φανέν πρῶτον ἐν ἀβύσσῳ.
32. I have not found a satisfactory reading of the participle before τὸν ποῖδα. καμβων might perhaps be a corruption of καμύων, a word current in the magical vocabulary, e.g. P. Bibl. Nat. cit. 177, 586, 959, 1060 a, 1069; but the β is unconvincing, as also is καμύων for ποῖων καμύειν. καταλύων cannot be read. The assistance of a ποῖς is common; cf. l. 44 and e.g. P. Louvre 2391 (Preisendanz III) 710, Bibl. Nat. cit. 89, Brit. Mus. 46. 2.
- 35-7. The initial abbreviation is obscured by a small hole in the papyrus; what remains might be a σ followed by ■ sharply curved stroke which may represent π. For ἀπόλυσις cf. e.g. P. Louvre 2391. 257, Bibl. Nat. cit. 1057 sqq. ἀπόλυσις . . . λέγε γ' καμύων 'εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριε . . . χώρει, κύριε, εἰς ἰδίους οὐράνους . . . συντηρήσας με ὑγιῆ, ἀσινῆ, ἀνειδωλόπληκτον, ἀπληγον, ἀθάμβητον', Brit. Mus. 46. 41.
38. Something has apparently dropped out before ἐπὶ φιάλης and perhaps the writer omitted a line.
39. μάγνητα τὸν πνέοντα: so P. Bibl. Nat. cit. 1722, 2631.
40. The χαρακτῆρες are presumably those in l. 50, which were written at the foot of the column in darker ink; but ὑ[πόμε]ινται is not to be read.
- 42-3. The writer has evidently blundered over these two lines. There is a slight interval between γεγενημένου and the following unidentified word, in which the doubtful π may be ισ [= εἰς?], so that this word is perhaps not to be connected with κυνός. The final symbol or abbreviation is something like an α or λ with a horizontal stroke through the top.

44. Cf. e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 121. 596 (Preisendanz VII) γρ(άφε) ζ(μύ)ρ(νη).
45. Cf. the προγνωστικὸν ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου in P. Leyden J 384. 351 sqq.
- 46-7. Cf. P. Bibl. Nat. cit. 3210 λαβῶν φιάλην λευκὴν πλήσον ὕδατος.
- 47-9. 612 and 353 are the sums of the numbers corresponding to the letters in the names Ζεὺς and Ἑρμῆς respectively (7+5+400+200 and 5+100+40+8+200). 'If pairs are found' is another way of saying 'if the resulting number is divisible by 2'. At the end of l. 49 ἦκει θ., which would give a good sense, is just possible, though not a satisfactory reading. The papyrus is a good deal rubbed hereabouts.
51. The point at which this insertion, which was written in blacker ink, was to be made in the text is not indicated; it might be placed after βαρραχε in l. 33, but a more probable position is l. 34 after ἀξιῶ, on the analogy of P. Bibl. Nat. cit. 1045 sqq. εἰσελθε, κύριε, φανῆθί μοι ἰλαρός . . . χαιρετισμὸς (πρῶτον) λεγόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθόντος . . . 'κύριε, χαίρε, θεὲ θεῶν, κτλ.' This salutation of the apparition was a usual element in the procedure. ἱερέ should be -ρόν.
- 52 sqq. The following solutions of the first three horoscopes have been kindly supplied by Dr. Fotheringham, who has assumed that the place of observation was Arsinoë:
- I (ll. 52-8). A.D. 219, Feb. 1, 12.13 a.m. (Egyptian standard time). Saturn Scorpio 19°, ὠροσκόπος Scorpio 8°, Jupiter Aquarius 19°, Sun Aquarius 12°, Mars Aries 4°, Venus Capricorn 7°, Moon Capricorn 19°, Mercury Capricorn 25°.
- II (ll. 59-66). A.D. 219, Feb. 12, 5.37 a.m. Saturn Scorpio 19°, Jupiter Aquarius 20°, Sun Aquarius 23°, Mars Aries 12°, Venus Capricorn 20°, ὠροσκόπος Aquarius 2°, Mercury Capricorn 26°, Moon Gemini 28°. (According to the papyrus the ὠρ. was in Capricorn, but the difference of 2° is very slight.)
- III (ll. 67-72). No day or hour being given, the time is based on the supposition that the middle of the sign named for the ὠρ. was on the eastern horizon. A.D. 217, May 12, 11.10 a.m. or May 13, 11.6 a.m. Saturn Libra 21°, Jupiter Capricorn 1°, Moon Capricorn 12° or 26°, Venus Aries 7° or 9°, Sun Taurus 20° or 21°, Mercury Gemini 1° or 3°, Mars Taurus 29°, ὠροσκόπος Leo 15°. (The papyrus puts Mars in Gemini, from which, however, Taurus 29° is only 1° removed.)
- With regard to IV Dr. Fotheringham, who has given valuable help in its reconstruction, remarks that all the signs work out correctly for the second hour of the day on Epeiph 8 of the first year of Philip (2 July, A.D. 244) except Jupiter, which should be in Aries, but the error amounts to less than 4 degrees, which is not excessive for a horoscope.
52. κορυ( ): the υ is followed by the curved stroke which commonly represents π. Possibly κορυφαῖος, which occurs in Egypt as a priestly title (B.G.U. 347. i. 13, Preisigke, *Sammelb.* 18. 9) was the word meant, or Κορύβας, which would not be inappropriate to Elagabalus, though apparently not one of the various nicknames known to have been bestowed on him.
67. Δίδ[υ]μ(ος), if rightly read, was the name of the person for whom the horoscope was cast; cf. l. 73, where apparently a name precedes the date, as often in horoscopes (the name usually depending on γένεσις).
75. Some slight vestiges on the edge of the papyrus before (ἥλιος) suit the abbreviation of ὠροσκόπος, with which Καρκίνω is correct if the observation was made some minutes before the middle of the second hour. For this, however, the normal expression is ὠρας β ἀρχομένης. Perhaps, then, the apparent vestiges are an



- accidental mark and the position of the  $\acute{\omega}\rho$ . was stated in a short line below l. 75, i.e. (end of second hour, 7.16 a.m.) [ $\acute{\omega}\rho(\text{οσκόπος}) \text{Λέοντι}$ ].
76. The writer may have begun l. 78 here, but the later letters are illegible.
78. The surface at the end of the line is rubbed, and it is not certain that  $\iota$  was the last letter; cf. l. 79.
- 79–80. Line 79 repeats l. 78 with the omission of the initial letter and perhaps with a small addition at the end, though see the previous note. In l. 80 the writer apparently began a similar repetition but did not proceed with it; cf. ll. 104–10.
82. καρδιοῖδως: cf. P. Bibl. Nat. cit. 406 sqq. γράψον . . . τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τοὺς χαρακτηρισμοὺς, ὡς ὑπόκειται, κτλ., 2631–2 λαβῶν μάγνητα . . . ποιήσον ὡς καρδίαν.
126.  $\nu\acute{\kappa}\tau\alpha\varsigma$  not  $\nu\kappa\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  seems to have been written. At the end of the line  $\eta\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\sigma\epsilon$  is very insecure and the word may begin with  $\iota\sigma$ ; the supposed  $\epsilon$  was perhaps followed by another letter.
127.  $\pi\iota\tau\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha[\iota]\varphi$  is a possible reading.

## INSCRIPTION DE DEIR-CHELOUIT

Par PIERRE JOUGUET

(Avec Planche 24a)

L'INSCRIPTION reproduite ici n'est pas inconnue; elle est donnée dans Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, t. XII, Abt. VI, pl. 76, sous le no. 61; elle y est classée parmi les inscriptions gravées sur le colosse de Memnon. Cette erreur est rectifiée dans le volume de texte annexé à la publication de Lepsius par Édouard Naville, Ludwig Borchardt, et Kurt Sethe, t. III, p. 194. Notre texte se trouve en réalité dans le petit 'temple d'Isis de l'extrémité S. O. du lac' (Deir-Chelouit) et dont le plan est donné par Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, t. II, Abt. I, pl. 93. Le regretté F. Preisigke l'a transcrite, d'après la planche de Lepsius, dans son précieux *Sammelbuch*, I, no. 4023. Voici comment le texte doit, semble-t-il, être lu:<sup>1</sup>

Παμοντεκῦσις νεώτ(ερος)  
ἐγένετο στολιστής  
τοῦ η' (ἔτους) Σεουήρου καὶ  
Ἀντων(ί)γου τῶν κυρίων  
εἰς αἰῶ(ν)α Παῦνι κ̄α.

15 Juin 200

Règne de Septime Sévère et de Caracalla.

On remarquera d'abord que, si bonne que soit pour le temps la reproduction de Lepsius, elle prête à l'écriture de notre texte une régularité étrangère à l'original. Or la paléographie de ces inscriptions précisément datées, gravées sur la pierre tendre (grès) et dont le tracé rappelle celui des capitales et cursives des papyrus, est particulièrement intéressante, et c'est pourquoi nous ne croyons pas inutile d'en donner une photographie. On notera que le sigle pour (ἔτους), σ'', est exactement celui qui est en usage dans les papyrus et qu'il se prolonge, comme il arrive souvent dans les documents en cursive, à travers les lignes inférieures du texte. Notre inscription tient du graffito.

Le génitif ὄρου que l'on voit à droite de la première ligne n'appartient pas à notre texte. Le mot est d'une autre main, et probablement d'une autre époque. Il ne figure pas sur la planche de Lepsius, mais seulement dans la transcription du *Textband* (p. 194, n.). C'est à bon droit que Preisigke n'en tient pas compte.

Après νεώτ(ερος), Preisigke écrit Τ devant une lacune. L'existence d'une lacune lui est sans doute suggérée par le martelage indiqué à tort sur la planche de Lepsius. Quant au Τ, il provient, je crois, de ce que l'on est tenté de lire, sur

<sup>1</sup> Je dois une première copie de cette inscription à M. l'abbé Étienne Drioton et la photographie à M. Bernard Bruyère; M. Charles Kuentz a bien voulu lire mon commentaire, qui

touche parfois à l'égyptologie. La largeur du texte est d'environ 32 cm. La hauteur varie de 12.5 cm. à 16.5 cm.; la hauteur des lettres de 1.5 cm. à 2 cm. environ.

la planche, au-dessus de ΝΕΩΤ. En réalité le trait qui peut être pris pour la haste verticale du T est un trait accidentel, et la prétendue haste horizontale n'est autre chose qu'une partie du double trait mis au-dessus de l'abréviation; ΝΕΩΤ̄̄. C'est une singularité de notre graveur que de signaler ainsi d'un double trait (au lieu d'un trait simple) les abréviations et les chiffres; cf. κ̄ᾱ à la dernière ligne.

Lepsius a lu Ἀντωνίνου et εἰς αἰῶνα. La mutilation grave que ces mots ont subie est donc postérieure au passage du savant allemand.

La faute στολιστήν (pour στολιστής) s'explique sous la plume d'un Égyptien imparfaitement hellénisé. Or le prêtre qui a donné notre texte à graver, s'il ne l'a pas gravé lui-même, est un Égyptien. Son nom Παμοντεκῦσις est un nom composé. Le premier élément Παμοντ, est un nom théophore formé sur celui du dieu Montou, qui a régné avant Amon sur la région thébaine et y est encore adoré, parfois sous le nom grec d'Apollon, à l'époque gréco-romaine. Il avait en Thébàide quatre temples importants, à Hermonthis, à Toud, à Médamoud et à Karnak, au nord du grand sanctuaire. Ce dernier du moins était appelé par les grecs Ἀπολλωνεῖον. Steindorff l'a établi (voir P. Jouguet, *Dédicace grecque de Médamoud*, *B.I.F.A.O.* xxxi, 1930, pp. 7-10). Montou figure sur les parois du temple où notre texte est inscrit. Le nom *Pa-Mnt*, dont Παμοντ est le calque exact, se trouve dans les papyrus démotiques (Cf. F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, III, p. 445). Il est hellénisé sous les formes Παμόντης, Παμόνθης, Παμώντης, Παμώνθης, Πιμώνθης, Παμώθης, Παμμώντης, selon les règles posées par Griffith dans le magnifique ouvrage que nous venons de citer, et quelquefois en Παμονθις, Παμοντιος, &c., comme si la lettre finale de l'égyptien était un *e*.

Παμοντ est resté ici sans terminaison hellénique, parce qu'il a été considéré comme ne formant qu'un seul nom avec l'élément qui suit *ikš*, l'éthiopien, hellénisé en ἐκῦσις (cf. W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen*, p. 18\*, s. v. KYCIOC et p. 26\*, 190, s. v. ΠΕΚΥCIC). C'est un usage régulier: *Hr-ikš* par exemple devient Ἀρεκῦσις (Griffith, l. c., p. 456). Preisigke a donc eu raison d'écrire Παμοντεκῦσις en un seul mot, qui se retrouve d'ailleurs dans les ostraca de Strasbourg (F. Viereck, *Griechische und griechisch-demotische Ostraka der Universitäts- und Landbibliothek zu Strassburg im Elsass*, no. 125-6). Notre Pamontékysis n'est pas nécessairement originaire d'Éthiopie et ἐκῦσις est ici plutôt un surnom qu'un ethnique. Mais je m'arrête à la frontière d'un domaine qui ne m'est pas familier et qui, comme bien d'autres, appartient à l'illustre savant que nous honorons aujourd'hui.

La dignité de stoliste à laquelle notre homme est arrivé le 15 juin 200 est une prêtrise bien connue. Elle vient immédiatement au-dessous de la charge de prophète. Si nous en croyons le gnomon de l'idiologue, Pamontékysis a dû acheter sa charge, car à la différence des *prophéties*, dont quelques unes au moins sont héréditaires (*Gnomon*, 77), ce qui sans doute n'exclut pas le paiement d'une *summa honoraria* à l'entrée en fonctions, les charges de stolistes sont vénales

Αἱ στολιστεῖαι πραταί εἰσιν. (*Gnomon*, 80). Il y a des prophètes dans tous les vrais temples, ceux qui ont un ναός, c'est à dire une chapelle où loge le dieu. Mais le stoliste peut faire fonction de prophète (*Gnomon*, 80). Celui-ci touche le cinquième des revenus du temple (*Gnomon*, 79). Le stoliste a aussi sa part, puisque, lorsqu'il déserte ses devoirs, il est privé de ses revenus et condamné à une amende de 300 drachmes (*Gnomon*, 74). Mais les textes nous laissent ignorer comment la part du stoliste était calculée. Les dispositions du gnomon, dont la date n'est pas très antérieure à celle de notre texte, devaient être en vigueur du temps de Pamontékysis, qui avait donc revêtu une fonction importante. Au reste il suffira de renvoyer à W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, I, p. 83, et aux commentateurs du *Gnomon*, P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, p. 336. Plaumann, *Der Idios Logos*, p. 38, § 56; p. 41, § 60; p. 43, § 63; Th. Reinach, 'Un code fiscal de l'Égypte romaine', *Nouvelle Revue historique de Droit français et étranger*, t. XLIV, 1920, p. 128.

L'expression εἰς αἰῶνα que nous lisons après les noms impériaux n'est pas fréquente à cette place. Au moins ne l'ai je pas rencontrée dans les documents dont je dispose au Caire. Elle est naturellement inspirée à la flatterie ou à la reconnaissance. Mais ce vœu chimérique d'éternité ne s'exprime guère aux souverains que dans les époques où l'adulation se plaît à les rapprocher des dieux. Dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine nous ne trouvons guère cette idée qu'à la fin de la dynastie ptolémaïque: λέομαι οὖν ὑμῶν, θεῶν νικηφόρων καὶ αἰωνοβίων, diront les prêtres d'Éléphantine à Ptolemée Sôter II et à sa mère Cléopâtre III. (Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.* 168). Elle apparaît de nouveau à la fin de la période impériale, sans doute dès le temps d'Antonin le Pieux, dans des formules comme ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς αἰῶνα διαμονῆς Ἀντωνεῖνου Καίσαρος (Ditt. *O.G.I.S.* 703), et particulièrement fréquemment sous les Sévères: Ὑπὲρ Διαμονῆς καὶ αἰωνίου νίκης τῶν κυρίων, &c. (*Sammelbuch*, 305), ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν μεγίστων καὶ θειοτάτων αὐτοκρατόρων . . . νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου Διαμονῆς (*B.C.H.* xx, 1896, p. 374). Ce n'est qu'au Bas-Empire qu'elle passera dans les protocoles (αἰώνιοι αὐγούστοι). Quant à l'expression εἰς αἰῶνα, qui se retrouvera et se développera dans la prière chrétienne (εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων), elle pouvait d'autant plus aisément se présenter à l'esprit de Pamontékysis qu'elle paraît avoir appartenu à la fois à la langue religieuse (on la lit dans un proscynème du I<sup>er</sup> siècle: ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα, Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 1105) et au vocabulaire des acclamations si fréquentes dans les assemblées municipales ou dans les réunions populaires. Voyez, par exemple, pour les premières l'inscription de Mylasa, Ditt. *O.G.I.S.*, 515: succlamatum est; εἰς αἰῶνα, &c. . . (209-10, ap. J.-C.), avec le commentaire de Théodore Reinach, (*B.C.H.* xx, 1896, p. 542); pour les autres, l'ovation du peuple d'Oxyrhynchos à son prytane (*P. Oxy.* I. 41, l. 11 et 30: Ἀγούστοι κύριοι εἰς ἔῶνα, et 21: καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις εἰς ἔῶνα τὸ κράτος τῶν Ῥωμαίων).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> εἰς ἔῶνα se rencontre dans une formule, d'ailleurs inintelligible, d'une inscription romaine (*I.G.R.* I. 234).

Le no. 60 de Lepsius émane aussi de Pamontékysis. Il est mutilé par des martelages accidentels, et difficile à lire. Aussi ne suis-je nullement assuré de la copie que j'ai prise, sans avoir celle de Lepsius sous les yeux :

ΠΑΜΟΝΤΕΚΥΣΙΣ ΝΕΩ  
 ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΣΤΟΛΙΣΤΗΝ  
 ΤΩΝ ΧΑΛΣΕΟ ΚΑΙ  
 ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΥ . Ε . ΑΣ  
 \* ΚΑ

L. 1. — ΝΕΩ visible. Lepsius donne Π.

L. 2. — ΣΤΟΛΙΣΤΗΝ. Lepsius donne ΣΤΟΛΙΣΤΗ.

L. 3. — début. Lepsius donne ΤΟΥ ΜΑ, qui concorde, en somme, avec ce que j'ai vu.

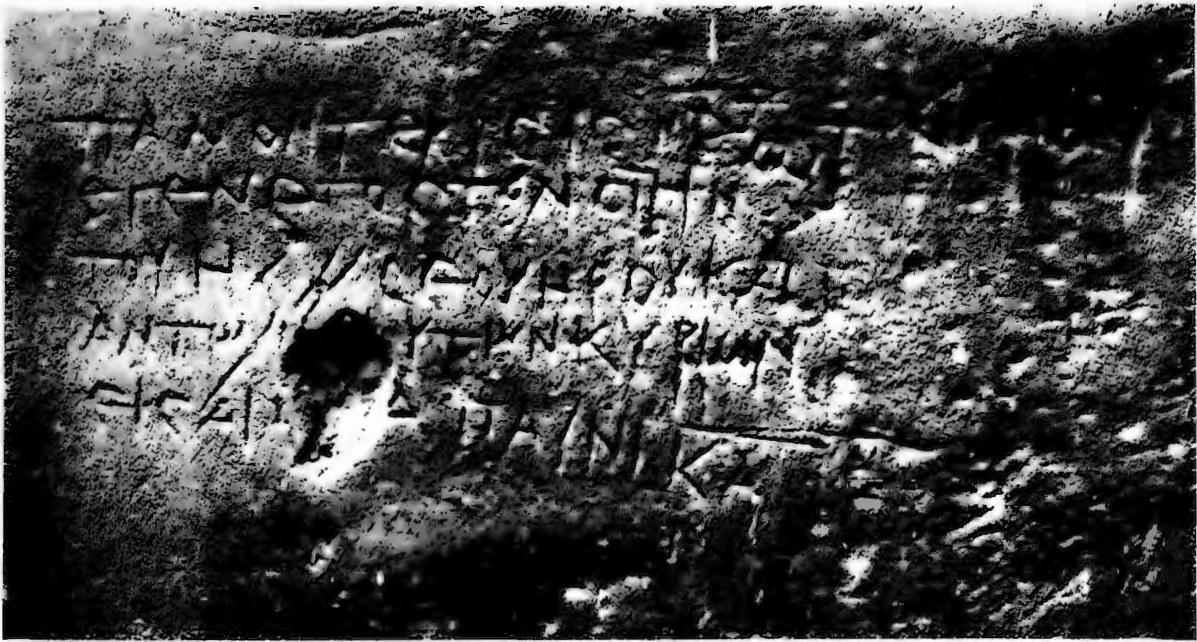
Si j'ai pu apercevoir quelques lettres de plus que Lepsius, l'accord de nos copies n'en est pas moins frappant. Je transcrirais :

Παμοντεκῦσις νεώτ(ερος)  
 ἐγένετο στολιστής  
 τοῦ λᾶ (ἔτους) Σεο[υήρου] καὶ  
 Ἀντωνίνου [Σ]ε[β]ασ-  
 τῶν [ ] κᾶ

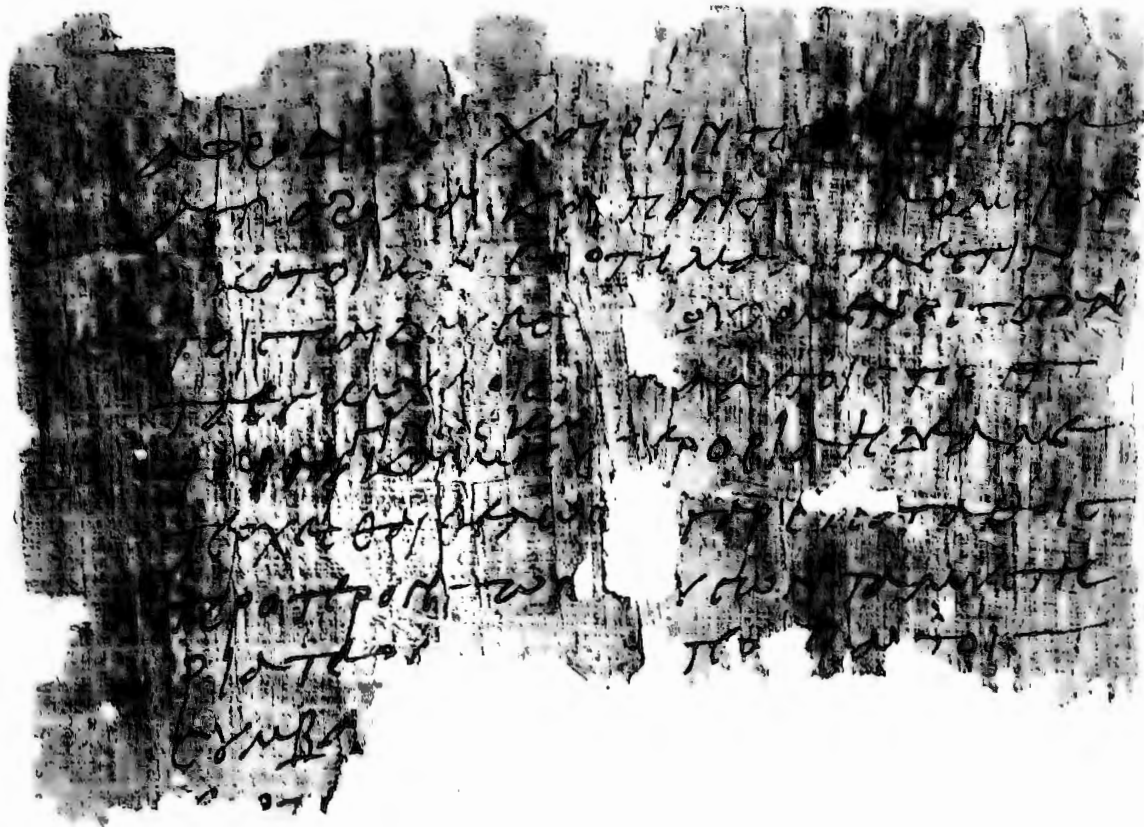
La formule de 60 serait donc un peu différente de celle de 61 et c'est ce qui m'inspire des doutes sur mes lectures. Quant à la date, elle serait aussi différente; mais il va sans dire que λᾶ ou λα sont impossibles. Ce sont pourtant les seules lectures qui concordent avec les traces vues par Lepsius et par moi-même. Le document requiert un nouvel examen. Pour le moment nous ne pouvons affirmer que Pamontékysis ait été deux fois stoliste.

60 se trouve sur la paroi Est de la salle G du plan de Lepsius; 61 sur la paroi sud. Cette petite pièce devait être le στολιστήριον, sur lequel nous renverrons à W. Otto, *Priester u. Tempel...*, I, p. 84 et p. 327.

\* Quelque chose de visible ici = τῶν.



a. Inscription de Deir-Chelouit



b. Letter to a student. P. Genev. inv. 178



# A GREEK PAPYRUS LETTER TO A STUDENT

By VICTOR MARTIN

(With Plate 24b)

GREEK papyrus letters are generally not remarkable for originality either of thought or of expression, unless it be, as regards the latter, for deviation from the Greek of classical times. The reader is usually confronted with petty affairs and petty sentiments put into everyday words and stereotyped phrases. Consequently any epistle revealing a writer endowed with some personality as reflected in language and thought may claim to receive our attention. To this not very common type certainly belongs the specimen which we publish here, as will appear from a perusal of the following transcription.

Pap. Genev. inv. 178.

13.9 ct. × 10 ct.

Ἀφροδισίῳ χαίρειν. πρὸ παντός σε  
ἀσπάζομαι καὶ πάντες [σ]ε ὁμοίως  
οἱ κατ' οἶκον. ἐόρτημα μέγα ἐστὶν  
τοῖς παιδεύεσ[θαι] βουλομένοις ὅταν  
5 τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα αὐτοῖς πράτ-  
τειν ἄγνοσκωσι<sup>5</sup> καὶ μὴ ὑπερόρια ἡδέα μετ-  
έρχεσθαι θέλωσ[ι, οἱ] γὰρ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς  
πρότερον τῶν Μ[ο]υσῶν τὰ μυστή-  
ρια τελο[ύ]ντες, ὕ[σ]τερ[ο]ν αὐτοῖς  
10 συμβαί[νει]  
ἐ[ο]ρτη[ \*  
.....

5. εἴ written over something else.  
the line.

6. -τειν corrected from -τεσθαι. γινώσκωσι added above

## TRANSLATION

'To Aphrodisios, greeting. Before all things I salute you, and all in our household do the same. It is a matter of great rejoicing for those who want to be educated when they know how to execute the tasks entrusted to them and have no desire to pursue extraneous pleasures. For those who begin auspiciously by performing the mysteries of the Muses, it happens to them later . . .'

To judge from the hand, this letter appears to belong to the third century A.D.<sup>1</sup> Alike in content and in wording it strikes the reader as unusual. As to its

<sup>1</sup> The absence of the sender's name is in accord with a late date. It is well known that, from the fifth century onwards, addresses disappear from the beginning of letters. But

occasional omissions of the whole or part of this element can be traced much earlier, e.g. P. Oxy. 1675.1, 1770.1, assigned respectively by the editors to the third and late third century.



subject, it might claim a place among those rare papyrus letters bearing upon educational matters which have lately been collected and so cleverly interpreted by Mademoiselle Claire Préaux.<sup>1</sup> The writer evidently addresses a young man, to whom he enlarges in a general way upon the benefits he may expect in later life from a fastidious and steady compliance with the duties of a student. Unfortunately the papyrus is broken after the tenth line, and we cannot see whether this introduction was preliminary to commendation of the recipient's conduct or to the reverse, for both are equally possible. Let us hope he was of the same type as the son writing to his father in P. Oxy. 1296: 'Do not be anxious, father, about my studies; I am industrious and take relaxation: all will be well with me.'<sup>2</sup>

The very first sentence of our letter rids us of all doubt as to the intention of the sender and the quality of the recipient. But the second, beginning l. 7, is still more remarkable. The text is there disfigured by several holes in the papyrus, so that the restoration is somewhat conjectural. For the key-word, however, after τῶν in l. 8, of the first letter of which only the tip of an oblique dash below the gap remains, the best solution seems to be μ[ο]υσῶν, which suits the actual traces on the papyrus and the meaning of the context. The 'mysteries of the Muses' appear to be quite in keeping with the preoccupations of the writer as expressed in the preceding phrase. The expression, however, is unusual. The word μυστήριον itself had not yet appeared in the Greek papyri from Egypt; Preisigke's *Wörterbuch* does not contain it, and the phrase 'mysteries of the Muses' does not seem to have been familiar in the Greek of either classical or Hellenistic times. At all events so accomplished a scholar as U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, whom we had the opportunity of consulting upon that point, was not able to draw an exactly parallel phrase from the rich stores of his memory. It may be remembered, however, that Aristophanes, in *Frogs*, 356, speaks, also metaphorically, of a man who γενναίων ὄργια Μουσῶν μητ' εἶλεν μητ' ἐχόρευσεν. The ὄργια Μουσῶν may have suggested the μυστήρια Μουσῶν, but the anonymous writer of our letter must, provisionally at least, be credited with the invention of this latter expression. Neither are the Muses often mentioned in papyri, except in connexion with the Alexandrian Μουσεῖον<sup>3</sup>; the preoccupations of the men and women known to us through those documents generally were not of the quality which is associated with such deities. It is in the Scriptures that we find phrases approaching most nearly to ours, the New Testament making use freely of the word in such locutions as μυστήριον οὐ μυστήρια τοῦ Θεοῦ, μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,<sup>4</sup> but nothing authorizes us to see in the sender of P. Gen. a Christian borrowing from the phraseology of his sacred

<sup>1</sup> Claire Préaux, 'Lettres privées grecques d'Égypte relatives à l'éducation' in *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 1929 (VII), pp. 757 ff.

<sup>2</sup> L. 5: ἀμερίμνει οὖν, πάτερ, χάριν τῶν μαθημάτων ἡμῶν· φιλοπονοῦμεν καὶ ἀναψύχομεν, καλῶς

ἡμε[ί]ν ἔσται. Not quoted in Mlle Préaux's article.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Preisigke's *Wörterbuch*, III, Sections 12, 20, and 20a. On a grave-stone the dead is called σοφὸς ἐν Μούσαις (S.B. 3990 (IVth cent.)).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Matt. xiii. 11, 1 Cor. iv. 1, Rev. x. 7.

book, though it is not impossible that he was. The grammatical connexion of this group of words with the context is not quite certain owing to lacunae. The word τελ.[ of l. 9 certainly is some form of τελείν. Our reading τελο[ῦντες], though satisfactory enough for the meaning, is palaeographically open to some doubt, the remains of the last visible letter suggesting perhaps ε more than ο. The reading τελέ[σαντες], however, is too long. The restoration of this ending depends, of course, upon the filling up of the lacuna after θέλωσ[ι in l. 7. Instead of οἱ which we have inserted, the conjunction εἰ might be thought of, in which case τελέ[σωσι] would have to be read in l. 9. Ἐάν (which would require τελέ[σωσι]) is too long for the first gap. We have preferred the first solution because of the frequent use of ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς in substantive locutions.<sup>1</sup>

It is true that τελείν in relation to religious ritual is more often used in the passive;<sup>2</sup> the active, however, does not seem impossible, especially with a writer noted for his originality of expression. The figurative phrase just examined is not the sole sign of this quality. The word ἐόρτημα, which appears in l. 3 and probably in l. 11, is a new term, unknown to the Thesaurus and Preisigke, no doubt an equivalent of ἐόρτασμα which occurs in late writers. Equally remarkable, from the point of view of lexicology, are the ὑπερόρια ἡδέα of l. 6, with which may be compared the ὑπερόριος λαλιά, the 'gossiping out of the point', with which Demosthenes reproaches Aischines.<sup>3</sup> Such a comparison takes us out of the sphere we are accustomed to in dealing with papyrus letters, and if we consider, besides the originality of our writer's language, his quasi-classical grasp of spelling, grammar, and syntax,<sup>4</sup> and above all his educational preoccupations, we must certainly assign him a high place among the cultivated Greeks in the Egypt of his days. Here lies the historical interest of our little text. It testifies to the persistence in the third century A.D., in some sections at least of Greco-Egyptian society, of traditions of intellectual culture worthy of the great Hellenic past. This may justify us in having selected it to be presented as a homage to the distinguished scholar whose name is inscribed on this volume, and of whom it can so truly be said that he ἐτέλεσε τῶν Μουσῶν τὰ μυστήρια.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Tebt. 288. 3 (A.D. 226) ἐπακολουθήσαι τῇ γεινομένη ἐπ' ἀ[γ]αθοῖς ἀναμετρήσει τοῦ σπύρου, 407. 12 (A.D. 199?) εἰς τὸν ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς γεινόμενον Διαλογισμόν, P. Oxy. 1202. 15 (A.D. 217) γραφή τῶν ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς ἐφηβεύειν μελλόντων.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 249 c, ἀνὴρ . . . τελέους ἀεὶ τελετὰς τελούμενος, Aristoph. *Ranae*, 357, ὅστις ἀπειρος τοιῶνδε λόγων . . . μηδέ . . . Βακχεῖ' ἐτελέσθη. On the other hand τελείν ἱερά, θυσίαν is quite

natural.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. *False Embassy*, II. 49 ὅταν . . . ἀπολιτριβῶσι τὴν ὑπερόριον λαλίαν ἀγαπῶντες ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις πράγμασιν.

<sup>4</sup> The reader will notice the almost Isocratean balance of the two members depending on ὅταν and their rhymed endings (ὁμοιοτέλευτα). Also in the following proposition the antithesis πρότερον . . . ὕστερον.

## HERODOTUS II. 81

By A. D. NOCK

Οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα, οὐδὲ συγκαταθάπτεται σφι· οὐ γὰρ ὄσιον. ὁμο-  
λογέουσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἔουσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι  
καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὀργίων μετέχοντα ὄσιόν ἐστι ἐν εἰρινέοισι  
εἶμασι θαφθῆναι. ἐστὶ δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος.

Herodotus here states the agreement of Egyptian custom with Orphic and Bacchic custom.<sup>1</sup> He also repeats two theses, first that the cult of Dionysus is borrowed from Egypt,<sup>2</sup> second that Orphism is not a very ancient faith resting on an ancient literature but a recent and derivative thing, newer even than the Pythagoreanism which itself owes its origin to Egypt.<sup>3</sup> In this book he has previously said that the poets reputed to have been earlier than Hesiod and Homer were, in his opinion, later,<sup>4</sup> and this statement is generally supposed to refer above all to Orpheus and Musaeus. The opinions thus advanced about this literature are here given without reasons, but in VII. 6 we read that the Pisis-  
tratidae had gone up to Susa with Onomacritus, 'an oracle-monger and arranger of the oracles of Musaeus', having made a reconciliation with him. He had been banished by Hipparchus because Lasus of Hermione had caught him interpolating a prophecy about Lemnos in the oracles of Musaeus.

May it not be that this story is due to the historian's Alcmaeonid informants, for whom it was a scandal against the Pisistratidae? and is not his mistrust of the Orphic literature, which undoubtedly flourished in Athens towards the end of the sixth century B.C.,<sup>5</sup> due to this source? Aristotle certainly held that the ideas in the Orphic poems were due to Orpheus, but the composition to Onomacritus.<sup>6</sup> It may be replied, 'Why, then, is Herodotus not more explicit?' but that question is with us in any case. At least his silence indicates that we have not here, as we have in his views on the authorship of the *Cypria*, a piece of his own higher criticism: there he develops the idea with parental affection. As for the explanation of the origin of Orphic custom, which probably inverts the relations between it and Pythagoreanism, it may be due to the fact that Pythagoras was a tangible figure; it is natural to explain the intangible from the tangible. Further, Herodotus had a special interest in Samian and South Italian things, and special knowledge of them<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ὀρφικοῖσι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι are here vague neut-  
ers: it can hardly be right to infer a book-title  
Βακχικά (as Kern, *Orphica*, 248 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. II. 47-9.

<sup>3</sup> II. 123 οἱ μὲν πρότερον, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον may  
refer to Pythagoreans and Orphics.

<sup>4</sup> II. 53. Cf. in Aristoph. *Ran.* 1032 ff. the se-

quence, Orpheus—Musaeus—Hesiod—Homer.

<sup>5</sup> L. Malten, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*,  
XII. 417 ff.

<sup>6</sup> fr. 9. p. 1475 a, 43 ed. acad. Berol.

<sup>7</sup> It might be argued that his view of Orphic  
literature is to be explained from Samos, but that  
does not cover all the facts.

## ON SOME GRECO-EGYPTIAN BIRD AND BEAST NAMES


By D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON

FOUR years ago I dealt in the *J.E.A.* (xiv, 1928) with 'Greek' names of Egyptian fishes, some few of which were already known, and a good many more were easily demonstrated, to be Egyptian words under a Greek dress. To inquire into the words which found their way from ancient Egypt to ancient Greece through some old *lingua franca* of Levantine merchants and mariners, is a fascinating task; but it seldom attracts the classical scholar. Some forty or fifty years ago, if one claimed an Egyptian or a Semitic origin for a Greek word, even though it were but the name of some exotic plant or bird, one ran the risk of being told that one's etymologies were 'utterly unscientific'. Grimm's Law had set the philological pendulum swinging far to one side; the number and importance of loan-words was all too little recognized; and I am not sure but one may still find traces of the same spirit, here and there. We are familiar with many loan-words nowadays, drawn from Egyptian, Hittite and other sources; but no one, so far as I know, has been at pains to set in order the Greco-Egyptian vocabulary since Alfred Wiedemann essayed the task (and did it none too well) close on fifty years ago.<sup>1</sup> Some such words are familiar to us, and often their origin is not in doubt; for Herodotus, Dioscorides, Hesychius and others vouch for them as Egyptian words. Such for instance, to take an example here and there, are the crocodile-names χάμψα and σοῦχος; the two papyrus-names, σάρι and μνάσιον (*menh*), quoted by Theophrastus; χέννιον (*chennu*), a potted quail in Athenaeus; βωρεύς (*bouri*), ■ pickled mullet in Xenocrates; μείσι, a snake, in Horapollo; θέρμουθις (*ta-Ernenute*), the holy serpent in Aelian; ἡθ (*hati*, ρητ), the heart, and ἴρι (*irt*), the eye, in Plutarch and Horapollo; στίμιμι (*sdmi*, stem, στμημ), antimony, in Eustathius; ἔριπις (*irp*), wine, in Lycophron; βᾶρις, a boat, in Herodotus; and so on. To such as these we may also add, from Dioscorides, Apuleius and others, a long list of more or less identifiable plant-names. Such loan-words, then, are not in doubt. But there must be not a few others whose Egyptian origin is unknown and unsuspected; and others again which we may suspect, but can hardly prove, to be Egyptian. There is room for exploration, there is excuse for conjecture. Here are some notes on a few of these uncertain or conjectural etymologies.


ἄκμων γένος ἀετοῦ, Hesychius.

Of this word we know nothing more (for ἄκμων, 'anvil', is another thing altogether), save that it is found, meaning a Wolf, in the *Cynegetica* (iii. 326) of Oppian the Syrian. We may compare Coptic ⲁⲩⲱⲙⲉ, ⲁⲩⲱⲙⲉ, or ⲁⲩⲱⲙⲉ عقاب

<sup>1</sup> *Sammlung altägyptischer Wörter welche von klassischen Autoren umschrieben oder übersetzt worden sind.* Leipzig, 1883.



'eagle', which words Brugsch identifies with <sup>1</sup>, *ākhom*, *ākhmu*, &c. The word, according to Brugsch, 'bedeutet jede in Tiergestalt ausgeführte Figur einer Gottheit'; so we need not wonder if both Wolf and Eagle come under its extensive meaning. The Assyrian, or Hittite, '*Ukkumu*' has a similar meaning, and may even be the selfsame word.

βαιήθ· καλεῖται γὰρ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὁ ἰέραξ βαιήθ, Horapollo, i. 7.




This well-known word has been discussed by many scholars, Spiegelberg (*Rec. de trav.* xxii. 162) and Victor Loret (*Bulletin de l'Institut. de Caire*, 1903) among them. The ordinary Egyptian name is  *bik*; and the Coptic equivalents are *S.* ⲄⲏⲤ, and *B.* ⲄⲏⲬ. Horapollo may have strained his word a little, to make it fit his fanciful etymology:—ἔστι γὰρ τὸ μὲν βαῖ, ψυχὴ, τὸ δὲ ἦθ, καρδία. Wiedemann suggests βαιήκ. It is curious to find the ancient word surviving in modern (Egyptian) Arabic as *bâz*, *al-bâzi*, الباذي, الباز, باز.

βαρβαξ· ἰέραξ παρὰ Λίβυσι, Hesychius.

This Hesychian word appears in Modern Greek as βαρβάκιον, βαρβακίνα. It is tempting to see in these a reduplicated Ⲅⲏⲏ or Ⲅⲏⲏ. In much the same way Modern Greek borrows, as we also do, the word σάκρε or saker, from Arabic صقور, صقر.

Before we leave the Hawks we may recall Horapollo's statement (i. 8) that Ἄρεα γράφοντες καὶ Ἀφροδίτην, Δυὸ ἰέρακος ζωγραφοῦσιν. These are, of course, the figures  and , Horus and Hat-hor, which appear again in Plutarch (*Is. et Os.* 56) as Ἄθυρι· οἶκος ὤρου κόσμιος.


Ἐρμακον· ὄρνεον, Hesychius.

Forty years ago in my *Glossary of Greek Birds* I did very ill by this word, and of the blunder I then made the less said the better. ὄρνεον means not a bird merely, but some important or conspicuous bird: usually a large rapacious bird, a hawk or eagle; and Ἐρμακον, in some such form as Ḥarmakhu, Ḥor-em-akhu, Ḥeru-em-aakhuti, is related (I take it) in some way to the Hawk of Horus. The true significance of these words, and with it the proper interpretation of Ἐρμακον, I leave to Egyptian scholars. But *h't*    is that part of the heavens where the Sun rises or where it sets: the horizon. We think at once of the royal eagle, 'staring at the sun', and teaching its eaglets so to do; or of the hawk as εἰδωλον ἡλίου, and παρὰ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ πρὸς τὰς αὐτοῦ ἀκτῖνας ὄξωποῦν (Horapollo). The eagle's fabulous genealogy, its treatment of its offspring, its regard for the young of other creatures, its length of days, its death at last of hunger, all these and more are Egyptian myths and all have found their way into Greek literature.

<sup>1</sup> So Erman-Grapow, *Wb.* i. 225-6, *'hm*.

It is curious how in Egypt the Peregrine falcon keeps to this day its name of Horus or 'Hoor', Tair-el-Hoor, or Sakr-el-Hoor, صقر الحُرّ, طير الحُرّ, حُرّ.

νέρτος· ἰέραξ, οἱ δὲ εἶδος ὄρνέου, Hesychius.

This word occurs, as a *nomen nudum*, in Peisthetairus' catalogue of birds in the *Birds* of Aristophanes. I identified it years ago in my Glossary as Egyptian *ner-t*, , *nerau*, *ta-neri-t*, Coptic ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲓ, 'vulture', and I have seen no reason to change my opinion. It is a remarkable thing that a pure Egyptian word should find its place in Aristophanes' vocabulary.


The same list, of eighteen bird-names, contains at least two others, ἑλεῶς and ὑποθυμῖς, whose origin is in all probability foreign and whose meaning is unknown. I have called attention before to the little group of bird-names beginning with ὑπ-, ὑπάετος, ὑποδεδιώς, ὑποθυμῖς, ὑπολαῖς, ὑποτριόρχης. All of these are obscure; not one of them can be identified. A similar group, ἐπιλαῖς, ἐπιλείος, ἐπόλιος, is equally obscure, in meaning and derivation; and again, behind both of these groups we find apparently simpler forms, such as ἐλιῶς, ἑλέα, ἑλειός, ἑλεός, τριόρχης, &c., which turn out to be equally, or well-nigh equally, difficult. It is mere conjecture to suppose (and yet I permit myself to surmise) that these are all Egyptian words corrupted through *Volksetymologie*, and that the article πτ- underlies the ὑπὸ or the ἐπί.

With τριόρχης, a word commonly translated 'buzzard', and in which the influence of *Volksetymologie* is plain, we may perhaps correlate τόργος, which means a Vulture, and is used several times by Lycophron the Alexandrine. It is said by Hesychius to be a Sicilian word; but nevertheless I think it may be Egyptian. The Coptic ⲟⲣⲉ, ⲧⲣⲉ and ⲧⲟⲣⲉ, translated 'kite', may be akin; and the Arabic *tā'ir*, طائر, a 'hawk', may in turn be connected with these.

πτύγξ· (Ps.) Arist. *H.A.* IX. 12. 615<sup>b</sup> 11.


This bird-name is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. It is found in the pseudo-Aristotelian ninth book of the *Historia Animalium*, and it comes just where we may read many strange stories on a single page: of the Hawk that will not eat the heart of its prey, of the Wren which is called King and so incurs the Eagle's jealousy, of the singing Swans, of the Stork and the Bee-eater tended in old age by their children, of the Cinnamon-bird whose spice-built nest has to be shot down with weighted arrows: and other strange exotic tales.

We are told of πτύγξ that it is a nocturnal bird; that it is identified by some with ὑβρίς (ὄρνεον νυκτερινόν, Hesych.); that it fights so fiercely with the eagle that oftentimes the shepherds capture both alive, as happens also when two cranes fight with one another. On this more than slender evidence the bird has been identified with the Eagle Owl, an identification which I plead guilty to adopting in my translation of the *Historia Animalium*. It is the sort of identification only to be justified, or excused, if one is persuaded that a real bird is


under description, and that the writer is doing his best, however imperfectly, to relate natural history and not myth; but I have now no doubt that the whole account is, like the context, a matter of folk-lore, and that the bird's name or names, πτύγξ and ύβρις, are foreign words. I suspect that πτύγξ, or π-τύγξ, is an Egyptian word; it may possibly be identical with  (Brugsch) *teχ*, or *tekhi*, which is a synonym for the ibis-headed Thoth.<sup>1</sup> It is retained in Coptic as πι-τισι (Kircher), τσι, πι-ερεεπι, glossed as *grus*, *avis*; and Brugsch supposes, doubtless from its association with Thoth, that 'er ist wohl weniger ein Kranich, *grus*, als vielmehr eine *Ibisart*'. It is at least curious that πτύγξ comes into close relation with the Crane in the said pseudo-Aristotelian passage.


I ought not to omit to say that the pseudo-Aristotle had just quoted, in the sentence before, Homer's lines about that mysterious bird, ἦν τ' ἐν ὄρεσσι | χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμινδιν (*Il.* XIV. 291); and that the clause relating to πτύγξ and ύβρις appears in some texts, and is taken by Eustathius and Pliny, to relate to the same mysterious bird. I have a suspicion in my own mind that the κύμινδιν may be no other than the fabulous Indian *Govinda*-bird; but that stray conjecture is neither here nor there, and the Homeric 'language of the Gods' is a very serious matter.

ἄνθος (Ps.) Arist., *H.A.* VIII. 592<sup>b</sup> 25, IX. 609<sup>b</sup> 14, *al.*

This is a very obscure bird-name in Greek; it does not survive in Modern Greek, and the passages in which it occurs are for the most part fabulous. It is mentioned more than once in the pseudo-Aristotelian, and in part Egyptian, ninth book of the *Historia Animalium*, where it is said to dwell παρά ποταμόν και ἔλη, and to mimic and terrify the horse. It comes into relation with ἔρωδιός, another difficult word, which is commonly translated 'heron' (*ardea*)—a translation which may be so far correct, but which is certainly not the word's only meaning. Ἐρωδιός, according to Aristotle, περί τὰς λίμνας και τοὺς ποταμούς βιοτεύει and it is remarkable that in a fable of Boios (*ap.* Anton. Lib., *Met.* 7), Anthus and Erodus are two brothers, who tend the horses of their father Autonus. I suspect that ἄνθος is no other than  = *henty*, which appears to have been some sort of heron,<sup>2</sup> and which Bilharz identifies with the Night-heron, *Ardea nycticorax*.

ἔποψ· κούκουφα· ἀπαφός, Hesychius.

The Egyptian symbolism of the Hoopoe is well known, as is also its demotic name *ququpat*, <sup>3</sup> and I have nothing new to add with regard to either. I mention the bird here chiefly to suggest an emendation in a certain anonymous MS. *de Avibus* quoted by Ducange, s.v. κούκουφος, in his *Glossary of Medieval Greek*, ἔποψ ὄρνεον ἐν ἀέρι πετόμενον. It should surely read ἐν ἔαρι

<sup>1</sup> Erman-Grapow, *op. cit.* v. 325, s.v. with spelling .

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Erman-Grapow, *op. cit.* III. 105, s.v.

<sup>3</sup> Griffith-Thompson, *Dem. magical pap.* III. 88, s.v.

φαινόμενον. Cf. ὃς ἦρι μὲν φαίνοντι Διαπάλλει πτερὸν | κίρκου λεπάργου, of the Hoopoe in the Aeschylean fragment.

The name ἀπαφός is somewhat remarkable. It not only occurs in Hesychius, but is also the name used for the Hoopoe by the Syriac Physiologist. I ventured to suggest long ago, in my Glossary, that this word might be akin to the Ἄποπις, Ἑλίου ἀδελφός, of Plutarch (*De Isid.* xxxvi); for the Hoopoe, with its radiant crest, was undoubtedly, like the woodpecker and the crested lark, an emblem of the sun.

*ipy* in demotic (𓂏𓂐𓂑) is said (by Brugsch) to mean the Hippopotamus, and is certainly the name of a goddess who takes the form of a hippopotamus.<sup>1</sup> Brugsch further tells us that 'In Koptisch ist das Wort versteckt erhalten im Namen des Monats *επειφ, επηφ, επιφ* [*επηπ, abib*], u.s.w., welcher Hippopotamus—(*hib*), *ἀπι*—heisst'. It is curious how these words resemble ἀπαφός, which we have just seen to be ■ Hoopoe-name; and all the more curious because Horapollo (i. 55, 56) brings Hoopoe and Hippopotamus together, the one symbolizing gentleness, and the other (or rather the *claws* of the hippopotamus) the reverse. Lauth goes so far as to see the two combined in the well-known symbol †: which shows (so he says) the bird's head above and the beast's claws below; this may or may not be. But I feel sure, for my part, that ἵπποπόταμος itself is but a make-shift word, of which *Volksetymologie* has made the best Greek it can. An Egyptian word or words lie at the root of it; and *ipy, επειφ, &c.*, are among its possible sources.

τοὺς ὄντας *Geoponica*, xiv. 8.

The Alexandrine compilation known as the *Geoponica* is ■ miscellany of folklore, much of it either admittedly or else obviously Egyptian. The chapter in question deals with remedies for the bite of snakes and other reptiles (ἔρπετά), and with means for their expulsion; after stating that ὄφεις οὐκ ἔσονται ἐν χωρίῳ, ἐὰν ἀψίνθιον . . . . περι τὴν ἑπαυλιν φυτεύσης,, the writer goes on to say, τοὺς ὄντας ἐλάσεις, ἐὰν κρίνου ρίζαν . . . . θυμιάσης. In τοὺς ὄντας we may safely recognize the Egyptian *hontasu*, 'lizard', 𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒𓂓𓂔𓂕, Coptic *ἄπθογς, stellio, lacerta*. This identification (on which I was once inclined to pride myself) was given half a century ago by Lauth, parenthetically, among his notes on Horapollo.<sup>2</sup>

πᾶν Ptol. Chenn. ap. Phot. *Bibl.* p. 153 B., Suid. s. h. v. This is a great fish, ἰχθύς κητώδης, mentioned by Suidas and by Photius: in it was found the stone ἀστερίτης, which is kindled by the sun and used for ■ talisman. It is eg. *pʿin* 𓂏𓂐𓂑, the great Nile Perch, *Tilapia nilotica*. I overlooked the fish when I wrote on Greek-Egyptian fish-names in the *J.E.A.*

<sup>1</sup> Erman-Grapow, *Wb.* i. 68, s.v.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Münchener Sitzungsbericht*, 1876, p. 71.





PART V  
ART, ARCHAEOLOGY, AND SCIENCE



# EINE HOLZSCHACHTEL MIT DARSTELLUNG EINER LÄNDLICHEN SZENE IN NUBIEN

Von LUDWIG BORCHARDT

(mit Tafeln 25 und 26)

VOR vierzig Jahren haben Griffith, den diese Festschrift bei Vollendung des siebenten Jahrzehnts seines an Arbeit und Erfolgen reichen Lebens ehren soll, und ich uns auf einem Gebiete unserer Wissenschaft, bei den Handschriften des Mittleren Reiches, getroffen und sind dann eine Weile mit gleichartigen Arbeiten neben einander hergegangen. Bald aber liess die Fülle des sich uns bietenden Stoffes jeden von uns seinen eignen Weg gehen, der von dem des anderen weit entfernt lag. Daher wurde es mir nicht leicht, für Griffiths Jubiläumsschrift aus meinem Arbeitsgebiet etwas zu finden, von dem ich sicher sein konnte, dass es auch ihn interessieren würde. Es ist auch nur ein kleines Etwas, das ihn an das Nachbarland Ägyptens erinnern soll, dem er einen grossen Teil seiner Arbeitskraft gewidmet hat, an Nubien, nämlich eine Holzschachtel mit Darstellung einer ländlichen Szene in Nubien (s. Bl. 25).

Die längliche Schachtel — 13·7 cm lang, 5·2 cm breit und 2·9 cm hoch — ist aus einem Zweigstück von rundem Querschnitt aus dunklem Holz, das ich nicht habe untersuchen lassen, durch einen Längsschnitt abgeschnitten und im Innern ausgehöhlt, so dass sich drei Abteile zwischen stehengelassenen Wänden ergeben (s. Bl. 25c).

Schachteln dieser Art sind nicht selten, sie sind eine Gruppe der ursprünglichsten Erzeugnisse der Tischlerei, als sie sich zuerst versuchte, verschliessbare Behälter zu fertigen. Eigentlich — wenn wir einmal das englische Wort 'joiner' für Tischler zu Grunde legen — ist diese Art, Schachteln zu machen, noch nicht einmal 'joiner'-Arbeit, sondern könnte nur einfach als Holzarbeit bezeichnet werden, da von Holz-'Verbindung' dabei noch nicht die Rede ist. Diese Schachteln stehen in der Tischlerei an derselben Stelle wie die Einbäume — ausgehöhlte Baumstämme — im Schiffbau.

Ich darf wohl hier kurz die verschiedenen Arten der 'Einbaum'-Schachteln aufführen, indem ich mich nur der im Kairener Museum aufbewahrten als Beispiele bediene und zum Vergleich abbilde (s. Bl. 26.).

Die einfachste Art ist unstreitig die aus zylindrischen Zweigstücken, die von einem ihrer Schnitte nach unten *bis auf* den Boden ausgehöhlt wurden. Der Verschluss erfolgte durch ein oben aufgebundenes Stück Leder. Von dieser Art ist mir kein Beispiel bekannt, wohl aber hat Kairo von einer Weiterbildung dieser Art zwei gute Beispiele — *Journal d'Entrée* 32744,<sup>1</sup> *Cat. Gén.* 44706

<sup>1</sup> Saqqara, *Tombeau de la reine*, 1898 (Loret), gräbern der 6ten Dynastie oder in den über ihnen also wohl oben im Schutt über den Königinnen- gelegenen Bauten des Neuen Reiches gefunden.

(Bénédite, noch nicht gedruckt) und *J. d'E.* 28754 A+B,<sup>1</sup> *Cat. Gén.* 44707 (Bénédite, wie vor, s. a. von Bissing in *Mittlgn. d. Deutschen Arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1898, 23, S. 242 ff)—, bei denen Boden und Drehdeckel aus besonderen Holzplatten gearbeitet waren, die durch zwei senkrecht laufende Leisten gehalten wurden. Die Leisten fassten unten die zum Teil auch in den ausgehöhlten Zweig eingreifende Bodenplatte und bildeten gleichzeitig mit ihren unteren Enden zwei ganz kurze Füsse, oben trugen sie den Dreh- und den Verschlusszapfen des Deckels. Eine dritte Leiste, die wir nur bei der später zu besprechenden dritten Art dieser Schachteln nachweisen können, muss auch hier vorhanden gewesen sein. Sie lief unter dem Boden, senkrecht zur Verbindungslinie der beiden kurzen Füsse, hielt also den Boden zusammen, gab ihm zwei weitere Befestigungen an der Wand der Schachtel und machte endlich das sichere Stehen der Schachtel überhaupt erst möglich.

Zu der nächsten Art gehört unsere Schachtel. Hier wird von dem zylindrischen Zweigstück der Länge nach ein Stück, etwas kleiner als der Halbzylinder, abgedechselt, und das zurückbleibende Stück so ausgetieft, dass die Abteile (s. Bl. 25c) entstehen, und Längsränder sowie ein Rand an einer Schmalseite stehen bleiben. Die Längsränder werden unterschritten. Ein von *der* Schmalseite, an der der Rand nicht stehen gelassen war, einzuschiebendes Brettchen, das seitlich in die Unterschneidungen der Längsseiten einpasst, bildet den Verschluss. Die Knöpfe zum Zubinden — einer an einer Schmalseite des Deckels, der andere an einer der Schachtel — sitzen bald an der Einschubseite, bald an der ihr entgegengesetzten. Bei der hier behandelten Schachtel, bei der Deckel und Knöpfe leider fehlen, sassen sie an der der Einschubseite entgegengesetzten.

Von dieser Art hat Kairo vier Stück: *J. d'E.* 39213;<sup>2</sup> 41550;<sup>3</sup> ohne Nr., *Cat. Gén.* 44716 (Bénédite, wie oben); 29140;<sup>4</sup> *Cat. Gén.* 44717 (Bénédite, wie oben). Dies dürfte die am häufigsten auftretende Art sein.

Die dritte Art ist in ihrer Herstellung schon wesentlich ausgeklügelter. Sie besteht aus zwei Unterteilen der zweiten Art, die so bearbeitet sind, dass sie mit ihren offenen Seiten auf einander geschoben werden können. Die eine Hälfte nämlich hat Abteile mit etwas vortretenden Rändern, die aussen an den Längsseiten durchgehend unterschritten sind. In diese Unterschneidungen greifen die ebenso etwas über die Oberflächen der Abteile vortretenden Längsseiten der anderen Hälfte ein. Die Schmalseiten haben bei der einen Hälfte oben, bei der anderen unten etwas vorstehende Ränder, die das zu weite Übereinanderschichten der beiden Hälften verhindern. Es werden beide Hälften, um die Schachtel zu schliessen, so über einander geschoben, dass die Öffnungen der Abteile einander zugewandt sind. Die Fugen an den Längsseiten sind dann

<sup>1</sup> Illahun, 1889 (Petrie).

<sup>2</sup> Saqqara, 1907 (*Guide*, Nr. 321).

<sup>3</sup> Dér el-medine, 1909 (Baraize).

<sup>4</sup> Abusir 1890, abgebildet bei von Bissing a. a. O. Bl. 8, 4-5 und S. 253.



a. Aussenansicht  
Massstab c. 1 : 2



b. Abrollung des Bildes  
Nat. Grosse



c. Innenansicht  
Massstab c. 1 : 2



d. Teile des Bildes  
Nat. Grosse

Holzschachtel



durch aufgenagelte Leisten, die an der Hälfte mit den Unterschneidungen an den Abteilrändern sitzen, gedeckt. Diese Leisten bilden, unten vorstehend, gleichzeitig die Füße; eine kurze Leiste unter jeder Hälfte, die wie die entsprechende bei der ersten Art verläuft, sichert ausserdem das Stehen der Doppelschachtel. Zugebunden wurde sie durch eine Schnur, die oben rund herum lief und um *einen* Knopf am oberen Ende der enien Längsleiste befestigt wurde.

Von dieser Art hat Kairo nur ein Beispiel aus Holz: *J. d'E.* 47010;<sup>1</sup> ein zweites, von dem nur die eine Hälfte vorhanden ist, ist eine Nachbildung einer solchen Schachtel in blaugrüner Fayence: *Cat. Gén.* 44719 (Bénédite, wie vor).

Wozu diese drei Arten von Schachteln gedient haben, ist mir eindeutig nicht klar. Die erste Art, die stand und einen ungeteilten, immerhin beträchtlichen Innenraum hatte, *kann* zum Aufbewahren von allerhand (Schmucksachen?) benutzt worden sein. Daher dürfte sie auch Bénédite in seine Katalogabteilung *objets de toilette* aufgenommen haben. Die beiden anderen Arten hat er auch aufgenommen, wohl weil er in einigen davon — sicher in Art zwei, *J. d'E.* 39213 und 41550 — die Abteile mit eingedickten Massen ganz oder teilweise gefüllt fand, Massen, die man für Salben zur Schönheitspflege halten kann. Diese Massen sind bisher nicht näher<sup>2</sup> untersucht worden, und so können wir bis auf Weiteres die zweite Art für Salbschachteln halten, zumal da sie sicher *liegend*, die Deckel nach oben, aufbewahrt wurden, die Salben, die ich mir dickflüssig vorstelle, also nicht aus einem Abteil in den anderen hinüberlaufen konnten. Anders ist es mit der dritten Art, die Bénédite auch (*Cat. Gén.* 44719) aufgenommen hat. Auch hier, in *J. d'E.* 47010, finden sich eingedickte Reste in den Abteilen, und ein länglicher von diesen Abteilen ist sogar noch durch ein kleines Holztürchen verschlossen, ein Zeichen, dass die einzelnen Inhalte der Abteile nicht durcheinanderkommen sollten. Da die Schachteln der dritten Art nun aber sicher *gestanden* haben, so kann ihr Inhalt kaum dickflüssig gewesen sein. Man muss also wohl an feste Massen denken, die erst durch Zusatz von Öl oder Fett zu auftragfertigen Salben werden sollten. Bénédite *kann* also auch mit der Einordnung dieser dritten Art von Schachteln unter die *objets de toilette* Recht haben.

Nach diesen allgemeinen Erörterungen können wir jetzt zu unserer Schachtel mit der ländlichen Szene in Nubien zurückkehren.

Die Unterseite der Schachtel (s. Bl. 25a) ist mit Verzierungen<sup>3</sup> versehen,

<sup>1</sup> Sedment, 1921 (Brunton).

<sup>2</sup> Proc. 20 (1898), 267 ff. giebt in einer nur allgemein gehaltenen Analyse 'Bienenwachs, wohlriechende Harze und pflanzliche Öle' als Bestandteile des Inhalts einer ähnlichen Holzschachtel.

<sup>3</sup> Die Schmalseiten sind unverziert (bei Kairo *J. d'E.* 29140 sind sie verziert); ebenso war es auch vielleicht der Deckel, da die unterschrittenen Längskanten der Schachtel keine Verzie-

rungen tragen, während sonst (Kairo, *Cat. Gén.* 44716, und *J. d'E.* 39213) die Deckelverzierungen auf die unterschrittenen Längskanten der Schachteln übergreifen. Bei Kairo, *J. d'E.* 41550 hatte der Deckel allerdings einst eine Inschrift, die nicht auf die Längskanten der Schachtel übergriff. Wenn man will, mag man das also auch für den verlorenen Deckel unserer Schachtel annehmen.



die eingeritzt oder da, wo der Grund für die Verzierungen breiter sein soll, ausgetieft sind. Die Einritzungen und Austiefungen sind mit einer weissen Masse (Gips?) gefüllt. Die Verzierung zerfällt in drei breite, um die Zylinderfläche herumlaufende Streifen, von denen der obere und untere nochmals in je zwei Streifen geteilt sind. Dabei ist auffällig, dass der Mittelstreifen, der das Bild enthält, in entgegengesetztem Sinne steht als die beiden anderen, ihn begrenzenden Streifen. Hier liegt schon eine der Nachlässigkeiten in der Ausführung vor, wie wir sie nachher im Bilde selbst noch öfter finden werden.

Die Verzierungen sind wie folgt von unten nach oben angeordnet: glatter, schmaler Streifen, Sockel (sog. Türornament), drei glatte, schmale Streifen, hängende Blütenblätter von *Nymphaea caerulea*, glatter, schmaler Streifen; dann, auf dem Kopfe stehend, das Bild; weiter ein glatter, schmaler Streifen, hängende Blütenblätter von *Nymphaea caerulea*, oben drei glatte, schmale Streifen. Die Pflanzen- und die Sockel-Verzierung ist also richtig aus ihrer Entstehung verstanden und wiedergegeben. Warum das Bild umgestellt ist, bleibt unverständlich. Es kann nur, wie oben bereits gesagt, eine Unachtsamkeit des ausführenden Handwerkers sein, der das Ganze zwar flott, aber nicht grade sehr sauber eingeritzt hat.

Das Bild selbst, das hier in einer von A. Bollacher gefertigten Abrollung (Bl. 25b) wiedergegeben ist, zu der man auch die einzelnen, photographisch aufgenommenen Teilansichten (Bl. 25d) vergleichen möge, führt uns ganz deutlich nach Nubien. Die Mitte bildet eine für die dortige Landschaft bezeichnende, sich gabelnde Dumpalme, an der ausser den Blattfächern junge, noch nicht aufgerollte Blätter und Fruchtstände mit Dumnnüssen wachsen. Auch die wagerechte Streifung des Stammes ist angedeutet.

Rechts steht die Hauptperson, an einen Erdhaufen gelehnt, ein Jüngling, der auf einer langen Flöte bläst. Nach seiner Tracht — kurzer Schurz und langes, hinter dem Kopfe gebundenes Haar<sup>1</sup> — vermag ich nicht anzugeben, ob es ein Nubier oder etwa ein fremder, herumziehender Musikant sein soll. Vor dem Manne steht ein Hund,<sup>2</sup> heulend, die Vorderbeine aufgestellt, das Hinterteil

<sup>1</sup> Die gleiche Tracht findet sich vielleicht auch auf der Schachtel Kairo, *J.d'E.* 29 140 bei dem über den Stier sich schwingenden Manne. Von Bissing, a. a. O., S. 248, dachte dabei auch an eine fremde, unägyptische Tracht, aber auch ohne sie irgendwie festlegen zu können. Ob man hier wie bei dem Musikanten etwa an eine Tracht herumziehender Gaukler zu denken hat?

<sup>2</sup> Hilzheimer, der mir freundlichst über die hier dargestellten Tiere Auskunft gab, äussert sich, nachdem er vorausgeschickt hat, dass 'man bei antiken Tierdarstellungen nur absolut sichere deuten, zweifelhafte dagegen, in die man mit Phantasie dies und jenes hineindeuten könne, lieber bei Seite lassen solle', zu diesem Tiere wie

folgt: 'Der ganzen Situation nach ist die Erklärung "Hund" sehr nahe liegend. Aber so recht wollen die Formen dazu nicht passen. Die stark geknickten Hinterbeine würden ja den abfallenden Rücken auch bei einem Hunde erklären, aber der grosse weggestreckte Schwanz ist für einen Hund mindestens ungewöhnlich. [S. aber z. B. einen Hund in Grab 143, Dra' Abu'n-negga, Hinterwand des breiten Raumes, rechts. L.B. 7.1.32.] Bei der Kürze des Körpers könnte man, wenn man das Tier für sich betrachtet, wohl auch gut an eine Hyäne denken, zu der sowohl die stark abfallende Rückenlinie als auch der grade Schwanz gut passen würden.'



a. J. d'E. 32744

b. J. d'E. 28754



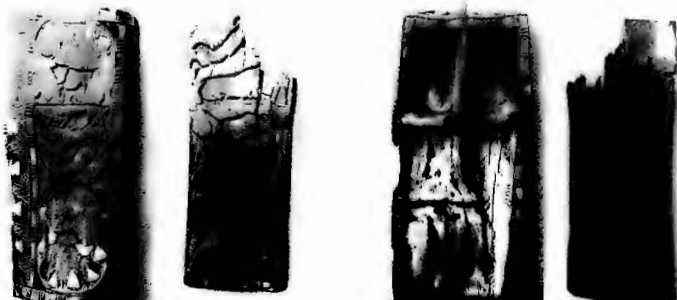
c. J. d'E. 39213



d. J. d'E. 41550



e. Cat. gén. 44716



f. J. d'E. 29140



g. 407010



h. Cat. gén. 44719

Holzschachteln in Kairo  
Massstab 1 : 4



gedrückt, den langen Schwanz von sich streckend, kurz mit allen Anzeichen des Unbehagens, das menschliche Musik bei Hunden auslösen kann.

Auf der anderen Seite der Dumpalme hat aber die Musik die gegenteiligen Gefühle hervorgerufen. Dort tanzen danach zwei nackte nubische Knaben in Bewegungen, wie man sie heute noch bei Tänzen der Nubier sehen kann. Auch ihre Tracht, nur ein Paar einzeln stehende Haarschöpfchen, sah ich noch 1895-6 in Nordnubien (Abb. 1), wo sie wohl auch so bald nicht aussterben dürfte.

Ob die Flötentöne auch den Affen,<sup>1</sup> der die Dumpalme erklettern will, dazu angereizt haben und ob sie auch die links oben flatternde Ente<sup>2</sup> aufgescheucht haben, will ich dahingestellt sein lassen. Es ist mir doch nicht sicher, dass unser Künstler, dieser altägyptische Bauern-Breughel, so alles und jedes in seinem Bilde auf den einen Gedanken, die verschiedene Wirkung der Musik, eingestellt haben soll; vielleicht sind diese Zutaten doch nur Füllsel.

Dass unser Künstler gut beobachten und wiedergeben konnte, sieht man an der lässigen Haltung des Flötenspielers, an den Tanzbewegungen der Knaben und an der Stellung des heulenden Hundes. Dass er aber sich bei der Ausführung grade viel Mühe gegeben hätte, lässt sich nicht behaupten. Man sieht die Flüchtigkeit schon an den Tierdarstellungen und an der Fortlassung der einen Hand beim Flötenspieler. Er hat das Bildchen eben nur so skizzenhaft hingehauen, ob nach eigener Erfindung oder nach einem Vorbild, ist nicht zu sagen.

Zeitlich ist das Stück etwa in das Ende der 18ten Dynastie, höchstens wenig später, zu setzen, also in die gleiche Zeit, der auch die oben aufgeführten

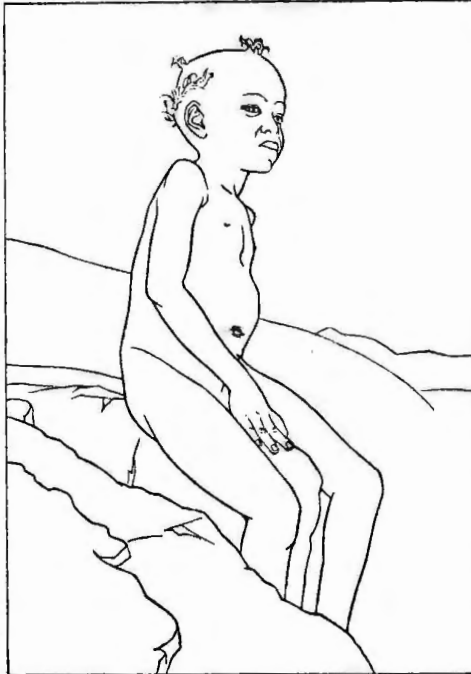


ABB. 1. NUBISCHER KNABE  
Aufgen. BORCHARDT 1895/6

<sup>1</sup> Bei nochmaliger Reinigung des Bildes, nach Herstellung der zeichnerischen Wiedergabe, fiel das mähenartige Haar am Hinterkopfe des Affen als übergeschmierter weisslicher Schmutz fort. Zu diesem Tiere äussert sich Hilzheimer: 'Nach dem kurzen Gesicht und dem steif weggestreckten Schwanz könnte man an eine Meerkatze denken, obwohl für eine solche der Schwanz etwas kurz erscheint.' Hilzheimer erinnert auch an das Abrichten von Affen zur Ernte von Baumfrüchten. Dass eine solche Ernte hier dargestellt sein sollte, erscheint mir aber, schon wegen des Fehlens von Körben oder ähnlichem zur Aufnahme der Ernte,

recht zweifelhaft.

<sup>2</sup> Hierzu Hilzheimer: 'Der Vogel ist sicher eine Ente, da der im Fluge verbreiterte Schwanz für Enten kennzeichnend ist. Wenn etwa eine Spiessente gemeint sein soll, so sind die verlängerten mittleren Schwanzfedern fortgelassen, die sonst die alten Künstler darstellen. Aber bei der Flüchtigkeit der Darstellung, die bei dem Tiere vor dem Flötenspieler die Ohren weggelassen hat, ist es denkbar, dass auch die verlängerten mittleren Schwanzfedern der Spiessente fortgelassen sind.'

Schachteln, deren Zeiten zum Teil durch Fundumstände näher festgelegt sind, angehören dürften. Es kam in Luqsor, wo es verschiedenen Händlern angeboten wurde, auf den Markt. Seine Herkunft ist also nicht genauer zu bestimmen; man könnte 'westliches Theben' oder 'Gebeleijn' raten, brauchte aber mit keinem der beiden Orte den richtigen getroffen zu haben.

## IL COFANO N. 1969 DEL MUSEO CIVICO DI BOLOGNA

a cura di GIUSEPPE BOTTI

(Vedi tavole 27, 28)

IL cofano, segnato nel *Catalogo di antichità egizie del Museo Civico di Bologna* di Giovanni Kminek-Szedlo (Torino, 1895, pp. 230-2) col n. 1969 appartiene alla collezione Palagi e non è ancora stato interamente pubblicato. Sono quindi gratissimo al prof. Pericle Ducati, Direttore del Museo, di avermi concesso di presentare agli studiosi la pubblicazione integrale.

Di forma quadrangolare, in legno di sicomoro colorato, è lungo m. 0, 44, alto m. 0, 12, largo m. 0, 40. È diviso in tre scompartimenti, con le pareti che vanno restringendosi alla sommità e con gli assi che li dividono, sporgenti sopra i coperchi. Questi, essendo in forma di tumulo  $\smile$ , dipinti con semicerchi concentrici, conferiscono al cofano l'aspetto di un triplice sarcofago, in ciascuno dei quali dovevano essere state deposte le statuette funerarie del defunto.

Sulla parete anteriore (cfr. tav. 27a) è raffigurata la scena della psicostasia.<sup>1</sup> Osiride seduto sul trono degli dei innanzi a una tavola di offerte porta sul capo coperto da una ricca parrucca che gli scende sulle spalle, sormontata dal diadema con l'ureo, il disco solare; impugna con la mano sinistra lo scettro  $\uparrow$  e lo staffile  $\wedge$ , allunga la destra verso Thot sopra la tavola di offerte; la collana *usekh* gli adorna il collo. Innanzi a lui, stanno Thot con la testa di ibis, recante nella mano sinistra la tavolozza; Horo, con la testa di sparviero, che tiene nella mano sinistra la penna della giustificazione e conduce con la destra il defunto biancovestito, il quale, tenendo nella sinistra la penna della giustificazione, con il collo ornato della collana *usekh*, il capo sormontato dal cono funerario, la parrucca ornata con un bel nastro bianco, allacciato dietro la nuca, con i due lembi che gli scendono svolazzanti sulle spalle, volge fisso lo sguardo verso Osiride.

Tra il defunto ed Horo, fra Horo e Thot, altre due tavole di offerte, sormontate da ramoscelli e da steli di fiori di loto.

Tredici linee di geroglifici esprimono il voto delle tre divinità perchè il defunto, uscito immune da colpa dal gran giudizio, possa essere ammesso fra gli eletti che seguono il sole nel suo corso perenne: 'Parole dette da Osiride, colui che si sveglia illeso (*sano e salvo*), signore del regno dei morti (*di T3-d3r*), dio grande, re della necropoli (*igr-t*). Parole dette da Thot, signore delle parole divine, alla presenza del dio grande, insieme con Horo: Noi siamo venuti a Te conducendoti l'osiride, capo dei custodi dei registri del tesoro della casa di Ammone, Thauenhuy, giustificato. È egli immune, veritiero, non è trovata

<sup>1</sup> Questa scena è riprodotta dal Ducati, nella sua eccellente *Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna* (1923, p. 52 sgg.).

colpa (*in*) lui; o signore supremo, colloca lui in pace fra i tuoi beati (*lodati*) che sono nel tuo seguito.'

Quanto alla colorazione, una fascia color verde vagone chiude all'ingiro la scena; ■ tinta verdognola è la faccia di Osiride, in verde chiaro le sue gambe, in rosso pompeiano sporco il disco solare. In verde scuro sono raffigurate la parrucca del defunto e quelle di Horo e di Thot, nonchè i sostegni delle tavole di offerta; in rosso, le gambe di Horo e di Thot, mentre lo sfondo, libero dalle figure e dai geroglifici è del colore di terracotta.

Nella parte laterale, ■ destra di questa scena (cfr. tav. 28b), sopra l'immagine del defunto, sono rappresentati mummiformi, *Nefertum, dio grande, e Iside, signora dell'Occidente*, l'uno con il fiore di papiro, l'altra col segno 𓆎 sul capo, ed entrambi coll' 𓆎 sopra le ginocchia. Al disotto, il defunto biancovestito, è raffigurato nell'atto di camminare, col cono funerario sul capo, il cuore nella sinistra, la penna della giustificazione e l' 𓆎 nella destra. Gli manca sul capo il nastro bianco, ma il suo collo è ancora adorno della collana *usekh*. L'iscrizione di quattro linee di geroglifici così si esprime: 'L'osiride, capo dei custodi dei registri del tesoro della casa di Ammone, Thauenhuy, giustificato. Appare egli (*sta per apparire*) nella sala della doppia verità, alla presenza dei signori della verità.'

Nella parte laterale sinistra (cfr. tav. 27b) sopra il defunto, nella stessa forma mummiforme, con l' 𓆎 sulle ginocchia, sono raffigurati *Thot, signore delle divine parole, dio grande, e Maat, signora dell'Occidente*, con la penna della giustificazione sul capo. Il defunto, biancovestito, col cono funerario sul capo, il nastro bianco legato dietro la nuca, coi due lembi che gli scendono sulle spalle, il collo ornato con la collana *usekh* è ritto innanzi a una tavola di offerta, adorna di fiori di loto, e tiene nelle mani protese in avanti alla stessa altezza, nella sinistra, il cuore; nella destra, i due occhi, ad indicare il suo ardente desiderio che dal gran giudizio non debba uscire annientato, come precisamente lo indicano le quattro linee di geroglifici disposte al disopra: 'Siano dati a me gli occhi miei insieme con il mio cuore (*pronunciato*) dall'osiride, capo dei custodi dei registri del tesoro della casa di Ammone, Thauenhuy, giustificato.'

La distribuzione dei colori è quasi identica a quella della parete anteriore. Una fascia color verde vagone racchiude entrambe le rappresentazioni; a tinta verdognola sono le parrucche delle divinità, Nefertum, Thot, Maat e il sostegno della tavola di offerta (cfr. tav. 27b); in verde scuro la parrucca del defunto, color di terracotta, il fondo.

La parte posteriore (cfr. tav. 28a) è la più interessante, perchè, con un singolare sincretismo, raggruppa in una sola, due scene, generalmente rappresentate distinte: la scena di Nut sul sicomoro che offre il pane e l'acqua della seconda vita al defunto, sul limitare dell'eternità, e quella dell'arrivo del defunto davanti alla sua tomba, scavata nella montagna dell'Occidente.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Questa scena è riprodotta da B. Bruyère nel suo *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh (Mémoires de l'Institut français ecc., t. LVIII, 1930)*.



*a.* Parete anteriore



*b.* Parte laterale destra

Cofano colorato. Bologna, N. 1969  
Scala 1 : 3







a. Parete posteriore



b. Parte laterale sinistra

Cofano colorato. Bologna, N. 1969  
Scala 1 : 3



Col ginocchio sinistro poggiato a terra e reggendosi sul piede destro, Thauenhuy, biancovestito, col cono funerario sul capo, la parrucca ornata col solito nastro legato dietro la nuca e coi lembi scendentigli sulle spalle, la collana *usekh* intorno al collo, sta innanzi a una tavola di offerta sormontata da uno stelo di fiore di loto e beve con ambe le mani l'acqua della seconda vita che gli versa copiosa dal vaso *kbb* la dea Nut, ritta sull'albero del sicomoro, con in capo il segno dell'Occidente, mentre presenta con la sinistra al defunto anche l'altro elemento della nutrizione eterna, un piatto di pani. Sotto la tavola di offerta, l'anima del defunto nella consueta forma dell'uccello *bj*, con ambe le mani beve pure l'acqua della seconda vita, e vicino a lei stanno anche i pani.

Due linee di geroglifici si riferiscono a questa scena: 'Ricevi per te l'acqua fresca che esce dalla grotta (*caverna*) (*e*) bevi tu l'acqua come gli dei'; le altre tre linee ricordano i titoli consueti del defunto: 'L'osiride, capo dei custodi dei registri del tesoro della casa di Ammone, re degli dei, Thauenhuy, giustificato.'

Dietro al sicomoro, esce dalla montagna dell'Occidente la dea Hathor, sotto forma di vacca, col disco solare e la doppia piuma fra le corna, lo staffile  $\wedge$  dalla parte sinistra, il collo attorniato dalla collana *mnit*. Ai piedi della montagna è disegnata l'entrata della tomba, e sulla sommità, sostenuto dalla canestra, c'è l'*wdj*, dal quale sporge, colorato in rosso, un braccio, in atto di adorazione.

Ma se tale presentasi l'interpretazione della dea che sta sul sicomoro e della vacca che esce dalla montagna dell'Occidente, per la ben nota caratteristica loro figura, quale ricorre sulle stele, e specialmente sui sarcòfagi del Nuovo impero (cfr. ad es., B. Bruyère, *O.c.*, fasc. 2°, pag. 194 sgg.), alla luce dei geroglifici, l'interpretazione necessariamente cambia, e Nut diventa per il defunto l'*Amentet Khefthernebes*, Hathor, *Merseger*. Poichè non mi sembra in alcun modo si debba qui pensare a un errore o confusione dello scriba, corrispondendo esattamente i geroglifici a ciascuna delle figure, il nostro cofano ci offre un interessantissimo esempio, non direi di contaminazione, come si esprime il Bruyère (*O.c.*, pag. 197), bensì di identificazione in una sola, di diverse divinità, che, nel culto funerario, avevano uguali mansioni.

E invero, se la dea Amentet, accoglie come Nut, i defunti alla soglia della catena libica e ad essi offre gli elementi della seconda vita, se uguale ufficio compie pure Khefthernebes, le tre divinità, unite nel cofano, non vogliono rappresentare che una sola loro mansione, una sola personificazione dell'*Occidente funebre*, della *Catena libica*. Merseger poi, quale ipostasi di Hathor (cfr. Lanzone, *Mitologia egizia*, pag. 306 sgg.), l'amata dal fattor del silenzio, come traduce l'Erman (*Religione egizia*, trad. ital. di A. Pellegrini, Bergamo, 1908, pag. 94) protettrice e personificazione della necropoli tebana, completa la rappresentazione; e, uscendo quasi dalla sommità della montagna, altro non mi sembra voglia significare, se non il luogo abituale della sua residenza, la *Punta occidentale*, la *Cima*, come pure veniva denominata.

La solita fascia color verde vagone racchiude la scena; in rosso sono la

parrucca del defunto, quella di Nut, il disco solare fra le corna della vacca; a tinta verdognola il fogliame del sicomoro e le striscie che raffigurano il fianco della montagna, color di terracotta, il fondo.

La mansione esercitata dal defunto e la rappresentazione della dea Merseger nella parete posteriore, assicurano al cofano la provenienza da Tebe. Non è invece cosa sicura il precisare da quale parte della necropoli tebana esso provenga, non essendo anche il nome del defunto cui appartiene fra quelli più comuni che si incontrano nelle tombe della necropoli.

Per quanto è a mia conoscenza, non ricordo che un Thauenany, sacerdote di Amenofi, che naviga sul mare di Ammone (cfr. Gardiner-Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, n. 134\*, p. 28) e, un Thauenhuy, figlio di Ken, ricordato nella tomba n. 4 di Deir el Médineh (cfr. B. Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir el Médineh*, 1924-5, pag. 181). Che provenga il cofano da Deir el Médineh sembra dubbio anche al Bruyère (*Fouilles de Deir el Médineh*, 1929, pag. 11), pur elencando la mansione di Thauenhuy fra quelle più note, esercitate in questa parte della necropoli tebana, negli oratori o cappelle votive.

Ciò non ostante, anche se il luogo di provenienza non si può esattamente determinare, e se mancano maggiori notizie per meglio lumeggiare la persona del defunto ricordato, il cofano descritto rimane pur sempre, a mio modesto avviso, per la finezza di esecuzione delle figure, per l'armonica distribuzione dei colori, che gli conferisce singolare risalto, un prezioso esemplare del progresso raggiunto dall'arte funeraria della necropoli tebana, al servizio delle classi medie, al tempo della XX dinastia.

## ASSYRIAN RELIEF SCULPTURE AND THE INFLUENCE OF EGYPTIAN ART

By JAMES HENRY BREASTED

(With Plates 29, 30 and 31)

CULTURE diffusion is a problem much discussed among students of man at present. It is not often that we find unmistakable inscriptional evidence positively recording the transition of a culture element from one civilization to another. In the twelfth century B.C. Zakar-Baal, King of Byblos, admitted to Wenamon, the Egyptian envoy, that civilization came to Syria out of Egypt. Zakar-Baal's striking words follow: 'For Amon equips all lands; he equips them, having first equipped the land of Egypt, whence thou comest. For craftsmanship came forth from it to reach my place of abode; and teaching came forth from it to reach my place of abode.'<sup>1</sup> That Syria itself was an influential centre of culture in at least one particular is explicitly stated by Sennacherib in the well-known passage forming part of his account of his great works at Nineveh: 'A portico patterned after a Hittite palace, which they call in the Amorite tongue a *bît-hilâni*.'<sup>2</sup> In the foot-note with which Luckenbill accompanies his rendering of this passage he expresses the opinion that in view of the following Amorite name of the building, we must understand the word 'Hittite' here as meaning merely 'western'. That the scribes of Sennacherib should be more familiar with the Semitic designation of the building than with its Hittite name would not be a remarkable fact. It might furthermore be expected that after adoption in Syria a Hittite type of building should eventually receive a Syrian name. This remarkable documentary evidence for the influence of Hittite architecture on Assyria is quite in harmony with monumental evidences disclosing the influence of Hittite art on Assyrian relief sculpture. Pottier's instructive study of the art of the Hittites<sup>3</sup> has emphasized the evidences of Hittite influence on the development of sculpture in Assyria. While the power and the native gift of the Assyrian sculptors are undeniable, there is nevertheless unmistakable evidence of foreign influence. In northern Syria they found a style of sculpture closely allied with that of the Hittites, and it had a profound effect.

Geographically such influence was to be expected; but while we are accustomed to Hittite civilization in Syria, we have heretofore hardly begun to realize that the influence of Egyptian art in Syria was not limited to alabaster vases and the work of the goldsmith, that is to small and easily portable objects

<sup>1</sup> See the present writer's *Ancient Records*, iv, par. 579. *cherib*, University of Chicago Press, 1924, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, following volumes. <sup>3</sup> Edmond Pottier, 'L'Art Hittite', *Syria*, I and following volumes.

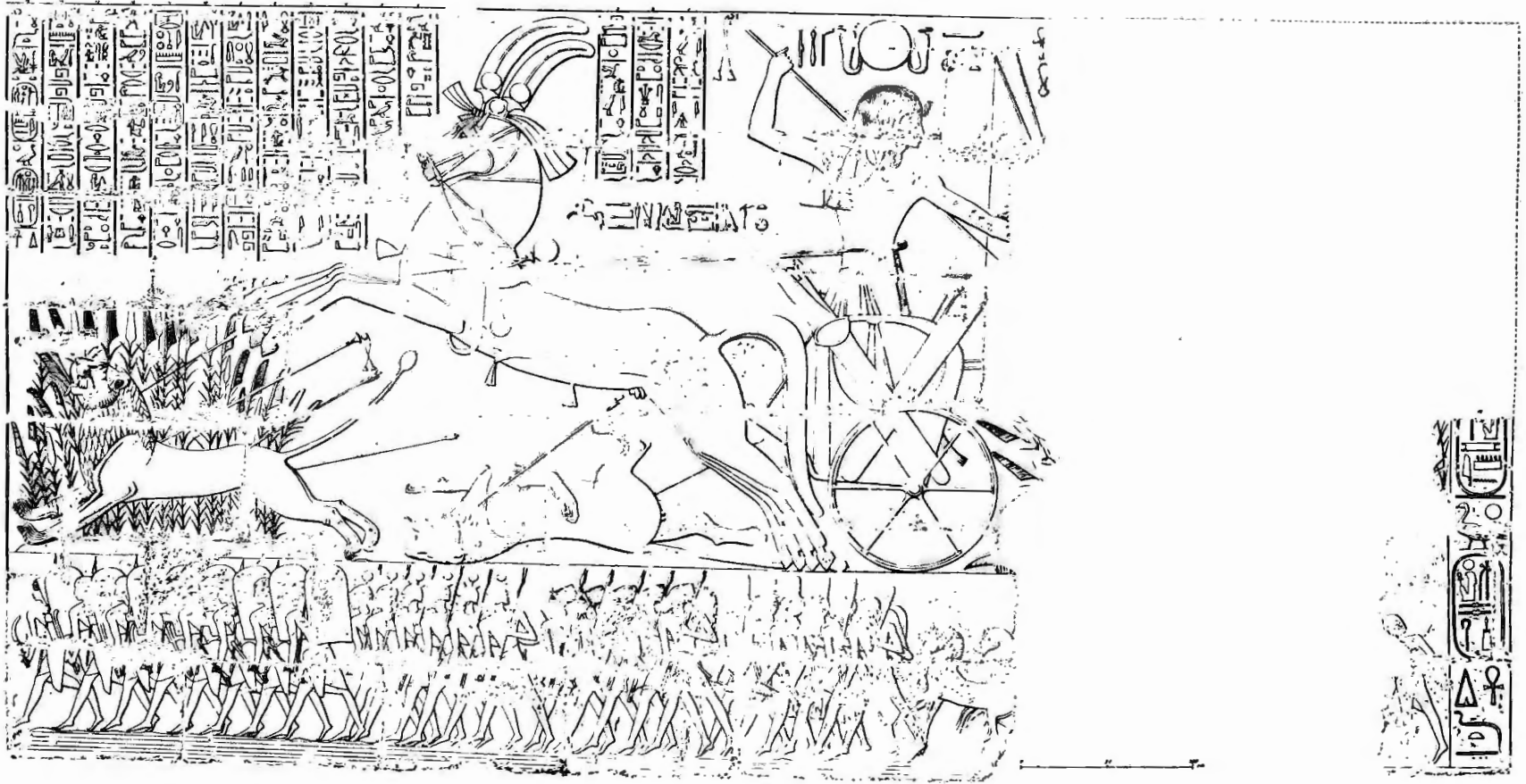
of art. The surprising discoveries of the French at Byblos have revealed the fact that impressive Egyptian relief sculptures were also to be seen in the temples of Phoenicia at an early date. Just as the Assyrians were influenced by Hittite art in Syria, so they found there likewise walls adorned with Egyptian relief sculptures. It has always seemed to me probable that the narrative character of Egyptian relief and its succession of episodes exerted an observable influence on the Assyrian sculptors. Usually the *content* of the Assyrian narrative is characteristically Assyrian. In the case of a monumental hunting-scene, however, the incident selected for illustration seems to me to show that the composition is Egyptian in origin.

I am referring to the critical moment in the royal lion-hunt, when the king in his chariot is attacked from behind by the enraged and wounded lion. While various modifications of this scene are well known in Assyrian reliefs, the fact that this sculptural composition is of Egyptian origin seems to have received no attention or has perhaps been entirely overlooked, owing to the fact that the figure of the charging lion has been almost entirely lost in the only surviving example of the composition in Egypt.

Now that the first two volumes of the new publication of the great temple of Medinet Habu by the Oriental Institute have appeared, it is possible to put the evidence in the case before students of art with some degree of finality. The scene has long been known to Egyptologists in the drawings made by the draughtsmen of Champollion and Rosellini.<sup>1</sup> It shows the royal chariot and galloping span as so often in the temple reliefs of the Empire (see Pl. 29). Under the horses lies a dead lion on his back, his relaxed paws paralysed in death contrasting strikingly with the sharp and protruding claws of another lion fleeing before the royal huntsman. The king stands splendidly erect in his chariot, but unlike any other royal figure in such circumstances, he has turned completely around with his back toward his horses and thus faces squarely toward the rear. In his right hand he wields his spear, while still holding in his left the bow with which he has slain one lion and wounded the other. He has evidently used two spears, for one is also fixed in the flesh of the fleeing lion; three others may be discerned in the two pockets attached to the nearer side of the chariot.

The reedy jungle through which the hunt is passing is depicted as background behind the fleeing lion. This jungle was continued by the artist behind the chariot as far as the right edge of the scene, where scanty remains of it may still be discerned; but the greater portion of all that was depicted behind the chariot has been entirely cut away by the Christian occupants of the temple. This mutilation is peculiarly unfortunate just at this point. The old publications have failed to record the continuation of the jungle still visible at the extreme right. That the king has turned to repel a third lion which has

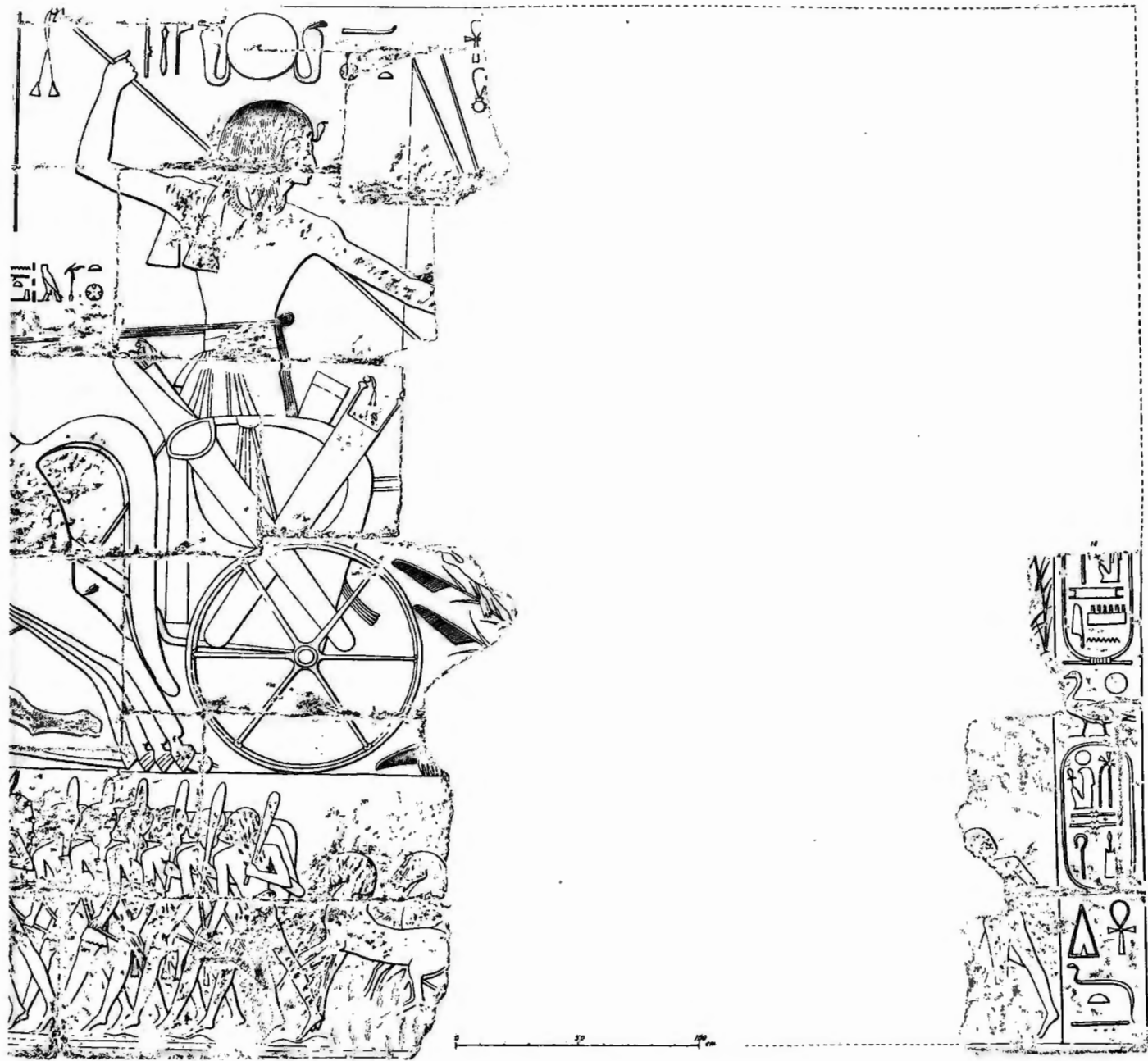
<sup>1</sup> Champollion, *Monuments*, III, Pl. CCXXI—Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, No. CXXIX.



Ramses III's lion-hunt from outside of the north wall of his temple at Medinet Habu  
From H. H. Nelson and Associates, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 1, Pl. 35







Ramses III repulsing a lion charging his chariot from behind  
Enlarged view of the right-hand half of Plate 29, showing traces of the lost figure  
of the lion behind the chariot, and remains of the jungle at extreme right



charged upon him from the rear, is of course obvious, notwithstanding the fact that practically the entire figure of the animal has been carried away by the mutilation of the wall.

Traces of the lost lion's figure are still discoverable on the wall (see Pl. 30). On the ground behind the chariot wheel is the top of a prostrate reed and under it is what looks like a portion of the sharp claw of the lion, which has been overlooked in the old publications. Higher up, above two trampled reeds, which are without doubt bending under the lost figure of the charging lion, we see a single toe of the lion, tipped with a powerful claw. The line of the right foreleg to which this toe and claw belong, is likewise clear, and piercing it is an arrow at such an angle as to show that it was shot from the rear as the lion was fleeing. These latter details were seen by the old draughtsmen and are recorded on both the old plates.

If the traces on the ground behind the wheel are really those of the lion's left paw, the position of the animal as he leaps upon the king, will not have displayed much power or vigour. A charging lion, leaping at his antagonist while retaining one front claw on the ground, does not suggest vigorous action. Apart from this fact the traces on the wall are not to be identified with certainty as those of the lion's left paw.

The mere existence of this scene on a Ramessid temple-wall suggests with much probability that the composition is older and was in all likelihood not uncommon on the walls of the XVIIIth Dynasty temples. The lion-hunting Amenhotep III is hardly likely to have omitted from his temple-walls similar scenes disclosing his prowess against the lions, which he was so fond of recording on scarabs and distributing among his favourites. The sculptors of Ramses III have here revealed to us another important illustration of what we have lost in the destruction of the XVIIIth Dynasty temples, not to mention the Ramesseum, which was in all probability similarly embellished.

Whether the artists of Assyria would have found such a scene among the Egyptian temples of Syria, it is now impossible to state with certainty; but it is not improbable. In any case the Assyrian invaders of Egypt in the first half of the seventh century will have seen the Pharaoh's lion-hunt more than once on the walls of the Theban temples, not to mention those which we have lost in Memphis and Heliopolis. It is hardly an accident, then, that the Assyrian artists of Assurbanipal's reign should have left several relief scenes showing the king repulsing the lion as he charges the royal chariot from behind (see Pl. 31). An examination of these Assyrian compositions discloses a series of identical details which can hardly be the result of accidental coincidence.

The first and most noticeable outward divergence of the Assyrian sculptor from his Egyptian model is in the number of people involved in the action. In

accordance with Egyptian conviction, the divine Pharaoh must appear *alone* in this hazardous adventure; whereas the Assyrian in matter-of-fact acceptance of the actual situation represents the king accompanied by three of his suite, who stand in the chariot with him. One of them is driving, another with spear grasped in both hands aids the king in repelling the lion, while the third is a eunuch, ■ body-servant of the king, who carries the royal bow.

Over against this difference are striking points of resemblance or identity between the Egyptian and the Assyrian composition. Both scenes depict exactly the same instant in the developing action. In both the charging lion has been sorely wounded while at a distance and unable to reach his enemy, and thus in both scenes the lion's body bears the arrows which have already smitten him. With the long-range stage of the combat past, the lion charges his foe in both scenes, and in both scenes the royal hunter resorts to the spear to receive him.

Similarly both scenes depict exactly the same local situation. In both we find the horses galloping toward the left, while the king, turning his back on the steeds, faces to the right and receives the charging lion as he comes on from the right. In both scenes, therefore, the king's uplifted right arm, grasping the spear high up, holds it at an angle of roughly forty-five degrees and it crosses the royal figure not far below the ear. The position of the Assyrian king's left arm differs slightly from that of the Pharaoh, who bears his bow in his own left hand, while the Assyrian's left hand is occupied in grasping his spear, and in accordance with Assyrian usage he has resigned the bow to ■ eunuch. It should be noticed, however, that the eunuch holds the bow in exactly the same vertical position and in exactly the same relative place in the composition, as that given to it by the Egyptian sculptor. The difference in detail that the eunuch holds the bowstring while the Pharaoh grasps the bow itself, is of slight significance.

To conclude that an elaborate composition of this kind would be developed in these two different countries with such extraordinary identity of detail both in temporal and local relations, while the artists were working in complete independence of each other, is hardly ■ possibility. It would seem that we must accept this Assyrian relief as evidence that the art of Nineveh was influenced by the relief sculpture of Egypt. At the same time it is evident at the first glance that the work of the Assyrian is no mere slavish copy. As the volumes of the new publication of Ramses III's temple at Medinet Habu become available, it will be more and more evident that the Ramessid art which it has preserved has been much underestimated, as ■ result of the misleading lines of the mutilated walls from which it has heretofore been impossible to disengage the beautiful drawing of Ramses III's artists. We shall without doubt have to revise our estimate of Ramessid drawing. There is nothing elsewhere either in Egyptian art or that of Western Asia to compare with the movement,



Assurbanipal repulsing a lion charging his chariot from behind. British Museum



beauty, and landscape depth of the magnificent bull-hunt at Medinet Habu, which is reproduced in Plates 117 and 130 of *Medinet Habu*, vol. II. But Ramses III's lion-hunt is far from being equally successful and the fleeing lion is hard and mechanical. The lions of the Assyrian sculptor are far superior in vigour, movement, and especially in the powerful representation of animal savagery.



## THE PREDYNASTIC TOWN-SITE AT HIERAKONPOLIS

By GUY BRUNTON

(With Plates 32 and 33)

**D**URING our stay at El Kab in the winter of 1927-8, when we were occupying the late Mr. Somers Clarke's house, we crossed the river on several occasions to visit the ruins of Hierakonpolis. The famous temple site consisting of three islands in the cultivation, one larger and two much smaller, is now waste land overgrown with bushes and rank grass; it is uncultivated as it is registered as an ancient site belonging to the government. No sign of the old buildings or of the digging which was done there in 1897-9 by Quibell and Green is now to be seen, with the exception of a block or two of stone lying on the surface. On the desert to the west stands the great brick *shuneh* or store-fort forming a splendid land-mark. Surrounding this on three sides is a waste filled with excavated Protodynastic and Old Kingdom tombs. Immediately to the south and south-east is a wide, shallow *wady*. Beyond this is a large tract of level desert stretching south-east for 1350 metres or three-quarters of a mile as far as a second shallow *wady*. This area is marked 'Prehistoric Cemetery' on the plan (*Hierakonpolis II*, Pl. LXIII A). At the extreme south-east end of this is the site of the famous 'painted tomb'.

We particularly wished if possible to find the site of this tomb, and so our attention was given mainly to this tract. An outcrop of rather crumbly black marl forms the surface in places without much sand. The whole stretch is covered with fragments of pottery, flint flakes, occasional animal bones, small pieces of stone, charcoal, and even scraps of hippopotamus ivory. The quantity of sherds visible on the surface is amazing; the whole area, extending from *wady* to *wady* and reaching back in some places some quarter of a mile or more from the edge of the cultivation, is littered with them, though some parts are more thickly covered than others. They also seem to run under the cultivation to the north-east.

The ground has evidently been well worked over by the natives for *sebakh*; and it may be presumed that there was a large quantity of organic refuse which has been removed. Where the black rock is exposed there is no sign of a grave. On the contrary the ground is seamed with little trenches running in all directions. These vary in size, but probably none is wider or deeper than 2 feet. They do not seem to be made in any definite order or plan. One, along the north-east side, runs for a hundred feet or more in a straight line. In the Predynastic town at Nubt (*Naqada*, p. 54) also there were grooves sunk in the rock, about 6 inches in width. These trenches can hardly be natural; but it is difficult to suggest any purpose for them. It is just conceivable that they were,



*a.* A mound of the predynastic town-site at Hierakonpolis



*b.* Selection of flints from the site



in some cases at any rate, trenches for walls. In that case the 100-foot length may have been for a boundary wall.

The only graves that we could definitely distinguish were in a small group to the far south-east where there were tell-tale hollows, human bones scattered on the surface, and Protodynastic (not Predynastic) sherds, some of them having potmarks.

There were at least six pottery-kilns on the site. These were identified by the presence of the typical fire-bricks, bars of pottery thoroughly burnt to a pale bright red, with flat bases and rounded tops.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the place was a mound about half-way across from north-east to south-west, but nearer the north-west than the south-east end. This mound is covered with a great accumulation of stones, partly natural pebbles, but chiefly broken pieces of sandstone, quartzite, and granite, about fist-size. Mixed with these are a few small sherds, charcoal, and a fair number of animal bones in small pieces, apparently of oxen or some other large ruminant. An excavation had been made in the mound, and we picked out the sherds and bones from the scarp of the undisturbed portion (see Plate 32*a*). This extraordinary pile lies on the highest part of the site: the ground is covered with the broken stones to a depth of 2 or 3 feet over an oval area about 170 by 120 feet, sloping up from the edges to the centre, where the layer of stones rises suddenly to over 5 feet. Possibly this was originally much higher and the stones all around have gradually rolled down and spread out from it. A slight hollow in the rock under the excavated portion may or may not have been made by the excavators.

Another, much smaller, area covered in a similar way with stones, lay to the west of this; round it the sherds lay piled to a depth of 2½ feet.

Turning now to the actual objects picked up on the site, I will give a few notes which will indicate their character. The photographs are of selected fragments mainly chosen to show decoration.

*Pottery.* (Pl. 33.) This was mainly rough ware, as was to be expected. One piece was of a large bin, 4 feet in diameter at the mouth. Some specimens of L 30 (S.D. 58-78) were noticed. One sherd was decorated with deep triangular incisions (17), another with an incised circle filled with dots (18). A rim had an incised herring-bone pattern (12). Another neck had three rows of fine nicks (6), while a third had four rows (5). Three pieces of flat long oval dishes like F 14 (S.D. 35-43).

There was a fair proportion of polished red ware, both black-topped and plain (B and P), including fragments of carinated bowls. One very large pot was perhaps 2 feet in diameter. Of the red on buff decorated ware (D) we found only one small piece (8). Several scraps with white designs (C) were picked up (2, 3, 4). One was of a small bowl with white flecks on the inside (4); another was of type C 75-9 with design of branch, spots, and lines (3). Other fragments of interest were the base of an unpolished black cylindrical pot; a dull

black sherd with a lump of copper (?) adhering to it (crucible?); a piece of ■ black polished ribbed vase F 80 t or D 6 b (S.D. 62-6); several rough sherds decorated with punched marks like D 93 b (S.D. 38-43) (14, 15, 16); a sherd of pale brown polished ware, barrel-shaped; the rim of ■ black polished bowl with incised lines like the Pan-grave pottery (13); and ■ scrap with incisions filled in with white (7).

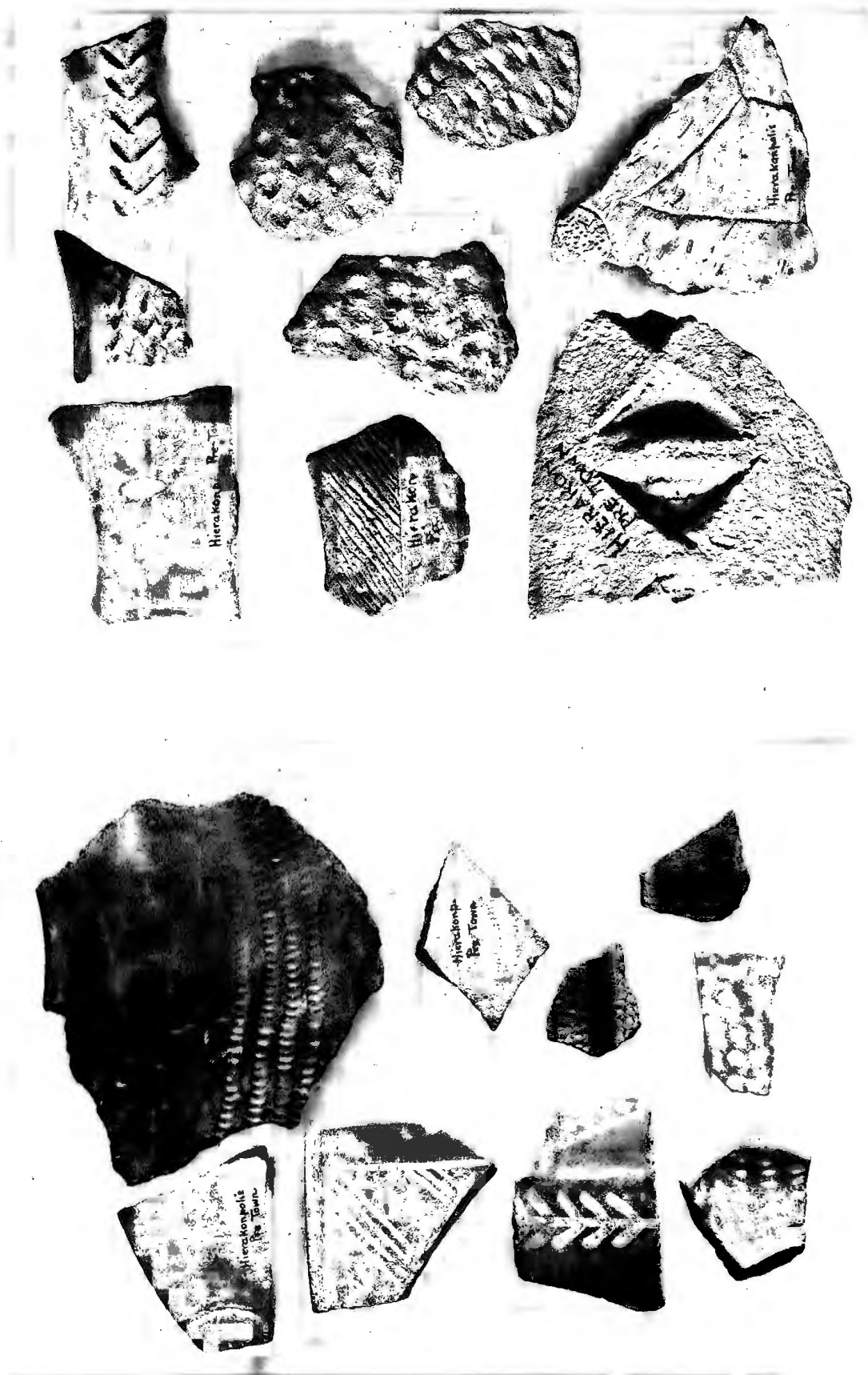
What interested us most were three pieces of Badarian pottery, one being a rim, in the black-topped brown ware (BB), not rippled, but quite characteristic. One sherd showed an almost effaced rippling (1). Another, of rough brown ware (RB), may be a piece of the trough-like vessel MS 12, or else part of a model boat.

The flat pottery pierced disks (spindle-whorls?) were represented by two examples, one being of polished red (P) ware. Several potmarks on the same ware were observed, one being of ■ quadruped (10); these are probably all Amratian (Early Predynastic).

It must be borne in mind that the sherds mentioned were found during a few hours' cursory inspection of the site. It would be worth while to make a systematic search in the areas where the pottery lies thickest, but it would be a laborious task, as so much of the material is of the rough brown ware in small pieces, and this has very little to tell us.

*Stone.* Base of a black basalt vase (*Preh. Eg.* XL. 110). Scraps of two grey limestone vases (cylindrical?). Part of a very large thick porphyry dish (?). Part of a fine alabaster bowl (Protodynastic?). Scrap of an alabaster pear-shaped mace-head. Piece of a porphyry slab two inches thick with polished surfaces. Piece of sandstone ( $3 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$  in.) with groove  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide,  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. deep (for grinding beads?). Querns and grinders plentiful, all in fragments. Flat quartzite rubbers. A flint knife 6 in. long found in association with large lumps of fine quality flint, evidently collected. Many flint flakes, some of which are shown in the photograph. (Pl. 32*b*.)

From the description of the site and from the nature of the objects found, it will now be quite clear that the site is that of a town and not of a cemetery. There is no sign of graves or of human bones (except in one very restricted spot); there are pottery-kilns, and signs of flint- and copper-working; the spindle-whorls and querns belong to settlements and not to cemeteries; and the pottery is largely of domestic varieties. To any one who has worked over a Predynastic settlement there cannot be the slightest doubt about the character of the place. The most amazing thing about it is its extent. Hierakonpolis has been thought, no doubt with reason, to have been the capital of southern Egypt at the time of Narmer; and we can now see that it was, in all probability, the capital for centuries before that. The bulk of the objects is apparently Amratian or Middle Predynastic; but it was the site of ■ still earlier town if we take the Badarian sherds into consideration. Like other Predynastic settlements that we



b

a

Typical sherds from the predynastic town-site at Hierakonpolis



know, it seems to have dwindled in the Late Predynastic times; there is a striking absence of the decorated pottery; and we found not a single example of a wavy-handled jar. Probably the town moved down gradually into what is now the cultivation to the site where the Narmer temple stood so soon as drainage or change of climate or of river level, made it suitable as a dwelling-place.

We must imagine a vast collection of huts, partly of wattle and daub, partly of stone walling. This latter method of building was found in the Predynastic village under the temple at Badari, and it may account for the amount of small stones scattered over this area. Near the centre of the huddled dwellings stood the stone mound, the purpose of which we cannot at present determine. Possibly it was what we should now call a monument or a memorial. Perhaps, if a thorough clearance were to be made, it might be found to have covered the site of a holy place or even the burial-place of an early chief.

An interesting question arises with regard to the 'painted tomb'. This is of about S.D. 63, judging from the pottery found in it. Is it a tomb at all? The plan of it, with its cross-wall, is unlike that of any other tomb that I know of, and no sign of wall-painting has been seen on any other grave. The only other 'tombs' near it (*Hierakonpolis II*, p. 22) which possessed special features had cross-walls, or wooden columns *in the centre*, not known elsewhere. Such graves as can now be identified anywhere near are of Protodynastic date, when the town seems to have been more or less deserted. The objects shown on Pl. LXIV of *Hierakonpolis* may be of that date (such as the rippled bowl: cp. Möller, *Abusir el Meleq*, Pl. XVI. 96-100), or of domestic use (such as the spindle-whorls). But in any case the details, the position, and contents of these graves, if such they are, are not sufficiently published to allow of a definite decision. And we must remember, too, that children's graves are found close to, and even in, Predynastic villages.

Reverting to the 'painted tomb', it is recorded that a few fragments of bone 'may have been part of a skeleton'; there is then some doubt as to whether these were certainly human. The fish-tailed flint knife (Pl. LXIV, 9) seems to be of an earlier date than the pottery; and we must remember, when considering the contents of the chamber, that the place had been known to the natives, who pointed it out to the excavator, Mr. F. W. Green. I am inclined to think that we have here a subterranean dwelling or shrine. Some of the dwellings at Badari were sunk 3 feet in the ground, where the digging was easy; the Hierakonpolis pit is 5 feet deep, which seems to be overmuch for a dwelling; but a pan-grave hut was 4 ft. 6 in. deep at Badari. At Badari the early hut-floors are sometimes plastered with mud, and all the bricked graves that I have found (and they are mostly of late Predynastic date), have *gebel* floors. But the Hierakonpolis floor is paved with bricks. The suggestion that this pit is a dwelling is put forward only to explain why it, and others near it, are so essentially different from all known graves, why it is not in a cemetery (as it ought to be from its size and



importance), and why it is actually situated on the fringe of a Predynastic township.

On the large tract of open desert to the south-west of the fort, nearer the hills, Predynastic sherds are to be seen lying about, and we here picked up part of a diorite disk mace-head. Weigall (*A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, p. 318) suggests, with much probability, that this may have been a camping-ground for troops or caravans. A small Predynastic cemetery lies further out up a *wady*; but this would hardly have sufficed for the great town during the whole period of its existence. There should be other cemeteries in the vicinity awaiting some future excavator.

## LE NAOS DU DÉCRET DE ROSETTE

Par JEAN CAPART

(With Plate 34)

JE ne crois pas que personne ait songé jusqu'à présent à écrire un commentaire archéologique de l'inscription de la pierre de Rosette. Les égyptologues, qui se sont efforcés d'éclaircir tous les points que soulevaient les versions hiéroglyphique, démotique et grecque, n'ont pas manqué de se heurter à des difficultés d'interprétation de quelques passages; ceux-ci trouveraient sans doute une meilleure compréhension de l'examen des monuments figurés.

Henri Sottas, dans son étude 'Sur trois fragments d'un double de la pierre de Rosette provenant d'Éléphantine'<sup>1</sup> écrivait entre autres: 'La description du naos a toujours embarrassé et embarrassera encore les commentateurs'. L'auteur renvoie aux schémas donnés autrefois par Hess et déclare préférer le premier d'entre eux. En effet, l'égyptologue suisse proposait dans sa thèse deux manières de traduire graphiquement les indications du texte de Rosette.<sup>2</sup>

Relisons les lignes en question qui décrivent l'aspect du tabernacle contenant l'image royale: 'Afin que l'on reconnaisse cette chapelle à partir de ce jour et pour un nombre infini d'années, on placera dix couronnes royales, chacune d'elles pourvue d'un uraeus conformément aux prescriptions relatives à toutes les couronnes, sur la chapelle même, à l'endroit où se trouvent habituellement des uraeus. Au centre se trouvera la double couronne puisque Sa Majesté en était parée dans le temple de Ptah après qu'il eut fait toutes les cérémonies de la montée royale au sanctuaire lorsqu'il prit Sa haute fonction.'<sup>3</sup>

Je me suis souvenu de ce texte en voyant, au musée d'ethnographie de Bâle, un fragment de calcaire portant le numéro d'inventaire: N. III. 6420. La pièce originale mesure 35 cm. × 25 cm. Il s'agit manifestement d'un bandeau plat ayant fait partie du couronnement d'un édifice. On serait tenté de parler d'un entablement à triglyphes et à métopes, ces dernières étant 'meublées' d'images de couronnes royales. Le relief montre précisément la double couronne que le texte de Rosette décrit comme occupant la place d'honneur sur le naos contenant la statue.

Le musée de Bâle aurait ainsi la bonne fortune d'avoir recueilli le fragment d'un tabernacle dont l'ordonnance aurait été réglée par le décret de Rosette. En effet, il est à peine concevable que, aussi longtemps que la religion égyptienne

<sup>1</sup> Extrait des *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, tome XIII, II<sup>e</sup> partie, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> *Der demotische Teil der Dreisprachigen Inschrift von Rosette*, übersetzt und erklärt von

Dr. J. J. Hess, Fribourg, 1902, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Kurt Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit*, Leipzig, 1916, p. 192, et W. Spiegelberg, *Der Demotische Text der Priesterdekrete von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosetana)*, Heidelberg, 1922, p. 84.

a continué d'exister, les prêtres aient pu admettre l'emploi d'un motif semblable. Le décret ne dit-il pas en propres termes que cette décoration aurait pour but de distinguer à perpétuité le naos spécial de Ptolémée V?

La publication du document de Bâle fera peut-être sortir de l'oubli des fragments analogues recueillis par d'autres musées. Il serait particulièrement curieux de connaître quelles sont les dix couronnes royales visées par le décret de Rosette. Un connaisseur des reliefs ptolémaïques pourrait arriver à les discerner en analysant les représentations du roi célébrant les rites.



Fragment de calcaire à Bâle  
Échelle : env. 3 : 7



## TEHUTI: OWNER OF TOMB 110 AT THEBES

By N. DE G. DAVIES

(With Plates 35-44)

ONE whom a not unhappy, yet not wholly indulgent, fate destined to the reproduction of Egyptian records, and who began his career, as he hopes to end it, in close association with, and continued indebtedness to, the man to whom we do honour in this volume, does well perhaps to continue that limited role here. The little tomb which is treated of in these pages does not present any sensational novelties in its half-obliterated records, but, as it is chiefly attractive for its portrayal of personal character and public services, it serves the occasion well. 'Thy seventy days', of which it speaks as the needful preparation for immortality, might be forced into an appropriate symbolism. More fitting, despite the extreme difference in the lot and time of the two men, are many of the terms in which Tehuti sets forth the virtues by which his life met his ideal, according to his own, no doubt too confident, estimate. One would choose among them by preference 'Maintaining silence and suppressing hot temper, joyous, content and complacent, free of irascibility'; 'mastering the principles of what has been put in his charge'; 'acute in cases of exact computation, going to the fullest extent in charm and kindness.'

Tomb 110 is situated in the upper part of the gully which runs down from the height of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh, south of the Khokhah. It is at present entered from the back of its inmost chamber, where the thin wall of rock separating it from Tomb 42 has been broken through (Plate 38a). Its real doorway, facing east, must lie in a separate sunken courtyard to the east of that of Tomb 42 and to the south of that of Tomb 112.<sup>1</sup> But this is deeply buried at present and, as the thicknesses of the entrance do not appear to be decorated, little or nothing is likely to be gained by its complete clearance. The courtyard would probably also contain the entrance to another defaced tomb lying parallel to No. 110 on the north and accessible from its back chamber.

The tomb consists of a short transverse hall, a passage along the axis, and an uninscribed burial-chamber, the roof of which is supported on two pillars of rock. The last is still filled with rubbish. The tomb was decorated both by sculpture and flat painted work, and, as is so often the case, a scene may pass from the one form into the other, plainly through mere lack of interest or means. Moreover, in a painted scene the curled hair of the hero may be moulded in relief; this, too, occurs frequently elsewhere. The tomb, like so

<sup>1</sup> See *Theban Tombs Series*, v, Pls. xxii and xxxii. Tomb 110 was made accessible by Mr. Weigall in the autumn of 1909. The texts of the two stelae were made available for the *Wörterbuch* by Dr. Gardiner.

many others, has been completely burnt out, and this after the natural injuries its walls had suffered had been made good by filling its fissures with coarse plaster.<sup>1</sup> Unless the object of this proceeding was deliberately to make the records on the walls less obtrusive in the interests of a later intruder, it is difficult to see the reasonableness of it, and it may be a good indication of the total lack of orderliness at the period that this course was adopted, in preference to the simpler method of covering the walls with a coating of plaster or whitewash.

The result of the firing is that by candlelight the paintings seem beyond recall. A few figures could be made out here and there and washing made reds and yellows (these burnt to red) faintly visible. But it was found possible, by double reflection round corners, to throw daylight through three chambers into the fourth, and, with that advantage, the painted scenes, when wet and glistening, could for the most part, if one had the patience and saw a sufficient reward, be deciphered bit by bit. As whites are now black, and blues and greens only distinguishable from the background by extra solidity, the task of getting a true copy would be extremely hard, and the character of the scenes has not warranted my doing more than secure a knowledge of their composition and a record of the longer texts. If there were smaller ones in the columns ruled out for them, as is likely, they are beyond salvation, with a few possible exceptions.

However, what is to be gleaned from the paintings is an unlooked-for gain. Originally I had no expectation of recording anything but the texts of the three stelae and the few extant reliefs. The ceiling of the transverse hall is strongly cambered. Patterns of a commonplace sort have left traces of their existence on the ceilings of the first two rooms, but the surface is utterly corroded by filth from bats.

The decorative features of these two rooms are as follows. The end walls of the outer hall are occupied by stelae with rounded tops, the device on the lunette being in relief and the text below in incised hieroglyphs. The two back walls showed royal baldachins on either side of the door-framing. On the north Tehuti is paying homage to Hatshepsut; on the south he is doing the same for Thutmose III, as became an astute official in those difficult days when the throne of Egypt was as good as doubly occupied. Behind Tehuti on that side is a false door in relief, the position of which recalls the former age so strongly as to appear very strange under the New Empire. The south side of the front wall is occupied by a magnification of Tehuti's office of royal

<sup>1</sup> Tomb 112 offers much the same problem, only that there the later decoration has also been burnt, and so seems to afford proof of a double firing. Can it be that in all cases the burning is no later than of a century or so ago, when it was the practice to smoke out or wreak vengeance

on the natives, who, on the appearance of tax-gatherers or recruiting-sergeants, took refuge in the underworld of their necropolis, the devious ways and numerous egresses of which were well known to them?



Tomb 110. North-west Wall







Tomb 110. Stela. North Wall



cup-bearer. It is filled with drinking-vessels and their attendants from end to end. On the north side there is a double subject. Near the entrance Tehuti is offering braziers to the gods. At the other end the meal of the dead is doubly shown, once when Tehuti, his father, and his mother are the participants, and again when he and his wife sit at meat. The north wall of the passage is once more devoted to the cult of the thirsty throat. The south wall is occupied by the stereotyped series of burial-rites.

Tehuti, as revealed in these texts and pictures, was essentially a court official, having the confidential and intimate offices of cup-bearer and chamberlain (*wḥm*) to the king. But he also exercised much the same duties towards Amūn, being a sacrificial priest (*wdn*) and brazier-bearer to the King of the gods on behalf of the king of men. In these capacities he naturally followed his royal master to the wars and was given the dignities of an *erp'ti* and a *khred n kp*. It becomes plain on reviewing the records of Theban tombs that, except for the vizier, the high-priest of Amūn, and two or three other high officials, the most influential personages in the realm were such as stood in personal and confidential relations to the king; for such relations brought in their train, if desired, important bureaucratic offices too, or at least their usufruct, without much responsibility or toil. Hence he who ministered to the king's table or his pleasures, his cup-bearer, his chamberlain, his steward, his foster-brother, also accompanied him on his wars and gained immense influence and large perquisites. No doubt in the end such a one presumed and forgot 'to know his place of precedence in the palace' and how to keep his master's secrets to himself. Then his fall was sudden and complete. Or his arrogance outside the palace grew such that pressure was put on the king to dismiss one who with more prudence might have remained strong in his favour. The virtues which Tehuti claims for himself are those of a high courtier or an accomplished man of affairs, and no doubt the cup-bearer to Thutmosis III really occupied this position.

WEST WALL: NORTH SIDE (*Plates 35, 41*).

The wall is in relief. Two-thirds, however, of the horizontal line of text above the scene under the *khekers* has been put in in paint and is difficult to decipher (*Plate 44a*). The figure of the queen has been erased, as has also the *prenomen* which gave her the position of a reigning monarch. The *nomen* has been less drastically dealt with; for it was through her high birth that her husband occupied the throne. If the name of Tehuti, which is generally spared, seems erased at the end of the text, it probably owes its fate to inclusion in a wider erasure; for the Atonists later indulged their hate of Amūn, here, as everywhere, deleting his name and the epithet 'King of the gods', but tolerating all the gods of burial.

The text above the scene is for Tehuti's benefit, not the queen's. It runs;

'A ritual offering of Amen-Rē, lord of the thrones of the two Lands, that he may give spirituality, success and (final) acquittal, prolonged old age in royal favour and the end thereof, propitious burial. For the *ka* of the Seigneur . . . who carries the brazier of the Lord of the gods, Teḥuti'.

Hatshepsut, who sat under a simple canopy on a raised dais 'making an appearance [?] on the great throne and receiving a bouquet of [Amūn]', seems to have worn the ram's horns and high feathers, and a fillet with long hanging ends bound the uraeus to her brow. She may have been bearded and have carried the crook and flail, but her exact appearance cannot be recovered. All the environment, however, speaks of a claim to full kingship, though her sex is confessed. The owner of the tomb stands before her, proffering in each hand a bouquet of unusual form. One consists of stems of papyrus and lotus, laced with bindweed. The other is formed by the sign of life (which can also read 'bouquet') used as a flower-holder and having a little formal nosegay put into the hands with which it is furnished. Whether this is really a holder like the similar device used as a candle-stick in the tomb of Tutankhamūn or is pure symbolism, who shall say?

Over the figure of Teḥuti is written:

Dedication of offerings and delivery of dainties which have gone up before the lord . . . . . [lord of the] thrones of the Two Lands, for (his) fair scion, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Makere], by the sacrificial priest of [Amūn], Teḥuti. Oblation of all manner of offerings in the temple [of Amūn] and the presentation of various flowers native to this land, the pick of the pools of the marshlands of the king, namely . . . . . lotuses and lotus-buds, reeds and fruit of mandrake [?], fresh balsam of Punet, the scent of water [?]-plants and blossoms varied and pure, native to the land of the gods and in which is joy and health, all that has been dedicated to the King of the [Gods], towards the nostril of his beloved daughter, Hat[shesut-Chnemet]-Amūn, who lives for ever, by the aforesaid royal cup-bearer, clean of hands, who ever does the pleasure . . . . . [Teḥuti].'

This reference to a plentiful offering of flowers is explained by a painted addition in three registers behind Teḥuti. The details are hard to make out, but at any rate the gifts which are being brought forward by servants (one of them in relief) consist mostly of fruit or flowers of one sort or another, among them a single huge pomegranate.

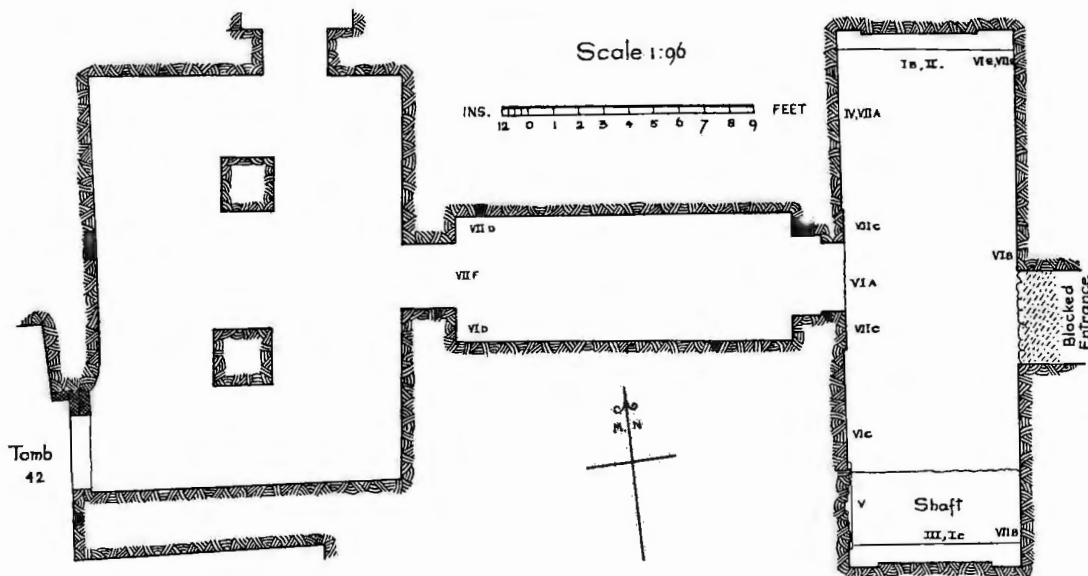
WEST WALL: SOUTH SIDE (*Plate 42*).

On the left is a false door, with three or four registers of single men bringing offerings on the left of it again (in the corner). On the right is a scene which, from the traces left, seems to form a pendant to the one just described, but of inferior execution, the figure of Teḥuti and the accompanying text being only in paint. The whole has suffered greatly, probably by accident, but one can recognize the figure of a king, no doubt Thutmosis III, seated in a kiosk like

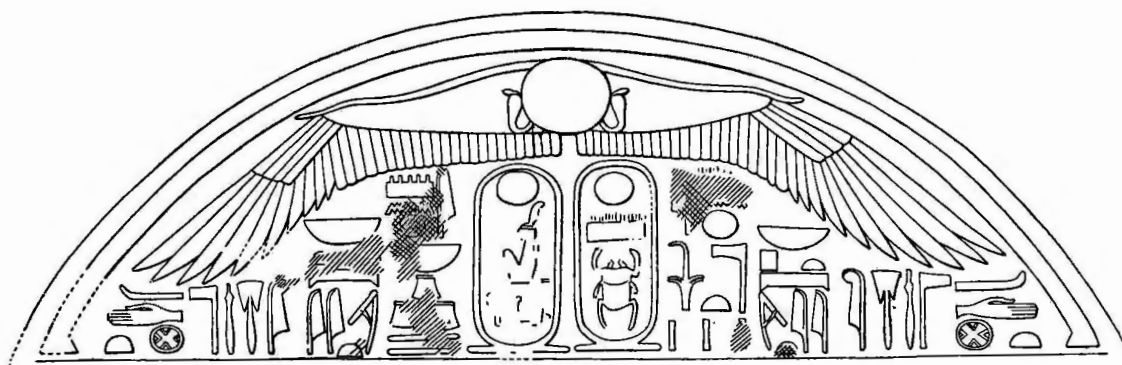


Tomb 110. Stela. South Wall

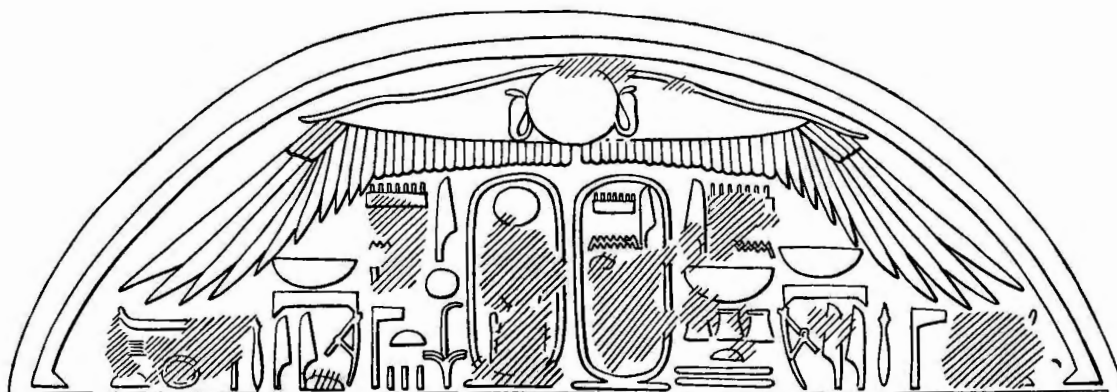




a. Plan of Tomb 110



b. Lunette of North Stela



c. Lunette of South Stela





that of the queen.<sup>1</sup> The throne has the symbol of Union in the corner. The King wears the *khepersh* head-dress.

Teḥuti presents a lost object to the king. Above him is a text in bad condition (Plate 43c). It reads:

[A ritual offering to Amūn and] the lords [?] of south and north Egypt on behalf of the life, happiness, and health of the king of [Upper] and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, who lives [for ever]. The follower [?] of the king throughout all foreign lands, the royal [cup-bearer], Teḥuti [, says 'For] thy *ka*! A bouquet [?] of thy father [Amūn, Lord of the thrones of the] Two Lands, that he may grant thee life and prosperity and the passing of millions (of years) in . . . . . May he give thee valour and victory over all lands, all foreign countries in their entirety being under thy [sandals], and may his supreme uraeus encircle thee[?] . . . . . [living] like Rē'.

The false door (Plate 42) contains ritual prayers to Amen-Rē' in two aspects, to Osiris and to Sokaris. Teḥuti is given the titles or epithets of 'Seigneur, intimate of the good god, sacrificial priest of Amen-Rē' and performer of his rites, bearer of the brazier of the King of the gods, equerry to the king and trusted adviser of the good god, cup-bearer of the king, pure of hands.'

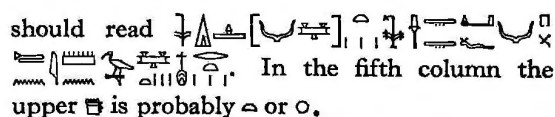



#### THE INNER DOORWAY (Plates 43a; 44c).

The sculptured framing of the doorway to the inner room has on its jambs prayers to Atum, Rē'-Harakhti, and Anubis, 'lord of fair burial' (on the right); to Amūn, Osiris, 'who puts an end to slaughter in the Two Lands', and to (Upwa)wet of Upper Egypt, 'dynast of the Two Lands, that he may grant that Teḥuti, priest of Amūn, may clear the fortunate ways and unite with the great god'. 'Attainment of the burial-place which is in eternity and interment by the king's favour' and 'that the bandages of the sarcophagus may be in good condition' are also sought.<sup>2</sup>

The lintel shows two lines of text in relief under the winged disk of Beḥedti which give the *nomen* and *prenomen* of Thutmose III. The former has the additions 'Ruler of Truth' and 'Fair in his manifestations,' showing that these variations were in use at the same time. The inscription is original and un mutilated. The unconstitutional recognition of the right of both Thutmose and Hatshepsut to bear the title of king at the same time is thus conceded. The prominent position of this titulary, its formal treatment, and its execution in sculpture combine to give it equal validity with the cartouches of Hatshepsut displayed by themselves on the two stela. Teḥuti has thus cautiously avoided giving offence to either of his patrons. If anything, the queen has the preference, since her appearance on the throne is in sculpture and her name

<sup>1</sup> The bands on the columns are painted alternately with chequers and with horizontal zig-zags.

<sup>2</sup> Revision shows that the column on the left

should read . In the fifth column the upper  is probably  or .

appears among the gods whose intercession is claimed on the south stela. Having already given the formal title of king impartially to two monarchs, Teḥuti proceeds to assign it to a third, Thutmōsis I (Plate 39), though this king must have been dead or at least have abdicated. It adds to the complication that Teḥuti speaks of following the king throughout all lands, as if there had been military campaigns during the reign already. It may be that he had accompanied Thutmōsis I or his son in foreign wars, or else that the phrase he uses had become so hackneyed as to have lost definite meaning.

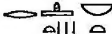
Thus the adornment of our tomb would seem to date from between the eighth year of Thutmōsis III, when Hatshepsut assumed the title of King, according to H. E. Winlock, and her death some twelve years later. Perhaps it fell towards the end of that period, when Teḥuti had had time to prove to Thutmōsis III that he was not a bigoted partisan of the queen, and so saved his name from obliteration.

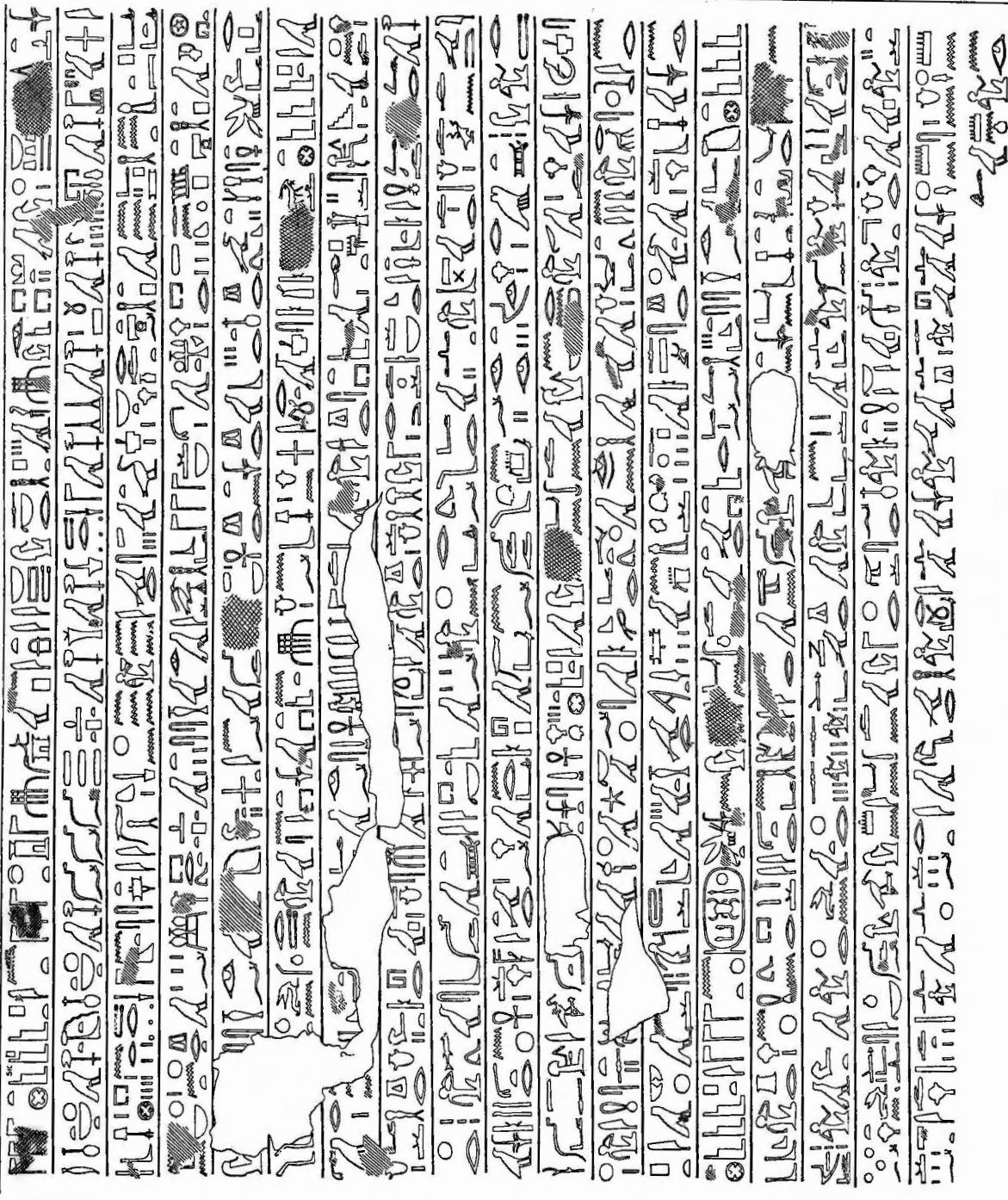
#### EAST WALL: NORTH SIDE.

On the right near the entrance Teḥuti can be made out, offering two ducks on braziers to the gods. The text, in eleven or more columns above him and three short ones on either side of his legs, is nearly illegible (Plate 43*b*). It runs:

. . . . . as daily dues on behalf of the life, happiness, and health of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre<sup>c</sup>, . . . . . millions of years in celebrating various festivals<sup>1</sup> . . . . ., a servant serviceable to [his] lord, loyal to Horus his benefactor, by whom the granaries [?] of his lord were filled, one who did the will of the good god, the sacrificial priest of [Amūn], who carries the brazier of the Lord [of the gods], the royal chamberlain, Teḥuti, possessor of final favour, begotten of Pesedi-er-khi [?], born of the house-mistress, Keku[?] [He says] 'May thy heart be pleased (at) receiving[?] good things, O Re<sup>c</sup>[Amūn, lord of the] thrones of the Two Lands, in all thy names and in all thy seats in heaven and earth, and with what the king Menkheperre<sup>c</sup> has given to thee'.

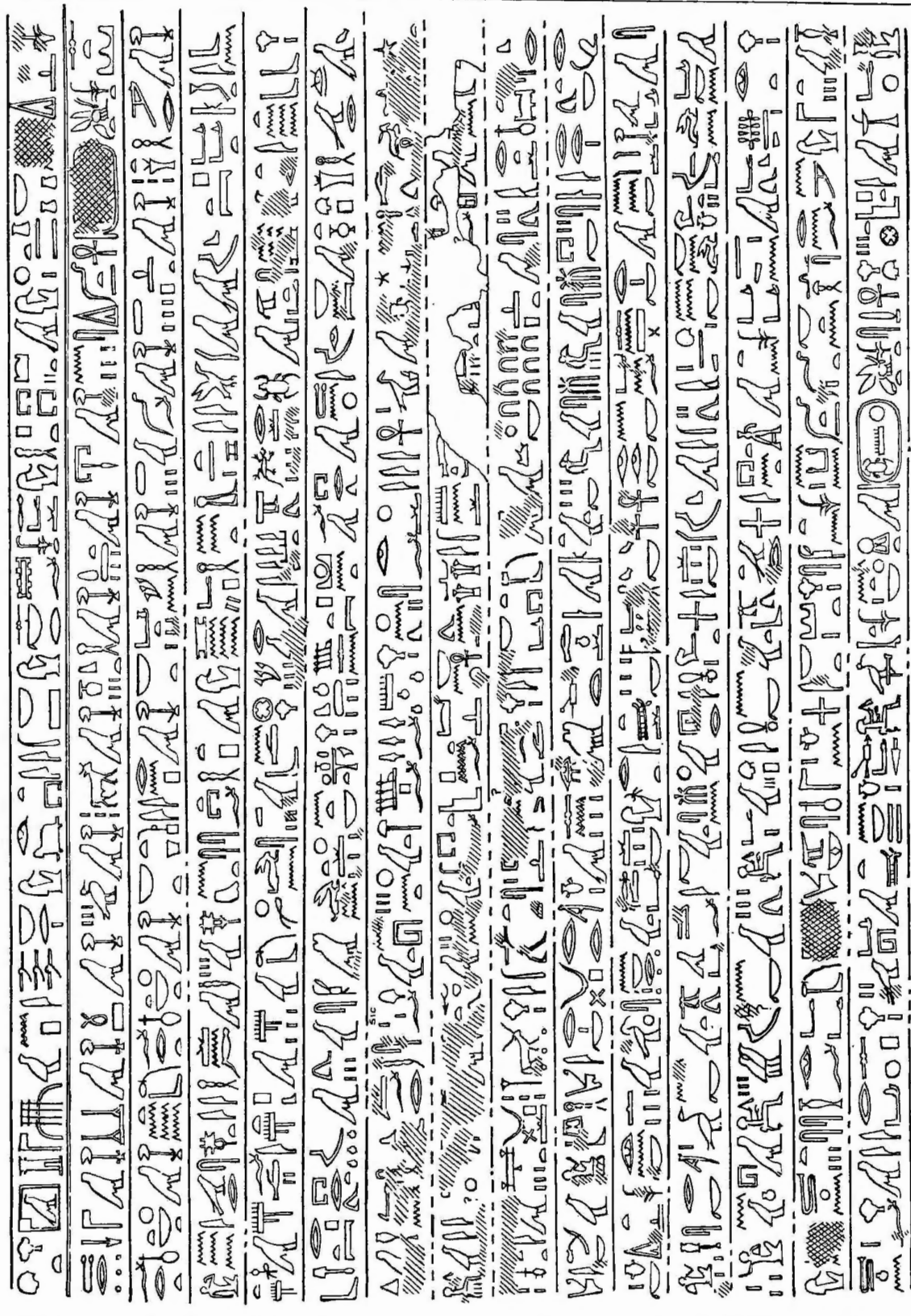
On the left the wall is divided into an upper and a lower scene. In the former a man and woman sit on low-backed chairs, the seat of which ends behind in a papyrus-umbel. The man has his hand on the shoulder of another seated in front of him. This person wears a pink vest covered with wavy white lines and with an unused sleeve hanging down behind, a dress distinctive of the earlier part of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Before them is a pedestal table holding food and flowers. On the other side of this stood a *sem*-priest, afterwards erased by the Atonists, 'making an offering, the gift of the king, and an offering, the gift of Geb, an offering-at-the-summons . . . . incense and ointment, everything good and pure which has gone up before . . . .' (Plate 44*e*). Behind the priest are guests in three registers. At the top four ladies kneel on a mat and smell

<sup>1</sup> Revision has added  (col. 6, top).



Tomb 110. North Stela





Tomb 110. South Stela



lotus-flowers. In each of the two rows below this four male guests are seated on mats.

The text above the three recipients (Plate 44*e*) is:

The Seigneur, confidant of the good god, equerry to the king on his journeys, singularly efficient for the lord of the Two Lands, the sacrificial priest [of Amon-Rē<sup>c</sup>], the royal chamberlain who carries the brazier of the lord of the [gods] whom he loves, Teḥuti. His father, the official Pesedi-er-khi [?]. His mother, the object of his affection, the house-mistress Keku.<sup>1</sup>


The lower scene shows again a married pair seated behind a formal table, above which is a mat of food. Offering-bearers approach them in two registers. Six men in the upper one bring stems of papyrus, grapes, lotus, &c. In the lower row similar men are moving in the opposite direction and therefore are connected with the separate scene of the offering of Teḥuti. They carry papyrus, grapes, &c., and also a bowl with floral decorations on the rim. Over the pair is written (Plate 43*e*):

. . . . in the temple Henket-onekh daily,<sup>2</sup> the cup-bearer of the king, one pure of fingers, the sacrificial priest [of Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>] . . . . of the lord of the Two Lands, the royal chamberlain [?], Teḥuti. His beloved wife, the house-mistress Beket.

#### EAST WALL: SOUTH SIDE.

On the right (inner corner) a standing figure of Teḥuti, staff in hand, occupies the whole height save for a text in seven columns over his head (Plate 44*b*). Its exact purport is very dubious. 'A visit [?] to the department of the still-rooms, both of Josret and Thebes, the laboratory [?] for the king's ablution, the daily preparations [?] compounded of . . . . [by] the cup-bearer of the king. . . . [Teḥuti]. He speaks thus: "O waiters. . . . the department of the still-rooms[?] . . . . the lord of the Two Lands. Keep alert and watch well. . . . He is a god though he lives on earth, and he will reward you in the eternity to come".'

In the scene which faces him the functions of Teḥuti as cup-bearer are emphasized by much repetition through four registers. Everywhere there are jars, bowls, cups, vats, some vessels being almost as high as a man, others so small that half a dozen lie within a bowl. Everywhere, too, men are busy, standing in the vats and ladling out the contents, straining out the liquids into fat-bellied jars or decanting them, mixing ingredients and waving great semi-circular fans to keep off flies or cool the contents. Their activities elude closer definition, at any rate without great expenditure of time and patience. There are some eight or nine types of vessel, the shapes of which can be determined and sometimes their decoration, but nothing seems exceptional. Many

<sup>1</sup>  apparently.

<sup>2</sup> This is very doubtful. It might be Chnemetonekh, or, indeed, not a temple at all.



of the large jars have a cap marked by crossed lines, which must indicate that covering of interlaced cane which prevented the cap of clay from falling into the jar when it was applied and sealed. Sometimes it is replaced by an inverted saucer. The tall cup, shaped like a half-opened lotus and provided with a spreading foot, is often seen. Over many of the figures short columns are ruled, several of which appear to have contained texts or names, but none are likely to prove legible.

NORTH WALL (*Plates 36, 38, 39*).

In the narrow space to the left of the rounded stela an *amakhy* formula is written in a vertical line; in that to the right four men in separate registers bring each a mat of food or jars of ointment.

The state of the cartouches in this and the opposite stela presents a difficult problem. On this monument (*Plate 38b*) the word 'beloved' in both epithets was in the feminine, but this ending has been erased in both cases (that on the left less thoroughly). Presumably, therefore, the cartouches of Hatshepsut were placed here originally, the *nomen* facing the right and the *prenomen* the left.<sup>1</sup> But the cartouche on the right is now occupied by the *prenomen* of Thutmose III (manifestly a rough insertion on a lower surface) and that on the left by the *prenomen* of the queen (erased).

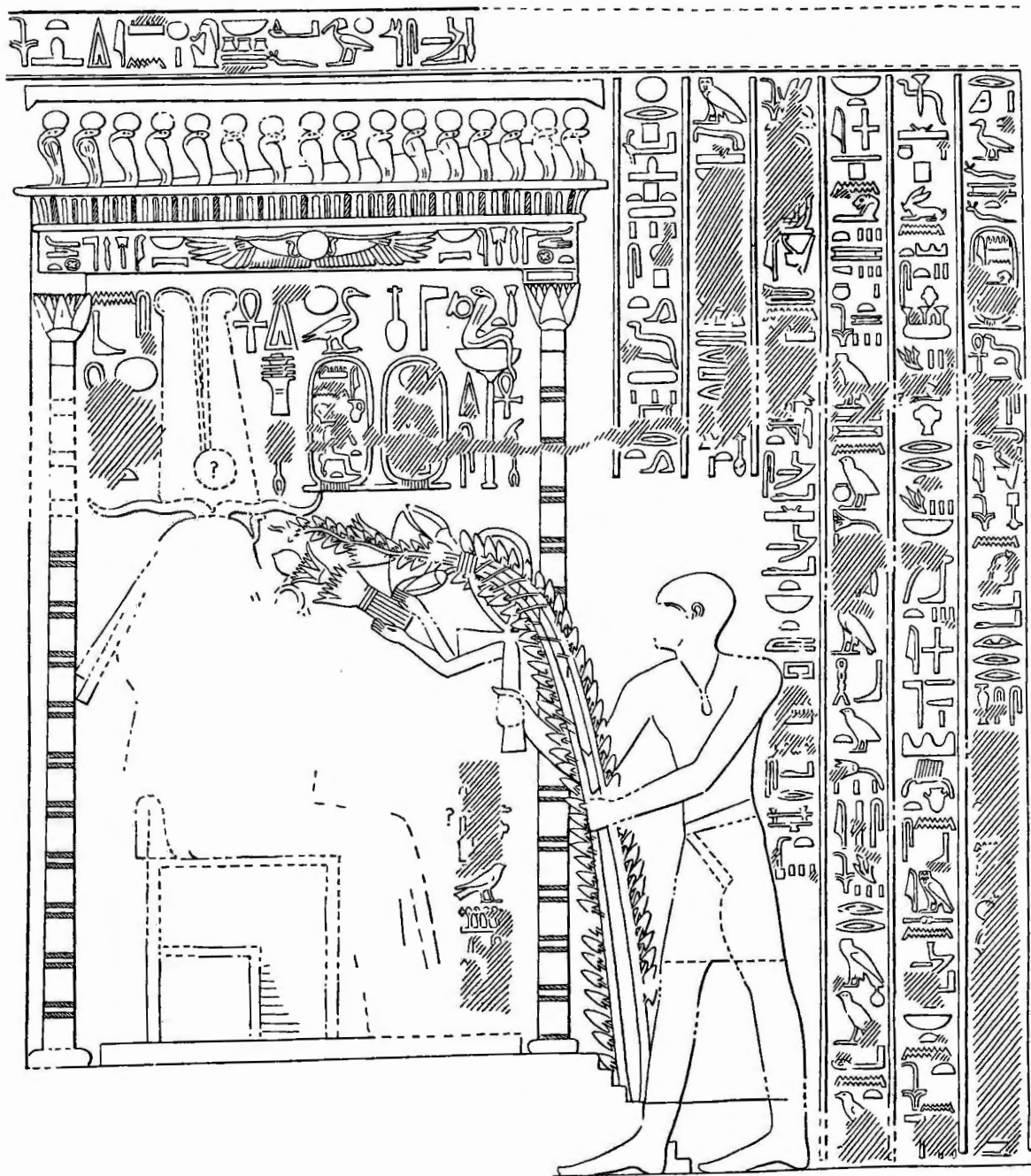
As Thutmose did not replace either of the cartouches of the queen on the south stela (*Plate 38c*) by his own, but merely defaced them, the insertion of his *prenomen* on the north stela would seem to be an act, not of his final revenge, but a protest made during the queen's life, when he had to be content with a formal partition of the kingship with her. He would naturally claim that his name should occupy one of the two stelae, but, whether in prudence or by agreed compromise, he contented himself with replacing her *nomen* by his *prenomen* and, for the time, leaving hers on the left. As the *prenomen* of each was to appear, that of Thutmose is on the right, to save altering both cartouches of the queen.<sup>2</sup> This reflects a petty squabble which lacked a guiding principle, especially since, to all seeming, she allowed his titular alone to occupy the door-lintel. Possibly excavation would show that hers is placed on the outer lintel and so keeps the equilibrium.

The tomb therefore indicates an ignoble struggle of the young king with the dominant and usurping queen for a grudging recognition of his rights, or else a situation throughout the reign in which the influence of the adherents of the king and the constitution had its ups and downs. The matter is of import-

<sup>1</sup> Following the order on the south stela. But there the *prenomen* properly faced a person entering the tomb.

<sup>2</sup> The cartouches face different ways because they are conceived of as adoring the two forms of Amūn, indicated by the different titles attached

to his name. The winged disk of Behedti seems also to have been considered a double god [the rising and setting suns?]. Hence the two uraei and the frequent occurrence on stelae of the god with only one wing.



Tomb 110. Teḥuti before Queen Hatshepsut

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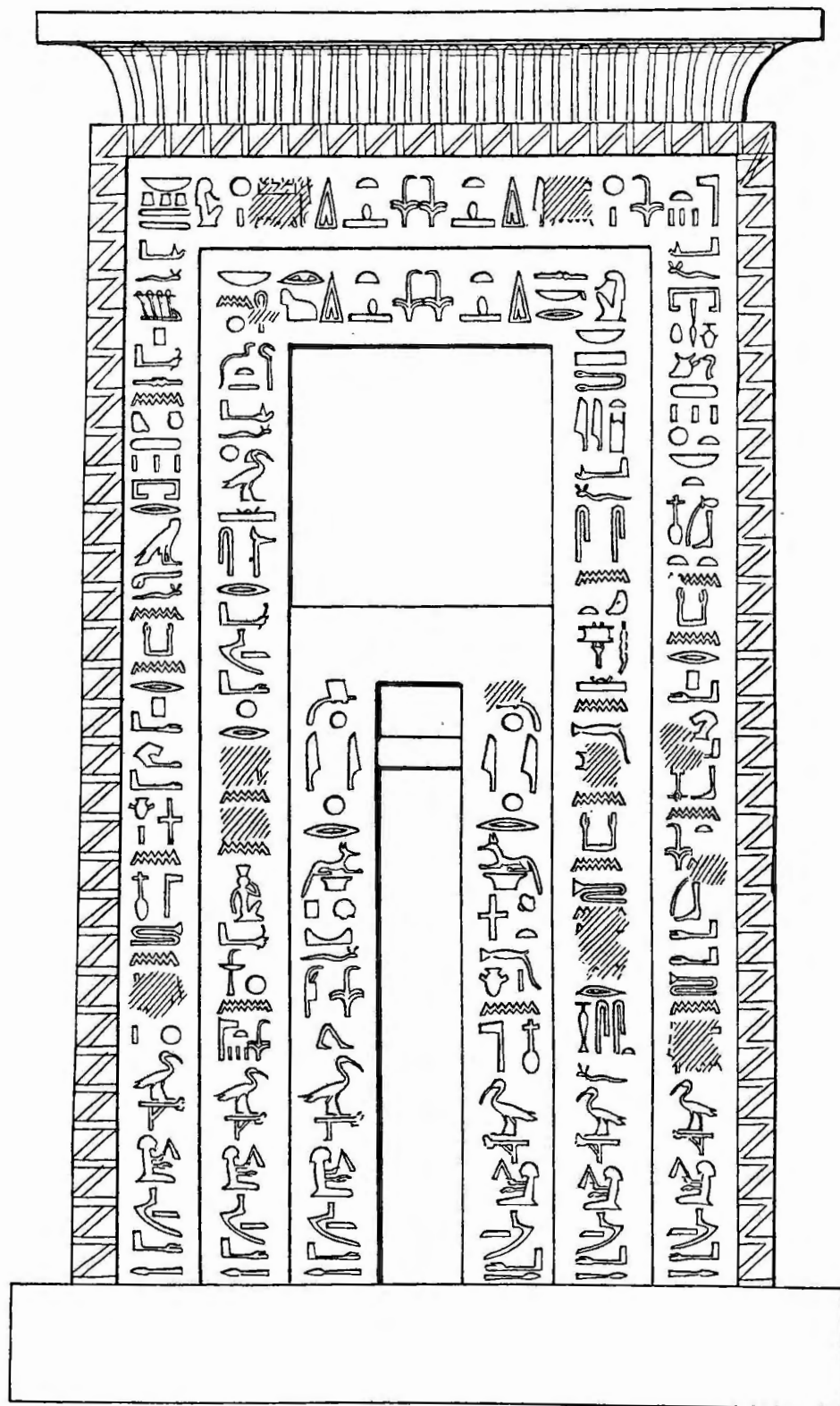
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Tomb 110. False door




ance. For, if each party felt obliged to insist on every outward triviality, then the substitution of the names of Thutmosis I and Thutmosis II for erased cartouches of the queen on monuments may indicate not an accession of either of these monarchs to rule during life but only the delicate balance of power between the two parties, the name of Thutmosis I being made the badge of the queen's cabal and that of his son, the king's father, the badge of the other, when neither was able to risk a decisive engagement.

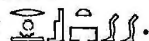
The text on the stela (Plate 39) is as follows :

A RITUAL OFFERING to [Amūn], Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands; (to) Rē<sup>c</sup>-Ḥarakhti; (to) Osiris Khentamentiu; (to) Ptaḥ-Sokaris, lord of the closed shrine; (to) Anubis, president of the sanctuary; (to) the divine company of Karnak; (to) the gods who reside in the necropolis, THOUSANDS of meals-at-the-summons, bags of linen,<sup>1</sup> strips of linen, incense, unguents, offerings and delicacies, everything good and pure, everything good and sweet, all<sup>2</sup> that heaven gives, that the Nile brings from its cavern, and that grows on the surface of the land, draughts of water, respiration of the north wind, inhaling of the temple incense, admission to the under-world, occupation of the burial-shaft, reception of the food which has been offered on altars in the Presence and on which the Lord of the gods feasts, and the due performance of offerings which go up on his altars in daily rite, FOR THE KA of the Seigneur, Chancellor of the North, select Companion, who enters with gifts to the king's chamber and with a bouquet<sup>3</sup> of the Lord of the [gods], one to whom the secrets of the heart are spoken, pure of face and hands when he performs the rites [of Amūn] in Karnak, one decorated . . . . and equipped with understanding, the close friend of such as open the heart to him, one advanced of place in the palace, who is hourly called for, knowing the order of precedence<sup>4</sup> on (the steps of) the august dais, veiling his thought in a situation that calls for silence, obeying the orders of the good god, the Sovereign (L.P.H!), when he takes exceptional measures (for the land),<sup>5</sup> calm of speech in the presence, bowing the arm (*rmn*) and touching the (royal) sandal, a model of good disposition when in presence of the god, maintaining silence and suppressing hot temper, (yet) joyous, content, and complacent, free of irascibility, a spoken guarantee without evasion and making its word good on another occasion, not telling secrets in public, exactly describing all that his eyes have seen, holding fast to any regulation that may have been commended to him and mastering the principles of what has been put in his charge, dispensing with the oath of a witness on his side but relying on the mention of the name of the monarch, the sacrificial priest [of Amūn] in Karnak on behalf of the life, happiness, and health of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Ma-ke-rē<sup>c</sup>] who lives for ever, Teḥuti. (HE SAYS) 'I inquired into the time<sup>6</sup> and announced what was impending, showing discernment when I surveyed the future, comprehending yesterday and meditating on the morrow, skilled in what will happen, announcing the day for a celebration, experienced in what is profitable, acute in cases of


<sup>1</sup> The group for 'alabaster' (*šs*) is used, partly because alabaster vessels were once an item of the gift to the dead, partly because of a confusion of the *šsr* 'bag' with the phonogram *šs*. See Gardiner, *Bulletin de l'Institut français*, xxx, p. 161. The white rectangle could represent a block of alabaster or a sheet of cloth equally well.

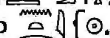
<sup>2</sup>  should have been printed.

<sup>3</sup> Or 'victuals'?

<sup>4</sup> Reading .

<sup>5</sup> Conjectural reading:

. The  is plain.

<sup>6</sup> Emending to .

exact computation, going to the fullest extreme in charm and kindness, rich in favour among the elders, taking the lead [?] in the festival of Karnak, one pure of hands when he performed rites and when he bent the arm at the great throne, the sacrificial priest of Amūn, of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt,<sup>1</sup> Ā-kheper-ke-rē<sup>c</sup>, of the company of the gods of Karnak, and of the gods of Josret of the West, who offered the cup to the King [Ma-ke-rē<sup>c</sup>], Teḥuti.' HE SAYS 'I spent (my life) in reverence and uprightness and I departed (life) this day in silence and calmness, (as) my own heart is witness. He who boasts of the false statements of one, two (or) three men is not upright. Let men say, "I shall be among the foremost"; "He was just among the magistrates"; "One like me did well, a man excellent in conduct towards the god". (But) the sacrificial priest of Amūn, Teḥuti, says, "Now I was an exceptional man and without his like, who benefited his benefactor. No man was wretched (if only) I did not despise him; for I did not evict the poor man from his property or disregard the pleadings made about his case, that I might make a monument [?]"'.<sup>2</sup>

SOUTH WALL (*Plates 37, 38, 40*).

On the lunette are the defaced cartouches of the queen, the *prenomen* on the left, facing outwards, the *nomen* facing inwards (*Plate 38c*). The erasures here, as I suppose, date from the queen's death or defeat, as does the erasure of her *prenomen* on the north stela. The names have been thoroughly expunged, no certain trace being left, and even the feminine ending to the word 'beloved' has been erased. Posterity must not think that a woman ever sat on the throne of Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

The text below this (*Plate 40*) reads as follows:

A RITUAL OFFERING [to Amūn], Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands; (to) Rē<sup>c</sup>-Harakhti; (to) Ptaḥ, to great one, south of his wall; (to) Sokaris, lord of the closed shrine; (to) Osiris, lord of Rostau; (to) Anubis, president of the sanctuary; (to) Ḥat-ḥor, regent of the necropolis; (to) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt [Ma-ke-rē<sup>c</sup>] who lives for ever, THAT THEY MAY GRANT thousands of meals-at-the-summons, of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, bags and strips of linen, incense, unguents, offerings, delicacies, oblations, green things of various sorts, everything good and pure, everything good and sweet, such as heaven yields, earth creates, and the Nile brings out of his cavern, respiration of the sweet airs of the north wind. draughts at the watering-place of the river, existence under various forms, wanderings throughout the fields of Ialu, putting on of clean clothes, finest sheets, or white linen, the use of cosmetics and unction with fine oil at a celestial festival [?], the sight of the orb of the sun when it arises on the horizon of heaven, the reception of cakes (offered) on the altar of the Lord of Bounty, a place among the followers (of the sun-god) in Manu, ascension to

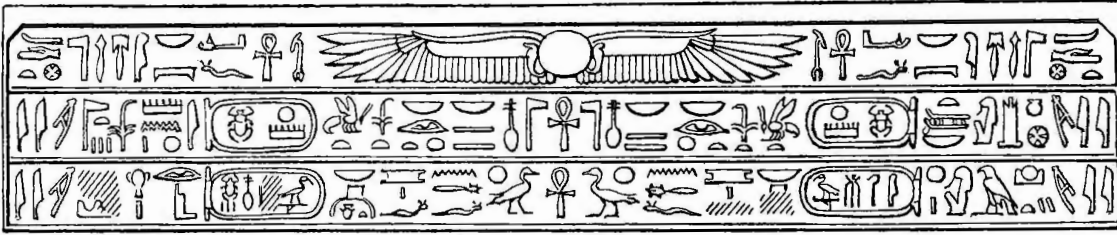
<sup>1</sup> The title 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt', taken strictly, implies that Thutmosis I was alive and king. Mortuary priests generally refer to dead kings as 'Lord of the Two Lands' or 'the royal Spirit'. But the former is actually as objectionable as that used here; we can surely, therefore, let the latter pass.

<sup>2</sup> Or 'that I should truckle' [?] (reading *rmmw*). The text breaks off here just after commencing a

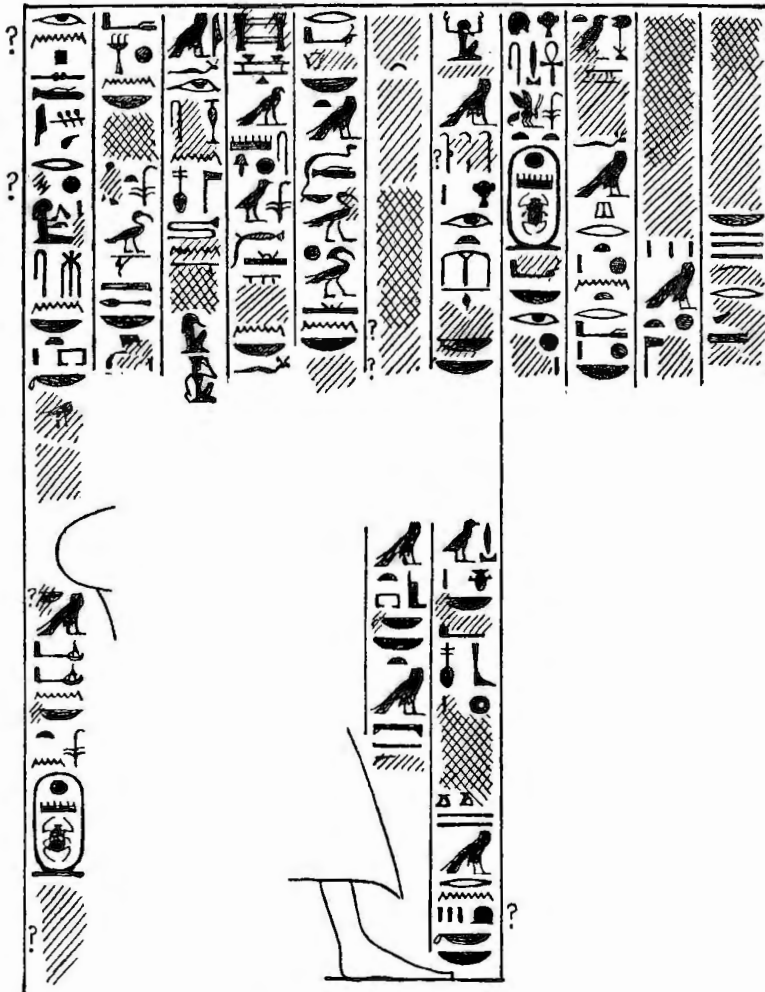
new line, but I could not detect any continuation in ink.

<sup>3</sup> It is curious that the name of Amūn, which was spared in the cartouche here as well as on the north-west wall (*Pl. XLi*) by Thutmosis, was not touched in these cases by the Atonists either, but, in compensation, they have erased the name of Beḥedti on the south, though not on the north, stela. This is very exceptional.

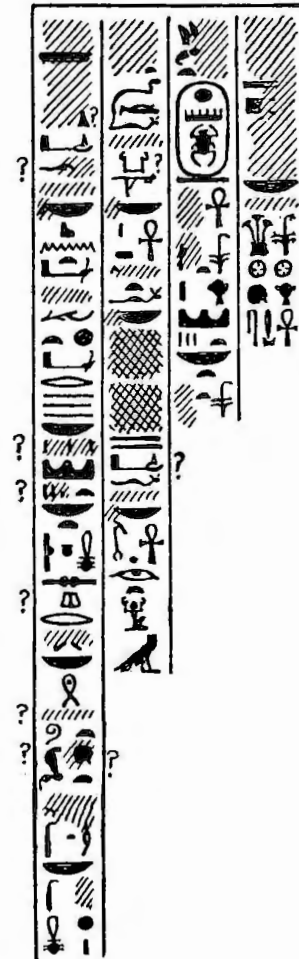
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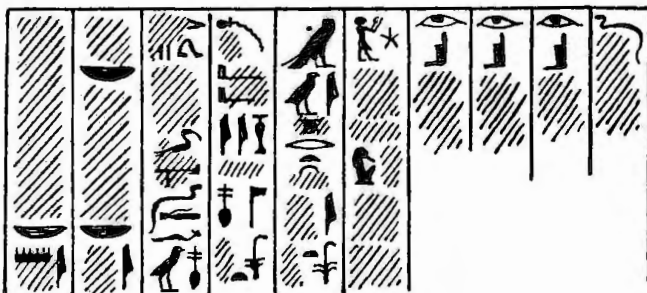
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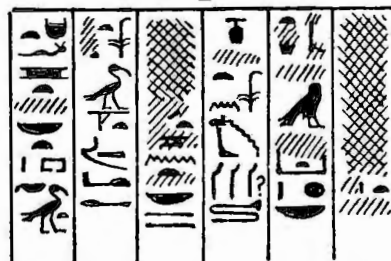
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Tomb 110. Texts

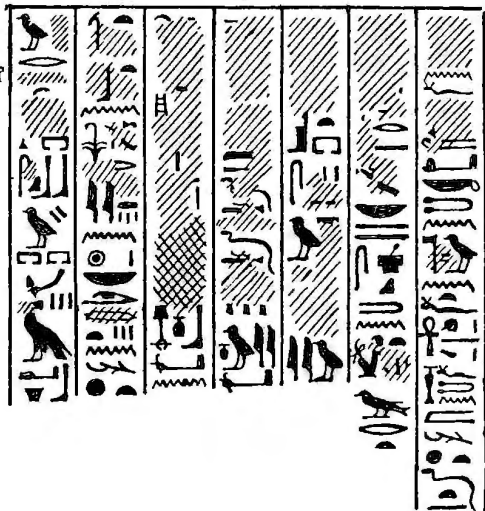




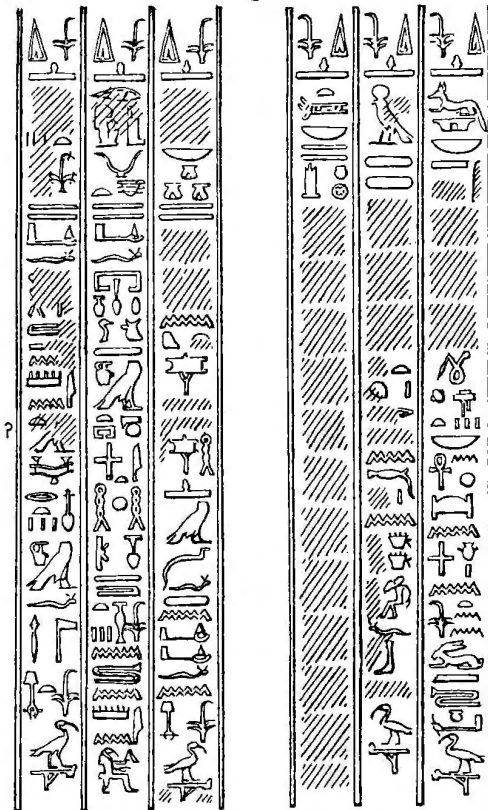
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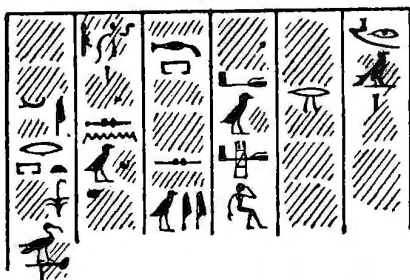
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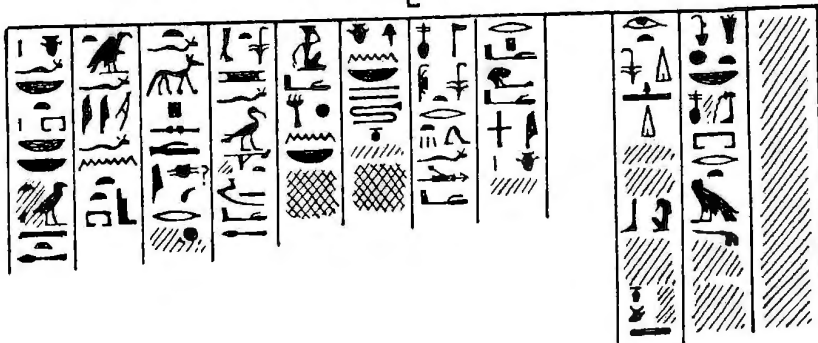
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Tomb 110. Texts (continued)



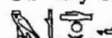
heaven and admission to the under-world, without being netted [?] along with the stars, the assumption of the form of a living bird-soul. May it settle on its trees and take advantage of the shade of its sycamores. May it perch on the apex of the pyramid-tomb, may its statue [?] be abiding [?] in its House of the Shadow [?] . . . ., the mummy durable and the sarcophagus not lacking to it, so that it rests in its abode . . . . Fair burial comes in peace (when) thy seventy days<sup>1</sup> are completed in thy house of embalmment. Thou art placed on a bier . . . . and drawn by young cattle. May the ways be opened by (sprinkled) milk, until thou reachest the entrance of thy chapel. May the children of thy children be collected in an unbroken circle,<sup>2</sup> and weep in affectionate mood. May thy mouth be opened (ritually) by the lector and thy purification be performed by the *sem*-priest. May Horus adjust thy mouth; may he open for thee thine eyes, thy ears, thy members, thy bones, so that thy natural functions are complete. May the spells which spiritualize be read for thee and a ritual offering be made for thee, thy heart being with thee in sooth, the heart of thy earthly existence, and thou come in thy former person as on the day on which thou wast born. May there be marshalled for thee thy beloved son and the comrades, performing the benediction of the ground and the burial of that which the king has proffered in the vault of the West. May there be a delivery (of gifts) for thee as (for) the ancestors. May the progenitors come to thee with chants and may the favours of the god to one he loves not come to an end for ever and ever.

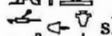
FOR THE KA of one who attended the king through every land, the confidant of the good god, leader of the festival of the [King of the gods], one clean of hands when he performs the approved rites and the sacrifice to [Amūn] and carries the brazier in Karnak for a benison on the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Men-kheper-rē<sup>3</sup>, daily, the herald of the king, Tehuti, one singularly efficient<sup>3</sup> for the Lord of the Two Lands, who was not negligent when he was made responsible for anything, the sacrificial priest of [Amūn, Tehuti].<sup>4</sup>

#### PASSAGE: NORTH WALL.

This wall repeats the same subject as the south side of the east wall of the hall, but with even greater reiteration. Tehuti sits at the left (west) end, holding the baton of office. He is 'looking at the bounty [?]. . . .' and is given the new title of 'child of the secluded apartments' (Plate 44*d*). The array of jars on tables, holding from one to five, or on pads in the case of the largest, is varied by men in ones and twos who bring vessels forward in their hands, on tables and stands, or on garlanded cheffonniers of a simple sort. Lotus-flowers are provided here, as in the other scene, apparently only for decoration or as stoppers. In the top row the procession is closed by a man bringing ■ plank or mat [green?]. He is followed by a choir, consisting of a man (facing right) playing a *darabookah* drum, a lute-player, advancing left but turning back his head, three men beating time, another group perhaps making the same contribution to the noise, and

<sup>1</sup> Or 'thy seventieth (day) is completed'.

<sup>2</sup>  should have been printed.

<sup>3</sup>  should have been printed.

<sup>4</sup> Again the improvident craftsman has failed

to end his matter and a line together and has preferred to leave the last two words out rather than begin another line.

finally by a single figure. Large parts of the scene are effaced, and what is not is often excessively hard to decipher.

PASSAGE: SOUTH WALL.

This side has been devoted to the usual series of burial-rites in four rows moving to the right, where Osiris stands, a swathed figure holding crook and flail. A table of food is before him and a figure of Teḥuti faces him. The name 'Osiris' heads three columns of text over his head, no doubt enumerating three or four separate forms of his (Plate 43*d*). Teḥuti, to whom the usual titles are given, says, 'How good. . . my lord Amūn'. Such groups of the actors in the drama of burial as could be recognized were familiar ones.

The doorway to the third chamber was inscribed. The prayers on the jambs in two columns to each are illegible. The lintel had two lines reading both ways from the centre. One legible one may give the type: 'One favoured by Osiris the great god, the royal chamberlain, Teḥuti' (Plate 44*f*).

## UNE STATUETTE DE LA MÈRE D'IMOUTHÈS

Par ÉTIENNE DRIOTON

(Avec Planches 45, 46)

LA statuette de bronze<sup>1</sup> qui porte, dans la collection égyptienne du Musée du Louvre, le numéro E 11556 (Pl. 45, *a*, *b*, *c* et Pl. 46, *a* et *b*) a été achetée par Georges Bénédite, le 27 décembre 1917, à M. Chanlaire, antiquaire à Paris. Aucun renseignement n'a été donné sur sa provenance archéologique.

Elle représente une femme assise, la main droite posée sur la cuisse. La gauche, ramenée sur la poitrine, tient le contrepoids d'un collier *menat*, dont l'anneau cylindrique semble avoir été mutilé et dont la figuration des réseaux de perles a disparu, si elle a jamais existé. Comme vêtement, long fourreau collant, sans indication de bretelles, ni même de limite, à la partie supérieure. Au milieu de la poitrine, pendentif d'or incrusté, en forme de contrepoids de *menat*, suspendu par un cordon d'argent incrusté, lié, dans le dos, par un nœud lâche qui laisse retomber deux pans.

Perruque à mèches courtes et coniques, disposées en quinconce et formant une calotte à peu près hémisphérique qui s'arrête au ras du haut de l'oreille. Par derrière, gaine concave et lisse, terminée droit, qui emboîte la nuque.<sup>2</sup> Au sommet, couronne d'uréus supportant deux grandes rémiges aux détails gravés, sur lesquelles des cornes lyriformes, embrassant un disque, se détachent en relief. Uréus<sup>3</sup> suspendu par la queue à cette couronne et se relevant au milieu de la perruque.

Outre les incrustations d'or et d'argent signalées, le 'blanc' des yeux garde des traces de dorure<sup>4</sup> et une parcelle d'or subsiste dans un creux de la couronne d'uréus.

L'œuvre témoigne d'un souci de simplicité élégante. Aucun bracelet ni aucune autre précision superflue ne détourne l'attention des lignes de ce corps souple et ferme, aux bras grêles, aux jambes longues et fines, presque sans mollets, terminées par un pied bien cambré. Les ongles sont soigneusement indiqués. Le corps si jeune, délicatement modelé sous la robe, soutient pourtant des seins lourds, placés bas, plus ovoïdes qu'hémisphériques. Le visage ovale, aux joues plates et lisses, est éclairé par de grands yeux légèrement relevés vers les tempes, dont les arcades sourcillères forment, au dessous du front, une barre horizontale interrompue seulement par la racine d'un nez légèrement courbé, aux narines descendantes. La bouche, bien fendue, surmonte un menton petit,

<sup>1</sup> Hauteur: 0 m. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Cet élément devait être, dans la réalité, exécuté en étoffe ou en cuir.

<sup>3</sup> La tête de l'uréus est cassée.

<sup>4</sup> Il est probable que ces yeux étaient exécutés en deux tons différents, la prunelle en cuivre rouge et le 'blanc' en or jaune, comme dans le Bès-Panthée E 11554 du Musée du Louvre.

mais franchement rond, qui se raccorde par une ligne replète au cou sinueux marqué, en haut et sur le devant, par deux sillons parallèles.

L'inscription dédicatoire, dont les signes sont gravés avec fermeté et sans détails inutiles, court sur le devant et sur le côté gauche du socle placé sous les pieds:



*Que Khrotionekh donne la vie à Haryôthès, fils de Pétésis, fils de Mes-Psamtik!*

Si courte que soit cette légende, elle présente pourtant une difficulté d'interprétation. Les inscriptions de ce genre comportent presque toujours l'indication du père (𓂏 N) et de la mère (𓂏𓂏 N). On serait dès lors tenté de retrouver ici le même schéma. Voir dans 𓂏𓂏𓂏 une anomalie d'orthographe, possible après tout à la basse époque,<sup>1</sup> et faire de Psamtik le nom de la mère, permettrait de traduire, en conformité avec la formule courante: *Que Khrotionekh donne la vie à Haryôthès, fils de Pétésis, enfanté par Psamtik!*

Mais des orthographes comme 𓂏𓂏𓂏 Harsiêsis et 𓂏𓂏 Pétésis sont attestées.<sup>2</sup> D'autre part il paraît difficile de faire de Psamtik un nom de femme, alors que sa forme féminine, 𓂏𓂏𓂏, a été signalée depuis longtemps.<sup>3</sup> Il semble donc préférable de voir dans 𓂏𓂏𓂏 le nom du grand-père d'Haryôthès, et dans la teneur de la formule l'indication d'une généalogie à deux degrés, comme on en rencontre parfois à cette époque.<sup>4</sup>

L'inscription apprend en outre que l'on se trouve en présence d'une statuette de la mère de l'Asclépios égyptien, Imouthès: de 𓂏𓂏𓂏,<sup>5</sup> de qui le nom peut être vocalisé approximativement, avec l'aide du copte,<sup>6</sup> Khrotionekh. L'effigie de cette déesse n'était connue jusqu'à présent que par trois figurations, toutes en bas-relief, situées, deux d'entre elles, sur une porte décorée par Ptolémée V

<sup>1</sup> M. le Dr. J. Černý estime en effet qu'un graveur a pu, dans sa transcription d'une minute démotique, interpréter par erreur comme signifiant 𓂏 (𓂏) un sigle représentant en réalité le groupe 𓂏.

<sup>2</sup> Musée du Caire, nos. 38416 et 38455. Daressy, *Statues de divinités (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)*, pp. 112 et 123. Ces orthographes rendent une graphie abrégée plus vraisemblable qu'une in-correcture sur un monument dont la légende elle-même est soignée: 𓂏𓂏𓂏 serait inspiré par la même affectation de concision, fréquente dans l'épigraphie saïte, qui a fait écrire 𓂏𓂏𓂏 et 𓂏𓂏𓂏 dans ce texte.

<sup>3</sup> Ebers, 'Bemerkenswerthes Neues, welches sich aus dem Studium der Gemming'schen Sammlung (im japanischen Palais zu Dresden)

ergiebt', dans la *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XIX, 1881, p. 68. Sur le nom de Psamtik, cf. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, III, p. 201, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Musée du Caire, nos. 38076, 38239 bis, 38924, 38954, 39088 et 39220. Daressy, *ouv. cit.*, pp. 29, 72, 231, 242, 271 et 305.

<sup>5</sup> Sur cette déesse, cf. Sethe, 'Imhotep, der Asklepios der Aegypter' (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens*, II, 4), p. 24. Références nouvelles dans Gauthier, 'Socle portant un calendrier des fêtes d'Imhotep' (*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale*, XIV), pp. 33-49. Cf. aussi Giron, 'Glanures de mythologie syro-égyptienne' (*Ibid.* XXIII), pp. 2-11.

<sup>6</sup> D'après le bohairique *spot* 'enfants' et *ons*, qualitatif de *wns* 'vivre'.



a. Échelle: env.  $\frac{5}{8}$



b. Échelle: env.  $\frac{3}{8}$



c. Échelle: env.  $\frac{2}{3}$

Statuette en bronze de la mère d'Imouthès (Musée du Louvre, E 11556)





Épiphane à Philae,<sup>1</sup> l'autre sur une colonne du pronaos de Deir el-Médineh.<sup>2</sup> C'est donc la première représentation plastique de Khrotionekh qui soit encore signalée.

Le style de l'œuvre et les noms propres de la dédicace permettent de dater de prime abord cette statuette de l'époque saïte. On peut préciser davantage. Elle s'apparente en effet, tant par l'allure générale que par des détails caractéristiques, à un groupe de bas-reliefs que Maspero a rapprochés dans le *Musée Égyptien*,<sup>3</sup> auquel il convient d'adjoindre des morceaux entiers de sculpture ou des fragments signalés depuis lors.<sup>4</sup> Elle montre, comme les figurations féminines de ces bas-reliefs, une élégance souple; de part et d'autre le menton, petit et rond, s'affirme dans le profil des visages et rejoint par la même courbe potelée les deux sillons tracés en haut du cou; les seins, lourds, ont le même profil d'ogive. Dans certains de ces bas-reliefs,<sup>5</sup> c'est un même modelé délicat des formes sous la robe; c'est quelquefois, chez ceux qui vêtent les femmes à l'antique, au lieu de les draper dans des costumes au goût du jour, la même absence de toute indication d'arrêt des vêtements ou de bretelles.<sup>6</sup> Les bas-reliefs de ce groupe sont à attribuer à la période qui va de la XXVII<sup>e</sup> dynastie au début des Ptolémées. Mais l'un d'entre eux, un linteau de Psamtiknefershem<sup>7</sup> (Pl. 46c), découvert par Mariette à Mit-Rahineh, offre une analogie plus précise avec la statuette de Khrotionekh. Parmi les servantes qui manipulent des colliers d'or devant le maître, il s'en trouve trois qui portent la même perruque, si spéciale, que celle que nous avons décrite plus haut.<sup>8</sup> Cette coiffure n'a été signalée, semble-t-il, nulle part ailleurs et il est permis d'en conclure qu'elle ne dut jouir, en fait, que d'une vogue éphémère, dans un milieu assez restreint. Comme, en outre, le style général des figures du bas-relief en question, la qualité de leur profil, la tenue de leur gorge et le modelé de leurs formes sous la robe concorde avec l'ensemble et le détail de la statuette du Louvre, on a toutes

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, IV, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Lepsius, *ouv. cit.*, *Text*, III, 118. Une moitié de la figuration de la déesse, dont Lepsius n'a publié qu'un croquis de la partie supérieure, est visible, au tournant de la colonne, dans Jéquier, *Les temples ptolémaïques et romains*, Pl. XIV, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien*, II, Pl. XXXII-XLII, pp. 74-92.

<sup>4</sup> von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*, Munich, Brückmann, Pls. CI et CII. Gauthier, *A travers la Basse Égypte*, III, 'Quatre bas-reliefs saïtes imités de l'Ancien Empire,' dans les *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, tome XXI, pp. 27-36. Bénédite, 'La cueillette du lis et le lirion', dans les *Momuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Fondation Eugène Piot)*, tome XXV, pp. 1-28. Williams, 'The Egyptian Collection in the

Museum of Art at Cleveland' dans le *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, V, Pl. XXXIX, pp. 280-4, no. 23. *Collection du Docteur Fouquet, Art égyptien et égypto-arabe, Catalogue des ventes des 12, 13 et 14 juin 1922*, Pl VI, no. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Maspero, *ouv. cit.*, Pl. XXXVI. Bénédite, *ouv. cit.*, Pl. VI. \*

<sup>6</sup> von Bissing, *ouv. cit.*, Pl. CII, no. 3. Bénédite, *ouv. cit.*, Pl. IV.

<sup>7</sup> Maspero, *ouv. cit.*, Pl. XXXV A et XXXVI.

<sup>8</sup> Les perruques du bas-relief ne portent pas, il est vrai, sur la calotte, l'indication des boucles, mais il faut nécessairement les supposer. Une autre servante du même bas-relief porte, elle aussi, une perruque lisse dont la découpeure en festons, au bord du pan qui encadre la joue, ne s'explique que par la retombée de mèches qui ne sont pas figurées.

chances de tomber juste en datant celle-ci des XXIX<sup>e</sup>-XXX<sup>e</sup> dynasties, comme le fait Maspero pour le bas-relief de Psamtiknefershem, et en lui attribuant comme lieu d'origine Memphis même, où ce bas-relief a été trouvé (Pl. 46 c).

M. von Bissing, en publiant le bas-relief Tigrane du Musée d'Alexandrie, qui appartient au même groupe, fait remarquer qu'il est fortement influencé par l'esthétique de la période qu'il appelle 'früh-ramessidisch', dont il trace les limites de Toutânkhamon à Ramsès II.<sup>1</sup> La statuette de Khrotionekh, sortie, on vient de le reconnaître, du même cercle artistique, corrobore cette observation et un coup d'œil suffit pour déceler en elle cet esprit de grâce, affinée quelquefois jusqu'à la morbidesse, que la tentative d'Aménouthès IV introduisit bon gré mal gré, pour quelques générations, dans la statuaire officielle. A l'analyse, du reste, ses caractères les plus saillants s'apparentent aux innovations en faveur à cette époque: l'ovale aminci du visage, les sillons du cou et l'allure suspendue des seins gonflés. L'artiste qui l'a conçue puisait son inspiration dans les œuvres de ses devanciers des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles.

Il leur demandait aussi ses modèles. Le type iconographique, sans exemple dans la statuaire religieuse, qu'il a imposé à sa Khrotionekh appartient à leur répertoire: c'est celui de la reine couronnée serrant sur sa poitrine le collier *menat*. Tel, par exemple, ce buste, en calcaire, de reine anonyme de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie, découvert par Flinders Petrie dans une chapelle au nord du Ramesséum,<sup>2</sup> à qui il faut restituer deux hautes plumes sur la couronne d'uréus, seule conservée. Sa comparaison avec la statuette de Khrotionekh, il est vrai, fait d'abord ressortir tout ce qui différencie les deux œuvres: d'un côté, pour la thébaine, une élégance fleurie nourrie par le contraste entre la lourdeur de la coiffure et la légèreté de la robe, entre la surface lisse, mollement traitée, de l'une et les détails fouillés de l'autre; de l'autre côté, pour la néo-memphite, une sobriété de parti pris dans laquelle les détails s'unifient. Mais ces variations, par lesquelles se traduisent deux esthétiques, ou plus exactement deux sentiments différents du décor, n'empêchent pas qu'il s'agisse de deux réalisations du même thème sculptural.

Les hautes plumes portant en relief les cornes lyriformes enserrant le disque, qui surmontent le chef de Khrotionekh, prêteraient par elles seules à ambigüologie: elles complètent fréquemment, surtout à la basse époque, les coiffures des déesses aussi bien que celles des reines. A l'origine pourtant, c'est à dire sans doute sous la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie,<sup>3</sup> cet emblème, dont la partie essentielle se

<sup>1</sup> von Bissing, ouv. cit., notes 17 et 21 de la notice de la Pl. CI.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes* 1896, Pl. VI, 3 et 4, pp. 6-7. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten (Catalogue général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)*, II, Pl. CVIII, p. 152. von Bissing, ouv. cit., note 15 de la notice des Pl. XLVIII-XLIX.

<sup>3</sup> Une enquête iconographique serait à faire pour fixer la date de l'apparition de cet emblème, au cours, semble-t-il, de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie. La théogamie de Deir el-Bahari (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, II, Pl. XLVII et XLVIII) ne le place pas encore sur la tête de la reine dans les scènes qui le comportent à la théogamie de Louxor (Gayet, 'Le temple de Louxor' dans les



a. Échelle : env.  $\frac{5}{8}$



b. Échelle : env.  $\frac{5}{4}$



c. Échelle : env.  $\frac{1}{5}$

a et b. Détails de la statuette en bronze de la mère d'Imouthès (Musée du Louvre E 11556)  
 c. Détail du bas-relief de Psamtikneferseshem (Musée du Caire)



composait des deux rémiges — auxquelles on ajoutait *ad libitum* le disque seul ou le disque flanqué de deux cornes — semble avoir été la marque distinctive de l'Épouse d'Amon, le dieu des régions aériennes au chef empanaché de deux rémiges.<sup>1</sup> Mout le portait par exception,<sup>2</sup> mais c'était avant tout la reine qui en avait le privilège en vertu du mystère de la théogamie. Le célèbre bas-relief du temple de Louxor est suggestif à cet égard : les rémiges de la reine Moutemouia y sont figurées en si exacte symétrie avec les rémiges d'Amon, dans l'acte du mariage divin,<sup>3</sup> que la valeur symbolique qu'y attachaient les Égyptiens s'en dégage avec évidence. La reine en outre ne les arbore qu'aux instants solennels où son rôle d'épouse est mis en relief ; entre les bras du dieu et lorsque Thot vient la saluer de ses titres avant de la conduire à l'accouchement.<sup>4</sup> Dans les autres épisodes du même tableau, où elle est surtout considérée comme mère du futur roi, Moutemouia ne porte que la coiffure ouvrée en dépouille de vautour. Que cet ornement des rémiges, attribué d'abord à l'Épouse d'Amon, mais dont les éléments adventices, disque et cornes, se rencontraient avec les emblèmes d'Isis et d'Hathor, ait passé assez tôt sur la tête des déesses,<sup>5</sup> rien n'est plus naturel dans une iconographie qui confondit toujours, en vertu d'une doctrine, les symboles divins et royaux. Les déesses n'étaient-elles pas les reines célestes ? L'exemple de Mout portant régulièrement le *pschent* illustre cet échange entre attributs d'ordre divin et ceux d'ordre royal. Toutefois la fréquence de l'uréus au front de la coiffure, ainsi que la propension à décorer d'un rang d'uréus le support des rémiges, devait persister, jusqu'à la fin de la civilisation pharaonique,

*Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, tome xv, Pl. LXIX et LXXI). Il semble de règle, il est vrai, dans les nombreuses figurations de la reine Ahmès Nefertari : mais on ne pourrait tirer argument que de ceux de ces documents dont on prouverait qu'ils sont des œuvres contemporaines de l'épouse de Thoutmôsis I, et non des images de culte tant soit peu postérieures. Le groupe 42052 du Musée du Caire (Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, dans le *Catalogue Général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Pl. xxviii, p. 31), qui satisferait à ces conditions, a eu par malheur sa partie supérieure entièrement refaite sous Armaïs ou Séthôsis I. Quoi qu'il en soit, la reine Tii semble avoir résolument adopté ce type de diadème (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, Pl. LXXII, LXXXV b, LXXXVI a, cxiv), jusqu'à le conserver dans les représentations de Tell el-Amarna (Lepsius, ouv. cit. III, Pl. c c). Il est curieux de constater en effet que cet ornement, amonien s'il en fut, échappa à la proscription portée par Aménothès IV contre les emblèmes de l'ancien culte : on le trouve parfois sur la tête de Néfertiti (Lepsius, ouv. cit., III, Pl. cx b. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, I, Pl. xxv ; v, Pl. xxvi.

Borchardt, *Kunstwerke aus dem ägyptischen Museum zu Kairo*, Pl. xxvii) à la place du haut bonnet cylindrique de reine inauguré à cette époque ; combiné avec ce bonnet, il arrive, par une étrange rencontre, à reproduire la couronne même d'Amon (Lepsius, ouv. cit., III, Pl. cx a. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, v, Pl. xxxiii).

<sup>1</sup> Sethe, 'Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis' (*Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang 1929, Phil.-Hist. Klasse. Nr. 4), pp. 101-2, § 216.

<sup>2</sup> Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, Pl. xxvii et xxix.

<sup>3</sup> Gayet, ouv. cit., Pl. LXXI.

<sup>4</sup> Gayet, ouv. cit., Pl. LXXIX.

<sup>5</sup> Hathor, par exemple, sur le mur est, face ouest, côté sud, de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak, dans un bas-relief où elle est représentée conduisant Ramsès II vers Amon et Amonit, porte la coiffure dont il s'agit, mais sans les cornes lyriformes et timbrée d'un uréus au front, c'est à dire comme ornement royal et non comme diadème hathorien. Photo Gaddis et Seif, Louxor, no. 275. Cf. Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak*, p. 243.

comme la marque d'origine de cet emblème. Un détail de la statuette de Khrotioneekh prouve que sa coiffure doit être interprétée ici dans son sens royal originel: la main gauche, posée à plat sur la cuisse, ne tient pas en effet la croix ansée, qui serait de règle dans une représentation de déesse. C'est donc bien le type d'une reine, coiffée des rémiges et portant la *menat* selon la formule du second Empire thébain, que l'artiste néo-memphite a entendu utiliser pour exprimer la personnalité de Khrotioneekh.

Depuis longtemps M. Erman a reconnu que la divinisation d'Imouthès, fils de Khrotioneekh, s'était faite en deux étapes: homme héroïsé jusqu'à la fin des dynasties indigènes, il n'a pris les attributs divins qu'au début de l'époque grecque.<sup>1</sup> Une telle rupture, soit dit en passant, dans une tradition tant de fois séculaire, et au moment même où la religion égyptienne cristallisait l'héritage de son passé, doit sans doute s'expliquer par une poussée d'idées evhéméristes importées par l'hellénisme, qui, en faisant des dieux d'anciens héros, amenaient à mettre les héros sur le plan des anciens dieux. Comme Imouthès, Khrotioneekh apparaît divinisée à l'époque ptolémaïque. Les bas-reliefs de la porte de Ptolémée Épiphane à Philae<sup>2</sup> la représentent en effet les bras ornés de quatre bracelets, tenant la croix ansée et le sceptre de papyrus, et, de même que sur la colonne du pronaos de Deir el-Médineh,<sup>3</sup> recevant dans les légendes le titre de 'Mère de dieu'. Mais la statuette du Louvre, de deux siècles antérieure, ne suppose pas une pareille apothéose: pour reine qu'elle soit figurée,<sup>4</sup> elle n'en reste pas moins humaine et mortelle. Il faut en conclure que la mère a suivi la carrière posthume du fils et que, comme Imouthès et avec lui, Khrotioneekh n'a été déifiée que dans les débuts de la période ptolémaïque.

<sup>1</sup> Sethe, 'Imhotep, der Asklepios der Aegypter' (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertums-kunde Aegyptens*, II. 4), p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, IV. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Lepsius, *ouv. cit.*, *Text*, III. 118.

<sup>4</sup> Thouéris, qui, par son rang secondaire dans le panthéon, fait figure, elle aussi, de demi-

déesse, reçoit également, à défaut des attributs divins proprement dits, le diadème de reine pour exprimer son éminente dignité. Cf. Daressy, *Statues de divinités (Catalogue général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)*, Pl. LV, nos. 39145, 39147, 39149 et 39165.

## BEMERKUNGEN ZUR KERMA-KUNST

Von H. JUNKER

ALS George A. Reisner den ersten Bericht über seine aufsehenerregenden Funde auf dem grossen Friedhof von Kerma in Dongola erstattete, machte er auf den unägyptischen Charakter der neuerschlossenen eigenartigen Kultur aufmerksam und auf die Bedeutung, die ihrer Entdeckung zukomme; 'The earliest site yet opened in the Sudan, it promises to be the most important for the history of the northern Sudan and its relations to Egypt' (*Ä.Z.* LII, S. 39). Als dann in den weiteren Campagnen die Statuen *Hapdefas* und seiner Gemahlin, sowie andere ägyptische Plastiken zum Vorschein kamen, neigte er der Auffassung zu, dass die ganze Kerma-Kultur doch nicht selbständig sei, sondern auf ägyptischen Einfluss zurückgehe und dass alle die Erzeugnisse der Kunst und des Kunsthandwerkes, die so fremd anmuteten, von ägyptischen Meistern stammten, die den einheimischen Geschmack, einheimische Technik und einheimisches Material als Grundlage für ihre Neuschöpfung nahmen. Es seien hier zwei Stellen wiedergegeben, die diese Erklärung der Kerma-Kultur deutlich zum Ausdruck bringen: 'Thus the objects found at Kerma represent the work of Egyptian artisans living in a strange land as the servants of Egyptian princes who ruled a conquered race. These men took the local materials and technical processes, borrowed forms from both the Sudan and Egypt, and created a new series of arts and crafts. Except for the great monuments of Egypt nothing has ever been found which illustrated more clearly the genius of the Egyptian craftsmen—the same in all times and in all places' (*Bull. Mus. Fine Arts, Boston*, 1915, S. 76). 'The utensils and the ceremonial objects of life were made . . . by Egyptian craftsmen living at Kerma. The men working on unaccustomed materials under the stimulus of unwonted sights and surroundings developed a series of crafts of which the products of some followed closely the Egyptian models and of others took forms never seen elsewhere' (*Harvard African Studies, Excavations at Kerma*, I, S. 88). Ich glaubte diese Ansicht nicht teilen zu können und habe in *Kubanieh-Nord*, S. 20 ff. und 'Der nubische Ursprung dersogenannten Tell-el-Yahudiye-Vasen', S. 95 ff. dazu Stellung genommen. Wenn ich nochmals auf die Frage zurückkomme, so geschieht das, weil sie von so weittragender Bedeutung ist. Haben wir in der Kerma-Kunst nur einen absonderlichen Abzweig der ägyptischen zu sehen, so bleibt sie zwar noch immer sehr bemerkenswert, hat aber mehr das Interesse einer Kuriosität; sind dagegen ihre Träger die eingeborenen Nubier, so steht vor uns eine hochentwickelte afrikanische Kultur aus dem zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend, die einzige dieser Höhe, die uns überhaupt in Afrika aus der vorchristlichen Zeit erhalten ist und die nicht etwa wie die meroitische sich stark und bewusst an die ägyptische anlehnt.



Im Folgenden sei nur eine Einzelheit aus dem Fragenkomplex herausgehoben, die mehr die Kunst und das Kunsthandwerk betrifft und an der sich der Vergleich mit der ägyptischen Kunst und der Beziehung zu ihr klarer herausarbeiten lässt als im baren Handwerk, wie etwa der Töpferei.

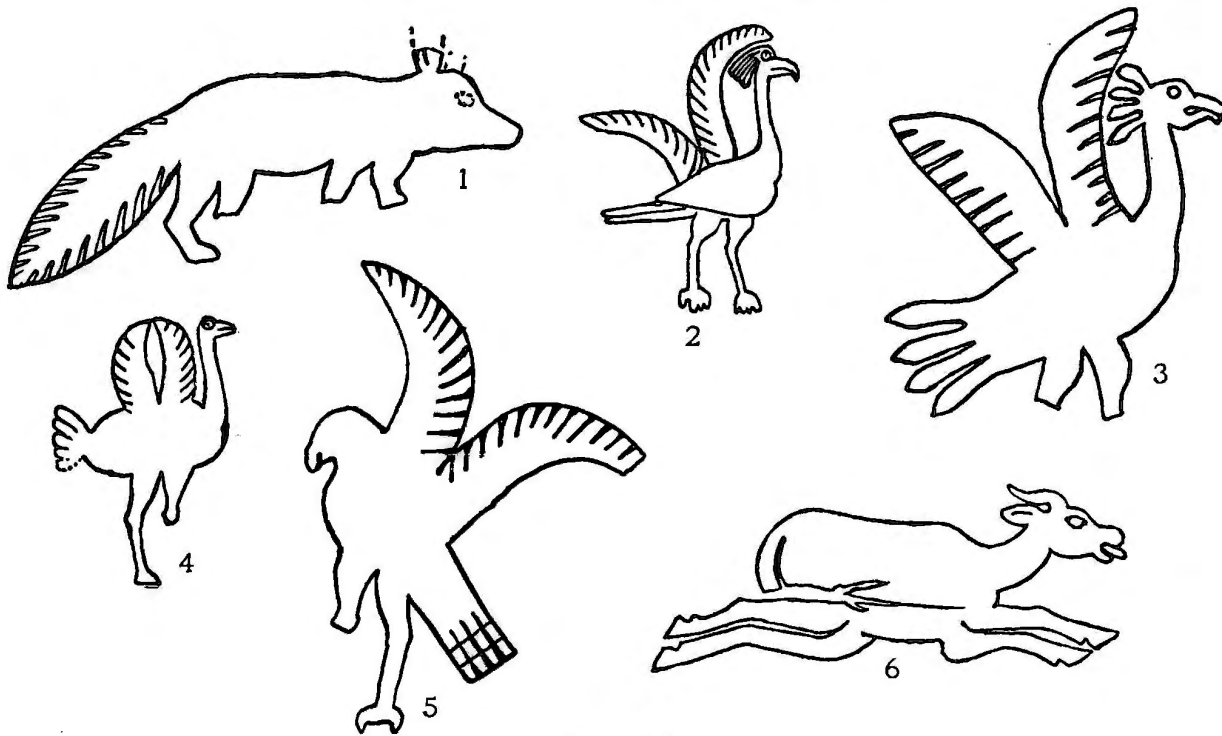
Unter den Elfenbeinschnitzereien, die als Einlagen in Holz gearbeitet wurden, finden sich insbesondere Tiere verschiedener Art; daneben sind zahlreiche in Glimmer geschnittene Stücke zu nennen, meist mit Sujets, die auf diese Technik beschränkt bleiben. Auch sind uns einige Malereien auf Stuck erhalten, die die Wände der grossen Totenkapellen schmückten, und Zeichnungen auf Fayencevasen, die hauptsächlich bei der unteren Deffûfa (*Kerma*, II, S. 135) gefunden wurden. Nennen wir noch die wenigen Pflanzenmuster und figuralen Darstellungen auf Vasen und eine gelegentliche Lederschnitzerei, so ist damit das zur Verfügung stehende Material in der Hauptsache aufgezählt. Es lässt sich nun folgende Wahrnehmung machen:

1. Nicht aus Ägypten entlehnte Motive sind meisterhaft dargestellt, stark naturalistisch und ohne Beobachtung mancher im ägyptischen Kanon vorgeschriebener Gesetze — da aber, wo ein ägyptisches Motiv zur Wiedergabe gelangt, sehen wir eine auffallende Unsicherheit und klare Abweichungen.

2. Eine grosse Anzahl der Motive sind in Ägypten vollkommen unbekannt, nicht nur gegenständlich, sondern auch kompositorisch und zeigen in der Ausführung einen freien Stil. Dagegen bewegen sich bei den in der ägyptischen Faktorei hergestellten Waren die Darstellungen völlig in der ägyptischen Überlieferung, in der Auswahl der Motive sowohl als auch in Komposition und Stil. Diese doppelten Gegensätzlichkeiten lassen sich aber schlechterdings nicht erklären, wenn ägyptische Künstler den Kermastil geschaffen hätten.

Zu den unter 1. genannten Werken gehören u. a. ein grosser Teil der Elfenbeinschnitzereien, darunter wahre Kabinettstücke, insbesondere Tiere verschiedener Art, wie sie vollendeter in Ägypten nie wiedergegeben wurden, wie etwa der Fuchs, *Kerma*, II, Pl. 54, No. 1 (Abb. 1), die Trappen, Strausse und Falken ebenda, Pl. 54, 1; 55, 1; 56, 1 (Abb. 2, 3, 4, 5). Da tritt gleich eine eigentümliche Erscheinung hervor: In Ägypten hatte sich ein bestimmter Kanon für die Darstellung des Vogelfluges herausgebildet, sowohl für den auffliegenden Vogel wie für den sich niederlassenden (s. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3. Aufl., S. 210; Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, Nos. 222, 223). Was wir aber in Kerma an Vögeln sehen, stimmt damit absolut nicht überein; bei der Trappe könnte man entgegenhalten, dass sie in Ägypten überhaupt nicht zur Darstellung kam, aber man vergleiche die Darstellung der Strausse, *Kerma*, II, Pl. 54, No. 1 (Abb. 4) etwa mit den Straussen bei Capart, *Débuts de l'art*, Fig. 157. Nach auch nur annähernd ähnlichen Auffassungen wird man in Ägypten vergebens suchen, auch die Kunst der Amarna-Zeit (s. Schäfer, a. a. O. II, Abb. 164) zeigt keinerlei Parallelen.

Einen ganz schlagenden Einwand gegen die ägyptische Herkunft der Kerma-

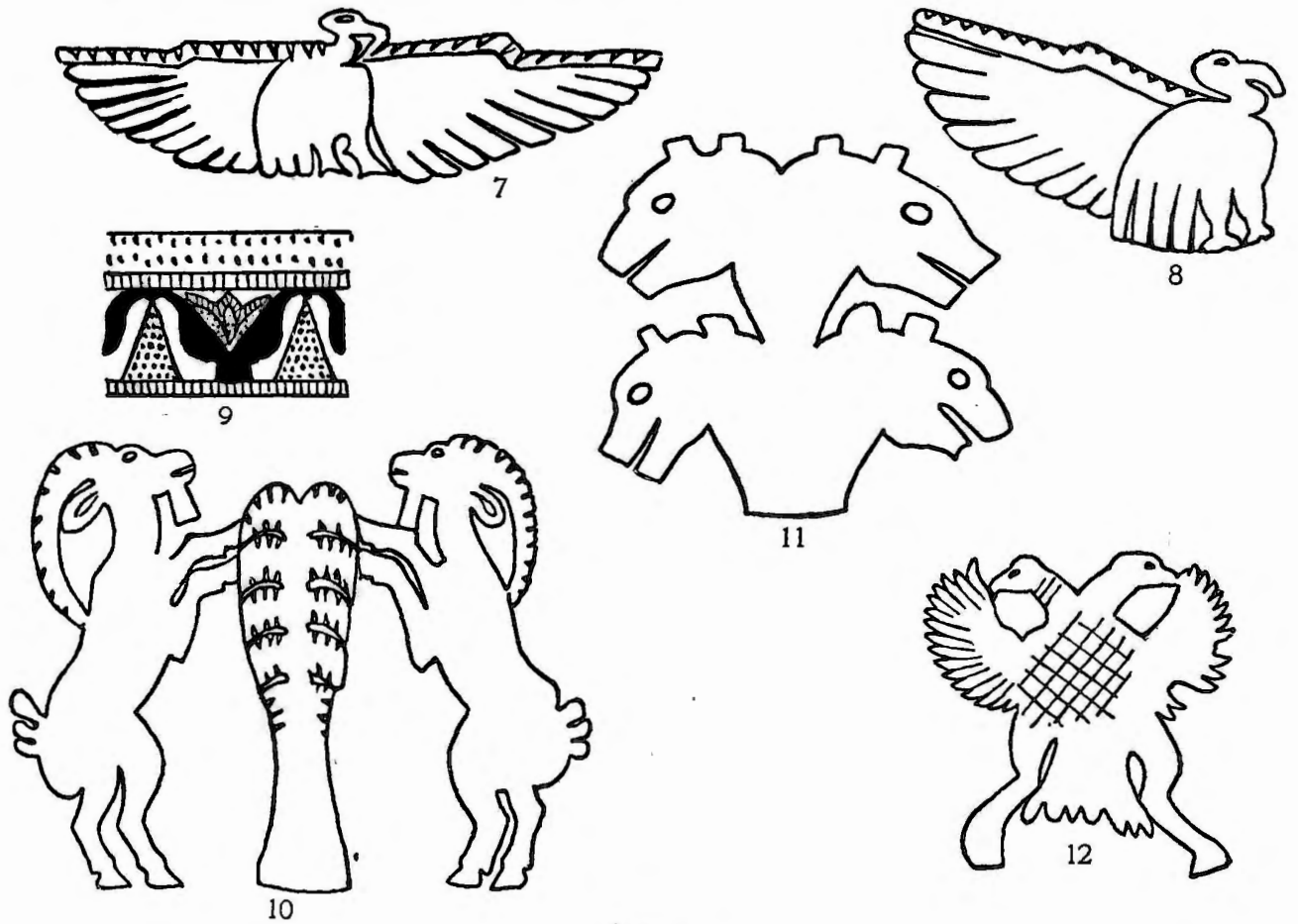


ABBN. 1-6

Kunst bietet die Darstellung der flüchtigen Gazelle (*Kerma*, II, Pl. 56, No. 2 = Abb. 6), die sonderbarerweise bisher noch keine Beachtung gefunden hat. In fliegender Karriere ist sie festgehalten, über dem Boden schwebend, den Körper aber nicht langstreckend, sondern den Leib leicht gekrümmt. Eine solche Auffassung erscheint in Ägypten um diese Zeit einfach unmöglich; man stellt bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches zwar auch die Karriere, den Streckgalopp, dar, aber lässt alle vier Füße die Standlinie berühren (Schäfer, a. a. O. II, S. 27). Erst mit dem Neuen Reich, der XVIII. Dynastie, wird das fliehende Wüstenwild auch im Streckgalopp wiedergegeben, meist mit hochgeworfenem Hinterteil, aber auch waagrecht schwebend, *ventre à terre*, wie im Grab des Userhēt (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, Taf. 26) und auf dem Halsband der 'Thebanerin' genannten Hündin.


Es wäre nicht wohl denkbar, dass hier ein grosser ägyptischer Künstler des Mittleren Reiches den Schritt zu einer naturalistischen Wiedergabe getan hat— und wenn er ihn getan hätte, dass dann seine Tat keine Nachahmer in Ägypten und keine Spur in der ägyptischen Kunst hinterlassen hätte.

In der grossen Grabkapelle XXI (*Kerma*, I, Pl. 19, 2) sind auf der Westwand Scharen von Nilpferden abgebildet, diese sind aber nicht durch Bildstreifen getrennt, und die Tiere stehen nicht auf Standlinien, wie in Ägypten (Schäfer, a. a. O., S. 167 f), die Darstellung erinnert mehr an vorgeschichtliche Wiedergaben von Rudeln Wildes, wie Capart, a. a. O., Fig. 146, 155, 156. Es ist schwer anzunehmen, dass ein ägyptischer Künstler, dem die Art der Darstellung von Menschen und Tieren auf festem Grund in Fleisch und Blut übergegangen war,



ABBN. 7-12

hier dem Geschmack der 'elenden Nubier' zuliebe seine innere künstlerische Überzeugung preisgegeben hätte; sehen wir doch einige Jahrhunderte später, wie selbst in der Zeit, da mit der Tradition und Konvention überall gebrochen wurde, doch im Wesen das Prinzip der Verbundenheit der Figur mit der Erde und zugleich die Einteilung in Bildstreifen bestehen blieb.

Nun kommen neben den offenbar einheimischen Motiven auch solche zur Verwendung, die deutlich ägyptischen Vorbildern entnommen sind; aber gerade sie zeigen eine Unbeholfenheit und innere Unsicherheit, die erkennen lassen, dass sie von Leuten verwendet werden, die sich in die ägyptische Kunst ganz nicht einzufühlen vermochten. Das wird vor allem deutlich bei den Elfenbeinschnitzereien, die die Geiergöttin darstellen, die Schutzherrin Oberägyptens; hier hatte sich bei den ägyptischen Künstlern eine ganz bestimmte Darstellungsweise herausgebildet, wenn sie als Schützerin wiedergegeben werden sollte: Entweder ist sie mehr in Seitenansicht gezeichnet, wobei der eine Flügel waagrecht erscheint, der andere ein wenig gesenkt ist: ; dieser Auffassung liegt wohl mehr die Idee zugrunde, dass die Göttin ihre Arme schirmend um den König hält. Oder es sind die Flügel horizontal ausgebreitet: Die Göttin

schwebt über ihren Schutzbefohlenen; ihr Körper ist dabei entsprechend in der Unteransicht gegeben (s. Schäfer, a. a. O. II, 208). So ausnahmslos, wenn das Bild der Göttin an der Decke des Tempels angebracht ist, um den König zu schirmen, der zum Allerheiligsten schreitet. Die gleiche Auffassung finden wir wieder bei den Brustamuletten wie aus dem Mittleren Reich etwa unter dem Goldschmuck von Dahschûr (Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 1895, Pl. XIX. 1, XX. 2, XXI). In Kerma dagegen zeigen alle Schnitzereien die schwebende Geiergöttin mit dem Körper im Profil (Abb. 7 und 8). Das ist ganz unägyptisch und kann wohl nur so erklärt werden, dass ein nubischer Künstler durch ägyptische Vorbilder angeregt, in seiner Art die Zeichnung nachzuahmen versuchte. Auffallend ist ja auch gerade bei diesem nicht typisch nubischen Sujet eine gewisse Steifheit, die in sofort erkennbarem Gegensatz zu der sonst so lebendigen naturalistischen Auffassung steht. Etwas ähnliches gilt übrigens von einem zweiten, wohl auch der ägyptischen Kunst entlehnten Motiv, den Lotosblumen, die als Dekor auf der Vase, *Kerma*, II, fig. 340, 11 (Abb. 9), verwendet werden; sie gemahnen an ähnlichen Dekor aus der Meroitenzeit wo auch das ägyptische Vorbild, das innerlich nicht ganz erfasst und verarbeitet wurde, als Ursache für die hieratische Auffassung gelten muss.

Als Petrie im Jahre 1890 zu Kahun eine Vase fand, auf der sich das Motiv zweier Ziegen wiederholte, die gegengleich rechts und links an einem Baum aufgerichtet Blätter und Zweige zu erhaschen suchten (Petrie, *Kahun*, Pl. XXVII, 200), war man schnell bei der Hand, diese unägyptische Zeichnung auf fremde Quellen zurückzuführen und erklärte die Kanne als zypriotischen Import (Petrie, a. a. O., S. 25 f.).

Nun findet sich ganz das gleiche Motiv bei einer Elfenbeinschnitzerei in *Kerma*, II, Tafel 56, 2 (Abb. 10) und es lässt sich beweisen, dass gerade solche gegengleiche Darstellungen für Kerma als bezeichnend gelten können: Die Tafeln 54–6 und 59 liefern eine Menge von Beispielen, angefangen von den Löwen[?]-köpfen und der Kombination, die dem alten österreichischen Doppeladler aufs Haar gleicht (Abb. 11–12; aus Glimmer), bis zu dem unter einem Baume dargestellten Tierpaar (Abb. 10).

Auch das Vasenbild Abb. 13 ist heranzuziehen: ein Mann mit zwei Löwen kämpfend. Dass diese gegengleichen Bilder nicht aus dem Ägypten der 12. Dynastie stammen können, liegt auf der Hand; es müssen aber Parallelen aus der spätvorgeschichtlichen und fröhdynastischen Zeit genannt werden, insbesondere die Schieferpaletten und für den Kampf mit dem Löwen der Messergriff von Gebel Araq; die Ausführung mutet fremd an; es fehlen zwar Vasenbilder aus der 12. Dynastie, aber was wir sonst aus dieser Zeit an Darstellungen von Menschen und Tieren haben passt durchaus nicht zu dem Kermabild. Vgl. auch die ganz unägyptische Darstellung des Mannes mit Stock auf Fig. 285. Da muss die Frage gestellt werden, wie ägyptische Künstler der 12. Dynastie eine so ganz anders geartete Kunstrichtung einschlagen konnten, obwohl die

Kolonie— bei der Unterstellung, dass Kerma ägyptische Kolonie sei— doch in ständiger Verbindung mit dem Mutterlande blieb. Auch kann man nicht auf den 'stimulus of unwonted sights and surroundings' hinweisen, denn in allen Parallelfällen, wie Buhen in Nubien selbst und in Syrien, können wir immer deutlich scheiden zwischen ägyptischer lokaler Arbeit und ägyptischem Import, der Eingeborenenware und der Nachahmung ägyptischer Erzeugnisse; zwar mögen natürlich gelegentlich fremde, ausländische Motive von Ägyptern übernommen und in ihrem Geiste verarbeitet werden— nie aber haben sonst ägyptische Künstler in den Kolonien einen neuen Stil geschaffen, mag auch die



ABB. 13

Umgebung noch so fremd, die Technik und die Form der fremden Erzeugnisse noch so entwickelt gewesen sein.

Ganz durchschlagend erscheint mir dabei die bisher noch nicht beachtete Tatsache, dass eine ganze Gruppe der Kerma-Erzeugnisse in Sujets, Stil und Technik vollkommen ägyptisch geblieben ist und nicht eine Spur der fremden Auffassung zeigt, die sonst aus dem ganzen Kunsthandwerk spricht— es sind die Fayencen. Reisner hat mit Recht angenommen, dass sich in der Nähe der Deffûfa eine Fayencefabrik befand; es wird, wie ich glaube, die königliche Manufaktur gewesen sein, die der Staatsfaktorei in Kerma zugeteilt war. Es wurde eine unübersehbare Menge von Vasen- und Schüsselbruchstücken gefunden, auch Klumpen von Kupferoxyd, von Silicaten, von Mörtel, u. ä, sowie Holzasche.

Es zeigen nun die Formen der Gefässe nicht irgend eine besondere Abweichung von den normalen ägyptischen Typen; alle Figuren sind durchaus im Stil der Zeit gehalten, bis in alle Einzelheiten, und es ist lehrreich, einen Vergleich mit den oben aufgezählten Einzelheiten des Kermastiles anzustellen: die Vögel zeigen z. B. hier den gewohnten Flügelansatz, es wird immer nur die ägyptische Flora und Fauna dargestellt— die Menschenfiguren zeigen die

normale Zeichnung des Mittleren bis Neuen Reiches — die Blumen, vor allem Lotus, zeigen ägyptische Arten, aber auch ägyptische Auffassung und Ausführung. Kurz, die Darstellungen könnten ebensogut einer Fayencefabrik in Ägypten selbst entstammen, die örtliche Entfernung vom Heimatland und die anders geartete Umwelt haben hier nicht die geringste Spur im Schaffen der Künstler hinterlassen. Das aber scheint mir zwingend zur Annahme zu führen, dass die Künstler des unägyptischen Kermastiles eben keine Ägypter waren.

So spricht doch alles dafür, dass die Kultur, die Reisner im Sudan entdeckte, wesentlich bodenständig ist; sie hat zweifellos manche Anregungen von Ägypten erhalten, da ein reger Handelsverkehr mit dem Norden bestand; manche Erzeugnisse des Kunstgewerbes, wie Alabastervasen, werden importiert und ägyptische Künstler fertigten die Statuen des *Hapdefa*, der *Snm-t* und andere an, ägyptische Handwerker leiteten die Herstellung der Fayencegefäße in der Faktorei; und in allen diesen Werken und Erzeugnissen waltet ausschliesslich ägyptische Formensinn und ägyptische Technik. Die Wandmalereien aber und die Masse des Gerätes, der Schnitzereien in Elfenbein, Glimmer, Holz, Leder, ebenso wie die Keramik stellen das Erzeugnis eingeborener Künstler und Handwerker dar und wir können mit Recht von einer echt afrikanischen Kultur sprechen, die sich im Sudan entwickelt hatte und zu Beginn des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends ihre Blüte erlebte.

# LE SIGNE HIÉROGLYPHIQUE NN

(JONC DES MARAIS)

par VICTOR LORET

avec illustrations de MARCEL JACQUEMIN

M. F. LL. GRIFFITH, grâce à ses remarquables travaux *Beni Hasan*, III (1896) et *Collection of Hieroglyphs* (1898), a rendu de trop grands services à l'histoire de l'écriture égyptienne pour que je ne sois pas heureux de pouvoir lui dédier cette étude, qui vient achever une identification de signe qu'il avait très heureusement commencée,<sup>1</sup> et ajouter une espèce nouvelle aux plantes déjà nombreuses de la Flore pharaonique.

## I. LE SIGNE NN.

Le signe  $\text{𓂏}$ , que l'on rencontre dans les plus anciens documents, est presque toujours redoublé,  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$ , du moins quand il sert à exprimer le groupement *nn*. Devant  $\text{𓂏}$ , avec la valeur *nḥb*, il est par contre toujours employé seul,  $\text{𓂏}$ . D'ailleurs, il n'est pas certain que, dans les deux cas, nous ayons affaire à un seul et même signe; peut-être existe-t-il entre les deux des différences, de couleur par exemple, que les inscriptions ne nous laissent pas soupçonner.<sup>2</sup> C'est là une question qu'il y aura lieu d'étudier un jour, en tenant compte du fait que les deux signes sont diversifiés dans les textes hiératiques les plus anciens. Pour l'instant, je borne mes recherches au seul signe  $\text{𓂏}$  équivalent de  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$ .

On a pu penser, en attribuant à un seul et même signe les deux valeurs *nn* et *nḥb*, que c'est pour distinguer ces deux valeurs l'une de l'autre que, dans le premier cas, on écrit  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$  tandis que, dans le second cas, on écrit simplement  $\text{𓂏}$ . Je crois que la raison du redoublement du signe est bien différente et que c'est parce que la valeur *nn* de  $\text{𓂏}$  consiste en la répétition d'une seule et même lettre *n* que l'on répète également, par analogie, le signe  $\text{𓂏}$ . Nous constatons l'existence d'un procédé analogue dans l'emploi du signe  $\text{𓂏}$ . Ce signe, on le sait, a tout d'abord la valeur  $\text{𓂏}$ . Mais, dès la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, au moins dans le nom de la ville de Busiris, le  $\text{𓂏}$  passe à  $\text{𓂏}$  et le signe  $\text{𓂏}$  se trouve, pratiquement, représenter  $\text{𓂏}$ . Or, tandis que, sous l'Ancien Empire, le nom de Busiris se

<sup>1</sup> *A Collection of Hieroglyphs*, pp. 28-9.

<sup>2</sup> On sait que, sous l'Ancien Empire (Möller, *Paläogr.* I, no. 205) et sous la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie (Caire, Stèle 20538, verso, l. 20, éd. Lange-Schäfer, pl. XL), l'oiseau *gm*, qui sert à écrire le mot 'trouver', a exactement la même forme et la même attitude,  $\text{𓂏}$ , que l'Ibis de Thot; ce n'est que plus tard que l'on abaisse vers le sol la tête de

l'oiseau *gm*,  $\text{𓂏}$ , comme s'il trouvait quelque chose à terre. Mais le *gm* est l'Ibis noir (*Plegadis falcinellus* LINN.), tandis que l'oiseau de Thot est l'Ibis blanc (*Ibis aethiopica* LATH.): il est évident qu'aux époques où les deux oiseaux étaient dessinés de façon identique, une inscription colorisée les différenciait complètement et rendait toute confusion impossible.

trouve toujours écrit avec un seul  $\text{𓆎}$ , il s'écrit fréquemment, par contre, avec redoublement  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  à partir de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie. De sorte qu'une orthographe comme  $\text{𓆎𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$ , — à lire *Ddw* et non *Zdw*, — nous permet de déclarer sans hésiter que le texte où on la rencontre est postérieur à l'Ancien Empire. En somme,  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  pour  $\text{𓆎}$  et  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  pour  $\text{𓆎}$  me paraissent répondre à une seule et même idée : gémiation phonétique appelée redoublement graphique.

Ce qu'il y a lieu d'étudier tout d'abord, c'est la forme exacte du groupement  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  dans les textes les plus anciens et les plus soignés. Le  $\text{𓆎}$ , étant un signe extrêmement simple, n'a guère changé au cours des âges et l'on peut dire qu'il se présente, aux époques gréco-romaines, à peu près tel qu'on le trouve sous les premières dynasties. Néanmoins, en observant le signe sur les originaux ou sur de bonnes photographies, on peut arriver à faire quelques remarques d'une certaine importance.

Tout d'abord, le signe  $\text{𓆎}$  se distingue du signe  $\text{𓆎}$  en ce que les tiges de ce dernier vont s'atténuant peu à peu en une pointe fine, comme ferait une tige stérile de jonc, tandis que les tiges de *nn* ont leurs deux bords parallèles jusqu'à l'extrémité, laquelle est arrondie et non pointue. C'est là une constatation que l'on peut faire en examinant dans leur ensemble tous les signes  $\text{𓆎}$  que l'on est à même d'étudier. D'autre part, si, dans les deux premiers groupes que je reproduis à la fig. 1, les deux tiges inférieures donnent l'impression de représenter

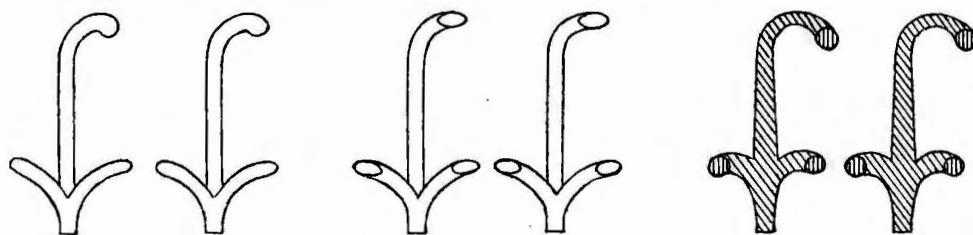


FIG. 1. Le signe *nn* de la IV<sup>e</sup> à la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie.

une seule tige qui se bifurquerait à droite et à gauche, dans la plupart des cas ces deux tiges latérales sont séparées jusqu'au bas du signe. De sorte qu'en fin de compte la plante *nn* figure un ensemble de trois tiges se touchant parallèlement par leur base, mais indépendantes l'une de l'autre.




En fait, ce que j'appelle trois tiges pourrait être trois feuilles à extrémités arrondies. Mais il n'en est rien, comme nous l'enseignent bien clairement les trois groupes réunis dans la fig. 1.

Le premier, tiré d'un montant de porte du tombeau de Meri au Louvre (B 49), date de la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie et entre dans le nom de la déesse  $\text{𓆎𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$ . Les deux tiges latérales ont la forme ordinaire, mais la tige centrale présente à son extrémité un renflement très caractéristique dont l'explication nous sera fournie par les deux autres groupes.











Le second exemple, datant de la V<sup>e</sup> dynastie et tiré du tombeau de Ti à











La plante *twm* est le plus souvent déterminée par , mais elle l'est une fois au moins par , dans la tombe d'Anna (*Urk.* IV. 73) dont le jardin si riche (près de cinq cents arbres) renfermait cinq pieds de . C'est donc un arbrisseau, ou une herbe plus ou moins ligneuse, peut-être le *Ceruana pratensis* FORSK., dont on faisait en Égypte, dans l'antiquité, des balais et des paniers.<sup>1</sup>

Le récipient *qrr* doit être, d'après les déterminatifs que lui donnent les textes (cf. *Wb.* V. 12), quelque panier ou quelque couffe; mais ce qui nous intéresse particulièrement est l'objet fabriqué en *nn-t*.

Par une nouvelle application de la règle d'écriture que je signalais plus haut, le mot  , qui comporte deux fois le signe , d'abord comme phonétique *nb* puis comme déterminatif, se trouve être le nom de l'objet même , lequel, on le sait depuis longtemps, représente une corbeille plate, en forme de coupe, comme on en trouve si souvent dans les tombes anciennes et comme on en fabrique encore aujourd'hui par toute l'Égypte. Dans l'orthographe de basse époque , nous remarquons l'emploi de  qui, dans un mot féminin, indique que le signe précédent est pris non comme phonétique, mais comme figuratif: , signe phonétique, veut dire 'maître' ou 'tout'; , à valeur figurative, sert à rendre le mot 'corbeille'. Tout comme  est la lettre *d*, tandis que  signifie 'main'.

Cette corbeille *nb-t* est fabriquée en *nn-t*. La plante  est donc utilisée en vannerie et, comme le signe hiéroglyphique ne nous présente que des tiges et non des feuilles, il est vraisemblable que ce sont les tiges de la plante qui servaient à la fabrication de corbeilles. Nous rechercherons plus loin quelle peut être cette plante. En attendant, il nous faut écarter, malheureusement, un rapprochement copte très séduisant qui se présente tout d'abord à l'esprit. Le mot *ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ*: *ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲓ*, qui répond très exactement à l'orthographe égyptienne   , deux sens dont le second, peut-être, dérive du premier: 'racine (root)' et 'radis (radish)'.<sup>2</sup> Il est bien certain que  ne représente ni une racine en général, ni un radis en particulier, malgré la couleur rouge des renflements supérieurs du signe. Je ne vois pas bien, d'ailleurs, un vannier employant le radis comme matière première; une racine serait plus admissible, mais, encore une fois, le signe  représente des tiges et non une racine. C'est donc dans le seul domaine botanique qu'il nous reste à chercher l'identification de la plante *nn-t*.

### III. LE JONC (SCIRPE) DES MARAIS.

Le problème consiste à trouver une plante qui, tout d'abord, soit dépourvue de feuilles et qui, ensuite, porte à l'extrémité de tiges minces et allongées une inflorescence de teinte rouge (ou rose, ou brune) dont la largeur ne dépasse pas de beaucoup celle de la tige même. J'ai eu la patience de passer en revue les

<sup>1</sup> V. Loret, *Flore pharaonique*, 2<sup>e</sup> éd., Paris, 1892, p. 69, no. 114; L. Lortet et Cl. Gaillard, *Faune momifiée*, Lyon, t. III (1908), pp. 217-18 et

fig. 158 représentant un panier de *Ceruana*.

<sup>2</sup> W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, II (1930), p. 228.

1500 plantes qu'énumère le *Manual Flora of Egypt* de Muschler, et j'en ai été récompensé par la découverte d'une plante qui, non seulement répond en tous points à celle que figure le signe †, mais encore fournit une tige tout spécialement employée en vannerie. De plus, c'est, dans l'ensemble de la flore égyptienne, la seule et unique plante qui satisfasse à toutes les données du problème.

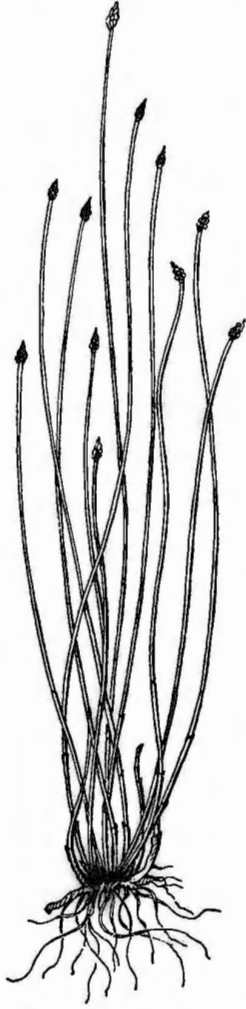


FIG. 2. *Heleocharis palustris* R. BR.<sup>2</sup>

Cette plante appartient au genre *Heleocharis* R. BR.<sup>1</sup> Ce genre, qui fait partie de l'importante famille des Cypéracées, a été détaché par R. Brown du grand genre *Scirpus* et s'en distingue, précisément, par l'absence à peu près complète de feuilles. Comme on le verra par la fig. 2, les feuilles ont perdu leur limbe et ne sont représentées que par leurs pétioles, réduits à deux ou trois gaines coupées obliquement à leur sommet et qui, s'emboîtant l'une dans l'autre, entourent étroitement le bas de la tige. La feuille proprement dite, le limbe, n'existe donc pas dans le genre *Heleocharis*, pas plus que dans le signe †.

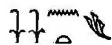
D'autre part, l'inflorescence de l'*Heleocharis* se compose d'un unique épillet terminal, oblong, dressé dans l'axe de la tige et formé de fleurs de couleur le plus souvent brun-roussâtre, ce qui correspond exactement à la teinte rouge que donnaient les Égyptiens aux extrémités renflées du signe †.

Mais le genre *Heleocharis* comprend un assez grand nombre d'espèces. Quelle était au juste l'espèce que les Égyptiens appelaient *mn-t*? — La réponse n'est guère difficile à donner, car il n'existe en Égypte que deux espèces d'*Heleocharis*.<sup>3</sup> L'une d'elles, *Heleocharis caduca* SCHULT. (synon. *Scirpus caducus* DELILE), à épillet brun clair ou jaune, ne mesure au maximum que 20 centimètres de hauteur et, à part l'Oasis d'El-Khargeh, est strictement localisée autour de Damiette. L'autre, *Heleocharis palustris* R. BR. (synon. *Scirpus palustris* LINN.), porte un épillet brun ou marron, mesure 40 centimètres et se rencontre par toute l'Égypte, d'Alexandrie à Assouân. L'hésitation n'est pas possible et c'est bien certainement la seconde espèce, *H. palustris*, Jonc des marais ou Scirpe des

<sup>1</sup> Certains auteurs écrivent *Eleocharis*, d'après l'orthographe adoptée, à la légère, par le créateur du genre. Mais, le mot étant indiscutablement formé sur *ἄλος*, il est évident qu'il doit débiter par un *h*. *Eleocharis* est une erreur et la loi botanique de priorité n'a pas été faite, je suppose, pour servir à éterniser une faute d'orthographe aussi frappante.

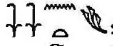

<sup>2</sup> Cette figure est empruntée en partie à A. Masclef, *Atlas des plantes de France*, Paris, t. III (1891), pl. 361, B, et en partie à G. Bonnier, *Flore complète illustrée en couleurs de France, Suisse et Belgique*, Paris, t. XI (1931), pl. 629, no. 2888.

<sup>3</sup> R. Muschler, *A Manual Flora of Egypt*, Berlin (1912), p. 175.

marais, que nous devons considérer comme répondant à la plante  de l'ancienne Égypte.

Le Jonc ou Scirpe des marais est une plante commune dans le monde entier. En France, les tiges atteignent 60 et même 80 centimètres de hauteur;<sup>1</sup> ces tiges sont vertes, robustes, un peu aplaties, et admirablement propres aux travaux de vannerie. Partout, en effet, on s'en sert pour confectionner des paniers, des corbeilles, des nattes.<sup>2</sup>

L'épillet, peint en rouge par les Égyptiens, est d'un rouge brunâtre ou rousâtre, et même *ferrugineo-sanguineus*, ainsi que l'écrit Kunth.<sup>3</sup> Il est, tout comme le renflement terminal du signe hiéroglyphique, très court et très étroit par rapport à la tige; c'est ainsi que Muschler lui attribue, pour une tige de 8 à 40 centimètres de hauteur, la longueur de 3 à 5 millimètres et la largeur de 2 millimètres seulement.

Sans insister plus longuement sur les détails d'une plante aussi généralement connue que l'*Heleocharis palustris* R. BR., Scirpe des marais, détails que chacun peut trouver facilement dans toute *Flore* tant soit peu développée, je terminerai en donnant, d'après G. Bonnier (loc. cit., pp. 80-1), la liste des noms anglais, allemands et italiens de la plante que l'on voudra bien, j'espère, considérer désormais comme étant la plante égyptienne , représentée par le signe .

*Aglet-headed rush, marsh club-rush; Sumpfbirse, gemeines Ried; giunco d'acqua, giunco tondo.*

<sup>1</sup> H. Coste, *Flore descriptive et illustrée de la France*, Paris, t. III (1906), p. 478, no. 3795; G. Bonnier, op. cit., p. 80, no. 2888.

<sup>2</sup> A. Masclef, op. cit., p. 292; H. Baillon, *Histoire des plantes*, Paris, t. XII (1894), p. 353;


J. Weese dans J. von Wiesner, *die Rohstoffe des Pflanzenreichs*, 4. Aufl., Leipzig (1927), S. 441.

<sup>3</sup> C. S. Kunth, *Enumeratio plantarum omnium hucusque cognitarum*, Stutgardiae et Tubingae, t. II (1837), p. 147.




## TWO MIDDLE-KINGDOM STELAE IN THE LOUVRE



By ROSALIND L. B. MOSS

(With Plates 47 and 48)

IN the Louvre are two stelae, Nos. C 167, 168, of a certain Antef , a steward of the time of Sesostris I, which have been published by Gayet, *Stèles de la XII<sup>e</sup> Dynastie*, Pls. LV, LVI, and their texts by Pierret in *Recueil d'Inscriptions . . . du Louvre*, II, pp. 61-2. These stelae are, however, in very bad condition owing to the ravages of saltpetre, as shown by the photographs on Pls. 47a, 48a (kindly given me by the authorities of the Louvre), so that a great part of the inscriptions at the top is lost; and although when Pierret published them the date could still be read, the cartouche had already disappeared, and even the year seemed uncertain, as he gives it as twenty-six and Gayet as twenty-five.

But among the papers of James Burton in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 25634, 124 verso to 128) are copies of these stelae seen by him at Abydos between 1823 and 1829, when they were still in perfect condition. One of them, No. 167, had eleven horizontal lines of text at the top, with the date of year twenty-five of Sesostris I, of which the first two lines and almost half the rest are now lost; the other had four lines, of which only a few signs at the ends remain. As a link between Burton and the published copies are the squeezes in the Louvre taken by Devéria about 1861, when the stelae had already reached the Museum in a very damaged state, but when it was still possible to make out several of the signs which have now perished. (Empreintes E 6167.1.62, 62 a, 62 bis, 62 bis a, b, and 6170 D 4 bis, 11.)

The text at the top of the first stela, after giving the date and usual offering-formula, enumerates the many titles of Antef, which, besides chancellor and hereditary prince, included various offices connected with the flocks and herds of the palace, of which he was steward () and continues with a eulogy of the manner in which he fulfilled his duties, being second to none in his exemplary conduct. A photograph of Burton's copy is given in Pl. 47b. Below this text is the deceased with his two wives Sit-Hathor  and Meryt  seated before a table of offerings presented by three sons and two daughters, with male and female attendants below. The inscriptions of this part have already been published by Pierret.

The other stela, No. 168, has four horizontal lines at the top, in which Antef draws attention to the early age at which he became a royal official, and is shown in Burton's copy in Pl. 48b. Below is Antef wearing a leopard-skin, followed by his mother Sit-Amūn , standing before offerings with a woman facing him on the other side; beyond this are a son Sebekdedu , and two



a. Limestone stela of a steward, Antef, of the time of Sesostris I. Louvre, No. C 167

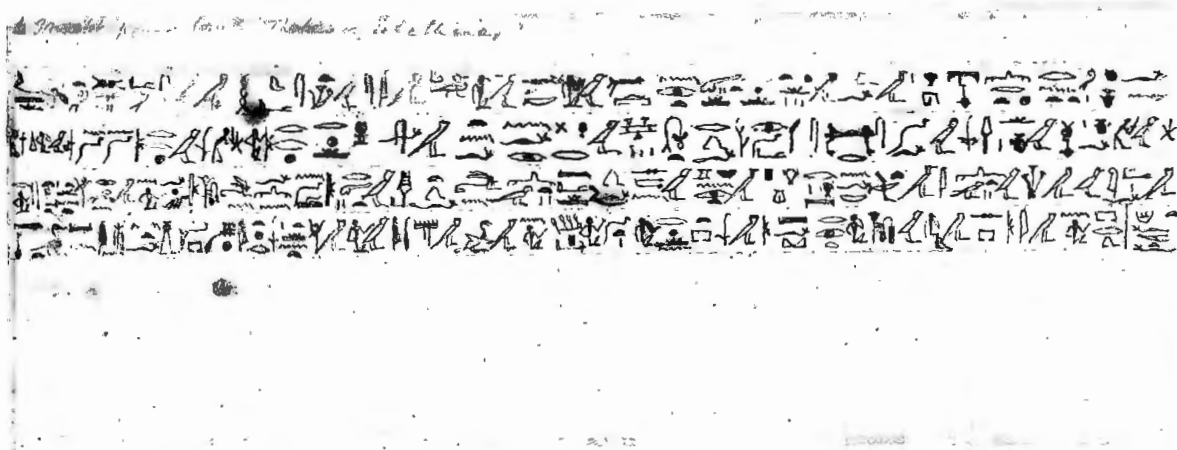


b. Copy of the text made by James Burton. British Museum, Add. MSS. 25634





a. Limestone stela of Antef (see Plate 47) Louvre, No. C 168



b. Copy of the text made by James Burton. British Museum, Add. MSS. 25634





daughters Nenrekhtes  $\overline{\text{ⲛⲉⲛⲣⲉⲕⲥⲏⲧⲉⲥ}}$  and Meryt  $\overline{\text{ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ}}$  with offerings before his (unnamed) father and his mother Sit-Amūn. All this register except the figures of Antef and his mother at the left end has now disappeared. The two lower registers contain two long rows of sons and daughters before Antef, and appear in the published works mentioned above.

It will be noticed that Burton's copy of stela C 168 is labelled 'Inscript from a tomb at Thebes or Eiletheusis', and the other inscription is marked, 'Pyramids. Thebes?' Probably when Burton revised his notes some uncertainty arose in his mind as to where he had copied them, and whether they all referred to the same monuments. On the outside of the first sheet, however, they are described as sepulchral tablets from Abydos, and this is no doubt correct. When compared with what remains of the two stelae, Burton's copy seems to have been an accurate one, except that in the last line but two of the longer inscription  $\overline{\text{ⲛⲉⲛⲣⲉⲕⲥⲏⲧⲉⲥ}}$  should be  $\overline{\text{ⲛⲉⲛⲣⲉⲕⲥⲏⲧⲉⲥ}}$ , and in l. 7  $\overline{\text{ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ}}$  should be emended to  $\overline{\text{ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ}}$ . On the other hand he gives the first sign of l. 10 correctly as  $\overline{\text{ⲛⲉⲛ}}$  where Pierret reads  $\overline{\text{ⲛⲉⲛ}}$ , and the  $\overline{\text{ⲛⲉⲛ}}$  near the end of the same line (as against  $\overline{\text{ⲛⲉⲛ}}$  of Pierret) is corroborated by the Devéria squeezes.

Another stela of this same man from his tomb at Abydos, dated year twenty-four of Sesostris I, in the Cairo Museum (No. 20542), is published in Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, II, p. 163, IV, Pl. XLIII, and the names are given in Mariette, *Cat. Abydos*, No. 611; but, apart from the date and the names of the relations, it contains nothing of special interest.

## THE SIGN 𓆎

By M. A. MURRAY

(With plate 49)

THE sign 𓆎 reads 𓆎 *ntr* or 𓆎 *ntr*, and is the word for 'God'. In all religions there is great difficulty in conveying so abstract an idea as divinity by means of the picture of a concrete object. In advanced religions the difficulty is either overcome by anthropomorphic representations, or evaded by a strict prohibition of any representation whatsoever of the deity. In early and primitive cults the only possibility of presenting the idea pictorially is by the image of an object so closely connected with the god as to be recognized by all worshippers as the outward sign of the deity (cp. the double axe of Crete, the trident of Vishnu, and even the cross of Christianity). It is therefore essential that to discover the origin of the sign 𓆎 it must be sought in the early periods of the Egyptian religion.

As long ago as 1892 Professor Petrie pointed out that the sign was neither an axe nor a roll of bandages on a stick, and that the so-called axe-blade was often split horizontally into two, or even three, strips (*Medum*, p. 32, Pl. xvi). In *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, Pl. XLV, I noted the conventional colouring of the sign, which is apparently a strip of yellow cloth wound on a green, i.e. wooden, pole. The split ends of the cloth at the top are characteristic of the proto-dynastic period; by the middle of the Old Kingdom the sign had taken on a more conventionalized form, though the origin was remembered and represented in the detail. After the Old Kingdom the form became increasingly stylized, until in the early New Kingdom in the jewellery of Aahhotep it appears as an actual axe.

I take the sign to be a pole on which a piece of cloth has been wound, not as a bandage for use in mummification, but for religious reasons. The idea of attaching some object to a shrub or tree as a means of communication with the deity is well known among primitive peoples. The tree is regarded as the 'box' or container which holds the divine spirit; and as the object is actually attached to the tree, it continually reminds the god of the votary who placed it there. This custom is well illustrated in Mr. Hornblower's account of the acacia-grove at Nezlet Batrân not far from Cairo (*Man*, 1930, pp. 17, 18). The grove is sacred to the *Sukkân es-Sunt*, 'The inhabitants of the acacias', and nails are driven into the trunks of the trees for the cure of the sick; in other words, the god is continually reminded that a sick person needs his help.

There is a considerable body of evidence to show that the ancient Egyptians, like other early peoples, had a definite cult of trees. As early as the Gerzean (2nd prehistoric) epoch, the cult was so far developed that the worship of the living tree had been transferred to a pole or branch cut from the tree. This is

seen in the representations of boats painted on the vases of this period (Nos. 1-5): At the prow of each boat is placed the branch of a tree, and in the early examples the branch is carefully drawn. The kind of tree appears to vary; some (Nos. 5-11) appear to be palm-branches, and Prof. Newberry (*Ä.Z.*, 1912, pp. 78, 79) has brought forward evidence to show that others are the flowering stems of pomegranates. There is also a suggestion that they are the flower-stems of the aloe (No. 12). Some again, especially the double and triple branches (Nos. 13-15), suggest, by their growth, the willow or poplar. The use of a branch at the prow is best explained by the legend of the building of the *Argo*, when the goddess (sometimes called *Hera* and sometimes *Athene*) brought a 'sounding wood' ξύλον φωνήεν from the sacred oak at Dodona and fixed it at the prow (Apollod. I. 9, 16; Val. Flacc. I. 302). This was obviously for some protective purpose; the 'sounding wood' was in all probability a branch, and the rustling of the wind through the dried leaves could be interpreted as the oracular speech of the deity.

Another instance of a plant as the outward sign of the indwelling deity is quoted by Athenaeus (xv. 18) from Polycharmis of Naucratis:

'In the twenty-third Olympiad Herostratus, a fellow-countryman of mine, who was a merchant, and as such had sailed to a great many different countries, coming by chance to Paphos in Cyprus, bought an image of Aphrodite, a span high, of very ancient workmanship, and came away meaning to bring it to Naucratis. And as he was sailing near the Egyptian coast, a violent storm suddenly overtook him, and the sailors could not tell where they were, and so they all had recourse to the image of Aphrodite, entreating her to save them. And the goddess, for she was kindly disposed towards the men of Naucratis, on a sudden filled all the space near her with branches of green myrtle, and diffused a most delicious odour over the whole ship, when all the sailors had previously despaired of safety from their violent sea-sickness. And after they had all been very sick, the sun shone out, and they, seeing the landmarks, came in safety to Naucratis. And Herostratus having disembarked with his image, and carrying with him also the green branches of myrtle which had so suddenly appeared to him, consecrated it and them in the temple of Aphrodite.'





An early instance of the voice of the Lord being conveyed by the rustling of leaves is recorded in 2 Sam. v. 23-4, when the Philistines went up against David in the valley of Rephaim. 'And when David enquired of the Lord, he said, Thou shalt not go up; but make a circuit behind them, and come upon them over against the mulberry trees. And it shall be, when thou hearest the sound of marching in the tops of the mulberry trees, that then thou shalt bestir thyself; for then is the Lord gone out before thee to smite the host of the Philistines.' (Revised Version.)

By the end of the pre-dynastic period the branch as a sacred emblem had evidently fallen out of use, for in the picture of boats at Hierakonpolis (No. 5) the branch is obviously for the purely utilitarian purpose of shading the look-out man from the heat of the sun. In dynastic times the use of the branch at the prow, whether as an oracle or as a shade, appears to be entirely discontinued.

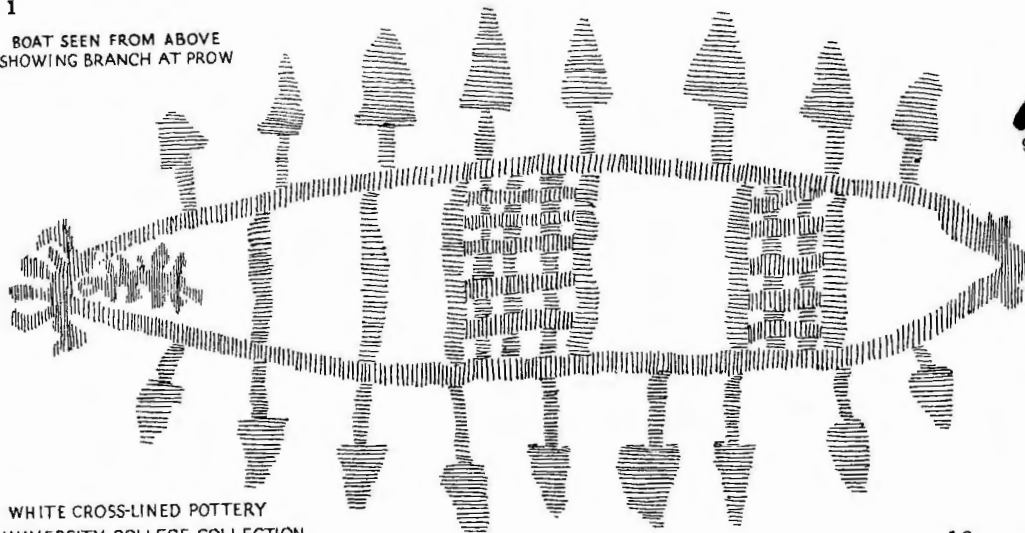
But besides the sacred branch there is another, and perhaps more important, emblem of the god indwelling in a tree. On each of the predynastic boats, aft of the stern-cabin, rises a pole or mast, surmounted by the fetish or sacred object of the port from which the boat hailed. On this mast, either immediately below the fetish or half-way down the pole, are two strips of cloth (Nos. 2, 16). Here the pole is evidently regarded as something more than a mere support; it is an integral part of the whole representation of the god, and the streamers are attached in order to call the attention of 'the inhabitant of the tree' to the suppliant; as in the same way a lamp is kept alight before the ikon of a saint on ships of Eastern Europe as long as the boat is at sea, though it is extinguished when the boat is in port and the crew have time to say their own prayers and look after their own safety. The streamers are found also in the historic period attached to the stand on which the emblem of the god is placed (Nos. 17-22); and in the XIIth Dynasty example from Meir (No. 23) the streamers are fastened to the pole by a loop.

In early examples of the *ntr*-sign the two streamers often slope downwards in the same manner as the streamers on the pole of the primitive ensign. In course of time the streamers appear to become invariably horizontal, and are finally united into one (Nos. 24-8, 30), either because cloth was less valuable and larger pieces were used; or because, for the same reason as in the modern instance noted by Mr. Hornblower, the larger the offering the more acceptable it was to the god.

Poles with streamers were set up in front of the primitive shrine to indicate that this was the house of the god, 'the inhabitant of the tree'. In the two examples given, the one shows the emblem of the goddess Neith in the courtyard of the shrine (No. 32), the other shows the sacred tree growing within the holy precincts (No. 31). This practice was continued in Pharaonic times down to the Ptolemaic period; the poles were slender masts bearing narrow pennons (No. 29) set up in front of the entrance pylons of a temple.

The reading of the word  suggests that the root of the word is . The earliest form occurs in the pyramid of Unas (Pyr. 150) and is there written ; from which is derived the Coptic  $\tau\omega\rho\epsilon$ . The word  or  $\tau\omega\rho\epsilon$  is translated 'willow', from the use of the Coptic word in Psalm 137, where  $\text{אֲרָבִים}$   $\tau\omega\rho\epsilon$  is the translation of the Hebrew עֲרָבִים 'arabim, in the R.V. 'willows'. The determinative in the Pyramid text suggests that this must have been the wood of which scribes' palettes were commonly made, but microscopic investigation undertaken by Mr. F. W. Jane of the Department of Botany at University College, London, shows that this is not the case. Prof. Newberry (Presidential Address to Section H, British Association, 1923) suggests cypress, and notes the importance of the *tr*-tree in religion and medicine. He also points out that 'the height and straightness of the poles prove that they cannot have been produced by any native Egyptian tree'. Against this argument it must be

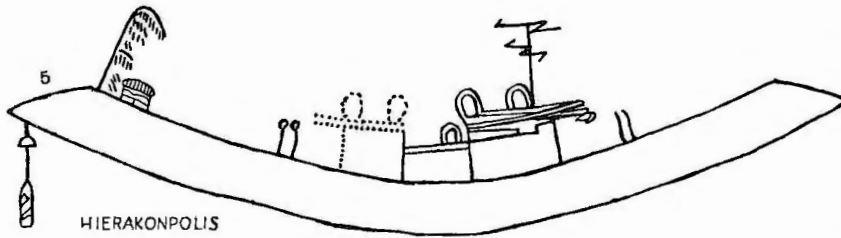
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BOAT SEEN FROM ABOVE  
SHOWING BRANCH AT PROW



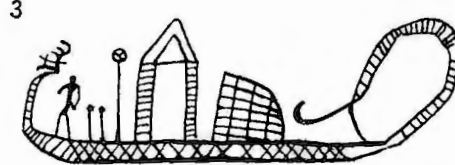
WHITE CROSS-LINED POTTERY  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE COLLECTION



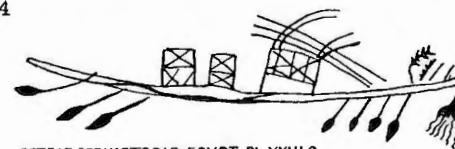
PETRIE, PREHISTORIC EGYPT PL. XXI



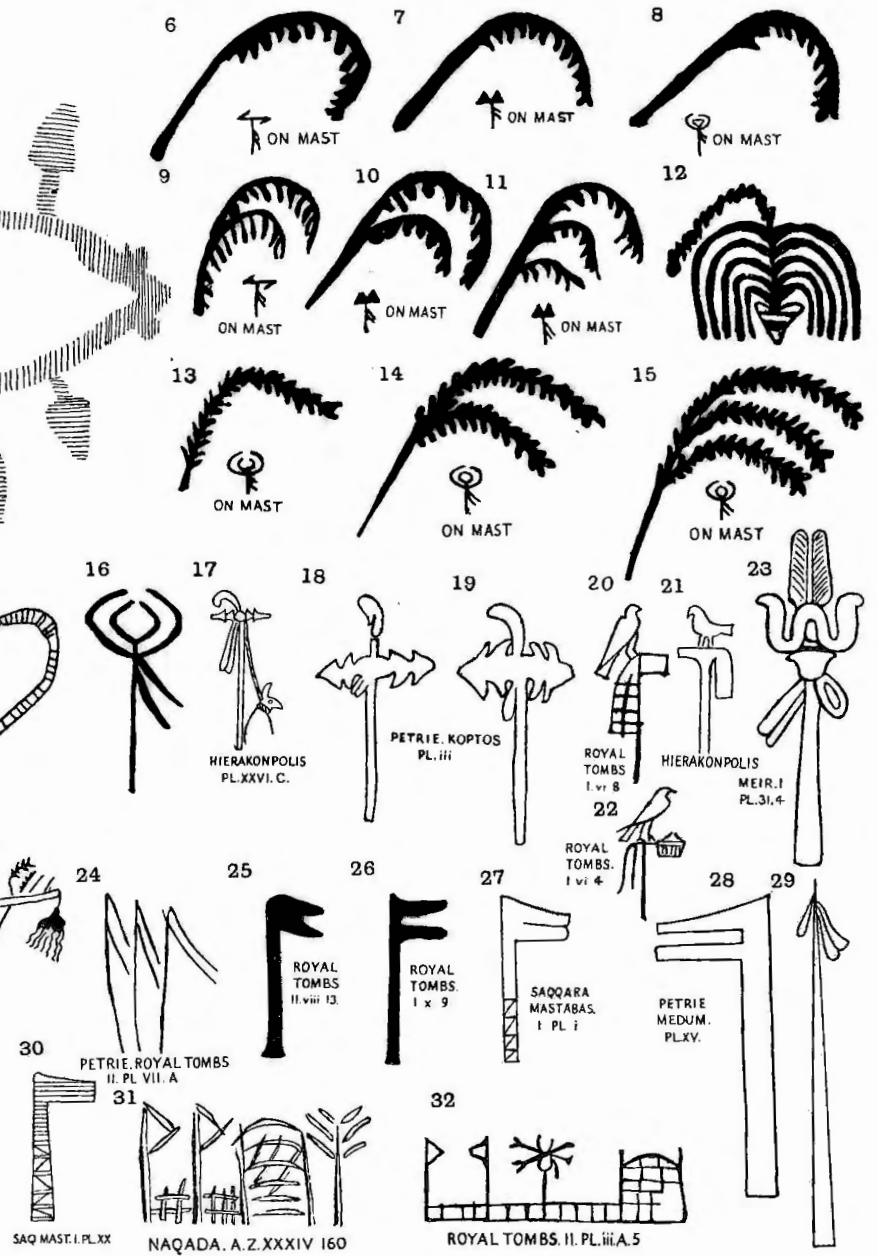
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CAIRO CATALOGUE, ARCHAIC, PL. 22.




PETRIE, PREHISTORIC EGYPT, PL. XXIII. 2.



Forms of the sacred tree



remembered that the height of the early hut-shrine was not great and that a pole from a tree of no great height would be tall enough for the purpose. The argument from the Coptic word also is not completely satisfactory, for it is very uncertain whether the word in the Psalm really refers to willows or to poplars; and it is equally uncertain whether the mulberry-trees, in the account of the rout of the Philistine host, were truly mulberry-trees or whether they also were poplars. The poplar is indigenous in Egypt, Syria, and Babylonia; but there is some doubt as to whether the willow is native to any of the three countries. The branching poplar (of which the aspen is the most famous example) has the leaves so lightly hung that they move even when the breeze is imperceptible. This fact would make it noticeable and therefore sacred to the primitive mind, just as the peepul-tree has been sacred in India from time immemorial for the same reason. Sethe has pointed out also (*A.Z.* 1901. 11) that the word 'šj, which is the verb-form of 'š the cedar or some other conifer, means to groan, to whimper, to rattle. In other words the 'š-tree was a 'sounding wood'. The willow-tree, however, has no special attribute and would therefore not attract attention.

I suggest then that there was in Egypt a cult of the poplar or willow, which was so early and so strongly marked that  'He of the Poplar-tree' (or, as the Coptic πoγτε suggests the plural, 'They of the Poplar-tree') became the generic word for god, and the picture of the pole with its votive streamers was used as the hieroglyphic sign for the word. That there was a strong cult of trees in ancient Egypt is well known to all Egyptologists, and Mr. Hornblower has shown that its hold on the people was so great that it has survived, even with the original name of 'the inhabitants of the tree', down to the present day in close proximity to the centre of modern Egyptian life and culture.
















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
By PERCY E. NEWBERRY

(With Plate 50)

### I. THE SHESMET<sup>1</sup>-GIRDLE OR APRON

THE *Shesmet*-girdle or apron consisted of a leather belt <sup>2</sup> from which were suspended narrow strips of hide ending in tassels; <sup>3</sup> sometimes the girdle was ornamented with beads and cowries; <sup>4</sup> sometimes the hanging pieces were decorated with Hathor-heads. <sup>5</sup> This girdle was worn by various deities, <sup>6</sup> and by some early kings, <sup>5</sup> *over* the loin-cloth, but in primitive times it had probably been the characteristic, and perhaps the only, garment of maidens. It is identical with the *rahat* <sup>7</sup> which is still worn by the Hadendoa, Amara, Bisharîn, and Nubian women, and is generally the only garment of their unmarried girls. Sir Samuel Baker <sup>8</sup> says that it is sometimes made of twine, 'a fringe of fine dark brown or reddish twine, fastened to a belt, and worn round the waist. On either side are two long tassels that are generally ornamented with beads or cowries, and dangle nearly to the ankles; while the *rahat* itself should descend to a little above the knee'. It plays an important role in the wedding ceremonies of the Nubians and other Hamitic peoples of the Sudan and Eastern Desert; it has to be broken by the bridegroom before the wedding ceremony is complete. <sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The word is usually written ; sometimes it has the  determinative  = *Pyr.* 1612; the  here is not 'a sandy tract' (Gardiner, *Grammar*, 476, N. 18), but 'a garment' (Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 494, line 1). The true reading is  found in Horhotep (Lacau, *Recueil de travaux*, xxiv. 199). In some late texts the word is wrongly written , var.  (Schiaparelli, *Libro dei funerali*, II. 23). In the Ritual of Amon, xxviii. 7 ff. ; in the Canopus Decree, l. 3 (*Urk.* II. 126)  var. ; in the Philae Decree (*Urk.* II. 201) ; in the Louvre Stela, 4017 . On the sign  see Engelbach, *Annales du Service*, xxix. 33.

<sup>2</sup> The word *šmt* must be connected with  *šsm*, 'a skin', or 'roll of parchment', found in Newberry, *Rehmarra*, II, l. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The various forms of the girdle are shown in Pl. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Mace-Winlock, *Senebtesi*, 71; Firth, *Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, II, Pl. XLVIII. A label for ■ girdle composed of 1,400 beads was found in the tomb of Neithotep at Naqada: it is now in the Cairo Museum.

<sup>5</sup> Narmer-Menes is figured on his Slate Palette in the Cairo Museum wearing an elaborate girdle of this kind; Zoser also wore a similar girdle (Gunn, *Annales du Service*, xxvi. 181, 184, Fig. 5).

<sup>6</sup> Horus, Seth, Thoth, Sepa (*Pyr.* 1612-13); Soped (Borchardt, *Sahure* II, v; *Neuserre*, 93, Abb. 7; Birch, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, IV); Amon, Horus, Thoth, Sepa (*Ritual of Amon*, xxviii. 7; Mariette, *Abydos*, I. 55).

<sup>7</sup> Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, 215; Livingstone (*The Zambesi and its Tributaries*, 1865, 316), figures ■ girdle of this kind as worn by the younger girls of the Batoke; it is ornamented with cowrie shells.

<sup>8</sup> Sir Samuel Baker, *Nile Tributaries*, 85.

<sup>9</sup> With the Greeks the girdle worn by maidens was removed by the bridegroom on the day of marriage: Homer, *Od.* XI. 245; cf. Plutarch, *Lycurg.* 15; Euripides, *I.T.* 204. Tournefort (*Voyage into the Levant*, II. 68) mentions that the Turkish bride 'takes care to tie her girdle into several knots so that the bridegroom exercises himself for hours before he can finish her disrobing'.

Hoskins<sup>1</sup> relates that in Nubia, 'on the occasion of the marriage ceremony the *rahaṭ* is protected and covered with folds of linen tied and knotted in the most complicated manner'. When the bridegroom has succeeded in taking off the covering he seizes the *rahaṭ* and tears it in pieces.

Robertson Smith<sup>2</sup> notes that Herodotus (IV. 189), when he speaks of the sacrifices and worship of the Libyans, is at once led on to observe that the aegis or goat-skin, worn by the statues of Athena, is nothing else than the goatskin, fringed with thongs, which was worn by Libyan women, and the inference implies that it was a sacred dress. 'It would seem', writes Herodotus, 'that the robe and aegis of the images of Athena were copied by the Greeks from the Libyan women; for save that the dress of the Libyan women is leathern, and that the tassels of their goatskin bucklers are not snakes but made of thongs of hide, in all else their equipment is the same. Nay, the very name bewrays that the raiment of the statues of Pallas has come from Libya; for Libyan women wear hairless tasselled goatskins over their dress, coloured with madder,<sup>3</sup> and the Greeks have changed the name of these into their "aegis"'. These thongs, Robertson Smith remarks, 'correspond to the fringes prescribed by Jewish law, which had a sacred significance (Num. xv. 38 seq.; cf. Deut. xxii. 12). One of the oldest forms of the fringed garment is probably the *rahaṭ* or *ḥauf*,<sup>4</sup> a girdle or short kilt slashed into thongs, which was worn by Arab girls, by women in their courses, and also, it is said, by worshippers at the Caaba.<sup>5</sup> From this primitive garment are derived the thongs and girdles with lappets that appear as amulets among the Arabs (*bārim*, *morass'a*; the latter is pierced, and another thong passed through it); compare the magical thongs of the Luperci, cut from the skin of the piaculum, whose touch cured sterility'.

In ancient times the woman's girdle was often endowed with magical powers. Homer<sup>6</sup> tells how Hera borrowed from Aphrodite her cestus to influence the ardour of Zeus; it was fair-wrought, wherein are all her enchantments; therein are love, and desire, and seductive converse, that steals the wits of even the wise. 'Lo now', says Aphrodite, 'take this girdle and lay it up in thy bosom, this fair-wrought girdle, wherein all things are fashioned; methinks thou wilt not return with that unaccomplished which in thy heart thou desirest.'

In modern times also a woman's girdle has been regarded as possessing magical powers. There is a chapel in one of the largest and richest monasteries of Mount Athos which is dedicated to the 'Preservation of the Girdle of the

<sup>1</sup> *Travels in Ethiopia*, 190.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion of the Semites*, 1894, 437.

<sup>3</sup> Therefore red; see the following note.


<sup>4</sup> E. W. Lane, *Lexicon*, gives under حَوْث *ḥauf*, 'a skin that is slit into a number of thongs or strips of a form like that of the ازار *azâr*, waist-wrapper, worn round the hips by one who

is in *menstruis* and by boys, i.e. a رَاḤَاط, *rahaṭ*. It is of red leather cut in the form of thongs or strips upon which are put ornaments of the kind termed سَزْر.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 320.

<sup>6</sup> *Iliad*, XIV. 214 ff.: cp. Martial, VI. 13; XIV. 206-7.


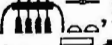

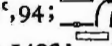
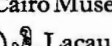
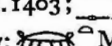
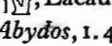
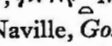
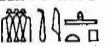
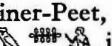
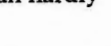
Blessed Virgin'.<sup>1</sup> It is of leather ornamented with diamonds and numerous rows of rudely worked and very ancient pearls. It is a source of considerable revenue to the monastery for it has been divided into two parts, and one half is sent into Greece and the other into Asia Minor whenever the plague is raging in those parts, and all those who are afflicted with the terrible disease are sure to be cured if they touch it,<sup>2</sup> which they are allowed to do 'for a consideration'. Curzon, who examined this girdle at Mount Athos, inquired how the monastery became possessed of so inestimable a medicine, and was gravely informed that after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin St. Thomas went up to Heaven to pay her a visit, and there she presented him with her girdle. Curzon adds that his informant appeared to have the most unshakable conviction as to the truth of this history and expressed great surprise that he had never heard it before.

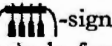
II. <sup>3</sup> SHESMETET, 'She-of-the-*Shesmet*-girdle'

The goddess Shesmetet, 'She-of-the-*Shesmet*-girdle', was the girdle personified.<sup>4</sup> She first appears at the end of the Archaic Period when Nefermaat, the eldest son and Veziar of Snefru, and another king's son, Hemiwnw, served her as priests;<sup>5</sup> this fact shows how important her cult must have been at that time. As early as the Vth Dynasty she was regarded as a form of Bastet and was then represented, as generally in later times, with the head of a lioness.<sup>6</sup> The


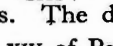
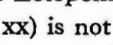
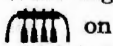
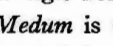
<sup>1</sup> R. Curzon, *Monasteries of the Levant*, 1865, 326; Tozer, *Highlands of Turkey*, I. 61.

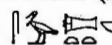
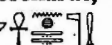
<sup>2</sup> Compare Matt. xiv. 36; Mark vi. 56.





<sup>3</sup> This goddess's name is written in various ways:  Petrie, *Medum*, XXI;  ibid. XX;  Borchardt, *Neuserre*<sup>c</sup>, 94;  Cairo Museum, False door, No. 1403;  Lacau, *Textes religieux*, 67;  Mariette, *Abydos*, I. 44, I. 21;  <sup>sic</sup>; Naville, *Goshen*, II. row 3 figured as a woman with a lioness-head;  Bergmann, *Das Buch von Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit*, 408. It is possible that we have also the goddess's name in the personal names  Gardiner-Peet, *Sinai*, XXIII, Nos. 85, 90; and  ibid. XLIV, No. 136; this can hardly be a shortened form of .

<sup>4</sup> Lacau (*Recueil de travaux*, XXIV. 198-200) was the first to draw attention to this goddess, but he misunderstood her nature, thinking that the -sign represented a hall or chapel; 'D'après la forme du signe qui sert à l'écrire, il doit désigner sans doute une salle ou une chapelle'. He does not appear to have connected the sign with that of the *shesmet*-girdle which is so often named as an article of clothing in the























































Pyramid and other religious texts. There is no reference to this very primitive deity in Sethe's recent *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, Leipzig, 1930.

<sup>5</sup> Petrie-Griffith, *Medum*, XVI, XX, XXI. Griffith, in the account of the inscriptions in this book, p. 39, misread the goddess's name 'Khent setet' and so also did Miss Murray in her *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, XXX. Weill (*La II<sup>e</sup> et la III<sup>e</sup> Dynasties*, Paris, 1908, 289) read 'Khent-Khemti, celui qui est dans le Sanctuaire, nom de l'Horus mort de Letopolis', The  below the  (*Medum*, XX) is not , as Weill suggests. The damaged sign below the  on Pl. XIV of Petrie's *Medum* is the  which is found in *Pyr.* 1612; see p. 316, footnote 1. For the king's son, Hemiwnw, see Junker, *Giza*, I. 148.

<sup>6</sup> The inscription over the figure of the lioness-headed goddess on a sculptured slab from the Mortuary Temple of Neuserre<sup>c</sup> (Borchardt, *Neuserre*<sup>c</sup>, 94 = Berlin 16101) is given in Pl. 50. On a statue in the Cairo Museum (Borchardt, *Statuen*, No. 525) we read  , 'Priest of Bastet, Mistress of Ankh-towe, Great Priest of the *Shesmet*-girdle'.

primitive seat of her cult was probably   Šsmt,<sup>1</sup> 'the town of the *Shesmet-girdle*', the modern Şaft el Henneh, a few miles to the east of Bubastis, the city of Bastet. In the Pyramid Texts (262) she is named with Sekhmet; 'King Wnis is conceived by Sekhmet, born of Shesmetet'.<sup>2</sup> On a monument of King Kha'ankhre' Sebekhotep,<sup>3</sup> she is grouped with Sekhmet, Bastet, and Weret-hekaw, and is figured with a lioness-head. In the XVIIIth Dynasty she once appears as a form of the goddess Mut.<sup>4</sup> She is grouped with Bastet and Buto on monuments of the XVIIIth,<sup>4</sup> XXth,<sup>5</sup> and XXXth<sup>6</sup> Dynasties. In a list of deities<sup>7</sup> in the temple of Sety I at Abydos, Shesmetet is mentioned as in   'the town of 'Iwyt', a place-name which occurs only in this list<sup>8</sup> and with no indication as to its whereabouts. It is possible that she was also worshipped in Nubia,<sup>9</sup> and that she may have been, in her origin, identical with Satis, one of the two goddesses of the Cataract region.

### III. THE 'SHESMET-PRIEST'

Although the goddess Shesmetet was served by  <sup>10</sup> 'priests', under an 'Overseer' ( ),<sup>11</sup> it is probable that her special priest was entitled   'the *Shesmet-girdle* man'. Such a priest is mentioned on the stela of Daw (*temp.* VIth Dynasty)<sup>12</sup> where he is named in an address to priests;                                              'Every Overseer of Priests, every Priest, every *Shesmet*-priest, and *da*-priest<sup>13</sup> of the Majesty of my Lord *Hnty-ymntyw* (Osiris)'. Two  -priests, and with them a   -priest, are depicted in the obscure scenes of burial in the tomb of Mentuherkhepshef (*temp.* Tuthmosis III).<sup>14</sup> In the tomb of the Vezier Amenemapet (*temp.* Amenophis II),<sup>15</sup> the hieroglyph used for the priestly title is . This man was probably

<sup>1</sup> On the town Shesmet, see below p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> This text is found in later times applied to other people and the variant writings are interesting as showing how the goddess's name became corrupted: see Pl. 50.







































<sup>3</sup> Louvre Stela, C. 11.





<sup>4</sup> Statue of Amenophis son of Hapu (*temp.* Amenophis III) in Cairo Museum (Newberry, *Annales du Service*, xxviii. 141).




<sup>5</sup> Dürmichen, *Geogr. Inschriften*, I. xciii. 1 (*temp.* Ramses, III).

<sup>6</sup> Nectanebo Shrine in Cairo Museum (Navelle, *Goshen*, II, row 2).

<sup>7</sup> Mariette, *Abydos*, I. 44, l. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Later in the same list occurs                                     found on a statue of Sekhmet (Cairo Museum 39065 = Gauthier, *Annales du Service*, xix. 191 and 200), and   which appears in Bûlaq Papyrus

No. 3, v, l. 2: it is, however, very doubtful if these places are really identical. Gauthier says that 'Iwyt is the name of a quarter of Memphis in which was situated a temple dedicated to the Nubian goddess Satet; his authority for this statement is apparently the Abydos text mentioned above, but the goddess's name is    .

<sup>9</sup> I am inclined to read *H-t-šsmt* for    in the inscription of Ptolemy Philadelphus in *Urk.* II. 120, not *H-t-hnt*.

<sup>10</sup> Petrie, *Medum*, xvi, xx, xxi; Junker, *Giza*, I. 148.

<sup>11</sup> False Door, Cairo Museum, No. 1403.

<sup>12</sup> *Urk.* I. 119: a man bearing the same title appears in a scene in the southern chapel of the Mortuary Temple of Neweserre' at Abusir.

<sup>13</sup> *D* was the name of a garment, perhaps the loin-cloth.

<sup>14</sup> Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, VIII and X.


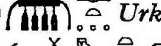



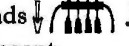
<sup>15</sup> Davies, *op. cit.* XLIII.

clad in the *shesmet*-girdle and it may be remarked here that the *rahat*-girdle is stated to have been worn by worshippers at the Caaba.<sup>1</sup>



IV.  <sup>2</sup> SHESMET, 'MALACHITE'

Shesmet was the name of the green<sup>3</sup> mineral malachite,<sup>4</sup> a hydrated carbonate of copper, which in the Pyramid Texts (567) is associated with *mfr-t*, 'turquoise';<sup>5</sup> it was found in Sinai<sup>6</sup> and Ta-neter,<sup>7</sup> and was brought to Egypt as tribute from Retenu,<sup>8</sup> Nubia,<sup>9</sup> and Punt.<sup>10</sup> A statuette of the Nile god made of it is mentioned in the Heliopolitan section of the Harris Papyrus No. 1.<sup>11</sup> Its name suggests that the mineral originally came to Egypt from the *Shesmet*-country. Ground malachite was used by the Egyptians of all periods from pre-historic times<sup>12</sup> as an eye-paint. It is the *cadmia*<sup>13</sup> of Pliny, which, he says, was mixed with milk and employed as a cure for ulcers upon the eyes,<sup>14</sup> 'for which purpose the people of Egypt made a kind of eye-salve by grinding it upon whetstones'.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the footnote 4, p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> The word is written  *Pyr.* 567: cf.  *Urk.* iv. 875;  *Urk.* iv. 694, 706;  Gardiner-Peet, *Sinai*, LXI, No. 200. In the Annals of Sahure<sup>c</sup> on the Palermo Stone there is an entry which was read by Naville (*Recueil de travaux*, XXI. ii) , but Schäfer (*Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, 38) reads : it is possible that malachite is here meant.

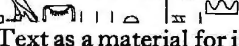
<sup>3</sup> So coloured in Rekhmare<sup>c</sup>'s tomb at Thebes (*Urk.* iv. 1099; cf. also 694); it is mentioned together with *mfr-t*, 'turquoise', and *hsbd*, 'lapis lazuli', and in connexion with Soped, Lord of the East, in *Urk.* iv. 875-6.

<sup>4</sup> A commoner name for this mineral was , lit. 'the green', which is found in offering-lists of all periods. This word is written  in the Third Dynasty tomb of Rhotep (Petrie, *Medum*, XIII). The word 'malachite' has not been found among the Greek or Latin names of minerals. *μαλάχη* means, 'the mallow'; the mineral is named 'malachite' because in colour it resembles the leaf of the mallow.

<sup>5</sup> Throughout Breasted's *Ancient Records* the word *mfr-t* is incorrectly translated 'malachite'. Sir Flinders Petrie (*ap.* E. Bevan, *History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, London, 1927, p. 12, note 1) falls into the same error for he says '*mafkat* is only malachite'.

<sup>6</sup> Gardiner-Peet, *Sinai*, LXI, No. 200; xxxiv, No. 61: the copper and turquoise regions of

Sinai have been described by G. W. Murray in the *Cairo Scientific Journal*, VI, 1912, 264.

<sup>7</sup> *sic*  is mentioned in a Coffin Text as a material for inlaying in the armlet (*mnfr-t*), Chassinat-Palanque, *Fouilles dans la Nécropole d'Assiout* (*M.I.F.C.* xxiv), 109.

<sup>8</sup> *Urk.* iv. 706, cf. 694. <sup>9</sup> *Urk.* iv. 1099.

<sup>10</sup> Palermo stone, see footnote 1.

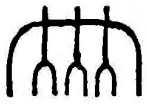
<sup>11</sup> Papyrus Harris No. 1, 41 a, 2.

<sup>12</sup> Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, 20.

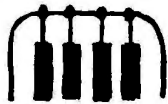
<sup>13</sup> Pliny, *H.N.* xxxiv. 22-3; Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, v. 74, writes *καδμεία* and *καδμια*. Pliny, *H.N.* xxxiv. 2, notes that *Cadmia* was an ore from which copper was obtained. In xxxvii. 56, writing of *Cadmitis* (= *Cadmia*), he says that it was sometimes 'surrounded with blisters of an azure colour'; these azure-coloured blisters (*Azurite* = *Chessylite*) are often found together with malachite. The *cadmia* of antiquity has nothing to do with the modern cadmium. As *shesmet* is the mineral of the *shesmet*-country, so *cadmia* is the mineral of the *kdm*-country; cf. Greek *χαλκός*, 'copper', from Chalcis, the name of a city near which it was mined. Our word 'copper' is from the Latin *cuprum*, *Cyprium*, 'the Cyprian metal'.

<sup>14</sup> As an ingredient in eye-salves, see Pap. Ebers 56, 2 et seq. Livingstone mentions that sores were treated in Central Africa with powdered malachite.

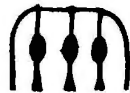
<sup>15</sup> The Slate Palettes of early times in Egypt were whetstones used for grinding malachite; traces of the green mineral are often found upon them.



Pyr. 528



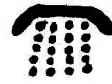
Pyr. 567



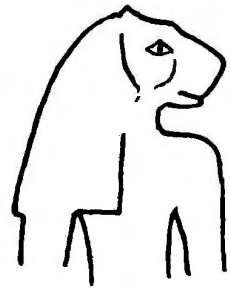
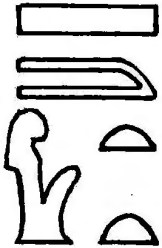
Pyr. 450



Pyr. 1136



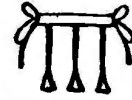
Louvre C. 11  
(XIIIth Dyn.)



Saft el Henneh  
Naviile, *Goshen*, Pl. 2



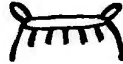
Cairo Mus. False door  
No. 1403 (Old Kingdom)



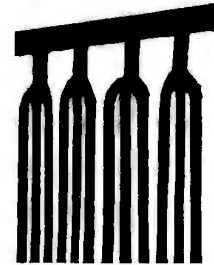
Urkunden iv. 875  
(Thutmosis III)



Urkunden III. 16  
(Piankhy)



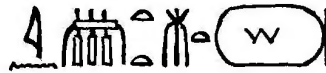
Urkunden II. 126  
(Canopus Decree)



Soped's Girdle  
(Sahure')



Pyr. 262



Pap. Muthotep (XVIIIth Dyn.)  
Naviile, *Todtb.* ch. 174





Pap. Mahu (XVIIIth Dyn.)  
Naviile, *Todtb.* ch. 66


















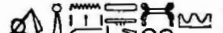


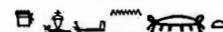

Pap. 'Iwf'ankh (Ptolemaic)  
Lepsius, *Todtb.* ch. 66



Forms of *Šsm.t*



V.   SHESMET-LAND


A region   *Shesmet-land* is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts (456, 1784), and a Horus of this country is frequently named in the same collection of early texts, as well as in the Coffin Texts, but never with any indication as to its whereabouts. It was, however, a land of sweet scents,<sup>1</sup> for in Pyr. 456 'the sweet savours () of *Shesmet-land*' are referred to; and as Soped was the god of the region it must have lain to the east of Egypt. On a Middle Kingdom stela<sup>2</sup> Soped is described as    'Lord of *Shesmet-land*, Lord of the East'; here the god is depicted wearing the peculiar *shesmet*-girdle over his loin-cloth. The same deity similarly clad is figured on a slab from the Mortuary Temple of Sahure<sup>3</sup> at Abusir; here he is described as  'Lord of the Highlands'; he wears the beard and has the yellow complexion of an Asiatic, and upon his head are two feathers. In the Hymn to Senusret III<sup>4</sup>   'copper of *Shesmu-land*' is mentioned; this may be compared with   'copper of Asia', which is so frequently named in later inscriptions. The name for 'Asia' in the Piankhy Inscription<sup>5</sup> is written with the  -sign instead of the usual  and in the Ptolemaic period *Shesmet-land* seems to have been regarded as identical with  Satet, 'Asia'; this is clear from the following passages:

1.  Louvre C. 123: *Urkunden*, II. 76.
2.  Khonsu Temple, Karnak: *Urkunden*, II. 157.
3.  Canopus Decree: *Urkunden*, II. 128.
4.  Statue of Ptol. Philadelphus, Rome: *Urkunden*, II. 70.
5.  Naples Stela: *Urkunden*, II. 4.
6.  Satrap Stela, Cairo; *Urkunden*, II. 16.

An inscription of Ptolemaic date<sup>6</sup> refers to Soped as bringing  'the Eastern *Shesmet-land*' to the King. Another of the same period<sup>7</sup> records that Soped brings to Horus the  'the nome of Soped<sup>8</sup> with all that which

<sup>1</sup> It should be observed here that Arabia was pre-eminently the land of sweet scents: see Herodotus, III. 113; Theophrastus, IX. vii. 2; Pliny *H.N.* XII. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Birch, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, Pl. IV, opposite p. 269; Gardiner, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, v. 222.

<sup>3</sup> Borchardt, *Sahure*, viii, .

<sup>4</sup> Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, II, l. 14; here *šsm* is in the masculine.

<sup>5</sup> *Urk.* III. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Dendera, Dümichen, *Geogr. Inschriften*, III. xxv.

<sup>7</sup> Edfu, E. de Rougé, *Edfu*, Pl. CXI.

<sup>8</sup> This nome is generally equated with the 'nome of Arabia' of Ptolemaic lists, the actual position of which, east of the Bubastite river and between the Sethroite and Bubastite nomes, was fairly narrowly defined. Herodotus (II. 8) gives the name of Arabia to that part of Egypt which lies to the east of the Nile Valley. Strabo (XVII. 21) says 'the country between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf is Arabia'; and (XVII. 1, 30) 'above Heliopolis is the Nile above the Delta . . . the country on the left-hand as you go up the Nile is called Arabia. The territory belonging to Heliopolis is in Arabia'. The name *ἁραβία* in Coptic corresponds to the Arabic *El Ḥauf*. The



comes from it, and *Shesmet* <sup>1</sup>-city with what is in it'. Here *Shesmet*-city is obviously the metropolis of the Soped nome, although a commoner name <sup>2</sup> for that metropolis was Per-Soped, 'the House of Soped', the site of which is the modern Şaft el Henneh. That the Soped nome was a late creation is indicated by the fact that it does not appear in any nome-list of earlier date than the Ptolemaic Period. In the Old Kingdom the eastern side of the Delta was divided into two parts; the northern was called  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆎}$ ,<sup>3</sup> the southern  $\text{𓆎}$ .<sup>4</sup> The latter was subdivided into (a)  $\text{𓆎} \text{ 𓆎}$ ,<sup>5</sup> (b)  $\text{𓆎} \text{ 𓆎} \text{ 𓆎}$ ,<sup>6</sup> and (c)  $\text{𓆎} \text{ 𓆎} \text{ 𓆎}$ .<sup>7</sup> The Ptolemaic inscription mentioned above naming  $\text{𓆎} \text{ 𓆎} \text{ 𓆎} \text{ 𓆎}$  suggests that *šsmt* was, perhaps, the original reading of the  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ -sign in the standard of the nome. Another Ptolemaic text <sup>8</sup> gives among the titles of a certain Nechtanebos one which obviously refers to the same region:  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆎} \text{ 𓆎} \text{ 𓆎}$  'Ruler of the Highlands in the Eastern  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ -land'. Furthermore, one of the names of the metropolis of the Soped nome was  $\text{𓆎} \text{ 𓆎} \text{ 𓆎}$  *Shesmet*-city.<sup>9</sup> That this was connected with the *shesmet*-girdle seems to be indicated by the variant writings  $\text{𓆎} \text{ 𓆎}$ <sup>10</sup> and  $\text{𓆎}$ .<sup>11</sup> The  $\text{𓆎}$ -sign is here not a biliteral sign for *mt*, as Gardiner thought,<sup>12</sup> but is the girdle itself. That the eastern side of the Delta, as well as the region to the east of it, was once known as 'Girdle-land' is further indicated by another fact. The *shesmet*-girdle, as I have already pointed out, is

deity figured on Hadrian's coins of the 'APABI'ΑΣ NOM'ΟΣ is a female, clad in a chiton, the right arm hanging down, and in the left hand a sceptre. She probably represents the older Shesmetet.

<sup>1</sup> The correct reading of this place-name, formerly read *Gesem-t*, was determined by Gardiner, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, v. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner (*op. cit.* v. 219) notes that in the parallel legends of the other nomes in this inscription all the town-names are unusual.

<sup>3</sup> In Erman-Grapow, *Handwörterbuch*, 231, the authors did not venture on a transliteration of  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆎}$  but gave 'alt  $\text{𓆎}$  oder Tanis'. Later, in the *Wörterbuch*, III. 306, they read *hunj ibti* and translate 'Anfang des Ostens'. Sethe, *Die ägyptische Ausdrücke für rechts und links*, 234, reads 'der vordere Teil des Ostgaus'. The earliest records of this nome are found in the Annals of Sahure<sup>c</sup> and Neferirkere<sup>c</sup> on the Palermo Stone: Sahure<sup>c</sup> gives  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆎}$ ; Neferirkere<sup>c</sup>  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆎}$ ; the sign  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  is not placed upon the sacred perch  $\text{𓆎}$  as in later times and it does not appear to be same as  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  which is generally found in later nome-lists upon the perch. The fact that the sign is placed upon the sacred perch implies that the object  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  possessed a divine nature, but nothing is known

of a cult of  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ . That it was understood in late times to be  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  is, however, proved by the variant writings  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆎}$  (*Bull. Inst. Franç.* XI. 29, 34), and  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆎}$  (*Urk.* II. 95), but both of these writings are very late. That  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  was sometimes mistaken for  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  is seen from the XVIIIth Dynasty papyrus of Muthotep (Navelle, *Todtb.*, ch. 174) where the early  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆎}$  becomes  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{ 𓆎}$ .

<sup>4</sup> *Urk.* I. 17. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*  
<sup>6</sup> Borchardt, *Neuserre*<sup>c</sup>, Pl. xiv. Bastet (Bubastis) later became the metropolis of the late  $\text{𓆎} \text{ 𓆎}$  nome. (The child he should wear the white crown).

<sup>7</sup> Tomb of Sabu in the Cairo Museum.

<sup>8</sup> *Urk.* II. 24. The title  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  is found with several of the Hyksos kings (Newberry, *Scarabs*, xxii. 20, 21, 22; xxiii. 10. 11). The  $\text{𓆎} \text{ 𓆎}$  nome, it may be pointed out, included within its boundaries Avaris, the head-quarters of the Hyksos sovereigns.

<sup>9</sup> Navelle, *Goshen and the Shrine of Saft el Henneh*, vi. 2 and 3. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Navelle, *loc. cit.* v. 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, v. 219.

identical with the *rahat* of the Arabs. Another name for the *rahat* is *ḥauf*,<sup>1</sup> and in early Arab times in Egypt the whole of the eastern side of the Delta was called *El-Ḥauf*.<sup>2</sup> Ya'qûbi<sup>3</sup> uses the term to denote the territory lying to the east of the easternmost arm of the Nile. This region in Pharaonic times was a fertile one and abounded with vineyards, date-palms, and pomegranate trees; it was not the barren, sand-strewn waste that we now see to the east of the Suez Canal.

<sup>1</sup> حَوْف *ḥauf*, Pl. أَحْوَاب, Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v., *Allatif*, Paris, 1810, pp. 396, 572, 706.  
see my note 4 on p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> Ninth century A.D., see de Goeje, *Bibl.*

<sup>2</sup> الحَوْف see S. de Sacy's edition of *Abd- Geogr. Arab.* VII. 337.

## THE POSITION OF EARLY GRAVE STELAE

By G. A. REISNER

(With Plate 51)

THE inscribed stones found in association with the early Egyptian tombs are of two sorts, those whose original purpose is a mark of ownership and those which serve functionally in connexion with the funerary ceremonies carried out at the grave. It is obvious that the stones bearing marks of ownership also serve for the recitation of formulas and may even bear such formulas inscribed upon them. The objects of the other class, the offering stone, the offering table, the two stands with basins, the ablution tanks are clearly utensils used during such ceremonies and stand detached in the offering place. The two obelisks of Dynasties V and VI which also stand detached in front of the offering place or in front of the doorway are to be assigned, I think, to the second class of monuments. They are often uninscribed but are occasionally inscribed like the altars, stands, &c. of that class.

The grave stelae of Dynasties III to VI which are essentially in origin marks of ownership are as a rule attached to the offering place of the mastabas to which they belong, and their positions have been fully determined. The position of the round-topped grave stelae of Dynasties I and II is still in doubt. The types of offering places of the tombs of Dynasties I–VI may be summed up as follows:

- (a) The open-air offering place; in the multiple-niched mastaba a long corridor-like space was marked off along the valley side by the enclosing wall of the mastaba which is farther away on this side. Each of the niches is in the form of a false-door. This type predominates in the mastabas of Dynasties I and II but occurs later.

The smaller two-niched mastaba may have an enclosing wall like the multiple-niched mastaba; or a space along the front may be marked off as an offering place by a crude-brick wall which at the ends is built against the mastaba; or the chief (southern) niche may have a space around it enclosed by such a wall. These three types of open-air offering place are attested from the latter part of Dynasty I to Dynasty IV. The niches are all of the false-door type.

The larger twin-mastaba (Dynasties III–IV) with the separate burial places for husband and wife usually has a separate enclosure about the chief (southern) niche of each pair. It is possible that some of the later crude-brick offering places of this type were roofed with wood. The niches are of the false-door type. The earliest stone-lined niches (Iynefer; the original offering place of Neferma'at of Medum) belong to mastabas of this type, and are to be dated to early Dynasty IV.

- (b) The early roofed-corridor offering place; probably in Dynasty II and certainly in Dynasty III, the open-air offering place was converted into a roofed corridor along the valley side of the mastaba (Hesyra).

- (c) The cruciform chapel; the earliest interior chapel is the cruciform chapel of the crude-brick mastaba developed and used at Medum and Saqqarah. The earliest stone-cased or partially stone-cased interior chapels were of this type and occur in the reign of Sneferuw (Neferma'at addition, Khabauwsokar, Rahotep, Methen).
- (d) The exterior roofed L-shaped crude-brick chapel; the earliest of the stone mastabas at Giza have exterior crude-brick chapels roofed with logs or a crude-brick vault. These have an L-shaped offering room with a wide niche, and slab-stela set in the mastaba wall in the niche but no false-door.<sup>1</sup>
- (e) The exterior L-shaped stone chapel; the stone mastabas immediately after the last named in time had exterior stone chapels with L-shaped offering room and single false-door.
- (f) The interior L-shaped chapel; almost immediately came the interior chapel with L-shaped offering room and single false-door. Some of the mastabas with interior stone chapel have a second outer chamber or chambers with vestibule and store-room (or rooms), and almost all have at least an exterior chapel of crude-brick with open court and magazines. The inner chapel came in in the reign of Cheops.
- (g) The interior stone chapel with *two* false doors; the later stone mastabas of Dynasty V at Giza were developed from the last-mentioned type of mastaba. The most notable development was the introduction of the L-shaped offering room with *two* false doors.
- (h) The multiple-room offering place developed in the rock-cut tombs of the family of Chephren at Giza. Most of these are from the reign of Mycerinus but some may be from the reign of Chephren himself. They were a cheaper form than the stone-built mastabas of Cheops and required less than a year to prepare.
- (i) The multiple-room chapels in stone-built mastabas follow the rock-cut chapels about the latter part of Dynasty V and during Dynasty VI.

The chief feature of all forms and types of mastaba chapels in Dynasties I–VI was the false-door. The false-door was set in the back wall of a niche, deep in Dynasties I–IV and shallow in Dynasties V–VI. The false-door itself consisted of entablature, cross-bar, and inner niche with a round beam (drum) at the top. The false-door was from the earliest times constructed of crude-brick and wood, or of small blocks of stone, but from the beginning at least of Dynasty IV, it became usual to carve the false-door in a monolith which formed the back of the niche while the sides of the deep niche were made of two other stones set upright. The change from the deep form of niche to the shallow took place in the rock-cut tombs of the family of Chephren at Giza. The rock-cut tombs were much less expensive than the stone-built mastabas of the royal family and

<sup>1</sup> The cruciform offering room has the niche directly opposite the entrance. The Giza chapels which I call L-shaped have a long room with the entrance at one end of the outer wall and the offering niche at the other end of the opposite wall. The earliest examples of the L-shaped room are those of the Zoser complex at the Step Pyramid. The cruciform room was the predominant type at Medum and Saqqarah during

Dynasty IV while the contemporary Giza mastabas developed from the L-shaped type. The *Hm-iwnw* mastaba at Giza has an interior chapel built in an addition to the older core. This chapel is of the corridor type (cf. *b* above) covering the two-niches in the face of the mastaba. Possibly the two-niche interior chapel at Giza was derived from the *Hm-iwnw* example.

were obviously adopted for reasons of economy. Thereafter it became customary even in stone-built mastabas to carve the whole niche in a single stone in this shallow form. These false-doors, often called stelae, were many of them surrounded by a moulding and surmounted by a hollow cornice as if they represented the façade of a building. The false-door, and in particular the form with hollow cornice, was to continue in use in the later periods.

The false-door of Dynasty IV has incorporated in it a form of inscribed stone which occurs detached from the false-door itself. This is the tablet set in the space above the cross-bar (the entablature). The false-door of Yeduw (G 7102) represents this as a white tablet set in granite, as does the false-door of Prince Meryeb (G 2100). In all the earlier false-doors it is raised above the surface of the space in which it occurs as if it were a separate stone set in the structure. This tablet shows a representation of a man seated at a table of half loaves of bread, with titles, name, and offerings including the early type of compartment list. The representation, and the form and size of the stone are like those of the slab-stela. The slab-stelae occur in Dynasty IV in the Cheops mastabas with exterior crude-brick chapels, and were set in the face of the mastaba between the sides of a niche in the crude-brick wall, but not high up (about breast high). This last winter Mr. Firth found four or five of these slab-stelae of a primitive appearance among the mastabas of the archaic cemetery at Saqqarah (Dynasties III–IV?) but none actually in place. These latter may have been set over false-doors like the tablets. I consider it probable that the Giza slab-stelae were also intended, ultimately at any rate, for a place in the entablature of false-doors. I imagine they were the products of the royal workshop of Cheops and were presented to the owner along with the mastaba core to which they were attached. These cores are all situated in the Far Western and Southern Cemeteries of unified plan and the owners generally left the slab-stelae in place building the crude-brick chapel around them, or in cases where the owners added later an exterior stone chapel, the slab-stela was covered with a protecting stone and hidden behind the west wall of the chapel. The early form of the compartment list occurs not only in the slab-stelae and in the tablet of the early false-door but also in the middle panel (Khabauwsokar) and on the side jambs of the niche (Rahotep). The earliest of all examples of this list is that on Plate XXI of Quibell's *The Tomb of Hesy* in which the jars of perfumed ointment are shown standing on shelves in a row of cupboards with swinging doors. I therefore call this early form of the compartment list the 'cupboard list'. From this was derived the form of the well-known compartment list of Dynasties V and VI which gives mainly lists of food and drink.

The rectangular tablet of the false-door is obviously the form from which was derived the long rectangular stelae found in the rock-cut tombs of Dynasties VI–X set in the rock wall of the offering chamber above the burial pit. The person seated at table of bread, the inscription, the ideographic

list of offerings are similar features of both types of stelae. But the cupboard list is wanting from these later grave stelae as it is from the false-door tablet of the later Giza mastabas.

Another part of the false-door which was made, in Dynasty III at least, of a separate piece was the back of the inner niche which represents the wooden door-leaf or leaves of the false-door. In the tomb of Hesy this middle panel was found in five cases to consist of a carved wooden board showing Hesyra standing or seated at a table of bread (panel No. 5). In the middle panel of the niche of Khabauwsokar (Dynasty IV, Sneferuw), the chief person is also shown seated at table, but while in one niche of Prince Iynefer, he is shown seated, in the other niche he is standing. Thereafter the usual middle panel shows the chief person standing facing to the right with staff and wand. On the shallow false-doors of Dynasties V and VI, when the middle niche has become rudimentary, the representations are confined to the jambs representing the outer surfaces of the inner and outer niches. These may be only the standing figure of the man on all panels, but figures of the wife or of the wife and children are not uncommon. It is from the lower panel scenes that I would derive the *tall* rectangular grave stelae of Dynasties VI-X. These tall stelae were found at Naga-'d-Dêr set like the long rectangular stelae in the walls of the rock-cut offering chambers above the burial pits. The type of the tall rectangular stela of the Middle Kingdom with representations of the family below was probably derived from these stelae of Dynasties VI-X.

The false-door represents an actual structure in crude-brick and wood and all of its parts have, therefore, rectangular outlines determined by the character of the structure. The rectangular form is a natural form to craftsmen who have mastered the quarrying of limestone and have learned to set hard stones in built walls. Thus the use of rectangular stones for small stelae and decrees presents no difficulty whether it arose from the tablet of the false-door or from the natural form of quarried limestone blocks.

In direct contrast to these rectangular forms there appears in Dynasty I the round-topped grave stela, the position of which with reference to the mastaba has never been satisfactorily explained. The use of the round-topped stela after the pyramid age is well known. It was used for royal decrees, dedicatory inscriptions, boundary stones, memorials of royal victories, grave stelae, votive inscriptions. It has been found set against the wall, erected in a stone socket in the middle of a floor space, cut on rocks, and cut or painted on the walls of tombs. But in all cases it appears as if detached from the building in which it occurs, not as a structural part of the masonry. The round-topped form used for similar purposes (except for grave stelae) is known also in Babylonia as early as Naramsin, in other countries of western Asia and in Arabia. In the Semitic area, inscribed stones of this type or of a ruder form are named *masseba*. They appear to have been set up to mark a place where some manifestation of

divine power has taken place, or to commemorate some event or fulfil a vow to some deity. It has often been assumed that some of the rude uninscribed stones set upright for these purposes were of a very early date, and in that case the suggestion lies near at hand that the better made round-topped stela was a natural development of the upright stone. The material in Mesopotamia, however, is later than the pyramid age in Egypt, and the other Semitic monuments are still later, most of them after the Middle Kingdom. It remains to make an examination of the early Egyptian material previous to the end of Dynasty VI.

The round-topped stelae are as follows:

1. Nine royal grave stelae of Dynasty I-II.
2. About one hundred and sixty-seven round-topped private grave stelae of Dynasty I.
3. The two uninscribed round-topped stelae in the temple of the pyramid of Medum.
4. The two round-topped stelae inscribed with the name (?) *Bw-nfr* at the tomb of Rahotep at Medum.
5. The round-topped private stela in the Bankfield Museum of Halifax (late Dynasty III or early Dynasty IV). See Gardiner, *J.E.A.*, vol. iv, p. 256.
6. The round-topped stela of Shepseskaf establishing the offerings in the temple of his father Mycerinus.
7. The round-topped decree of Pepy I from Coptos.
8. The round-topped stelae of Shepseskaf-ankh.<sup>1</sup>

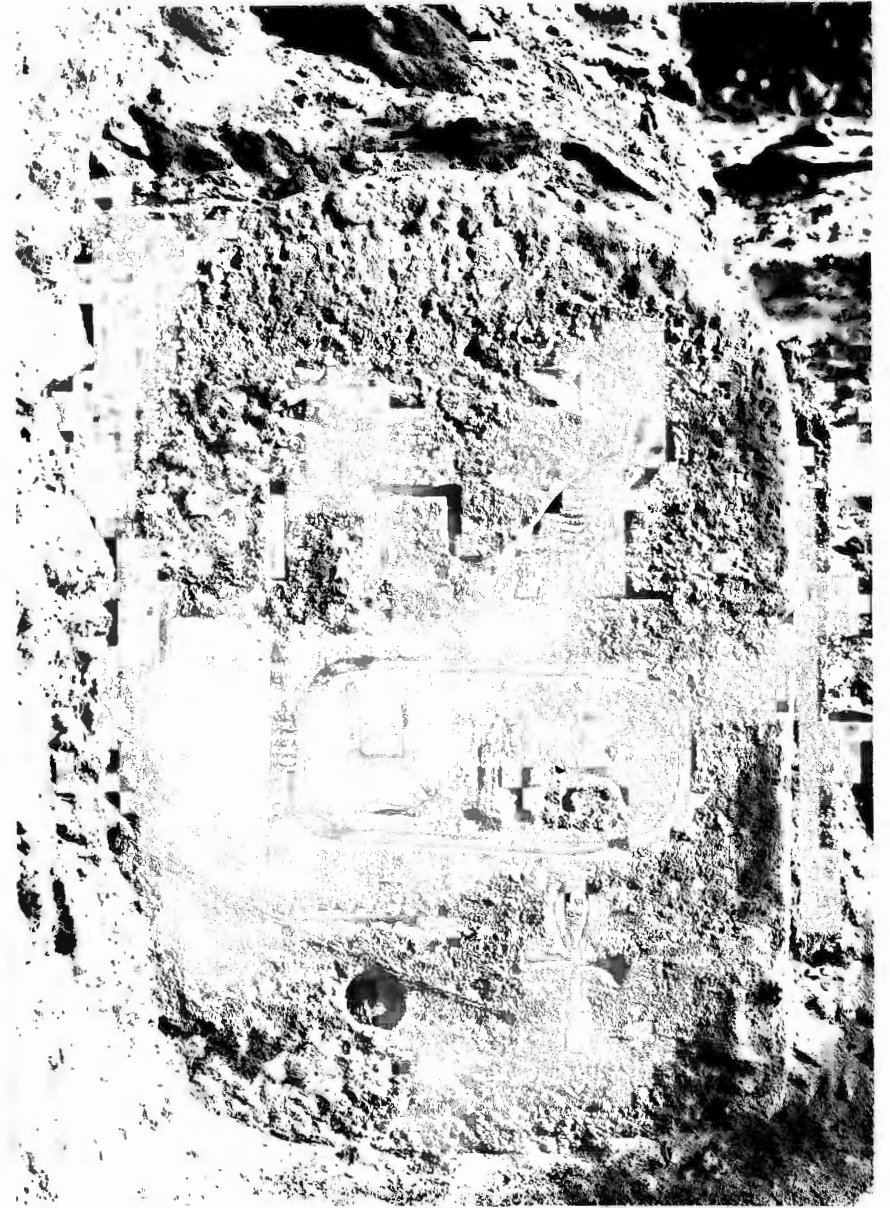
The stelae of the above list which were found in place were the two stelae in the temple of the Medum Pyramid, the two stelae inscribed with the name (?) *Bw-nfr*, in front of the mastaba of Rahotep, and the two stelae of Shepseskaf-ankh. The two uninscribed stelae of the temple stand on bases in front of the offering place with an altar between them. They are thick stones with the tops rounded in both directions. The two stelae with the name (?) *Bw-nfr*, stand free also on each side of the last addition to the tomb of Rahotep in an open-air offering room (exterior). They also are thick stones and have been likened by Mariette to obelisks. In position, these four stelae resemble the small obelisks of Dynasties V-VI which were found at Giza standing on each side of the offering niche in the offering room or on each side of the doorway to the offering room. These obelisks are either uninscribed or inscribed with title and name and occasionally with a *dy nswt htp* formula as well.

The earlier grave stelae with rounded tops are thin flat stelae obviously of a different form from the thick stelae. The stelae of Shepseskaf-ankh are of this thin type. They were found in position adapted in form to the structure of which they were a part. The mastaba (G 6040) was nearly perfectly preserved. The mouths of the burial shafts opened in the top of the very high stone mastaba.

<sup>1</sup> The boundary stones found by C. M. Firth at the temple of Zoser must be noted on account of their significance, but are not of course round-topped stelae. See Firth, *Annales*, xxv, pp. 149, 159.



*a.* Mastaba G 6040; tomb of Shepseskaf-ankh; view of processional slope  
(cut by later mastabas) looking south



*b.* Eastern stela of Shepseskaf-ankh in position





A sloping ramp led up from the north and turning east towards the south end of the west side gave a convenient access to the top of the mastaba. This ramp was used for the burial procession on the day of burial.<sup>1</sup> The sides of the ramp were guarded by two low parapets (one on each side), and at the end of each parapet (at the entrance to the ramp) a small round-topped stela was set, conforming in shape to the section of the ramp and inscribed 'the steward, Shepseskaf-ankh'. Both inscriptions face to the right (Pl. 51).

On the slab-stelae and the inscriptions of the false-door, the name is essentially a mark of ownership and as such was of course used in the various formulas, *dy nswt htp*, *wpt r3*, *s3h.t*, &c. The two stelae of Shepseskaf-ankh at the entrance to the ramp prepared for the funeral procession were also clearly marks of ownership and probably intended to give the name to be used in the recitations of the formulas used at the burial. The round-topped stelae of Dynasties I and II are also devoid of any formula or any list of offerings whether ideographic or cupboard-list.<sup>2</sup> The name on the early round-topped stelae while certainly a mark of ownership was without doubt used in whatever formulas were customary in that time.

The determination of the positions of the round-topped grave stelae of Dynasties I and II was rendered difficult by the state in which Sir Flinders Petrie found the royal tombs, plundered for treasure, destroyed for *sebakh*, and excavated by his incompetent predecessors. Sir Flinders was unable to find any evidence of the existence of mastabas, but the evidence from other sites (Naqâdah, El-Kab, Naga-'d-Dêr, Tarkhan, Saqqarah, Giza, and Abu Roash) is overwhelmingly conclusive that all primary graves of Dynasties I and II had superstructures of the mastaba type, built of crude-brick (one possibly of stone at Abu Roash). In the case of the tomb of Menes at Naqâdah, no underground chambers were found and it seems that the burial chamber must have been in the mass of the mastaba (cf. the pyramid of Cheops and the Kerma tumulus, K III). The mastabas of early Dynasty I (including Zet and Merneit) had underground chambers without stairway entrance and the mastaba was necessarily built after the burial. In all the private mastabas of Dynasty I the superstructure covers a greater area than the burial apartments. The private mastabas of Naga-'d-Dêr across the river from Abydos had an enclosing wall which was slightly farther away on the valley side and had a doorway at the south end. These were multiple-niche mastabas but with plain compound niches (not of the palace façade type of the Menes tomb). A number of the more elaborate multiple-niche mastabas of early Dynasty I at Saqqarah and Tarkhan also had the remains of enclosing walls. The walls like the enclosing walls of later

<sup>1</sup> There was another slope leading up to the top of the mastaba G 7150 (Khufu-khaf II), but the inscription in this case was on the back of the mastaba above the beginning of the slope.

<sup>2</sup> The round-topped stela of Halifax is not to

be included with these early stelae. It is certainly not earlier than Dynasty III and may be of Dynasty IV. The workmanship is of the provincial type and is in no case a conclusive indication of date.

dynasties are undoubtedly to be reconstructed with rounded tops. In all mastabas on primary sites (nucleus mastabas), the enclosing walls should, I think, be assumed. In the cases of smaller mastabas in a complex of mastabas, the open-air offering place was often bounded by the faces of the surrounding superstructures. In all probability the royal tombs of Dynasty I at Abydos and Naqâdah all had enclosing walls with open-air offering places (in the Giza pyramids, each pyramid has an enclosing wall around the pyramid which in some cases includes the pyramid temple). The problem at Abydos is complicated by the rows of subsidiary graves around each of the royal tombs of Dynasty I. These were certainly intended for the family and adherents of the king to whose tomb they were subsidiary, and many if not all were so used (cf. the cemeteries of mastabas at Giza subsidiary to the pyramids of Dynasty IV, and the tombs of the enclosure of the Step Pyramid at Saqqarah). In the case of the tombs of Semerkhet and *Qꜣy-ꜣ*, the small compartments containing partly offerings and partly subsidiary burials (*sati*-burials) were obviously part of the substructure of the tomb and must have been covered by the mastaba of crude-brick (or crude-brick retaining wall filled with gravel). I therefore reconstruct all the royal tombs with mastabas which cover the subsidiary graves, in spite of the fact that the subsidiary graves of private mastabas (mastaba at Giza, cf. Petrie's *Giza and Rifeh*, Pl. VI) are outside the mastaba. I have worked over the field of tombs at Abydos and have found it possible to draw in mastabas with enclosing walls and open-air offering places for all the tombs of Dynasty I. Unfortunately space does not permit me to explain that reconstruction here. I may say that I reconstruct the mastabas of Peribsen and Khasekhemuwy with roofed corridor offering rooms with painted walls (type of Hesyra).

Sir Flinders Petrie concluded that the royal stelae were standing isolated in front of the burial place on the basis of the Medum stelae, but the exact parallel would set them one on each side of the offering place with an offering stone between them (that is inside the enclosing wall). The two stones of Peribsen he found at the south-west corner near the entrance to the burial place. The stones are reversed as to their form and have the signs facing to the right on both, as if they had stood at the ends of two parallel walls each with a slight batter on the outside and rounded tops. But no such parallel walls leading to the burial entrance were observed by Sir Flinders. It is of course possible, due to the condition of the site, that the remains of such walls were so badly destroyed as to escape observation. The assumption that this tomb had a painted offering chamber would have made the use of such stone stelae at the offering place unnecessary and we should thus have a parallel to the use of the Shepseskaf-ankh stelae.

The royal stelae of Dynasty I are as follows:

1. Stela of Zer; position not reported in *Royal Tombs II*.
2. Stela of Zet; found in tomb by Amélineau.

3. Two stelae of Merneit; found by Petrie, 'fallen into tomb on the east side'.
4. Stela of Semerkhet; found by Amélineau.
5. Two stelae of *Qꜣy-ꜣ*; one found in the tomb by Amélineau; one by Petrie lying 'on the ground level on the east side'.<sup>1</sup>

The two stelae of *Qꜣy-ꜣ* have the signs facing one to the left and one to the right. Of the two stelae of Merneit, one faces to the right and the direction of the other is not reported. The single stela of Zet and Semerkhet have the signs facing to left and that of Zer has signs facing to right. Thus it appears that Petrie's assumption that the stelae were in pairs is obviously correct, and it seems probable that the signs faced in opposite directions on the two members of each pair. Petrie's assumption that they stood east of the mastaba would place them not far from the doorway in the enclosing wall, and, if the Medum examples be followed, in front of the chief offering niche (the southern niche). Thus they would have stood not far from the doorway in the enclosing wall. They are not thick stones of the *masseba* or obelisk types but rather flat thin slabs. It may, therefore, be suggested that in Dynasty I these round-topped stelae stood one on each side of the doorway through the enclosing wall. It is the one place where the form of the stela is adapted to the structure of the mastaba or its appurtenances. The reversal of the direction of the signs in each pair would conform with later custom as to doorway inscriptions.

The private stelae present a great difficulty. The subsidiary compartments intended for burials were in some cases (and perhaps all) marked in red paint on the southern wall with the names of the prospective owners. The great majority of the stone stelae were found scattered through the compartments and seem to have been placed in the compartments either as a more permanent mark of ownership than the red painted names or as a substitute for the painted names (which were in that case omitted). By the conclusion that these subsidiary graves were covered by the mastabas of the kings, the existence of separate mastabas over these compartments is excluded. If the stelae had stood in rows along the face of the royal mastaba the greater part of them would have been found on the surface or in the outside rows of compartments.

<sup>1</sup> There are also two fragments of stelae of Nar-mer found at Abydos; both are doubtful. See *Abydos*, Part I, p. 8, Pl. XIII and Amélineau, *Nouvelles Fouilles*, vol. I, Pl. XLII.

## DER 'TORSO SIMU' EINER PRIESTERIN AUS SAIS

Von GÜNTHER ROEDER

(Mit Tafeln 52 und 53)

BEI einem Besuche des Museul Simu in Bukarest (Rumänien) sah ich das Mittelstück einer ägyptischen Frauenfigur. Der Gründer und Besitzer dieser wertvollen Kunstsammlung, Herr Anastase Simu, erlaubte mir sogleich mit liebenswürdigem Entgegenkommen die Untersuchung und Veröffentlichung des ungewöhnlichen Stückes, das er selbst in Neapel gekauft hat. Seinem lebhaften Interesse werden auch die hier beigegebenen Photographien verdankt, die ich von der Leitung des Museums durch Vermittlung des rumänischen Dichters O. W. Cisek erhielt.

Das 25·5 cm hohe Bruchstück aus grünem Schiefer stammt von dem Bilde einer schreitenden Frau mit Rückenpfeiler, deren Hände ausgestreckt den Oberschenkeln anliegen. Der obere Bruch läuft zwischen Hüften und Brust, der untere in der Gegend der Kniee. Der Körper ist in der üblichen Weise mit dem sich anschmiegenden Frauenkleid bedeckt, das die Formen jedoch deutlich hindurch schimmern lässt. Der linke (vorgesetzte) Oberschenkel ist an seinem Ansatz innen durch eine im Bogen nach der linken Hüfte zu laufende Linie abgegrenzt. Die Gestalt ist schlank und doch voll mit festem Fleisch; die runden Formen sind die einer nicht mehr ganz jungen Frau. Trotzdem sind die Arme verhältnismässig dünn und die sehr schmalen Hände haben ausserordentlich lange Finger.



Auf dem Rückenpfeiler steht eine Inschrift (Breite 4·5 cm, Breite jeder Zeile 13–14 mm), die vertieft eingehauen ist. Die flüchtigen und unscharfen Umrisse der Schriftzeichen stehen in Gegensatz zu der metallisch harten und durch Hochglanzpolitur noch verschärften Ausführung der Plastik. Der gleiche Gegensatz liegt auch sonst bei Arbeiten der saitischen und frühptolemäischen Zeit vor, und zwar mehr in der letzteren als in der ersten Epoche, aber selten am gleichen Gegenstande. Eine Schieferschale Psametis II. aus Heliopolis (Berlin 18514) hat scharf eingehauene Hieroglyphen auf glatter Steinfläche, ebenso eine Basaltschale Ptolemaios I. aus Elefantine (Berlin 18901). Dem gegenüber stehen Darstellungen und Inschriften mit unsauberem Rändern an einer Wasseruhr aus grauem Granit (Berlin 19556). Bei saitischen Granitsarkophagen beruht der gleiche Gegensatz offenkundig auf der Art des Gesteins: weicher und grobkörniger Granit wird nur geglättet und erhält Darstellungen und Hieroglyphen flach ausgehauen mit unscharfen Umrissen.<sup>1</sup> Harter feinkörniger Granit wird bis zum Hochglanz poliert, und Bilder und Schriftzeichen werden mit scharfen Umrissen tief eingehauen.<sup>2</sup> Dieselbe Beobachtung lässt

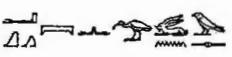
<sup>1</sup> Berlin 7; Sargkasten von Berlin 49.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin 41; Deckel von Berlin 49.

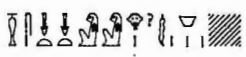
sich an den Stelen der ptolemäisch-römischen Zeit machen, z. B. an der metallisch scharfen Satrapen-Stele im Gegensatz zu dem verschwommenen Charakter der Pithom-Stele.<sup>1</sup>

I. . . . .  
2. . . . .  
3. . . . .

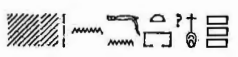
Das  *hr* ist in allen drei Zeilen zu lesen, vor ihm wohl jedesmal ein Gottesname. Am Anfang ist vermutlich  zu ergänzen wie auf den Statuen in Wien, Berlin und Florenz (vergl. unten).

I. 

Die den Himmel betritt,<sup>1</sup> [weil?] ein Fehler an ihr nicht gefunden wird,<sup>2</sup>



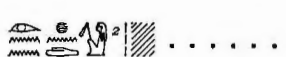
die die beiden Schwestern (Isis und Nephthys) loben wegen . . .,<sup>3</sup>




[Priesterin?] der *mhn-t*-Kapelle,<sup>4</sup> namens . . .,<sup>5</sup>



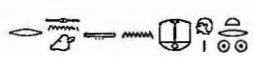
Tochter des Leiters der Häuser,<sup>6</sup> der die Glieder des Gottes verhüllt (d. h. bekleidet),<sup>7</sup> *P<sup>3</sup>-šrj-n-t-jh·t<sup>8</sup>*



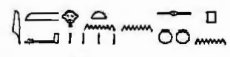
geboren von der Priesterin namens . . .<sup>9</sup>

... 2. 

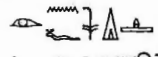
(Sie sagt: O ihr Menschen), die die Prchtige Stätte betreten, die die Grüne Stätte beschreiten,<sup>10</sup>



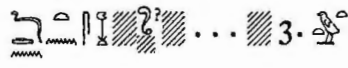
um anzubeten an den Festen des Anfangs der Jahreszeiten:<sup>11</sup>



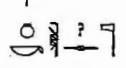
Wendet euer Gesicht diesem Bildnis zu!<sup>12</sup>



Spendet ihm eine königliche Opfergabe!



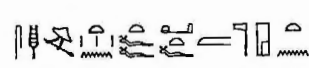
Wenn ihr (das Opfergebet) sprecht und gedenkt . . .<sup>13</sup> . . ., den ich vereinigt habe [?oder: es gebührt mir?],



[denn?] ich bin eine Dienerin des Gottes.<sup>14</sup>




Euch wird Gleiches getan durch den, der nachher kommt (d. h. später lebt), und durch den, der auf der Erde lebt,<sup>15</sup>



der Statuen errichtet für seinen Vater und seine Mutter in diesem Tempel,<sup>16</sup>



und ebenso neben der Mutter der Götter, die sich befindet in . . .<sup>17</sup>

Der obere Teil des Rückenpfeilers ist ähnlich wie auf unserer Statue gegliedert an der des  in Wien,<sup>3</sup> wo innerhalb der senkrechten

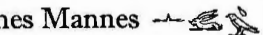












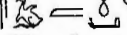
<sup>1</sup> Ahmed Kamal, *Stèles ptol. et rom.* (Cat. Gén. Caire, 1904-5) Nr. 22182, Pl. LVI, 'Satrapen-Stele' gegenüber Nr. 22183, pl. LVII, 'Pithom-Stele'. Die Hieroglyphen auf Nr. 22197 sind ähnlich denen auf dem Torso Simu, auf

Nr. 22034 schärfer, auf Nr. 31088 a flüchtiger.  
<sup>2</sup> Hockende Frau mit Geißel.  
<sup>3</sup> Saal v, Nr. x nach Wreszinski, *Äg. Inschr. Wien* (1906), 140; saitische Zeit.

Schriftzeilen in wagerechter Richtung Zeichen eingesetzt sind, die in allen drei Zeilen gelesen werden sollen. Ähnlich auf einer Statue in Florenz<sup>1</sup> sowie Berlin 14460,<sup>2</sup> bei denen oberhalb der Schriftzeilen ein selbständiger Block durch Götterbilder bzw. Schriftsatz gebildet ist.

Der eigentliche Text beginnt in Zeile 1 mit dem Beiwort 'Die den Himmel betritt', und ihm braucht nichts vorangegangen zu sein ausser dem erwähnten Block am Anfang. Dann läuft der Text durch Zeile 1-3 anscheinend hindurch, und zwar so, dass am Ende von Zeile 1-2 jedesmal etwa ein halbes Dutzend Wörter zu ergänzen sind mit zwei kurzen Sätzen, die sich am Anfang von Zeile 2 bzw. 3 fortsetzen.

### BEMERKUNGEN ZUR INSCRIFT

1. Das Beiwort kann nur den Titel einer Frau darstellen, etwaigenfalls als Priesterin; allerdings vermag ich ihn in diesem Sinne nicht zu belegen.
2. Ähnlich als Beiwort eines Mannes  'Es gibt keinen Fehler von ihm bei den Menschen' auf der erwähnten Wiener Statue (S. 333, Anm. 3).
3. Die beiden Schwestern sind ein Paar von Göttinnen, vermutlich wie meistens auch hier Isis und Nephthys. Nach dem gewöhnlichen Sprachgebrauch pflegen es die Götter zu sein, die  *hsj* 'ein Lob aussprechen'. Die hier vorliegende Formel ist sonst in Titulaturen nicht üblich und schliesst sich dem Sinne nach an Beiworte von Beamten an, wie: 'Den sein Herr (d. h. der Heimatgott) lobt' (mehrfach im Mittleren Reich).
4. Die Kapelle *mhn-t* ist mit  *rsn-t* zusammen ein Heiligtum in Sais (Vergl. 9).
5. Das erste Zeichen ist offenbar nicht  *nfr*, wohl auch nicht  *mdw*. Die drei kleinen Zeichen vermag ich nicht zu bestimmen; ob *jdb-w?* *tr-w?* Den Namen darf man wohl nicht in  *nfrw* 'Schönheit' verbessern.
6. Der Titel  *hrp h-wt* ist im Alten und Mittleren Reich spärlich belegt, in saitischer Zeit häufig für einen Priester an Kapellen.<sup>3</sup> Oft hat er den Zusatz  'der weissen und der roten Krone', auch nur mit  (und zwar schon im Alten Reich), ferner mit  'der Neit'.<sup>5</sup> Der Titel wird häufig von Leuten getragen, die im Tempel der Neit in Sais beamtet sind. Dort hat also auch der Vater der im Torso Simu dargestellten Dame Dienst getan.
7. Die Verben *hsp* und *jmn* werden gleichartig gebraucht mit  'den Leib verbergen' im Sinne von 'geheimnisvoll sein'; die Lesung von  ist hier wie in anderen Fällen zweifelhaft. Ähnlich gebildete Priestertitel, in denen auch die Wörter  *h-w-ntr* verwendet sind; besagen, dass der Priester die Glieder des Gottes bekleidet, z. B.  Mariette, *Abydos*, II (1880), Pl. xx g.
8. Die Lesung des Namens verdanke ich H. Ranke, der auf die griechische Wiedergabe  $\Psi\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\Psi\iota\nu\tau\alpha\eta\varsigma$  verweist nach Spiegelberg in *Ä.Z.* LIX (1924), 138 und in *J.E.A.* XII

<sup>1</sup> Pellegrini in *Rec. de trav.* XIX (1897), 221, Nr. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Spiegelberg in *Rec. de trav.* XXX (1908), 152 mit Photo.

<sup>3</sup> Statuen aus Sais: Daressy in *Rec. de trav.* XIV (1893), 181, Nr. LXXVIII und 183, Nr. LXXXI;

Legrain, op. cit. XVI (1894), 61, Nr. 11, in drei Generationen.

<sup>4</sup> Statuen aus Sais: Daressy in *Rec. de trav.* XIV (1893), 181, Nr. LXXVII und 183, Nr. LXXX.

<sup>5</sup> Louvre, Apis-Stele 337 und 350; Chassinat in *Rec. de trav.* XXII (1900), 177 und 180.



*a*



*b*

*a, b.* Torso Simu, Bukarest. Grüner Schiefer  
Massstab *c.*  $\frac{1}{2}$





(1926), 35. Die Aussprache von *P<sup>2</sup>-šrj-n-p-jh-t* war also etwa Pa-šeri-n-ta-<sup>2</sup>êhet oder abgekürzt Pšenta<sup>2</sup>êhe.

9. Der Titel *hnd-t*, eigentlich wohl 'Begleiterin, Dienerin', wird für webende Frauen gebraucht, besonders im Dienst der Neit, und ist seit dem Neuen Reich bekannt. Die Mutter des Besitzers der saitischen Statue in Wien (S. 333, Anm. 3) ist 'Oberste der Priesterinnen an der *rsn-t*-Kapelle'  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆐}} \overline{\text{𓆑}} \overline{\text{𓆒}} \overline{\text{𓆓}} \overline{\text{𓆔}} \overline{\text{𓆕}} \overline{\text{𓆖}} \overline{\text{𓆗}} \overline{\text{𓆘}} \overline{\text{𓆙}} \overline{\text{𓆚}}$ .
10. Die  $\overline{\text{𓆛}} \overline{\text{𓆜}}$  und die  $\overline{\text{𓆝}} \overline{\text{𓆞}}$  sind in Sais nicht nachzuweisen, müssen doch aber dort Kapellen oder andere Anbetungsorte sein. Eine *j<sup>2</sup>-t dšr-t* wird in Esne (Titus) in einem Lied an die Sonne erwähnt (L.D. IV. 81 d); ferner in Edfu (Rochemonteix, I. 331, nach H. Grapow).
11. Der pluralische Ausdruck *tp-w tr-w* 'Anfänge der Jahreszeiten' wird neben anderen Festen genannt. Die dualische Schreibung *tr-wj* statt des Plurals *tr-w* ist auch sonst nachzuweisen, sogar schon im Totenbuch des Mittleren Reichs; auch hier ist der Plural gemeint.
12. Am Original hatte ich  $\overline{\text{𓆟}}$  statt  $\overline{\text{𓆠}}$  für möglich gehalten, doch ist  $\overline{\text{𓆠}}$  die richtige Lesung angesichts ähnlicher Formeln (H. Grapow). Die Schreibung  $\overline{\text{𓆡}}$  für *smn* —  $\overline{\text{𓆢}} \overline{\text{𓆣}}$  'Bild, Abbild' ist ungewöhnlich; ähnlich schreibt man in Philae und Ombos  $\overline{\text{𓆤}} \overline{\text{𓆥}}$ , in Dendera  $\overline{\text{𓆦}} \overline{\text{𓆧}}$ . Das Wort wird gern von der Statue eines Privatmannes in seinem Grabe oder in einem Tempel gebraucht, im allgemeinen von Männern, die am Boden kauern oder mit aufgesetzten Füßen hocken, besonders dem Naophoros; hier jedoch von der schreitenden Frau. In allen Fällen ist bei *smn* das Determinativ  $\overline{\text{𓆨}}$  üblich, aus dem also nicht auf die Form der Statue geschlossen werden darf.
13. Man könnte an *dd-tjwšn* 'die sagen werden' denken und dann 'tausend Opfergaben usw.' doch scheint mir *šh* 'sich erinnern' hier wahrscheinlicher.
14. Die beiden kurzen Sätze, in denen die Dargestellte zum ersten Mal von sich in der ersten Person spricht, erscheinen unvermittelt und können nur zum Vorhergehenden gehören.
15. Statt  $\overline{\text{𓆩}}$  hatte ich am Original  $\overline{\text{𓆪}}$  für möglich erklärt, aber Konstruktion und Sinn des Satzes sind in jedem Fall unsicher. In  $\Delta$  muss ein selbständiges Wort stecken also wohl *prj* 'hinausgehen', und daraus ergibt sich die parallele Verwendung von  $\overline{\text{𓆫}}$  und  $\overline{\text{𓆬}}$  trotz der verschiedenen Schreibung. Das  $\overline{\text{𓆭}}$  verbessere ich in  $\overline{\text{𓆮}}$  *tpj*.
16. Aus dem Hinweis darf man wohl schliessen, dass auch unsere Statue 'für seine Mutter' errichtet ist, also von dem Sohne der dargestellten Frau, und zwar nach den obigen Feststellungen offenbar in dem Tempel der Neit in Sais.
17. 'Mutter der Göttinnen' ist als Beiwort verschiedener Göttinnen bekannt, kann hier aber eigentlich nur auf Neit von Sais Bezug haben.

Als *Ergebnis der Inschrift* fasse ich zusammen: der Torso Simu stellt die Frau  $\overline{\text{𓆯}}$ , Tochter des  $\overline{\text{𓆰}} \overline{\text{𓆱}}$  und der N.N., dar, die alle Drei im priesterlichen Dienst in Sais tätig waren. Im dortigen Tempel ist die Statue aufgestellt gewesen, um Totenopfer von Besuchern zu empfangen, die zu den beiden Kapellen 'Prächtige, bezw. Grüne Stätte' gehen wollten. Diese Vorübergehenden ruft die Verstorbene an und verheisst ihnen als Lohn für das Darbringen von Opfern, dass ihren eigenen Statuen später einmal Gleiches von der nächsten Generation erwiesen würde.

Die *Datierung* des Torso Simu ist nach Inhalt und Paläographie der Inschrift auf die saitische Zeit anzugeben, also auf die Zeit zwischen den nubischen Königen der 25. Dynastie und den Ptolemäern, d. h. etwa 700–300 v. Chr. Genaueres möchte ich angesichts des Mangels einer hieroglyphischen Paläographie meinerseits nicht sagen.

Nun bleibt noch die *Stilanalyse* zu machen. Der Typus und die archäologischen Einzelheiten des Bruchstückes geben nur geringen Anhalt. Eine schreitende Frau in anliegendem Kleide mit Rückenfeiler und mit herabhängenden Händen ist nichts Ausserordentliches und enthält keine irgendwie besonders gearteten Momente. Wesentlich ist nur, wenn man von der übertriebenen Länge und Schlankheit der Hände absieht, die Gestaltung des Bauches mit dem stark eingetieften Nabel und die trotz des verhüllenden Kleides ungewöhnlich deutliche Delle vor dem Schamberg. Der Bauch ist nicht der eines Mädchens, sondern tritt fast spitz vor wie bei Frauen, die geboren haben. Der Nabel steht nicht in einer senkrechten, sondern liegt auf der schräg vortretenden oberen Hälfte des Bauches auf. Wo begegnen uns diese Kennzeichen wieder?

Gute Frauenstatuen sind aus allen Epochen der ägyptischen Kunst nicht zahlreich erhalten.<sup>1</sup> Im Alten Reich gibt der Typus der schreitenden Frau die stärkste Einziehung des Rumpfes unterhalb der Brüste, die nicht besonders voll zu sein pflegen; dann folgt eine Schwellung durch die gerundet vortretenden Hüften und eine zweite stärkere in weit gespanntem Bogen über die Oberschenkel hinweg. Der Nabel ist gar nicht oder nur schwach angedeutet.<sup>2</sup> Der Abfall des wenig gegliederten Bauches zur Scham wird durch ein auf dem Kleid abgesetztes Dreieck gegliedert, das in der üblichen Museumsbeleuchtung selten sichtbar ist, aber bei scharfem Oberlicht deutlich hervortritt. Das linke Bein ist, wenn die Füße nicht nebeneinander stehen, leicht vorgesetzt, aber niemals so weit wie bei dem Mann.

Dieser Typus lebt im Mittleren Reich<sup>3</sup> und Neuen Reich fort und verändert sich wenig. Wie stark aber ein selbständiger Bildhauer aus ihm heraus einen lebensvollen Frauenkörper gestalten kann, zeigt der Torso eines nackten, ganz jugendlichen Mädchens aus Amarna im University College, London.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wiedergabe des weiblichen Körpers: von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägypt. Skulptur*, Text zu Tafel 47.

<sup>2</sup> Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, 2 (1929), 34 § 223.

<sup>3</sup> Curtius, *Ägypt. Kunst* (1913), 182 ff. Mehr oder weniger naturalistische Züge zeigt die Arbeit, besonders am Bauche, an Holzfiguren von Frauen: Aschait aus Theben, Dyn. II, in New York (*Bull. Metrop. Museum*, Nov. 1921, II: *The Eg. Exp. 1920–21*, p. 50, fig. 26);

Imert-nebes aus Siut in Leiden, Chassinat-Palanque, *Fouilles d'Assiout (Mém. Inst. Franç. Caire*, 24, 1911), pl. 32; Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik*, 1921, Tafel 58 (Evers, *Staat* I, 1929, Tafel 19); Frau, Zeit Sesotris III, in London, British Museum (Evers, *Staat* I, 1929, Tafel 93); Kemtet aus Harageh (Engelbach, *Harageh*, 1923, Pl. I und XVIII zu p. 13 und 29).

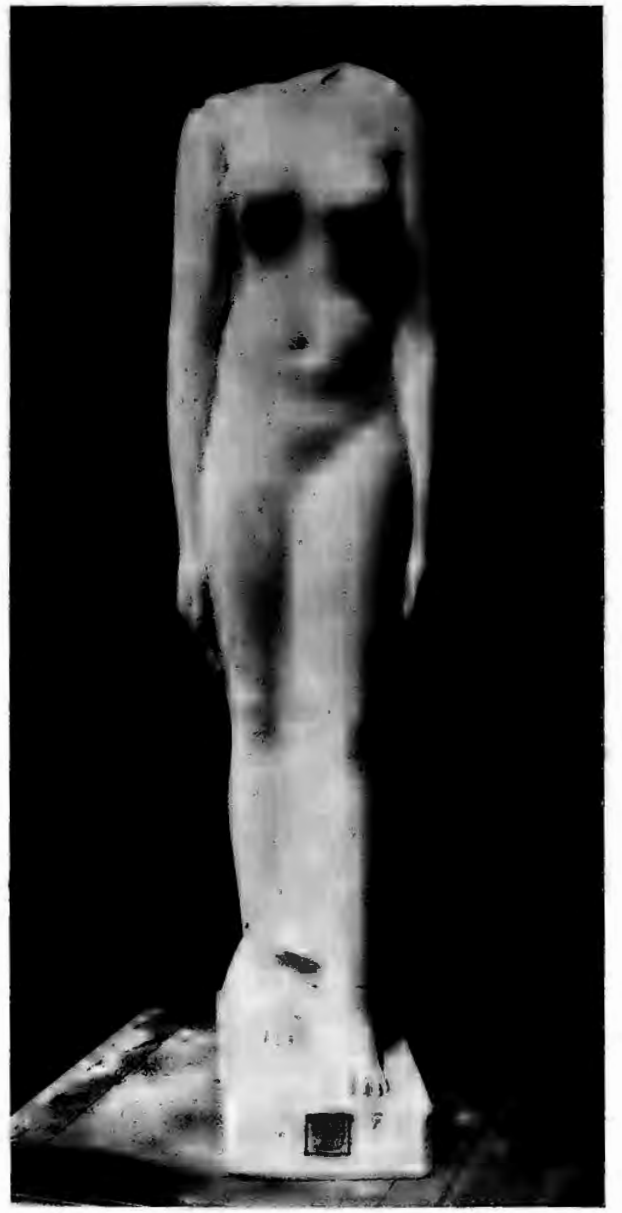
<sup>4</sup> Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, Pl. I, 1; Capart, *Rec. de mon.* II, Pl. 76; Schäfer, *Kunst (Propyläen*, 1925), Tafel xv zu S. 608.



*a*



*b*



*c*

*a, c* Alexandria, Nr. 69. Kalkstein  
Massstab *c.*  $\frac{1}{4}$

*b.* Torso Simu, Bukarest  
Massstab *c.*  $\frac{1}{2}$



Bemerkenswert ist auch die schreitende Nofret-ête Berlin 21263<sup>1</sup> aus Kalkstein mit ihren mütterlichen Formen fern vom idealisierten Mädchenkörper, die trotz des üblichen Frauenkleides deutlich zum Ausdruck kommen. Während der 25. Dynastie (nach 700 v. Chr.), unter der in vieler Hinsicht eigenartige künstlerische Wege beschritten werden, kommt ein neues Ideal weiblicher Schönheit auf: volle Körper mit weich gerundeten Formen und mit nahezu halbkugeligen Brüsten, die fest auf einem kräftigen Rumpf stehen. Dieser üppige Typus taucht in den folgenden Jahrhunderten von Zeit zu Zeit auf und herrscht dann unter den Ptolemäern und Kaisern vor, sowohl in Statuen wie auf Reliefs.<sup>2</sup> Statuen dieser Art ist eine realistische Behandlung des Bauches eigen, die trotz des üblichen Frauenkleides von der natürlichen Oberfläche des Körpers mehr als der ältere Typus erkennen lässt. Der Bauch braucht nicht besonders stark hervorzutreten und der Mons Veneris nicht betont zu sein, doch zeichnet sich der Nabel meist deutlicher als früher ab. Diese Figuren haben eine unverkennbare Verwandtschaft mit dem Torso Simu, und nach ihnen würde er wahrscheinlich mit runden, üppigen Brüsten zu ergänzen sein.

Eine der berühmtesten und ältesten Vertreterinnen des neuen Typus, die sämtlich den linken Fuss um fast eine volle Fusslänge vorsetzen und dadurch eine stärkere Bewegung in die Beinstellung hineinbringen, ist die Bronzefigur der Takuschit in Athen.<sup>3</sup> An ihr ist vieles ähnlich wie an dem Torso Simu gestaltet, z. B. die Schmalheit des Brustkorbes und die Umrisslinien von Hüften und Oberschenkeln; auch der Bauch, jedoch nicht der flache Nabel. Alle dieses ist aber stärker als an dem Torso Simu durch das Kleid mit seinen eingelegten Bildern verhüllt.<sup>4</sup>

Die Bronzefigur Berlin 2309<sup>5</sup> einer namenlosen Frau ist der Takuschit in jeder Hinsicht verwandt, jedoch sind die Körperformen noch mehr durch die straffere Spannung des Kleides geglättet. Ungewöhnlich ist der Nabel am unteren Ende einer langen schmalen Grube.<sup>6</sup>

In die nubische ('äthiopische') Zeit gehört eine Gruppe von Bronzefiguren nackter Puppen, zum Teil mit Kopfschmuck von Königinnen oder Prinzessinnen; etwa ein Dutzend Stücke sind mir in verschiedenen Sammlungen bekannt

<sup>1</sup> Schäfer, op. cit., 338 zu 608.

<sup>2</sup> Schäfer, op. cit., 113-14; anknüpfend an: Schäfer, *Von ägypt. Kunst*<sup>3</sup> (1930), 310.

<sup>3</sup> Von Bissing, *Denkm.* 59; Maspero, *Hist. anc.* II (1897), 534 mit Pl. III (Phot.); Fechheimer, *Plastik* (1914), 90; Sir Denison Ross, *Art of Egypt* (1931), 231, 1. zu p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Die Körperformen sind jedoch bei weitem nicht so unsichtbar gemacht wie bei der noch dem älteren Typus angehörigen Bronzefigur der Königin Karomama im Louvre, bei der Flügel auf dem Kleide eingelegt sind: Chassinat in *Mon. et Mém. Piot*, IV (Paris 1897), 15-25 mit

Pl. III; Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik* (1921), 98-100.

<sup>5</sup> Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik* (1921), 103.

<sup>6</sup> Die Übertreibung der Länge der Nabelgrube, ein archaisierender Zug dieser Bronzefigur, tritt schon an Statuen des Alten Reichs auf, allerdings meist flacher ausgeführt und häufiger bei Männern als bei Frauen. Wiederholt in späterer Zeit, z. B. an einer Granitstatue der Sachmet aus der Allee in Karnak (Kairo 39067: Daressy, *Statues de div.* (1905-6), Pl. LI) und der Bronzefigur einer Sachmet aus Sakkara (Kairo 39098: Daressy, op. cit., Pl. LIII).

geworden.<sup>1</sup> Die Ausführung der nackten Mädchenkörper reicht in künstlerischer Hinsicht nicht an die feine Gliederung bei den oben behandelten Damen im Frauenkleid heran. Vielmehr liegt hier eine Massenware kunstgewerblicher Art vor, wenn auch von einem besonderen Typus, den ich an anderer Stelle zu behandeln beabsichtige.

Einen Mädchenkörper gibt auch die Holzfigur der Frau Zed-Chonsu-es-anch (Berlin 8814),<sup>2</sup> obwohl sie von ihrem Sohn gestiftet worden ist. Eine Verwandtschaft mit dem Torso Simu spricht sich in dem flachen Anlegen der Hände aus, die ebenso lange Finger haben. Abweichend ist das Einbohren des runden Nabels auf der senkrechten Bauchfläche und die in archaisierender Weise scharfe Absetzung des Schamdreiecks. Die innere Verwandtschaft der Holzfigur mit dem Torso Simu wird aus einem geringen zeitlichen Abstände heraus verständlich, doch ist ein deutlicher stilistischer Unterschied vorhanden, der vermutlich auf die Anfertigung in verschiedenen Bildhauerschulen zurückgeht.

Figuren von Göttinnen aus der saitischen und frühptolemäischen Zeit zeigen zuweilen ein bewusstes Modellieren des Bauches, besonders um den Nabel herum und an der Absetzung gegen die Oberschenkel, z. B. an einer schreitenden Hathor aus Bronze<sup>3</sup> und einer Granitgruppe aus Sakkara mit Isis und Nephthys.<sup>4</sup> Die Gestaltung des Körpers ist zwar im Einzelnen ganz verschieden, erfasst ihn aber durchgehend mit einem Naturalismus, der den älteren Plastiken fehlt. So geht die Ausführung Hand in Hand mit dem Torso Simu, der freilich in künstlerischer Hinsicht selbständiger ist und höher steht. Dem neuen Typus gehört wegen der ungewöhnlich vollen Brüste auch eine schreitende Neit (Bronze) aus Sakkara an.<sup>5</sup>

An das Ende der hier zu behandelnden Epoche führt die Statue einer schreitenden Frau aus Alexandria,<sup>6</sup> die stark realistisch ausgeführt und in der Körperbehandlung dem Torso Simu verwandt ist, z. B. in der Modellierung des Bauches, in der Profillinie am Rückenpfeiler, im Anliegen des Kleides auf den schreitenden Beinen, besonders an dem vorgesetzten linken Oberschenkel. Auffallend ist das ungewöhnliche Knicken der Hände in den Knöcheln mit scharfem Winkel. Die Statue hat nicht das lange Frauenhaar der Ägypterin; da man ihr gewiss keinen griechischen Kopf geben darf, ist die halblange ägyptische Perücke zu ergänzen wie bei Zed-Chonsu-es-anch (Berlin Nr. 8814),<sup>2</sup> und bei der Gottesgattin Anchnes-Nofer-ab-Rê (Kairo 42205).<sup>7</sup> Die

<sup>1</sup> Veröffentlicht ist Berlin 17941 (Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik*, 106) aus der Sammlung Kennard (Sotheby's *Catalogue*, 1912, Pl. IV, Nr. 143 zu p. 17). Unveröffentlicht: British Museum 36076, 37162, 47986.

<sup>2</sup> Schäfer, *Kunst (Propyläen)*, 1925, 418, 1 zu 624.

<sup>3</sup> Kairo 39135: Daressy, op. cit., Pl. LIV.

<sup>4</sup> Kairo 39220: Daressy, op. cit., Pl. LVIII.

<sup>5</sup> Kairo 38953: Daressy, op. cit., Pl. XLVIII.

<sup>6</sup> Nr. 69, Kalkstein, Höhe 50 cm. Capart, *Rec. de mon.* 1 (1902), Pl. 47 mit Literatur; von Bissing, *Denkm.*, Text zu 64, Anm. 7; Maspero, *Kunst* (1913), 251, Abb. 481-2; Sir Denison Ross, *Art of Egypt* (1931), 241. 4-5. Zwei ausgezeichnete Photos verdanke ich der Freundlichkeit von Direktor Ev. Breccia: Tafel 53 a, c.

<sup>7</sup> Legrain, *Statues*, III (1914), p. 13 und Pl. XII

Statue aus Alexandria ist von Botti auf die 26. Dynastie datiert, von von Bissing auf die hellenistische Zeit; Maspero und E. A. Gardner sehen griechischen Einfluss in der Modellierung des Körpers.<sup>1</sup> Ich möchte die Statue wohl in die frühptolemäische Zeit setzen, aber mit der Betonung griechischen Einflusses vorsichtig sein. Denn wenn man ihn bei der Alexandrinerin feststellt, kann man ihn in dem Torso Simu kaum leugnen; dazu aber wird man sich nicht gern entschliessen, wenn man den Torso Simu auf die Zeit vor Alexander dem Grossen ansetzt.

Bei dem vorstehenden Vergleich des Torso Simu mit anderen Statuen sind nur Bildnisse von Frauen aus bürgerlichen Familien berücksichtigt, nicht von solchen aus dem königlichen Hause. Von den letzteren erwähne ich noch einige wegen der selbständigen Behandlung des Körpers, der stets mit dem Frauenkleid bedeckt ist. Der am unteren Ende einer langen Grube gelagerte Nabel ist auch vorhanden bei der Statue der Königin Tuja (Ramses II., Rom)<sup>2</sup> und einer Gottesgattin aus Theben (Berlin 10114).<sup>3</sup> Im allgemeinen wird der Nabel nur flach wiedergegeben, wie es bei der Verhüllung durch das Frauenkleid selbstverständlich ist. Aus dem gleichen Grunde wird der Bauch wenig modelliert, besonders solange die Füße noch nebeneinander gestellt bleiben. Doch ist dann das Schamdreieck gelegentlich scharf abgesetzt, schon im Alten Reich bei der Gattin des Mykerinos<sup>4</sup> und wieder im Neuen Reich bei der Holzfigur der Ahmose in Turin.<sup>5</sup> Nachdem das linke Bein stärker vorgesetzt wird, verschärft sich auch die Absetzung des linken Oberschenkels gegen den Bauch. z. B. bei der Tuja in Rom und bei der Holzfigur der Königin Ahmose in Kairo.<sup>6</sup>

Der Verzicht auf stärkere Modellierung des Frauenkörpers dauert an bei den Gottesgattinnen der 25. Dynastie in Theben, z. B. bei der Statue der Amon-erdas in Kairo<sup>7</sup> und denen der Schepenupt in Kairo<sup>8</sup> und aus der Chicago-Grabung.<sup>9</sup> Diese Gestalten sind kräftig und keineswegs besonders schlank, und sie haben mässig gewölbte Brüste. Aber bei der Gottesgattin Anchnes-Nofer-ab-Rê (Kairo 42205)<sup>10</sup> kommt mit einem Mal die naturalistische Wiedergabe eines üppigen Frauenkörpers mit vollen Rundungen zum Durchbruch, weniger in der Behandlung des Bauches als in der starken Einziehung der Taille, in dem weiteren Ausladen der Hüften und in den fast halbkugeligen

<sup>1</sup> Ebenso Curtius *Agypt. Kunst* (1913 ff.), 212 zu Abb. 136 auf S. 178; früher (S. 191), hatte er die Statue auf die 'Äthiopenzeit' [Dyn. 25] datiert.

<sup>2</sup> Von Bissing, *Denkm.* 47.

<sup>3</sup> Schäfer, *Kunst (Propyläen)*, 1925), 423, 2 zu 625.

<sup>4</sup> Maspero, *Essais* (1912), 33, Fig. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Fehheimer, *Kleinplastik* (1921), 92.

<sup>6</sup> Nr. 42050: Legrain, *Statues*, I (1906), p. 30 und Pl. xxvii.

<sup>7</sup> Von Bissing, *Denkm.* 64 mit Literatur; Butles, *Queens* (1908), Pl. xx zu p. 207; Weigall, *Works of Art* (1924), 317; Borchardt, *Statuen*, II (1925), S. 114 und Tafel 96; Boreux, *L'art égyptien* (1926), Pl. 48; Ross, *Art of Egypt* (1931), 225.

<sup>8</sup> Nr. 42200: Legrain, *Statues*, III (1914), p. 9 und Pl. viii.

<sup>9</sup> Nelson and Hölscher, *Medinet Habu Reports (Or. Inst. Commun. Chicago, x, 1931)*, p. 64 mit Fig. 40.

<sup>10</sup> Vergl. S. 338, Anm. 7.



Brüsten. Hier liegt also für die Körperbehandlung die erste Vertreterin des neuen Typus vor.

Von den Königinnen der ptolemäischen Zeit gibt die Schieferstatue Berlin 21763<sup>1</sup> eine naturalistische Behandlung, wenn diese auch durch strengste Stilisierung gebunden ist. Zwar ist der Nabel flach, aber das Schamdreieck ist mit deutlicher Erhebung abgesetzt und oberhalb von ihm ist eine Querfalte in den Bauch gegraben. Das Gewand liegt sehr eng an, auch zwischen den Beinen, wo es fast gar nicht frei gespannt ist. Die Hüften springen unterhalb der engen, festen Taille mit Betonung vor. Die Brüste sind rund, aber nicht voller als an einigen guten Statuen des Alten Reichs. Das Profil zeigt, am Rückenpfeiler deutlich abgezeichnet, die üppige Rundung des unteren Rückens. Die Statue einer ptolemäischen Königin in Kairo 678<sup>2</sup> hat einen in starker Rundung vortretenden Bauch, sodass ich bei eigener Untersuchung an den Körper einer Frau, nicht eines Mädchens, gedacht habe; die Brüste quellen mit kugeliger Rundung vor.

Durch die hier zusammengestellte Reihe von Frauenstatuen ist eine Gruppe von Figuren erfasst, die zeitlich und stilistisch zusammen gehören.<sup>3</sup> Unter ihnen nimmt der Torso Simu eine bemerkenswerte Stellung ein, sowohl durch die ungewöhnliche Inschrift wie durch künstlerische Höhe der Körpergestaltung. Wir dürfen kaum hoffen, dass der obere und untere Teil der Statue sich in anderen Sammlungen wiederfindet, denn die Figur scheint nicht aus Gewinnsucht geteilt, sondern zur Vernichtung zertrümmert worden zu sein. Vielleicht ist sie schon im Altertum nach Italien gekommen, etwa nach Pompeji, wie durch den Ankaufsort Neapel nahe gelegt wird; dann könnte ihre Zerstörung bei der Ausrottung des Isis-Dienstes erfolgt sein.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Scharff in *Berliner Museen*, XLIV (1923), S. 2 mit Abb. 2; Schäfer, *Kunst (Propyläen)*, 1925, 426 zu 626; Steindorff, *Geschichte Ägyptens* (1931), 401.

<sup>2</sup> Borchardt, *Statuen*, III (1930), S. 23 und Tafel 124.

<sup>3</sup> Die Reihe liesse sich wesentlich erweitern. An ptolemäischen Statuen nenne ich z. B. noch: schreitende Frau aus Kalkstein, Höhe 50 cm, im Besitz von A. Sambon, Paris, ohne Arme, aus einer Werkstatt, ausgestellt im Oktober 1931 im Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (Tentoonstelling, Catalogus Nr. 309). Photo bei Cohen in: *Bulletin van de*

*Vereeniging tot bevordering der kennis van de antieke beschaving*, 1932, 5 und 9 mit Fig. 4 'äthiopische Zeit'. Nahe verwandt, mit erhaltenen Armen, ist Brüssel E 3037: Kalkstein, H. etwa 1.20 m, 'époque romaine'. Ferner: schreitende Frau aus schwarzem Granit in Wien: Saal 1, Nr. xxxvi (Kopf und Füße fehlen).

<sup>4</sup> Mit ein wenig Phantasie könnte man in dem Torso Simu den einzigen erhaltenen Rest einer der Statuen sehen, die in dem Isis-Tempel in Pompeji aufgestellt gewesen sind: Roeder, 'Isis', in Pauly, *Realenzyklopädie*<sup>2</sup>, Spalte 2109.

## THE SUMERIAN\* TREASURE OF ASTRABAD AGAIN

By M. ROSTOVTZEFF

(With Plates 54, 55, 56.)

IN 1920 I suggested in *J.E.A.* VI, pp. 7 ff.<sup>1</sup> that a set of objects, found in 1841 in Astrabad in Persia and sent later to Teheran to the Treasury of the Shah of Persia, was, in all probability, if not of Sumerian origin certainly of Sumerian character. Since my conclusions were based on very bad drawings made by a Russian diplomat, Baron Bode, shortly after the discovery,<sup>2</sup> I was hoping that my article might lead to the rediscovery of the treasure and that this rediscovery might settle the question of the character of the treasure once and for all. I am sorry to state that these hopes of mine were futile. I was not able myself to visit Teheran in the intervening ten years. However, many gentlemen who had this chance and who looked for the treasure assured me that no trace of the objects can be found at Teheran. The last who made a thorough search for them was Mr. A. Upham Pope. During his prolonged stay in Persia in 1930 he endeavoured to collect all the possible information on the subject. In vain. The objects from Astrabad are not exhibited in the new Archaeological Museum of Teheran and they are apparently not in the Treasury of H.M. the Shah of Persia.

Most of the scholars who mentioned the treasure of Astrabad after the publication of my article agreed with me as regards its Sumerian character.<sup>3</sup> Difference of opinion exists exclusively as regards the explanation of the presence of Sumerian objects in Astrabad: local production, importation, or both. And yet, though nobody has challenged my statements, I have always felt that it was my duty to deal further with the matter, and, since no analysis of the originals was possible, to check up my statements of 1920 in the light of the new evidence on Sumerian culture, life, and art collected during the last ten years. Everybody knows how much has been recently done in this field. The rich finds of Ur, Kish, Warka, Hafadji, Tell Lo, &c., enlarged our information enormously, and it was a natural thought to use the new material for a renewed analysis of some of the objects of Astrabad. This is not the place to deal with all the objects of the

<sup>1</sup> It was at the suggestion of Professor F. Ll. Griffith that this article, which had very little to do with Egypt, was submitted by me to the Editors of the *J.E.A.* It is natural that an addition to it should appear in the volume dedicated to this distinguished scholar, whose interests were never confined to Egypt alone, as a mark of the admiration and gratitude of one of his most devoted fellow-students and friends.

<sup>2</sup> First published in *Archaeologia*, xxx, 1844 p. 250, Pl. xvi, reproduced in *J.E.A.* VI, 1920, p. 6, Pl. III. Cp. on Bode and his travels and scientific publications M. V. Minorsky, 'Transcaucasica', *Journ. Asiat.*, 1930, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Let me quote *exempli causa* H. Frankfort, *Studies in the Early Pottery of the Near East*, I, p. 85, 1924, and II, 1927, p. 150; Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, 1928, p. 52.

find. It would lead me too far and require a much larger space than that which is at my disposal. Let me limit myself to the two most important objects of the find: the gold tumbler or goblet and the almost globular gold vessel with the rather short and slightly curved spout.

I am still uncertain about the exact shape of the vessel which Bode describes as a goblet (Pl. 54*a*). Bode says explicitly that 'from the thinness and pliability of the gold the lower part is much smashed'. He does not say, however, whether his goblet had a bottom or not. His drawing suggests rather that it had none. In this case we may suppose that the thin, cylindrically bent leaf of gold drawn by Bode was either the upper part of a gold vessel in the shape of a tumbler or drinking-horn (many tumblers of gold and silver of various forms were found at Ur, some very similar to drinking-horns) or the gold mounting of a stone, horn, or wooden vessel of the same form. However it may be, the decoration of our goblet with figures in repoussé work is well suited to either a gold tumbler or a gold mounting of a stone vase. The beautiful bowl found recently at Ur, which shows in repoussé work<sup>1</sup> wild goats walking over mountain tops, and the many stone vases adorned with figures in high and low relief recently found at Warka, Ur, and elsewhere<sup>2</sup> show that the decoration of drinking-vessels by means of figures in relief was a common procedure of Sumerian artists. It was equally common to decorate metal vases, especially the upper band or the bottom of them, by means of engraved geometric designs. I may mention *exempli causa* the metal vases from the grave of Queen SHUB.AD at Ur.<sup>3</sup>

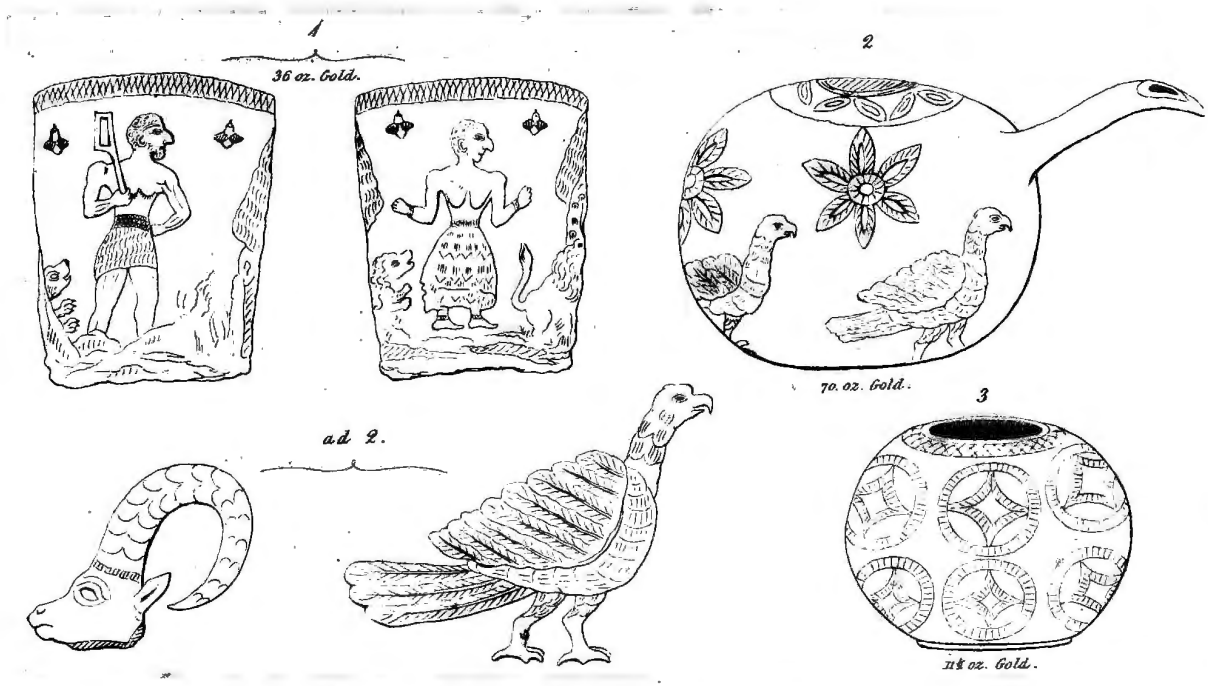
As regards the composition of the scene which adorns the Astrabad 'goblet' the recently discovered monuments gave further confirmation of my suggestions of 1920. I have not the slightest doubt now that the figures of the 'goblet' represent the king and his sword-bearer between two heraldic eagles which are holding in their claws two lions each. The composition is strikingly similar to that of a similar scene which adorns a limestone mace-head in the British Museum (Pls. 55 and 56) inscribed in archaic Babylonian characters with the record of the dedication of a temple to Ningirsu by one of the officers of Eannadu, king of Lagash, for the life of the king.<sup>4</sup> Especially interesting is the sword-bearer who marches behind the king after the cup-bearer. The sword which he is carrying looks very much like the implement which Bode

<sup>1</sup> C. L. Woolley, *Antiquaries' Journal*, IX, 1929, p. 309, Pl. XXIII, 1.

<sup>2</sup> A selection of important vases of this type was published by the late H. R. Hall, *Brit. Mus. Quart.* II, 1927-8, p. 12 ff, Pls. v-vii; I. 2, 1926-7, Pl. XXXII, a; and *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*, 1928, Pls. I-III. The type was, of course, known before the latest discoveries, which supplied us, however, with the most ancient representatives of this class.

<sup>3</sup> C. L. Woolley, *Antiquaries' Journal*, VIII, 1928, Pl. LXX and *Brit. Mus. Quart.* II, 7, 1922-8, p. 102, Pl. LXXI c.

<sup>4</sup> It shows the lion-headed eagle, IM.DUGUD(?), of the god Ningirsu approached by the king, his cup-bearer, and the officer who dedicated the temple carrying a long sword. H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*, 1928, Pl. III.



a. Part of the Treasure of Astrabad



b. Clay pot from Persia. Victoria and Albert Museum



reproduced on p. 279 of his article and which he compares with a pruning-knife. Such an implement, he says, the second figure of his goblet is carrying in its right hand resting on the right shoulder (his drawing of the goblet shows a slightly different implement). It is interesting to note that the type of sword represented on the mace-head of Lagash is not exactly like the 'boomerang' sword of the early Sumerians and may be an earlier and simpler form of a curved sword.

One more remark on the 'goblet'. It may be useful to point out a detail which I neglected to emphasize in my article, namely that the four-leaved rosettes which are represented on the goblet between the figures are the well-known symbolical representations of the sun.

If my comparison of the scene presented on the 'goblet' and that of the mace-head holds good, we may draw from it some interesting conclusions. I do not think that the scene carved on the mace-head of Lagash is one of those scenes which frequently appear on similar objects in the cities of Sumer and Akkad. The scene has a local touch and seems to illustrate a local cult. If I am right the 'goblet' of Astrabad cannot be an object made at Astrabad in the common Sumerian style. It certainly was imported and came ultimately from Lagash, from the treasury of the king or from that of the temple of Ningirsu.

More puzzling than the goblet, even after the new discoveries in Mesopotamia, is the second gold vase of Astrabad—the globular lamp or filler with a slightly curved spout protruding from its upper part. Not that the spout-vessels are rare or uncommon. Spouted vessels of various forms both of clay and stone and of metal are of very common occurrence in the prehistoric and archaic period of Sumer and other places. The form of the pot, if accurately drawn by Bode, is puzzling—a slightly flattened globe with a rather short spout protruding from the vessel almost horizontally and slightly curved. I must confess that my efforts to find a similar vase among the Sumerian metal or clay pots failed. More similar, though not identical, is a clay pot from Persia now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which the late H. R. Hall regarded as belonging to c. 2500 B.C. (Pl. 54*b*).<sup>1</sup> I have not seen anything exactly similar to it, either among the vases found in Mesopotamia or among those which were recently discovered in masses at Nihavand.<sup>2</sup>

However surprising the form may appear, there is no question about the Sumerian character of the decoration of the globular vase. As regards the technique of this decoration nothing positive can be said. Bode's description is so vague that no conclusions can be drawn from it as to whether the technique

<sup>1</sup> At my request Dr. Frankfort has also examined the vase and is of the opinion that it is 'certainly third millennium and I should say very much nearer to 3000 than 2000 B.C.' (Private communication.)

<sup>2</sup> It is rather surprising to note that the nearest parallels to the Astrabad globular vase may be found in the prehistoric period of Mesopotamia, see e.g. C.L. Woolley, *Antiquaries' Journal*, x, 1930, Pl. XLIV c (Ur, pre-flood period, al 'Ubaid I).

is the repoussé technique or that of incised lines. It is a mere guess that the figures of the eagles might be regarded as repoussé while the rosettes and the decorations of the lid might be imagined as being incised. Still more puzzling is the ibex head which is shown on Bode's drawing as if it were broken away from the rest of the figure.<sup>1</sup> According to Bode the figure (or the head alone) occupied the space underneath the spout on the surface of the globular vase.

On the motifs of the decoration of the globular vase little can be added to what I said about it in 1920. It appears more and more evident that the six- or eight-leaved rosette—a solar symbol like the four-leaved rosette, probably representing the planet Venus—was one of the most common motifs of Sumerian art, which appeared over and over again on all sorts of objects and in all sorts of combinations. I may mention, e.g., that rosettes of eight leaves adorn the recently acquired temple trough from Warka in the British Museum<sup>2</sup> and that I saw rosettes of six leaves and of almost exactly the same form as the rosettes of Astrabad represented on a steatite pyxis (shown to me by Mr. Messayeh at Baghdad) of early Sumerian date, found at Hafadji. On the Hafadji pyxis the rosettes accompany the figures of probably solar gods.

Nor are birds uncommon in the repertory of Sumerian art. It is unnecessary to quote examples of their representation. However, it may be noted that the combination of birds and solar rosettes on the vase of Astrabad is probably not a purely decorative motif. In most of the Sumerian monuments which are known to me where birds appear they are parts of religious scenes. Such are the birds represented seated on the backs of bulls on the relief decoration of a very archaic stone vase from Warka, now in the British Museum. Two heroes are represented in very high relief subduing two bulls while the birds sit on the backs of the bulls, taking no part in the activities of the heroes.<sup>3</sup> It is not easy to explain the scene. I am inclined to regard the heroes as solar gods and the bulls as demons of vegetation. In this case the birds may be explained either as helpers of the sun demons, storm-birds or solar birds, or as associates of the bulls, birds which symbolize the water-element like those which appear on the silver vases of the Maikop find. I may add, in this connexion, that an eagle together with a lion and a scorpion, appears in the relief decorations of

<sup>1</sup> One may feel inclined to assign to this beautiful head a much later date than the third millennium B.C. However, recent finds at Ur and at al 'Ubaid have shown what beautiful sculptures of animals the early Sumerians were able to make. Cf. especially the little gold amulet in the form of a goat from Ur, C. L. Woolley, *Antiquaries' Journal*, ix, 1929, Pl. xxviii, 1; *Brit. Mus. Quart.* iv, 2, Pl. xxxv d, and the goat against a tree from the same place, *Brit. Mus. Quart.* v, 2, 1930,

Pl. xix.

<sup>2</sup> H. R. Hall, *Brit. Mus. Quart.* III, 1, p. 39, Pl. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> H. R. Hall, *Brit. Mus. Quart.* II, 1927-8, p. 12 ff., Pl. v b; *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture*, 1928, Pl. II; S. Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 33, Pl. VI, compare the similar vase which shows two lions attacking a bull, H. R. Hall, *Brit. Mus. Quart.* II, 1927-8, Pl. v a; *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture*, Pl. II.



Limestone mace-head in the British Museum, No. 23287

Scale c. 2 : 3







Unrolled design from the mace-head shown on Plate 55.



the Messayeh pyxis, apparently helping the solar gods in their task of killing the vegetation bull.<sup>1</sup>

However it may be, it seems very probable that the rosettes and birds of the Astrabad vase should be explained as religious symbols of a solar religion. The vessel which these symbols decorated might have been one of the set of sacred vessels used in a temple.

The peculiar form of the Astrabad vase, however, and its by no means trivial decoration, for which we found no exact parallels in Mesopotamia, do not allow me to be as positive about the origin of the globular filler as I was about the 'goblet'. One cannot say whether the filler was imported to Astrabad from Mesopotamia or made on the spot or in some other country than Mesopotamia. In general the only object of the Astrabad find of which the Mesopotamian origin is almost certain is the goblet. The rest—and especially the gold mace-head—certainly belong to the same time and to the same environment, but may be explained equally well as products of the Caucasian or Caspian regions, whose connexions with Sumer are more than probable, and not necessarily as products of Sumerian art and industry.

It has been suggested recently to me that the Astrabad find may be regarded as a faked or 'salted' find, i.e. consists of objects of various times and of various origin. This I cannot accept. The set of objects alleged to have been found at Astrabad is homogeneous and certainly belongs to one find. The objects in the find show, of course, connexions which lead in various directions, but they belong all to the same time, the copper age and probably a comparatively early period of the copper age, not later than *c.* 3000 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot dwell on this vase at length since it is still on the market. The style of this vase shows Elamitic affinities and both the style and the subject are reminiscent of the very interesting fragments of a similar vase which was dedicated from the spoils of Elam by Rimush, king of Agade, and was found at Ur in 1923. It repre-

sents heroes or demons fighting animals, one of them grasping the horns of a mountain goat. His gesture and the position of his arms closely resemble the figure of the king on the 'goblet' of Astrabad. See C. L. Woolley, *Antiquaries' Journal*, III, 1923, Pl. XXXIII (U. 231).

# EINE ARCHAISCHE GRABPLATTE DES BERLINER MUSEUMS UND DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER GRABPLATTEN IM FRÜHEN ALTEN REICH

Von ALEXANDER SCHARFF

(Mit Tafel 57)

IM Jahre 1930 erwarb die Berliner ägyptische Sammlung im Antikenhandel ein archaisches Relief, das auf den ersten Blick als Vorläufer der bekannten rechteckigen Grabplatten der 4. Dyn.<sup>1</sup> erkannt wurde und daher hier auch als 'Grabplatte' bezeichnet ist. Die Masse der jetzt unter Nr. 23217 inventarisierten, aus gelbem Kalkstein<sup>2</sup> gearbeiteten Platte sind: H. 16·8 cm, Br. 37 cm, Dicke<sup>3</sup> 5·5 cm, Stärke des rechtwinkligen Rücksprunges links 0·8 cm, rechts 1 cm. Wie die Abbildung zeigt, füllt das Relief nur den 18 cm breiten Mittelteil der Platte aus, während die unverzierten Enden über einer ebenfalls unverzierten, mit dem Relief bündigen Randleiste in rechten Winkeln zurückspringen. Das rechte Ende der Platte ist vollständig erhalten, das linke unweit vom ursprünglichen Rand abgebrochen.

Zuerst sei die Erklärung der Darstellung und der Inschriften gegeben, dann die sachliche Einordnung versucht. Das Relief besteht aus zwei ungleich breiten und verschiedenartig gearbeiteten Hälften. Während die Darstellung und die Schriftzeichen der linken Hälfte in ziemlich dickem Flachrelief ausgeführt sind, sind die Hieroglyphen der rechten Hälfte nur flüchtig eingeritzt;<sup>4</sup> dadurch ist die scharfe, senkrechte Trennungslinie zwischen den Bildhälften entstanden, die, besonders in der Abbildung, wie eine beabsichtigte, tief eingegrabene Grenzlinie erscheint. Die breitere linke Bildhälfte zeigt einen Mann am Speisentisch, darüber Titel und Name, — die schmälere rechte Hälfte enthält die Liste der Stoffe und Speisen. Die Figur des Mannes ist dem archaischen Stil entsprechend noch völlig unproportioniert; Oberkörper und Kopf stehen in keinem Verhältnis zu den kurzen, dünnen Beinen, oder gar zu dem winzig geratenen Stühlchen und Opfertischchen. Die Bekleidung war wohl durch einen jetzt verschwundenen Farbauftrag angegeben. Die linke Hand liegt geballt auf der Brust, der rechte Arm kreuzt den Körper und berührt mit der Handfläche zwei von den auf dem Tisch stehenden Broten.<sup>5</sup> Das Sitzen des

<sup>1</sup> Die Grabplatten wurden zuletzt eingehend von H. Junker, *Giza*, I, S. 23 ff. behandelt; dort auch Hinweise auf andere Publikationen.

<sup>2</sup> Ähnlich ist das Gestein der Berliner archaischen Statue (*Ä.Z.* LVI, Taf. VII); diese Kalksteinart ist bezeichnend für die Gegend von Abusir und Sakkara.

<sup>3</sup> Die Platte war ursprünglich etwas dicker; in der Mitte der Rückseite ist ein Stück modern abgesägt.

<sup>4</sup> Diese verschiedenartige Ausführung der

Darstellung und der Inschriftzeilen kommt auch auf Stelen des MR vor, vgl. *Ä.Z.* LXV, Taf. VII; bei den Grabplatten der 4. Dyn. ist dagegen die Ausführung der gesamten Platte im Flachrelief üblich.

<sup>5</sup> Das Berühren der Brotspitzen auch bei Quibell, *Excav. at Saqqara*, VI, Pl. XXVII. In der 4. Dyn. reicht die rechte Hand nur eben bis zur Tischplatte, so *Giza*, I, Taf. XXVII und Lutz, *Eg. Tomb Steles*, Pl. I und II.

Mannes ist nur durch die Haltung angedeutet, die Oberschenkel berühren die Stuhlfläche nicht. Der Stuhl zeigt beide Beinpaare als Stierbeine gebildet, die Querleiste endet in eine Papyrusdolde, Sitzkissen fehlen.<sup>1</sup> Stuhl und Sitzart sind dieselben wie auf einigen Rollsiegeln mit Speisetischszene aus der spätesten Vorgeschichte oder der 1. Dyn.<sup>2</sup> Der in der 2. und 3. Dyn. feststellbare Versuch, den Mann wirklich auf—nicht über—den Stuhl zu setzen, wird zunächst in der Weise durchgeführt, dass die Beine des Sitzenden in der Zeichnung das vordere Stuhlbeinpaar verdecken, es also aussieht, als hätte der Stuhl nur Hinterbeine.<sup>3</sup> Stuhl und Sitzart der Berliner Grabplatte sind somit also besonders altertümlich. Auch der aus einem glatten, kegigen Fuss mit dicker Platte bestehende Tisch ähnelt mehr den Tischen auf Rollsiegeln,<sup>4</sup> als denen auf späteren Grabplatten, bei denen der Tischfuss entweder unten gegabelt<sup>5</sup> oder nach Art der tönernen Topfständer<sup>6</sup> dreieckig durchbohrt ist.<sup>7</sup> Der Tisch ist vielleicht zweiteilig, also mit besonders gearbeiteter, abnehmbarer Platte zu denken, wie es in ganz früher Zeit die Regel gewesen zu sein scheint.<sup>8</sup> Auf dem Tisch steht ein flacher, gerundeter Korb (☉), aus dem drei Brote herausragen. Die Einfügung des Korbes zwischen den Tisch und die Brote ist von besonderer Bedeutung, denn einmal werden dadurch die später wie Palmwedel oder Schilfblätter aussehenden<sup>9</sup> und manchmal in der älteren Literatur auch so gedeuteten Brote wirklich als solche erwiesen, — ferner kommt der Korb, soviel ich sehe, nur auf einer kleinen Gruppe untereinander ähnlicher Denkmäler der Frühzeit aus der Gegend von Sakkara vor,<sup>10</sup> für die die Einschaltung des Korbes zwischen den Tisch und die Brote geradezu ein Erkennungsmerkmal bildet. Die im Korbe aufrecht stehenden Brote sind wohl als der Länge nach durchgeschnittene Brothälften zu denken, deren Schnittseiten einheitlich auf der rechten Seite angegeben sind.<sup>11</sup> Rechts neben dem Tisch stehen zwei Krüge, von denen der

<sup>1</sup> Der Stuhl entspricht genau dem des *Ḥwḥw* (Giza, I, Taf. xxvii).

<sup>2</sup> z. B. Scharff, *Altentümer der Vor- und Frühzeit*, II, Nr. 145-6.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. z. B. *Saqqara*, VI, Pl. xxviii, 1, 2 (bei 2 sieht man rechts von den menschlichen Vorderbeinen die Querleiste als Papyrus enden); ferner v. Bissing-Bruckmann, Taf. xiv, *Propyläen-kunstgesch.* II, 248 oben (Leiden); Maspero, *Histoire*, p. 250 (Liverpool). Auch die Speisetischszene auf dem Holzpaneel des Hesire gehört in diese Reihe (*Excav. at Saqqara*, v, Pl. xxxi). Dieselbe Darstellungsweise kommt auch manchmal in der 6. Dyn. vor, z. B. Lutz, *Steles*, Pl. 25, Nr. 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Altentümer der Vor- und Frühzeit*, II, Nr. 142, 143, 145.

<sup>5</sup> z. B. *Saqqara*, VI, Pl. xxvi, xxviii (2.-3. Dyn.), Giza, I, Taf. xxvii (4. Dyn.). Gegabelte Tischfüsse kommen vereinzelt auch schon auf

den Rollsiegeln vor, z. B. I. c., Nr. 144, 147.

<sup>6</sup> Quibell-Green, *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. xxxv.

<sup>7</sup> z. B. Lutz, *Steles*, Pl. I und 2, Nr. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. *Altentümer der Vor- und Frühzeit*, I, p. 232.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. dazu Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3. Aufl., p. 160.

<sup>10</sup> *Excav. at Saqqara*, VI, Pl. xxvi, xxviii, 1, 2. und *J.E.A.* IV, Pl. LV; im einzelnen vgl. darüber weiter unten.

<sup>11</sup> Die Körbe der in Anm. 10 zitierten Stücke enthalten je sechs, bzw. vier ebenfalls einseitig gerichtete Brote, alle andern Grabplatten dagegen weit mehr und zwar in zweiseitig symmetrischer Anordnung. — Das älteste Beispiel für aufgerichtete Brote statt wagerecht über dem Tisch liegender enthält das Rollsiegel Nr. 144 in *Altentümer der Vor- und Frühzeit*, II; ebenda Nr. 147 ist dagegen nur eine scheinbare Ausnahme der älteren Art mit wagerecht liegenden

linke einen Krugverschluss trägt. Über dem Tisch und den Krügen sind zwei unregelmässige Fleischstücke und eine geschlachtete, kopflose Gans angegeben; das hier später stets vorhandene Waschgerät zur Fingerspülung nach dem Mahle fehlt.<sup>1</sup>

Über der Speisetischszene stehen Titel und Name des Toten. Das erste Zeichen — ein hockender Mann, der einen oben gegabelten Stock in der linken Hand hält, — dürfte *hrp* zu lesen sein; vgl. den Titel  $\text{𓆎𓆏}^2$ , der sicher  $\text{𓆎𓆏}^3$  gleich zu setzen ist. Das schräg unterhalb von *hrp* 'Leiter' stehende Zeichen, das den abhängigen Genetivausdruck enthalten muss, ist schwer deutbar; trotz der gewölbten Oberkante scheint mir am ehesten das Zeichen des Weingartens  $\text{𓆎𓆏}$  vergleichbar, das in seiner ältesten Form so  $\text{𓆎𓆏}$  aussieht<sup>4</sup> und, worauf mich Grapow hinwies, in alter Zeit als Abkürzung von *km-w* 'Weingarten' gebraucht wird.<sup>5</sup> Der Titel ist also vielleicht durch 'Leiter des Weingartens' wiederzugeben, was im Kreise jener ältesten, die königlichen Weingüter oft erwähnenden Inschriften nicht weiter auffällt. Die folgenden beiden Zeichen enthalten zweifellos den Titel *hrj-šst* 'Geheimrat'<sup>6</sup> und als Bezugswort *pr-šmr* (?) 'des Kammerherrenhauses'.<sup>7</sup> Darunter steht als dritter Titel *šhn-w-šh* 'Sucher des Geistes', ein gerade in der 1. Dyn. üblicher Priestertitel, der unlängst von Sethe besprochen wurde.<sup>8</sup> Unsere Schreibung mit Voranstellung des *šh*-Vogels entspricht der des Ramesseumpapyrus, während auf den Grabsteinen von Abydos eine wohl etwas ältere Schreibweise vorliegt, bei der die Arme von oben den Vogel umfassen und das *nw*-Zeichen fortfällt.<sup>9</sup> Alle drei Titel machen sowohl inhaltlich wie in ihrer Schreibweise einen höchst altertümlichen Eindruck, sodass sie allein schon genügen würden, um die Grabplatte in die zweite Hälfte der 1. Dyn. zu datieren. Für den Eigen-

Brotten. Die Anm. 160b bei Schäfer, l. c., p. 377 ist danach zu berichtigen.

<sup>1</sup> Ohne Waschgefäss auch *Saqqara*, VI, Pl. xxvii; ib. xxviii, 1, ist das Händewaschen durch eine Wasserlinie über einer Schüssel bezeichnet, von der Leidener Grabplatte an durch das bekannte, zweiteilige Waschgerät. Vielleicht entspricht dieser Befund wirklich dem Auftreten des Waschgeräts, das mir nicht vor dem Ende der 2. Dyn. bekannt ist (Petrie, *Roy. Tombs*, II, Pl. ix, 13, Khasekhemui).

<sup>2</sup> *Roy. Tombs*, I, Pl. xxi, 27, von Griffith auf p. 44 mit 'overseer' übersetzt; vgl. dasselbe Zeichen, ib. XIII, 2, von Griffith mit *šhm* umschrieben, und ib. Vol. II, Pl. VIII, 8-10, im Königsnamen *Htp-šhm-wj*. — Die Hieroglyphe des sitzenden Mannes mit dem normal geformten *hrp*-Szepter kommt z. B. auf dem Berliner Opferstein Nr. 7721 aus dem AR vor (*Aeg. Inschr. aus den Kgl. Museen*, I, p. 62); hier hält aber die in die Seite gestützte rechte Hand das Szepter.

<sup>3</sup> *Roy. Tombs*, I, Pl. xxiv, 44.

<sup>4</sup> l. c. II, Pl. xxiii, 193, Ende der 2. Dyn., und öfters.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Sethe in Garstang, *Mahasna and Bet Khallaf*, p. 22 zu Pl. IX, 5a, 5b. — *km-w* kommt ausgeschrieben mit altertümlichem Determinativ Pyr. II 12d vor.








<sup>6</sup> Die Gruppe findet sich mit Innenzeichnung ganz ähnlich auf dem Siegelabdruck, *Roy. Tombs*, I, Pl. xxix, 86 aus dem Ende der 1. Dyn.; vgl. auch Petrie, *Scarabs*, Pl. VI, 152.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. *Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit*, I, Nr. 559, ein Steingefäss der Frühzeit mit Ritzinschrift, in der ein *pr-šmr-ntr-w* vorkommt; dasselbe Haus auch bei Schäfer, *Bruchstück altäg. Annalen*, p. 16, dort *hšf* statt *šmr* gelesen. Vielleicht kommt *pr-šmr* auch in der ersten Zeile der Inschrift auf der archaischen Berliner Statue, Nr. 14277 vor (*Aeg. Inschr. aus den Kgl. Museen*, I, p. 68).

<sup>8</sup> *Dramatische Texte*, p. 193.

<sup>9</sup> z. B. *Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit*, II Nr. 39.

namen bleiben die Zeichen *gm*, *n*, *ś* und das Säckchen *śśr*<sup>1</sup> übrig, sodass der Name des Toten *Gm-n-śśr* (*Gmn-śśr*[?]; statt *śśr* könnte auch *śtj* zu lesen sein) lauten würde,<sup>2</sup> wobei das *ś* als Anlaut von *śśr* angenommen ist. Dass die für den Namen beanspruchten Zeichen nicht sämtlich in *einer* Zeile stehen, ist bei einem so archaischen Denkmal, dem Aufbau und straffe Gliederung ähnlicher Grabplatten der Pyramidenzeit noch fremd sind, nicht weiter auffällig.


Die rechte Bildhälfte enthält oben die verschiedenen Stoffarten. Bekannt sind der zweite und vierte Stoff, *śśr*, mit dem Zeichen des Pfeils geschrieben,<sup>3</sup> und *ś·t*. Der den ersten Stoff bezeichnende kleine Vogel sieht wie der *wr*-Vogel () aus, doch gibt es keine so benannte Stoffart. Es liegt daher nahe, in dem Vogel einen reichlich klein geratenen Falken () zu sehen,<sup>4</sup> sodass auch unsere Stoffliste wie alle späteren mit dem *idmj*-Stoff ()<sup>5</sup> begonnen hätte. Der dritte Stoffname  *b* (oder wegen des Fehlens der für *b* charakteristischen Feder *gb*?) ist sonst nicht bekannt,<sup>6</sup> also später wohl nicht mehr üblich gewesen. *Idmj*, *śśr* und *ś·t* kommen gerade in dieser Reihenfolge auch auf den meisten Grabplatten der 2. bis 4. Dyn. vor,<sup>7</sup> sodass also hierin die Zugehörigkeit des Berliner Reliefs zu jenen Grabplatten ganz besonders deutlich wird. Die Einzelangaben zu den Stoffen sind dagegen weniger klar und ermangeln der späteren Übersichtlichkeit. Ein Mehrfaches der Einheit  [*śdb*?] kommt auch in andern Stofflisten vor,<sup>8</sup> dann stehen die -Zeichen aber allein, nicht in Verbindung mit dem rechteckigen Zeugstück , dessen verknotete Fransenkante sie möglicherweise bezeichnen.<sup>9</sup> Da die drei andern Stoffe nicht durch


<sup>1</sup> Vgl. dazu Gardiners Aufsatz im *Bull. de l'Inst. franç.*, xxx, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Angesichts der fraglichen Lesung wage ich keine Deutung des Namens zu geben. Man denkt unwillkürlich an die mit *Gmn* beginnenden Namen wie *Gmn-wśr*, *Gmn-m-h·t*, die Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, p. 126 behandelt hat, und möchte auch im *Gmn* unsres Namens den Namen eines selten vorkommenden, unbedeutenden Lokalgottes von Sakkara erkennen, zumal unsere Grabplatte mit Sicherheit aus dieser Gegend stammt. Der Schluss von Gunns Ausführungen spricht allerdings gegen diese Annahme.

<sup>3</sup> Pfeil ohne eingekittete Spitze; vgl. dazu *Giza*, 1, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Man denke an den geduckten Falken der frühen 1. Dyn., z. B. auf der Narmerpalette.

<sup>5</sup> Zur Lesung vgl. *Giza*, 1, p. 177. — Auch in unsrer Liste hockt der Vogel offenbar auf einem Traggestell, und zwar wächst dieses ähnlich wie bei der Schreibung von *idmj* in *Pyr.* 1202b aus dem rechten Ende des Stoffdeterminativs heraus. An sich sieht das Traggestell auf unserm Relief zwar mehr wie ein -Zeichen aus, aber die gegebene Deutung muss dem Zusammenhang

nach doch wohl richtig sein. Höchstens könnte an eine Kombination der drei Zeichen  für *idmj* (*Pyr.* 42b, c) gedacht werden.





<sup>6</sup> *B*, 'Pantherfell', übrigens in den Opferlisten meist mit dem Pantherkopf geschrieben, kommt wohl nicht in Betracht; es wird mit einem Schurz, nicht mit dem gewöhnlichen Kleiderzeichen determiniert und steht in den Listen nie in der Reihe der Stoffe, sondern unter den Einzeldingen vgl. z. B. *Aeg. Inschr. aus den Kgl. Museen*, 1, p. 81, 'Opferliste des Meten'.

<sup>7</sup> z. B. *Excav. at Saqqara*, VI, Pl. xxvii und *Giza*, 1, Taf. xxvii.





<sup>8</sup> z. B. *Excav. at Saqqara*, l. c. oder Lutz, *Steles*, Pl. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. das Wort *śdb* in der Bauerngeschichte, das Sethe in den *Erläuterungen zu den ägypt. Lesestücken*, p. 24, in diesem Sinne erklärt (gegen *Wörterbuch*, IV, p. 368). Grapow verteidigt die Wörterbuchauffassung mit dem Hinweis auf das gegensätzliche Wort *npnp·t* an derselben Stelle der Bauerngeschichte, das seinerseits auf Grund der Schreibung in *Pyr.* 1426b (bei M.) die Fransenkante bezeichnen müsse.



besondere Webarten wie später bezeichnet, sondern lediglich durch  — offenbar eine ältere Form des späteren Kleiderdeterminativs  — möchte ich auch  bei *ššr* lediglich als Determinativ auffassen. Der *ššr*-Stoff hätte danach verknotete, die andern drei Stoffe dagegen einfache Fransen gehabt. Vielleicht bezeichnen die vier Striche unter dem *idmj*-Stoff und die acht Striche unter dem *ššr*-Stoff die Webart 'vierfach,' bzw. 'achtfach' o. ä.<sup>1</sup> Die beiden übrigen Stoffarten wären dann ohne Webbezeichnung. Es bleibt ein rechts ausserhalb der Stoffarten stehendes Zeichen übrig, das sicher , die Zahl 1000, darstellen soll und wohl zu jeder der vier Stoffarten gehört; in den Stofflisten des AR ist das Zahlzeichen 1000 fast regelmässig jeder Stoffart beige beschrieben.<sup>2</sup>

Unter den Stoffen folgen drei Zeichen ohne Zahlangaben. Das mittlere zeigt eine typische Steingefässform der 2. Dyn.;<sup>3</sup> das linke entspricht genau dem Opfertisch der linken Bildhälfte. Das rechte Zeichen ist unklar; neben den beiden Steingegenständen wird damit vielleicht ein hochrandiger Steinnapf gemeint sein.<sup>4</sup>

Ein Trennungsstrich teilt die Stoffe und Steingefässe von der eigentlichen Opferliste ab. Sie ist aus Raummangel sehr kurz ausgefallen, und die Zeichen drängen sich ungeordnet zusammen. Das mehrfach vorkommende Zeichen  (fast wie *dbn* aussehend) ist sicher das Zahlzeichen  $\mathfrak{s}$ , 100.<sup>5</sup> Die Liste enthält: (1) 200 *ht*-Brote (ältere Form von *htj*); das Determinativ, das genau so bei 'Bier' steht und darum vielleicht als ein allgemeines Zeichen für 'Nahrungsmittel' in ältester Zeit aufzufassen ist, sieht wie ein spitz geratenes -Brot aus.<sup>6</sup> (2) 100 *ph*-Brote [?]; ob entsprechend dem *ht* für *htj* hier die *phj*-Frucht () gemeint ist? *ph* oder *phj* kommt auf den andern, hier oft verglichenen Grabplatten, soviel ich sehe, nicht vor. (3) 100 *hk·t* 'Bier-(krüge)', aber nur *hk* geschrieben<sup>7</sup> und mit demselben Zeichen wie *ht* und *ph* determiniert. (4) 100 *ph*-Brote [?], genau wie (2). Die untere Reihe ist teilweise schwer lesbar. (5) Ein Krug (wohl für *irp* 'Wein') und Zahlangabe 200 (vielleicht 300). (6) *šp*, darunter ein Krug und darunter Zahlangabe 200 [?]. (7) *hp*, darunter ein Krug und neben ihm Zahlangabe 200 [?]. Zu den beiden letzten Getränken sei die Gruppe  *šph* mit zwei Krügen darunter verglichen, die auf einer der Quibellschen Grabplatten vorkommt.<sup>8</sup> Vielleicht sind unsere Gruppen

<sup>1</sup> In der Stoffliste des Metengrabes sind die Webarten beim *idmj*-Stoff ebenfalls nur durch senkrechte Striche bezeichnet (*Aeg. Inschr. aus den Kgl. Museen*, I, p. 81).

<sup>2</sup> z. B. *Excav. at Saqqara*, VI, Pl. XXVII, *ht* ebenfalls in archaischer Form, später in der üblichen Zeichenweise, z. B. bei Lutz, *Steles*, Pl. I u. o.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. *Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit*, I, Nr. 590.

<sup>4</sup> Ich denke an Alabasterschalen etwa wie

l. c. Nr. 671, 2. Dyn.

<sup>5</sup> Ähnliche Zeichenform in *Excav. at Saqqara*, VI, Pl. XXVII, ganz unten rechts.

<sup>6</sup> Ähnliche Zeichenform, aber ohne schwarzen Punkt innen, l. c. in der 2. Zeile der Mittelgruppe, ebenfalls als Determinativ von *ht* statt *htj*.

<sup>7</sup> Ohne Femininendung auch Murray, *Saqq. Mast.* I, Pl. I in der Opferliste: *hk ndm·t* 'süsses Bier' (3. Dyn.).

<sup>8</sup> *Excav. at Saqqara*, VI, Pl. XXVII, rechts Mitte.

(6) und (7) trotz des zweiten □ ebenso zusammen zu ziehen. Ein Getränk *šph* scheint sonst unbekannt zu sein,<sup>1</sup> auch auf den Grabplatten der 4. Dyn. kommt es nicht vor.

Soweit die Beschreibung der Darstellung und die Erklärung der Inschriften, deren Gesamtanordnung deutlich daraufhinweist, dass wir in dem Relief einen Vorläufer der Grabplatten der 3. und 4. Dyn. vor uns haben. Was die genauere Datierung anlangt, so weisen die Speisetischszene und die Titel mindestens in die 2., wahrscheinlich jedoch noch in die zweite Hälfte der 1. Dyn. Das Relief könnte vielleicht sogar bezeichnend für den Stilwandel während der 1. Dyn. genannt werden, denn Stuhl und Sitzweise entsprechen den Siegelbildern der 1. Dyn. und der Falke des *idmj*-Stoffes hat noch die frühe, geduckte Haltung; andererseits zeigt der Titel *šhn-w-šh* eine entwickeltere Schreibweise als auf den Grabsteinen von Abydos, und einige Hieroglyphen der Titel und des Namens haben schon die klassischen Formen (z. B. *šh*, *gm*, *n*, der Schakal).

Die nächsten, wenn auch etwas jüngeren Verwandten des Berliner Reliefs sind die von Quibell auf dem Frühzeitfriedhof von Sakkara gefundenen, schon mehrfach zitierten Grabplatten (vgl. p. 347, Anm. 10), zu denen unser Stück auch insofern passt, als die Händlerangaben hinsichtlich des Fundortes in der Tat auf die Gegend von Sakkara weisen; Oberägypten kommt jedenfalls als Herkunftsgegend des Reliefs nicht in Frage. Alle drei Platten Quibells zeigen die gleichen, unverzierten Rücksprünge wie unser Stück; sie dürften also sämtlich in gleicher Weise im Grabe verwendet gewesen sein. Quibell setzt seine Reliefs in die 2. Dyn. (p. 10), was richtig sein wird und den stilistischen Fortschritt gegenüber dem Berliner Relief gut zum Ausdruck bringt. *In situ* gefunden ist leider nur die am schlechtesten erhaltene Grabplatte Quibells (Pl. xxviii, 2); er sagt von ihr (p. 10), dass sie aus gelbem Kalkstein besteht, was wiederum den Zusammenhang mit dem Berliner Relief bestärkt, und ferner bemerkt er über die Fundumstände (p. 35, Grab 2331): 'in south niche, on the side facing east, a slab from above the tambour showing the deceased seated before the table of offerings.' Ich glaube, dass diese etwas sehr kurze Beschreibung nur so verstanden werden kann, dass 'a slab' gefunden wurde, wie er sonst 'above the tambour' bei den Scheintüren vorzukommen pflegt. Wie allgemein bekannt ist, sitzt ja die Speisetischszene samt der Stoff- und Opferliste in den Mastabas von der 4. Dyn. an<sup>2</sup> in den Scheintüren oberhalb des runden Türsturzes

<sup>1</sup> Ob *šph* etwa eine ältere Form von *šhp-t* ist, einem Getränk, das schon in einer Opferliste der 3. Dyn. (Murray, l. c.) neben Bier vorkommt?

<sup>2</sup> Das gilt nur für Sakkara (z. B. Meten) und Medum (z. B. Rahotep), für Gise dagegen erst vom Ende der 4. Dyn. an. Es ist wichtig hervorzuheben, dass das Grab des Meten anscheinend der älteste Beleg für die Einfügung

der Speisetischszene in die Scheintür ist; bei Hesire und Chabausoker (beide ebenfalls Sakkara) handelt es sich noch um Nischen ohne die ausgesprochene Scheintürform. Nur auf Grund der auch auf Grabplatten in der Scheintür belegten, glatten Rücksprünge zu folgern, die Quibellschen Platten und die neue Berliner müssten Teile von Scheintüren gewesen sein,

(tambour) und des Architravs. Da in der Quibellschen Beschreibung aber nichts von der Auffindung sonstiger Reste einer Scheintür<sup>1</sup> gesagt ist, die in den späteren Gräbern samt der Speisetischszene in der Regel aus *einem* Blocke gearbeitet ist, kann diese nur so verstanden werden, dass das Relief mit der Speisetischszene, das zur Zeit jener Ausgrabung in der Regel nur in Verbindung mit der Scheintür bekannt war, hier selbständig in der Südnische an der Ostseite des Grabes sass. Nach dem von Quibell auf Pl. I gegebenen Plan ist die Anlage auch völlig deutlich: es handelt sich bei Grab 2331 um eine Ziegelmastaba (10.65 × 5.63 m) ohne Kultkammer im Inneren, sondern nur mit zwei Nischen an der Ostseite, einer kleineren im Norden, einer grösseren im Süden; vor dieser, die besagte Platte enthielt, ist ein kleiner Ziegelvorbau wohl als Kultraum errichtet. Für die beiden andern Quibellschen und für die Berliner Grabplatte dürfen wir danach wohl ähnliche Fundumstände annehmen, zumal grosse Ziegelgräber von der 1. Dyn. an auf demselben Friedhof belegt sind.<sup>2</sup> Die unverzierten Rücksprünge auf beiden Seiten unserer wie der Quibellschen Platten dürften dann künstlerisch innerhalb der Ziegelarchitektur so zu verstehen sein, dass sie das Relief in der Mitte möglichst vorteilhaft aus der Steinplatte hervortreten lassen, andererseits selbst durch ihre glatten Flächen überleiten sollten zur umgebenden, glatten Ziegelnische.

Die Feststellung über die Anbringung der einen Quibellschen Grabplatte in der Südnische des Grabes 2331 ist ausserordentlich wichtig, denn sie besagt nichts Geringeres, als dass wir hier eine Vorstufe der typischen steinernen Gise-Mastaba der 4. Dyn. vor uns haben, wie sie Junker uns in seiner grundlegenden Publikation kennen gelehrt hat.<sup>3</sup> Wir können also jetzt den Typ der zur scheintürlosen Mastaba gehörigen Grabplatte, der uns am vollendetsten und ohne Rücksprünge bei den Gräbern der 4. Dyn. in Gise entgegentritt, bis zur zweiten Hälfte der 1. Dyn. zurückverfolgen. Der Vergleich der Darstellungen innerhalb der Reihe ist, soweit er unsere älteste Platte betrifft, in der obigen Beschreibung mit den dazugehörigen Anmerkungen enthalten. Auch die

erscheint mir allzu gewagt. Die zwar dürftigen Fundumstände der Quibellschen Platten sprechen durchaus gegen diese Folgerung. Auch kann die vorspringende untere Querleiste der Berliner Platte nicht mit dem Architrav der Scheintür verglichen werden, da sie zum grossen Teil zur Anbringung der Bilder und Inschriften der Grabplatte selbst mitverwendet ist.

<sup>1</sup> Auch nichts über eine Scheintür aus Ziegeln. Sonst könnte an eine Anlage wie bei Cl. Fisher, *Minor Cem. at Giza*, pl. 21, gedacht werden, die aber frühestens des 4. Dyn. angehört. Hier sitzen oben in einer richtigen Ziegelscheintür der beschriftete, steinerne Türsturz (tambour) und darüber ein breiter Steinarchitrav nebst Speisetischszene aus einem Stück.

<sup>2</sup> *Excav. at Saqqara*, VI, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. *Giza*, I, p. 77 und die Grundrisse der einzelnen Mastabas. Vgl. ferner den Grundriss einer Normalmastaba der 4. Dyn. Giza, I, p. 15 mit dem Grundriss der Mastaba 2331 bei Quibell; sie stimmen bis auf das Fehlen der Nordnische bei dem Beispiel von Gise fast vollkommen überein; der Unterschied liegt allein im Baumaterial, Kalkstein in Gise, Ziegel in Sakkara. Eine nördliche Nische in Gise z. B. in *Annales du Serv.* XIII, Pl. vrb (Reisner).—Es ist sehr schade, dass die schon 1923 erschienene Quibellsche Sakkarapublikation Junker offenbar entgangen ist; sie wird nirgends von ihm erwähnt.



Archaische Grabplatte, Berlin Nr. 23217

Massstab 4 : 7



Mastaba des Hesire in Sakkara gehört zu dem hier besprochenen Grabtyp, wenn sie auch eine ganz besondere Eigenform mit ihren zwölf an einem Korridor liegenden Nischen darstellt. Unter den in den Nischen gefundenen Holzpaneelen wird das eine mit der Opfertischszene die steinerne Grabplatte vertreten haben;<sup>1</sup> ob gerade dies Paneel, wie zu erwarten wäre, in der südlichsten Nische sass, ist heute nicht mehr festzustellen. Der Kultvorbau aus Ziegeln, den die sonst ganz aus Stein errichteten Gise-Mastabas der 4. Dyn. fast regelmässig aufweisen, ist der letzte Überrest der Gesamtanlage aus Ziegeln, wie sie uns besonders klar in den Mastabas 2331 und 2309 in Sakkara aus der 2. Dyn. vorliegt.

Da also die Grabplatte mit der Speisetischszene bis in die zweite Hälfte der 1. Dyn. zurückreicht, erheischt nunmehr die Frage eine neue Untersuchung, ob bei ihr Beziehungen zu den aus ähnlich früher Zeit stammenden Grabsteinen von Abydos nachweisbar sind oder nicht. Junker hat diese Frage ausführlich behandelt und glaubt sie nachdrücklichst bejahen zu können (vgl. p. 346, Anm. 1). Ich bin auf Grund obiger Darlegungen anderer Meinung und glaube, vor allem unter Berücksichtigung der Sakkaraplatte und der neuen Berliner Platte, Verschiedenes gegen Junkers Beweisführung vorbringen zu können. Hinsichtlich der von Junker grundsätzlich aufgeworfenen Frage, ob die Grabplatte der 4. Dyn. aus der Scheintür herausgenommen oder ob sie selbständig entstanden sei, kann jetzt auf Grund der obigen Darlegungen gar kein Zweifel mehr sein, dass Junker mit der Bejahung der zweiten Möglichkeit vollkommen im Recht war. Bei den hierauf zum Vergleich herangezogenen Grabsteinen von Abydos untersucht Junker sowohl die Art ihrer Aufstellung wie ihre Bedeutung. Die Aufstellung der Königsstelen und der Privatgrabsteine in Abydos ist noch sehr umstritten. Unter letzteren gibt es bekanntlich oben abgerundete und rechteckige Stelen; beide Arten sind stets höher als breit, während die steinernen Grabplatten von Sakkara und Gise durchweg breiter als hoch sind. Bei zahlreichen oben gerundeten Stelen zeigt bekanntlich der roh gelassene Sockel einwandfrei, dass sie, vermutlich freistehend, in den Boden eingelassen waren. Bei den rechteckigen Stelen ist eine Einmauerung in die Wand möglich, aber es liegt keinerlei Beweis dafür vor. Es dürften also, was übrigens auch Junker zugibt, von der Aufstellungsart der abydenischen Stelen allein keine Beziehungen zu den Grabplatten von Sakkara und Gise herzuleiten sein. Die oben gerundeten Stelen der Könige und Privaten will Junker in der Weise erklären, dass die Rundung die Wölbung des Grabtumulus wiederholen solle. Von gewölbten Tumulis wissen wir aber in Abydos nicht das geringste, und es darf zur Widerlegung dieser Ansicht nur auf die ebenfalls gerundeten Stelen vor der Pyramide von Medum hingewiesen werden,<sup>2</sup> bei deren Form weder von einer Nachahmung des flachen Kulttempeldaches und noch viel weniger von einem Vergleich mit dem Grabmal selbst — der Pyramide — die Rede sein kann. Wenn

<sup>1</sup> Quibell, *Excav. at Saqqara*, v, Pl. xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> University of Pennsylvania, *Museum Journal*, vol. xxii, No. 1, Pl. xxxi (Rowe).

Junker, ausgehend von der nicht beweisbaren Annahme, die gerundeten Stelen seien wahrscheinlich vermauert gewesen, es nun für möglich hält, eine solche Stele hätte ebenso gut in die Mauer einer Ziegelmastaba eingelassen und von einem Ziegelbogen oben umkleidet werden können,<sup>1</sup> so mutet er meines Erachtens dem ägyptischen Kunstempfinden der Frühzeit und der frühen Pyramidenzeit etwas Unmögliches zu; der Ägypter würde niemals in die ganz auf breite, wagerechte Formen eingestellte Mastabafrent, die höchstens durch ein paar kräftige Senkrechte — die Nischen — gegliedert wurde, eine Stelenrundung und einen dadurch nötigen Ziegelbogen aufgenommen haben. Deckenwölbungen von Innenräumen oder Gängen sind etwas ganz anderes.

Sind also auf Grund der Stelenformen und ihrer Aufstellungsart wohl schwerlich greifbare Beziehungen zu den Grabplatten festzustellen, so ist dies noch weniger der Fall, wenn wir nach der Bedeutung der Stelen von Abydos fragen. Junker gibt zu, dass das eigentliche Sinnbild der Opferstelle — die Speisetischszene —, die den Grabstein über den gewöhnlichen 'Denkstein' hinaus zum 'Kultstein' emporhebt, nirgends auf den Stelen von Abydos vorkommt, auch nicht auf der fortgeschrittensten unter ihnen, der hochrechteckigen des Sabef.<sup>2</sup> Trotzdem nimmt er an, dass die Stelen nicht blosse Denksteine gewesen seien, sondern dass sie ebenso gut Opferstellen bezeichnet hätten. Bei den Grabsteinen von Männern und Frauen könnte diese Bedeutung schliesslich anzunehmen sein, aber bei den in keiner Weise verschiedenen Stelen von Zwergen und gar bei den ebenso gleichartigen der Hunde, die Junker ausser Betracht lässt, dürfte doch eine solche Ausdehnung der Bedeutung der Stele völlig ausgeschlossen sein. Die Folgerung kann daher nur sein: was für die Hundestelen gilt, muss für alle Stelen gelten, dafür ist die Gleichartigkeit der ganzen Stelengruppe nach Aussehen und Fundorten zu gross. Ich glaube darum, man muss bei der alten Deutung bleiben, dass das grosse Gefolge des Königs samt den Hunden in der Nähe des Herrschers bestattet wurde,<sup>3</sup> um ihm im Jenseits zu Diensten zu sein, dass also die Grabsteine, sofern sie frei an der Oberfläche standen, wie ein steinernes Gefolge die überragenden Königsgrabsteine umstanden. Geopfert wurde sicher nur dem Herrscher, der in der Vorstellung des Opfernden möglicherweise dann von den ihm dargebrachten Opfern an sein Gefolge abgab, — aber darüber wissen wir nichts. Auf alle Fälle liegt nach den Funden der Schwerpunkt bei der Königs-

<sup>1</sup> *Giza*, I, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Roy. Tombs*, I, Pl. xxx.

<sup>3</sup> Ursprünglich wohl gewaltsam wie im MR noch im nubischen Kerma; vielleicht liegt in der völlig abgeschlossenen Anlage des k' ein Rückfall in diese barbarische Sitte vor, *Roy. Tombs*, I, Pl. lx. — Zugegeben sei, dass sich manche dieser Reihengräber nicht unmittelbar um ein Königsgrab herumziehen (z. B. *Petrie's Cemetery W* oder *Tombs of the Courtiers*), auch haben sich gewiss

schon in jener ältesten Zeit zahlreiche nicht zum Königsgefolge gehörige Personen auf dem Königsgräberfriedhof bestatten lassen. Die einzelne Opferstelle wird also auch hier wie anderwärts vorgekommen sein; das Wesentliche aber ist, dass es sich ursprünglich in Abydos nur um die Bestattung des von seinem Gefolge begleiteten Herrschers gehandelt hat, wobei Einzelopferstellen für den oder jenen Gefolgsmann wohl kaum zugelassen waren.

bestattung, die über den Einzelbestattungen des Gefolges vollkommen dominiert. Ich glaube daher nicht, dass man den Privatstelen dieselbe Bedeutung wird unterschieben dürfen wie den Grabplatten von Sakkara und Gise, die sämtlich schon in der Frühzeit die Opferstelle einer selbständigen, privaten Grabanlage bezeichnen.

Noch in der 3. Dyn. scheint in der Gegend von Abydos die Bezeichnung der Opferstelle im Grabe durch die Speisetischszene nicht bekannt gewesen zu sein, sodass also am Anfang der Pyramidenzeit hierin ein recht wesentlicher Unterschied gegenüber den Gräbern von Sakkara und Gise festzustellen wäre. Das Material reicht allerdings für einen sicheren Beweis dieser Ansicht noch bei weitem nicht aus.<sup>1</sup> Bei der in einer Ziegelnische sitzenden, hölzernen Scheintür des Schepses in Rekakne,<sup>2</sup> die der 3. Dyn. angehört, ist alles oberhalb des runden Türsturzes und des Architravs weggebrochen, sodass wir nicht sagen können, ob hier einst die Speisetischszene — etwa wie im Metengrab in Sakkara — angebracht war. In der Scheintür selbst ist nur der Tote stehend ohne Gabentisch dargestellt. Auf der ebendaher stammenden Stele des Sa-meri steht der Tote ebenfalls mit seinen beiden Stäben in den Händen, vor ihm sieht man einige Speisen, aber keinen Speisentisch.<sup>3</sup>

Als durchschlagendes Beweisstück für die vermeintlichen Zusammenhänge der Stelen von Abydos mit den Grabplatten von Gise betrachtet Junker die von Gardiner veröffentlichte archaische Stele im Bankfield Museum zu Halifax.<sup>4</sup> Sie ist oben gerundet, stimmt also hierin mit den entsprechenden Stelen von Abydos überein. Dieser Befund genügt Junker, um die Bankfield-Stele als abydenisch zu bezeichnen. Dagegen sprechen aber gewichtige Gründe. Einmal ist für die Bankfield-Stele bemerkt, dass sie 'of a pale buff colour' und 'very hard' sei, wobei Gardiner an 'a siliceous limestone' dachte und ich zumal wegen der Farbangabe an den gelben, harten Sakkarakalkstein erinnern möchte, aus dem die Berliner Grabplatte und mindestens eine der Quibellschen besteht. Ferner hat der thronartige Sessel, auf dem der Tote am Speisentische sitzt, seine einzige mir bekannte Parallele in der besterhaltenen Quibellschen Platte,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Auch muss man fragen, ob nicht etwa die alabasterne Grabtafel in Leiden, die wohl in die 3. Dyn. gehört, und andere ähnliche herkunftslose Stücke aus der Gegend von Abydos stammen können? Ich sehe allerdings keinen Grund, der dafür spräche.

<sup>2</sup> Garstang, *Third Egyptian Dynasty*, p. 49, Pl. 25, 28, 29.

<sup>3</sup> l. c., p. 41, Pl. 28. — Die Stele ist sehr schlecht reproduziert, in Strichzeichnung auch bei Weill, *II et III<sup>e</sup> Dyn.* p. 211. Das Original habe ich leider nie gesehen. Trotzdem möchte ich die Vermutung nicht unterdrücken, dass diese Stele nicht aus der 3. Dyn. stammt, sondern eine

schlechte Provinzarbeit aus dem Ende des AR ist. Dafür scheint mir ausser dem Stil der Darstellung und der Inschrift vor allem die Grabanlage zu sprechen: ein einfaches, viereckiges Schachtgrab, vor einer sicheren 3. Dyn.-Mastaba gelegen, mit niedriger Mauerung an der Oberfläche, in deren Ostseite die Stele eingelassen war. Die Fundbeschreibung erinnert genau an das Aussehen einfacher Schachtgräber mit oberirdischer Stele in Gise, die dort für den Ausgang des AR bezeichnend sind.

<sup>4</sup> *J.E.A.* IV, p. 256 und Pl. LV.

<sup>5</sup> *Excav. at Saqqara*, VI, Pl. xxvi.



auf der die Tote auf einem ähnlichen bequemen Sessel mit Rückenlehne sitzt. Weiter ist bedeutungsvoll, dass die Brote in einem Korb auf dem Tisch stehen, was nur auf der kleinen Gruppe der Sakkaraplatten belegt ist (s. oben). Schliesslich hat der Fuss des Opfertisches die in Gise übliche, dreieckig durchbrochene Form.<sup>1</sup> Alles in allem steht die Bankfield-Stele stilistisch der besten Quibellschen Grabplatte am nächsten, was auch für die zeitliche Bestimmung — 2. Dyn. — gilt.<sup>2</sup> Ich stehe also nicht an, im Gegensatz zu Junker die Bankfield-Stele trotz ihrer gerundeten Form für die frühe Reliefkunst von Sakkara in Anspruch zu nehmen. Sie stellt die Verschmelzung der abydenischen Stelenform mit der Darstellungsweise von Sakkara dar, wobei die letztere meiner Meinung nach durchaus das Übergewicht hat. Man darf die Bankfield-Stele vielleicht mit den ebenfalls formal von Abydos entlehnten grossen Stelen von Medum vergleichen und wird dann annehmen, dass auch sie wie die Medumstelen frei aufgestellt gewesen war.

Ich glaube damit gezeigt zu haben, dass eine Abhängigkeit der Grabplatten von Sakkara und Gise von den abydenischen Grabstelen nicht in Frage kommen kann. Wir müssen vielmehr, was auch gar nicht verwunderlich ist, zwei völlig verschiedene Grabsteinarten für die Frühzeit annehmen: den wohl meist freistehenden, abgerundeten oder hochrechteckigen Grabstein von Abydos ohne Speisetischszene und die eingemauerte, quer rechteckige Grabplatte von Sakkara mit Speisetischszene. Ein Kompromiss aus beiden stellt die Bankfield-Stele dar, die aber den Entwicklungsgang der Grabplatte nicht beeinflusst hat; eine von ihr ausgehende Einwirkung auf die Darstellungsweise der abydenischen Grabsteine ist aus Mangel an Material ebensowenig nachweisbar. Die Speisetischszene als Opferstelle scheint also, wenn man so sagen darf, eine memphitische Erfindung zu sein. Die einzige Denkmälergruppe, die als noch ältere Besitzerin der Speisetischszene in Betracht kommt, sind die Rollsiegel. Bei ihnen gibt es eine Gruppe zweifellos amulettartigen Charakters, die den Toten an dem mit Broten belegten Speisetische sitzend zeigt (vgl. p. 347, Anm. 11). Bei diesen Rollsiegeln sind aber leider die Herkunftsorte nur in den allerseltensten Fällen bekannt,<sup>3</sup> sodass sie auf die Frage nach dem ursprünglichen Entstehungsgebiet der Speisetischszene keine sicher verwertbare Antwort geben können.<sup>4</sup> In den Königsgräbern von Abydos scheint die fragliche Gruppe jedenfalls zu fehlen, was vielleicht von Bedeutung ist.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> z. B. Lutz, *Steles*, Pl. 2, Nr. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Die Bankfieldstele ist ihrem Schriftcharakter nach zweifellos jünger als die Berliner Platte; daran ändert auch das Vorkommen des Namens Neithotep nichts (s. *Giza*, I, p. 27 Anm.). Die weniger geschickte Gruppierung der Darstellung und der Schriftzeichen dürfte die Folge des erstmaligen Versuches sein Speisetischszene und Liste auf einer schmalen, oben gerundeten Stele unterzubringen.

<sup>3</sup> z. B. Reisner, *Naga ed-Der*, I, Pl. 43, 44.

<sup>4</sup> Ich will nicht verschweigen, dass mir gewisse Gründe dafür zu sprechen scheinen, dass die beschrifteten Rollsiegel wie die Schrift selbst letzten Endes aus Unterägypten stammen. Und Memphis (Sakkara), wo wir die älteste rollsiegelähnliche Speisetischszene auf Stein — eben auf der neuen Berliner Grabplatte — fanden, eröffnet bekanntlich die Reihe der unterägyptischen Gae. Vgl. zu dieser Frage Newberry, *Scarabs*, p. 51 und meinen Aufsatz in *Ä.Z.* LXVII, p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> Aus den Königsgräbern stammen die

Wie die Beziehungen zu den Rollsiegeln auch gewesen sein mögen, soviel dürfte feststehen, dass die Speisetischszene unbeeinflusst von den abydenischen Grabsteinen zum ersten Mal auf einer steinernen Grabplatte gegen Ende der 1. Dyn. in der Gegend von Sakkara erscheint und dass sie in entwickelterer, aber noch nicht endgültiger Form<sup>1</sup> auf drei Grabplatten der 2. Dyn. in Sakkara wiederkehrt, von denen eine *in situ* in einer Mastabanische gefunden wurde. Während der 3. Dyn. wird die künstlerisch nunmehr fertige Grabplatte<sup>2</sup> sowohl in Sakkara (z. B. Meten) wie in Medum (z. B. Rahotep, frühe 4. Dyn.) in die Scheintür aufgenommen.<sup>3</sup> In Gise dagegen übernahm man in der 4. Dyn. unter Cheops die Grabplatte von Sakkara so, wie sie dort in den frühen Ziegelmastabas verwendet worden war, und schmückte damit die Ostwand der jetzt aus gewaltigen Blöcken errichteten, grossartig schlichten Steinmastaba. Dass bald nach der eigenwilligen Bauweise der Cheopszeit auch in Gise wie vorher in Sakkara und Medum die mit der Grabplatte verschmolzene Scheintür die Vorherrschaft gewann, ist bekannt und bedarf keiner weiteren Ausführung.

hölzernen Beamtsiegel, auf denen die Speisetischszene nie vorkommt, vgl. z. B. *Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit*, II, Taf. 27.

<sup>1</sup> Die vielfach zitierte Grabplatte, *Excav. at Saqqara*, VI, Pl. XXVI, hat z. B. die Speisetischszene in der Mitte, links davon im wesentlichen die Stoffliste, rechts die Opferliste.

<sup>2</sup> Ein interessantes Übergangsstadium zeigen die bekannten Nischen des *H'-brw-Skr* und seiner Frau aus Sakkara, 3. Dyn. (Murray, *Saqq. Mast.* I, Pl. I, II; jetzt in Kairo). Hier füllen Speisetischszene samt Stoff- und Opferliste die ganze Rückwand der Nische, die noch nicht wie bei Meten klar zur Scheintür umgewandelt ist.

<sup>3</sup> Erst nach Fertigstellung meines Aufsatzes erschien die Veröffentlichung einer 'Scheintür vor der grossen Pyramidenzeit' im Museum Scheurleer im Haag durch Prof. von Bissing (*Bull. van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de antieke Beschaving*, Haag, 1931, p. 23). Ohne hier eingehend Stellung nehmen zu

können und ohne das Original selbst genau geprüft zu haben, will ich hier nur sagen, dass mir diese Scheintür nicht in den Kreis der hier besprochenen Denkmäler zu gehören scheint und dass ich sie trotz aller Einwände für eine mässige Arbeit des späten AR halte. Auch das am Schluss des Aufsatzes von Bissing zum Vergleich herangezogene Berliner Relief 13466 (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I. 383) ist sicher nicht 'archaisch', sondern gehört wie so vieles unter die Rubrik 'Provinzialkunst des AR', die bis jetzt in der Regel nicht genauer zu datieren ist; gewisse Einzelheiten seiner Darstellung sind ohne die grossen Vorbilder etwa im Grabe des *Ti gar* nicht zu erklären. Auch das Gegenübersitzen von Mann und Frau am Speisetisch ist archaisch nie belegt; das älteste Beispiel dafür dürfte ein Relief in einer amerikanischen Privatsammlung sein (Berlin Photo 483), das dem Stil nach etwa in die 4. Dyn. gehört, aber meines Wissens bis jetzt noch nicht veröffentlicht ist.

## NUBIEN, DIE NUBIER UND DIE SOGENANNTEN TROGODYTEN

Von GEORG STEINDORFF

WÄHREND des letzten Vierteljahrhunderts ist das Dunkel, das über der ältesten Kultur Nubiens lagerte, durch die im Rahmen der *Archaeological Survey of Nubia* von G. Reisner und C. Firth geführten grundlegenden Untersuchungen,<sup>1</sup> die neuerdings von Emery<sup>2</sup> fortgesetzt werden, ferner durch die Ausgrabungen F. Ll. Griffiths in Faras,<sup>3</sup> H. Junkers in Kubanija, Ermenna und Toschka,<sup>4</sup> sowie meine eigenen in Aniba, endlich durch die Erschliessung der sogenannten Kerma-Kultur durch Reisner<sup>5</sup> wesentlich gelichtet worden. Die neu gewonnene archäologische Erkenntnis setzt fast um dieselbe Zeit ein wie die über das spät-vorgeschichtliche und frühgeschichtliche Ägypten, die 'late-prehistoric' und 'early-dynastic period' des unteren Nillandes. Nur die ältere vorgeschichtliche Zeit, die der 'ersten sogen. Nagâda-Kultur' im südlichen Oberägypten entspricht, fehlt in Nubien so gut wie ganz. Meines Wissens ist ihr nur ein einziger Friedhof im äussersten Norden zuzuweisen: der von Bahan (Nr. 17 nach Reisners Zählung) auf dem östlichen Nilufer nur wenig südlich von Schellal.<sup>6</sup> Trotz der sorgfältigen Durchforschung des Landes zwischen dem ersten und zweiten Katarakt sind sonst nirgends Spuren der ältesten Kultur aufgefunden worden, und es bleibt zweifelhaft, ob aus dem eben genannten einzigen Beispiel von Bahan Rückschlüsse über die älteste Bevölkerung und Kultur des gesamten Landes gezogen werden können, und die von Reisner aufgestellte,<sup>7</sup> von Junker<sup>8</sup> etwas eingeschränkte Behauptung zu recht besteht, dass in der Urzeit Ägypten und Nubien eine völkische und kulturelle Einheit gebildet haben.

Erst mit der jüngeren Prähistorie rückt Nubien in helleres Licht. Von hier bis zum Anfang des Neuen Reiches sind drei kulturelle Entwicklungsphasen festgestellt worden, deren Spuren in den verschiedenen Friedhöfen Unterubiens deutlich zu verfolgen sind.

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeological Survey of Nubia; Report for 1907-8 (1910); 1908-9 (1912); 1909-10 (1915); 1910-11 (1927).*

<sup>2</sup> Preliminary Report of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia 1929-30, *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, xxx, p. 117-28.

<sup>3</sup> *Oxford Excavations in Nubia; Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vols. VIII, IX.

<sup>4</sup> *Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf dem Friedhofen von El-Kubanieh-Süd (1919); desgl. El-Kubanieh-Nord (1920); Ermenna (1925); Toschke (1926).*

<sup>5</sup> *Excavations at Kerma (Harvard African Studies*, vol. v, vi, 1923).

<sup>6</sup> *Archaeological Survey of Nubia, 1907-8, 1*, pp. 114-41. Dasselbe stellt auch Scharff, *Altägypten der Vor- und Frühzeit*, I, § S. 20 fest; das gibt er irrtümlich den Friedhof von Bahan als in der 'Gegend von Dakka', also viel weiter südlich, gelegen an.

<sup>7</sup> *Archaeological Survey*, I, 347: 'Nubia and Egypt were during the Predynastic period culturally and racially one district'.

<sup>8</sup> *Kubanieh-Süd*, S. 5. *Kubanieh-Nord*, S. 12: 'In der ältesten, für uns in Betracht kommenden Zeit sassen gleichgeartete Stämme von Ägypten bis tief nach Süden . . . Die Kultur der Stämme war anfangs ungefähr die gleiche'.

Zunächst die sogenannte *A-Kultur* (A-Group), die *nubische Frühkultur*, die bei klaren Zusammenhängen mit der gleichzeitigen ägyptischen zweiten vorgeschichtlichen und frühgeschichtlichen Kultur viele örtliche, von dieser abweichende Eigentümlichkeiten aufweist und dadurch ein durchaus nubisches Gepräge trägt. Zeitlich ist sie etwa den letzten Jahrhunderten des 4. Jahrtausends zuzuweisen. Ihre Träger waren, wenn wir den anthropologischen Untersuchungen trauen dürfen, Menschen derselben körperlichen Beschaffenheit, wie die ältesten Oberägypter, und gehörten gleich diesen der hamitischen, durch Negerblut nicht oder nur sehr wenig berührten Rasse an. Ob auch die gleiche Sprache die Frühnubier und Oberägypter einte, lässt sich mangels aller schriftlichen Denkmäler nicht feststellen.

Der nubischen Frühkultur folgt in der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jahrtausends die nubische *Alte-Reichs-Kultur* (*B-Kultur*, B-group). Während Ägypten unter den Königen der 3. bis 6. Dynastie (Pyramidenzeit) den ersten Höhepunkt seines staatlichen und kulturellen Lebens erreichte, erfuhr Nubien einen Rückgang seines gesamten Daseins. Die Errungenschaften der Frühzeit gehen grossenteils verloren, die handwerklichen Fertigkeiten verkümmern, die Gräber bezeugen eine Armut sondergleichen. Die Gründe für dieses soziale und kulturelle Elend des Landes sind unschwer festzustellen. Die ägyptischen Urkunden berichten von Handelsexpeditionen und Kriegszügen, die über den Katarakt von Assuan hinaus gen Süden entsandt wurden und deren Hauptziel die Ausplünderung der südlichen Länder war. Neben den Erzeugnissen des Bodens wurden Menschen ohne Zahl nach Norden geschleppt und dadurch das schwergeprüfte Land seiner besten Kräfte beraubt.<sup>1</sup>

Erst als die Macht des ägyptischen Reiches durch die grosse Revolution am Ende der 6. Dynastie zusammenbrach und dadurch auch seine Oberherrschaft über das nubische Land ein Ende nahm (zu einer wirklichen Besitzergreifung war es niemals gekommen), entfaltete Nubien eine neue Blüte, freilich durch einen starken Wechsel seiner Bevölkerung. Ohne Widerstand drangen nomadische Horden, über deren Herkunft sich Sicheres nicht feststellen lässt, in den fast menschenleer gewordenen Raum ein. Sie brachten einen Bestand von Kulturgütern mit und entwickelten schnell unter Aneignung einheimischer Formen eine neue Kultur, die am besten als die *nubische Hochkultur* des Mittleren Reiches zu bezeichnen ist (*C-Kultur*, C-Group). Ihr Höhepunkt ist in die 'erste Zwischenzeit' bis etwa an den Anfang der 12. Dynastie (2300–1950 v. Chr.), zu setzen. Zahlreiche grosse Friedhöfe, sowie mehrere in jüngster Zeit aufgefundene Siedlungen<sup>2</sup> sind die stummen Zeugen dieser Kultur; ihr wesentliches Charakte-



<sup>1</sup> Vgl. besonders die Angabe des Palermosteins, nach der Snefru aus Nubien '7,000 Gefangene, sowie 200,000 Stück Rinder und Kleinvieh' nach Ägypten gebracht habe (Schäfer, *Bruchstück ägypt. Annalen*, S. 30) und die Inschrift des *Wnj* (*Urk.* I. 107 f.) nach der in verschiedenen

Distrikten der *Nhsj* (Nubier) Truppen für die ägyptische Armee und Polizei ausgehoben worden sind.

<sup>2</sup> Besonders die im Winter 1930–1 in Aniba untersuchte; vgl. *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, xxxii.

ristikum sind die runden, aus Bruchsteinen aufgeführten Oberbauten der Gräber und die reich entwickelte, eigenartige Töpferei, die namentlich in der Herstellung schwarzer Schalen mit weiss oder bunt ausgelegten Ritzmustern Bewundernswertes geleistet hat. Der Ziegelbau ist der C-Gruppe ursprünglich fremd gewesen und hat erst im Laufe der Zeit in Wohnstätten und Gräbern Eingang gefunden. Gegen die Einwanderer, die mit der ihnen verwandten, alteinwässigen Bevölkerung leicht verschmolzen, wendete sich das unter der 11. Dynastie wieder geeinte und erstarkte Ägypten. Es kam zu einer Unterwerfung Nubiens, die unter den Mentuhotep's einsetzte und unter Sesostris III. ihren Abschluss fand. Zwingburgen wurden im Lande errichtet, deren Reste noch in Ikkur (Koschtamna), Kubban, Aniba, Halfa-Buhen und im Kataraktengebiet vorhanden sind. Dem Verluste der politischen Unabhängigkeit folgte schnell ein Niedergang der nubischen Kultur. Nur während der Hyksoszeit, als Ägypten seiner politischen Macht verlustig gegangen war und seine harte Hand von dem unterworfenen Lande wegziehen musste, wurden die Nubier noch einmal selbständig,<sup>1</sup> und es konnte im Zusammenhang damit auch ihre Kultur eine, freilich nur kurze, Nachblüte feiern. Mit der Vertreibung der Hyksos durch die thebanischen Könige der 17. und 18. Dynastie ging eine neue, jetzt endgültige Unterwerfung Nubiens Hand in Hand. Das Land wurde ägyptische Provinz, die dem 'Königssohn' als Statthalter unterstellt wurde; damit fand auch die nubische Eigenkultur für alle Zeiten ein Ende. Die lebensvolle, hochentwickelte ägyptische Kultur, gestützt durch eine starke staatliche Macht, nahm von Nubien Besitz und liess das Gebilde der C-Kultur fast restlos verschwinden.

Über die hier kurz skizzierten Wandlungen der nubischen Kulturen und den Wechsel ihrer Träger von der Frühzeit bis zum Anfang des Neuen Reiches lassen uns die ägyptischen Quellen völlig im Unklaren. In den Inschriften rühmen Könige und hohe Beamte ihre Erfolge auf Kriegs- und Handelszügen, Länder und Völker werden als Objekte der ägyptischen Unternehmungen mit Namen genannt, aber genaue geographische Bestimmungen des Schauplatzes oder der Art der verschiedenen Gegner können wir nur mit Mühe gewinnen.

Von den *drei Namen Nubiens*, mit denen auch die im Tempel Ramses' II. von Abydos erhaltene Liste der ägyptischen Städte<sup>2</sup> eröffnet wird, ist der an erster Stelle stehende  *Hnt-hn-nfr* der jüngste. Er tritt erst seit der 18. Dynastie auf, dürfte aber wohl älter sein und nur der urkundlichen Bestätigung entbehren. Seine erste Erwähnung findet sich in der Inschrift des Admirals Ahmose von Elkab (*Urk.* iv. 5 ff.). Hier wird berichtet, dass der König Amosis I. einen Feldzug stromauf nach  unternommen habe, um die *'Iwn-tjw Stjw* zu schlagen, und dass später Thutmosis I. ebendahin

<sup>1</sup> Hierfür spricht namentlich die Bemerkung des Carnarvon-Täfelchens, dem zufolge im Anfang der Regierung des Kemose 'ein Fürst in Auaris und ein anderer in Kusch gegessen habe',

und der König, zusammen mit einem Asiaten und einem Nubier (*Nhšj*) sitze'; Erman, *Literatur d. Ägypter*, S. 83; Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte d. Altert.* II, S. 51. <sup>2</sup> Mariette, *Abydos*, II. 12.

gezogen sei, 'um den Aufruhr in den Fremdländern zu bestrafen'. Dabei rühmt sich der Admiral, dass 'er auf dem schlechten Wasser tapfer gewesen sei, als man die Flotte über die Strudel schleppte (?)'. Sethe<sup>1</sup> vermutet mit Recht, dass mit dem 'schlechten Wasser' und seinem Strudel einer der Nilkatarakte gemeint sei; ob aber der zweite oder dritte bleibt ungewiss. Da Thutmosis I. nach den von ihm am Felsen gegenüber der Insel Tombos 'am Tore des dritten Kararakts' eingemeisselten Gedächtnisinschriften (*Urk.* IV. 82-8) zum mindesten bis zum dritten Nilkatarakt vorgedrungen ist, so ist der vom Admiral Amosis gebrauchte Name *Hnt-hn-nfr*, wenn nicht auf das ganze, so doch sicher auf das obere nubische Niltal mindestens bis zu dem angegebenen südlichen Punkte zu beziehen. Hierzu stimmt auch die Überschrift, welche die Liste der von Thutmosis III. überwundenen Südvölker auf dem sechsten Pylon von Karnak (*Urk.* IV. 795) trägt, auf die später noch zurückzukommen ist. In der 'Liste dieser Südvölker und der *Iwn-tjw Stjw* von *Hnt-hn-nfr*' wird unter die Südvölker alles gerechnet, was an unterworfenen Gebieten ausserhalb Ägyptens in Afrika liegt, und in der der Name *Hnt-hn-nfr* gewiss nicht eng auf einen kleinen Teil des nubischen Landes beschränkt ist.<sup>2</sup>

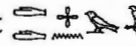











An zweiter Stelle steht in der Ramses-Liste von Abydos der Name  $\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{S}}$  *ks̄*. Sein Vorkommen ist um mehrere Jahrhunderte älter als der Name *Hnt-hn-nfr*; er findet sich zuerst, und zwar in der älteren Schreibung  $\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{S}}$  *ks̄* (*Wörterb.* v. 109), in den ägyptischen Inschriften aus dem Anfang des Mittleren Reiches (in den von Sethe veröffentlichten Ächtungstexten),<sup>3</sup> also zu derselben Zeit, in der die Träger der nubischen Hochkultur (C-Group) im Niltale festen Fuss gefasst haben. Junker hat gewiss das Richtige getroffen (*Kubanieh-Nord*, S. 17-18), wenn er meint, dass *ks̄* nichts anderes als das Land der C-Gruppe bezeichne und dass sich ursprünglich *ks̄* auf das von dieser Bevölkerung eingenommene Gebiet beschränke, seine Südgrenze also etwa an der zweiten Stromschnelle gelegen habe. Dass auch der nördlichste Teil Nubiens, etwa bis zum Katarakt von Assuan, in den geographischen Begriff *ks̄* mit einbezogen war, wie Junker vermutet, ist auch mir sehr wahrscheinlich. Wie später der Name *ks̄*, ähnlich wie vielleicht auch *Hnt-hn-nfr* ausgeweitet worden ist, und unter *ks̄* die gesamten südlichen Länder, die dem 'Königssohn von *ks̄*' als Verwaltungsgebiet unterstanden, zusammengefasst wurden, Kusch also ungefähr der Αἰθιοπία der griechisch-römischen Zeit entsprach, bedarf keiner weiteren Darlegung.

Die dritte Stelle nimmt in der Abydos-Liste der älteste Name Nubiens  $\overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{J}}$  *stj* ein, der früher als 'Bogenland' übersetzt worden ist. Dass das Zeichen  $\overline{\text{S}}$



<sup>1</sup> *Urkunden*, deutsch, S. 4, Anm. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ob der Name *Hnt-hn-nfr* älter als die 18. Dyn. ist und sich ursprünglich nur auf einen bestimmten kleinen Teil Nubiens bezogen hat, bleibt zweifelhaft.

<sup>3</sup> Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässscherben des Mittleren Reiches* (*Phil.-hist. Abh. d. Preuss. Akad. der Wissensch.*, 1926, Nr. 5) S. 33.

keinen Bogen, sondern irgendetwas anderes darstellt, hat Wolf, *Bewaffnung*, S. 27, Anm. 4, zuerst vermutet; die Lesung *ts stj* (früher *ts hnt*) wird Erman verdankt (*Ä.Z.* XLV, 1908, 128). Der Name findet sich wiederholt in den Pyramidentexten, wo z. B. der nubische Gott  *Ddwn* als der 'an der Spitze von  stehende' (Pyr. 994. 1476) bezeichnet wird; vgl. auch die Schreibung  (Pyr. 1876), die dadurch bemerkenswert ist, dass schon in alter Zeit, wie später oft im Mittleren Reiche (*Ä.Z.* XLV, Taf. 6, 7) das Determinativ  an Stelle des gewöhnlichen <sup>1</sup> steht, *ts stj*, also ganz besonders als 'Fremdland' gekennzeichnet ist. Der gelegentlich geäußerte Zweifel,<sup>2</sup> dass *ts stj* ursprünglich nicht Nubien, sondern den ersten oberägyptischen Gau, den späteren Ombites, bezeichne und erst später auf Nubien, zunächst nur auf dessen nördlichstes Ende übertragen worden sei, ist unbegründet. Dagegen sprechen schon die oben zitierten Stellen Pyr. 994, 1476, in denen 'Ddwn, der an der Spitze von *ts stj* steht' dem  'Išš hntj ts šm' 'der an der Spitze von Oberägypten steht'<sup>3</sup> gegenübergestellt ist. Das Verhältnis dürfte vielmehr umgekehrt sein: der erste oberägyptische Gau hat, wie Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, 152, dargelegt hat, einst ausserhalb Oberägyptens gelegen, dessen Südgrenze die Stromenge von Silsile bildete; wie das Land südlich von Silsile und Kom Ombo heutzutage, so trug es schon in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit samt seiner Bevölkerung nubischen Charakter, Elephantine war eine nubische Stadt,<sup>4</sup> und so ist mit vollem Rechte auch der am Anfang der geschichtlichen Zeit Oberägypten angegliederte Gau von Elephantine als 'nubisches Land' bezeichnet worden. Dass *ts stj* ursprünglich nicht den ägyptischen Gau, sondern ein ganzes, Ägypten fremdes Ländergebiet bezeichnet hat, geht auch aus dem von Sethe in uralte Zeit gesetzten Hausweihe-Text hervor, in dem *ts stj* parallel zu  *st-t* 'Asien' und  *Thnw* 'Libyen' gesetzt ist.<sup>5</sup> Ebenso erscheinen auch in dem der 25. Dynastie angehörigen Texte Prisse, *Mon. ég.*, Pl. xxxii, 1, als Teile der Welt nebeneinander  *ts stj* 'Nubien',  *Stt* 'Asien',  *Thnw* 'Libyen' und  'Ägypten'.<sup>6</sup>

Ob der oft genannte, unternubische Bezirk von *Wsws-t* ein Teil von *ts stj* war oder ob er ursprünglich südlich an *ts stj* grenzte, dieses also nur die Nordspitze Unternubiens einnahm, bleibt fraglich. Jedenfalls umfasst *ts stj* in der 18. Dynastie Nubien bis über den zweiten Katarakt hinaus und deckt sich z. T. mit *Hnt-hn-nfr*: der älteste Teil des Tempels von Semna ist dem Beherrscher Nubiens *Ddwn* geweiht;<sup>7</sup> Semna liegt demgemäss im Gebiete von *ts stj*, und wenn ferner in der Northampton-Stele (*Urk.* IV. 423) gesagt wird, dass das

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, S. 476, sagt mit Recht, dass das Zeichen  einen 'sandy tract' darstelle und dass es als Determinativ für 'desert or foreign country' (also genau wie ) verwendet worden sei.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Ä.Z.* XLV. 139, Anm. 1; dort hat Gardiner selbst diesen Zweifel aufgegeben;

*Egyptian Grammar*, 559.

<sup>3</sup> Zu 'Išš (*Rišš*) vgl. Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, 48.





<sup>4</sup> Auch die in Elephantine heimischen Göttinnen Satis und Anukis sind nubischen Ursprungs; Roeder, *Ä.Z.* XLV (1928), 25.


<sup>5</sup> *Grabdenkmal des Sahuré*, II. 72f.


<sup>6</sup> a. a. O. II. 73.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. *Urk.* IV. 193, 15.

Ebenholz aus *tsj* komme, so bezieht sich auch hier dieser Name nicht auf Unternubien, sondern auf Länder des Sudan, die südlich des zweiten Kararakts zu suchen sind.

Die *Bevölkerung*, die das 'Land *Stj*' bewohnt, also im nubischen Niltal ansässig ist, wird von den ältesten Zeiten an ohne Rücksicht ob sie der ersten, zweiten oder dritten Kultur angehört mit dem Gentilicium *Stj-w* bezeichnet. Wir dürfen diesen Namen mit 'Nubier' übersetzen', müssen uns aber bewusst bleiben, dass hierbei 'Nubier' sich auf keine bestimmte Rasse, sondern lediglich auf einen, zu irgendeiner Zeit die nubische Landschaft bewohnenden Volksstamm bezieht. So findet sich der Name *Stj(w)* bereits zur Zeit des Menes auf dem *Royal Tombs*, II. 3, 2 veröffentlichten Gedenktafelchen: 'Schlagen der '. Im Mittleren Reich erscheinen auf dem Siegesdenkmal des Königs Mentuhotp (Dyn. 11) zu Kairo die  *Stj-w* als die südlichen Nachbarn Ägyptens, die neben den  *Stj-w* den (nördlichen) 'Asiaten' und den  *Thnwj-w* den (westlichen) 'Libyern' dem Pharaon unterworfen sind.<sup>1</sup>

Als Beispiel der Erwähnung der *Stj-w* im Neuen Reich sei die Stelle auf dem Denkstein von Tombos (*Urk.* IV. 83) angeführt, wo es von Thutmosis I. heisst, dass er auf seinem Feldzug gegen die Südländer  'den Fürsten der *Stj-w* niedergeworfen habe'.





Weit häufiger als *Stj-w* wird in älterer Zeit der Name *Nhsj*, *Nhsj*, Plur. *Nhsj-w* für Angehörige der Südvölker gebraucht.<sup>2</sup> Man hat ihn bisher allgemein mit 'Neger' übersetzt und daraus den Schluss gezogen, dass Nubien schon im frühen Altertum von Negern bewohnt gewesen sei. Jetzt haben die Gräberfunde in Nubien uns eines Besseren belehrt und gezeigt, dass die alte Bevölkerung Nubiens, sowohl die Vertreter der älteren A- und B-Gruppe als auch die der späteren C-Gruppe keineswegs Neger gewesen sind, sondern dass sie einer hamitischen Rasse angehören, die eine mehr oder weniger starke Beimischung von Negerblut erfahren hat. Daraufhin hat Junker (*Kubanieh-Nord*, S. 12 ff.) den Nachweis geführt, dass bis zum Neuen Reich sich in den ägyptischen Darstellungen keine Bilder von Negern finden und dass der Name *Nhsj* nicht nur während des Alten Reichs, sondern noch während des ganzen Mittleren Reichs und bis in das Neue Reich hinein allgemein die 'Südvölker' und damit auch die Angehörigen der C-Gruppe bezeichnet, und dass zu den *Nhsj-w* nicht nur die Bewohner des nubischen Niltals von Aswân bis in den Sudan hinein, sondern auch die Bewohner von Punt gezählt werden; vgl. *L.D.* III. 163:  'der *Nhsj* von *Pwn-t*'.<sup>3</sup> Erst als etwa in der 18. Dynastie die im Sudan ansässigen Neger sich nach Norden vorgeschoben und im nubischen Niltal sich festgesetzt haben, werden auch sie mit dem Namen *Nhsj* bezeichnet; *Nhsj* erhält dadurch allmählich die besondere Bedeutung 'Neger' und seit der 18.





<sup>1</sup> Vgl. *Grabdenkm. des Sahuré*, II. 73.

<sup>2</sup> z.B. in den Ächtungstexten; Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten*, S. 25 ff.

<sup>3</sup> S. auch Junker, 'Das erste Auftreten der Neger in der Geschichte' (*Almanach der Akademie d. Wissensch. Wien*, 1920).





Dynastie wird das  *ts nhsj* zum 'Negerland' (*Wörterb.* II. 303). So erscheinen denn auch in den jüngeren Darstellungen der vier Menschenrassen, z. B. im Grabe Sethos' I. (*L.D.* III. 136) die *Nhsj-w* als Neger mit schwarzer Hautfarbe und krausem Haar neben den charakteristischen Gestalten der  *'sm-w* 'Semiten (Asiaten)', der  *Tmh-w* 'Libyer' und der  'Menschen' d. h. der 'Ägypter'.

Neben *Stj-w* und *Nhsj* findet sich nun eine dritte, wohl die älteste und gebräuchlichste Bezeichnung der Südvölker  *'Iwn-wt*. Sehr häufig ist in den historischen Inschriften seit der 18. Dynastie dieser Name von dem adjektivischen Zusatz *Stj-w* oder dem genitivischen *stj* bzw. *ts-stj* 'die nubischen *'Iwn-wt*' oder 'die *'Iwn-wt* von Nubien' begleitet. Mit diesem Zusatz werden sie auch als  am Schlusse der Liste der Neun Bogen-Völker genannt, deren älteste Fassung erst aus der 18. Dynastie bekannt ist,<sup>1</sup> die aber zweifellos an den Anfang der geschichtlichen Zeit zurückgeht<sup>2</sup>. Sie stehen hier an 8. Stelle nach den  *Thnw* 'Libyern' und vor den  *'Mntj-w* von Asien'. Die Zusätze *Stj* und *nw St-t* sind in diesen Schreibungen zweifellos späteren Ursprungs; die älteste, nicht erhaltene Fassung der Liste dürfte, wie auch bei allen übrigen Namen, nur eine kurze Form *'Iwn-wt* und *Mnt-jw* geboten haben.<sup>3</sup>

Nach einer alteingewurzelten ägyptologischen Tradition wird nun der Völkernamen *'Iwn-wt* mit 'Trogodyten' übersetzt,<sup>4</sup> und auf die in der (süd-)östlichen Wüste zwischen Nil und Rotem Meere wohnenden Nomaden bezogen, *Wörterb.* I. 55.<sup>5</sup> Soweit ich sehen kann geht diese Deutung auf H. Brugsch zurück. Er hat vor 50 Jahren in einem damals viel beachteten Vortrage auf dem Berliner Orientalisten-Kongress über 'die altägyptische Völkertafel'<sup>6</sup> die Namen der Neun Bogen-Völker behandelt und zu identifizieren versucht und dabei für *'Iwn-wt*<sup>7</sup> die obige Erklärung gegeben. Wie oft, so hat auch in diesem Falle Brugsch mit scharfem Blicke wenigstens zum Teil das Richtige gesehen, aber für seine Deutung eine philologische Begründung gegeben, die uns heute seltsam anmutet und die zurückzuweisen sich nicht mehr lohnt. Nach ihm bezeichnet *An* und *ant* hieroglyphisch ein aus Stein ausgeführtes Werk, vor allem einen Pfeiler oder eine Säule, daher z. B. einen Saal mit steinernen Säulen, ferner einen Steinhafen, der als Grabmal dient und ähnliche Anlagen (*Brugsch, Wörterbuch*, I. 84 und VI. 83) und steht in Zusammenhang



<sup>1</sup> Aus der Zeit Amenophis' II.; Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amün*, Pl. XI, XII, p. 22, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Sethe, *Ä.Z.* LVI. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Auch die Schreibung  ist jung; die älteste Orthographie des Namens ist  *Wörterb.* II. 92.

<sup>4</sup> So übersetzt auch noch Davies, a. a. O., p. 23, *Iuntiu-Sety* mit 'Trogodites'.





<sup>5</sup> z. B. Sethe, *Urk.* IV, deutsch, S. 3, Anm. 3: 'Bezeichnung für die heutigen Bedja-Völker, welche in der Wüste zwischen Nil und Rotem

Meer nomadisieren und oft das Niltal heimsuchten'. In Wahrheit ist der Name für diese Beduinen  *mdj*, d. h. Bewohner des Landes  (*Wörterb.* II. 186), der sich in dem Namen Bedja bis auf den heutigen Tag erhalten hat; Schäfer, *Äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, S. 136.

<sup>6</sup> *Abhandlungen der Berliner Orientalisten-Congress*, III. 55 ff.


<sup>7</sup> Der Name wird von ihm noch fälschlich an *xent* gelesen.



mit den hieroglyphischen *ân*, *ân*r (kopt. ωνε, ωνι lapis) und *ânt* (Bergland, *Gegend mit Steinen*, a. a. O. I. 86). Ein *ân* oder *ânti* ist daher ein 'Gebirgsbewohner' oder 'einer, der in steinernen Behausungen d. h. in Höhlen seinen Wohnsitz aufgeschlagen hat', ein *Trogodyt*, wie die in der Wüste zwischen dem Roten Meere und dem Nil gefundenen Proskynemata die Wüstenbewohner dieser Gegend bezeichnen. Wegen der Namensform 'Trogodyten' verweist Brugsch auf Puchstein's *Epigrammata Graeca in Aegypto reperta*, S. 49 ff., in denen die dem Pan ihre Widmung spendenden Personen sich als σωθεῖς ἐκ Τρογοδυτῶν bezeichnen.



Die richtige Deutung von *'Iwn-wt* verdanken wir Sethe, *Grabd. des Sahuré*, II. 80, 81. Nach ihm ist der Völkernamen *'Iwn-wt* von einem Wort *iwn-t* abgeleitet, das ursprünglich allgemein etwas wie 'Horde, Nomadenstamm' bezeichnet.<sup>1</sup> Die älteren Schreibungen des Namens AR.  und MR.  und  sind wohl als Pluralformen des femininen Singulars *iwn-t* aufzufassen. 'Davon mag der einzelne Angehörige *'Iwn-tj* geheissen haben'; der Völkernamen ist später als Nisbe aufgefasst worden, wie auch seine griechisch-römischen Schreibungen  zeigen; Sethe a. a. O.


Der Name ist ursprünglich auf verschiedene in der östlichen Wüste wohnende Stämme angewendet worden und zwar, wie Sethe (a. a. O.) richtig hervorgehoben hat, 'sowohl auf die semitischen Bewohner der Sinai-Halbinsel, wie auf die Nomaden der arabischen Wüste zwischen Nil und Rotem Meer, die heutigen Ababdeh, als auch die Nomaden Nubiens'.

Man vergleiche die folgenden, z. T. auch von Sethe a. a. O. zitierten Stellen.  
1. die *'Iwn-wt* als Bewohner der Sinai-Halbinsel.

(a) 4. Dynastie. Darstellung im Wâdi Maghâra (Sinai), die Cheops zeigt, wie er in Gegenwart des ibisköpfigen Thoth einen semitischen (asiatischen) Barbaren erschlägt. Beischrift  *skr iwn-wt* 'Schlagen der *iwn-wt*'; L.D. II. 2 c = Gardiner-Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, Pl. II. 7; III.

(b) 5. Dynastie.  *Dhwtj nb iwn-wt* 'Thoth, der Herr der *'Iwn-wt*'; *Grabdenkm. des Sahuré*, I, Bl. 8, II. 83. Wie bei (a) erscheint auch hier der im Ostdelta (im 15. Gau) ursprünglich heimische Thoth (Sethe, *Urgesch.* 143)<sup>2</sup> als Schutzgott der östlichen, genauer der Sinai-Wüste. Vgl.  'Thoth, Herr der fremden (d. h. asiatischen) Länder' auf einem Siegesdenkmal des Ne-user-rê im Wâdi Maghâra, Gardiner-Peet, a. a. O., Pl. VI; *Grabdenkm. des Sahuré*, I Bl. 12; II, 88.





(c) 5. Dynastie. In einer Inschrift im Totentempel des Sahuré (*Grabdenkm.* I. Bl. 19, Zeile 4; II. 96) wird der Name  ebenso wie *Mntw* durch drei Semiten (Asiaten)  determiniert, also auf nördliche Barbaren gedeutet. Wie hier, so



<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, S. 533 leitet *'Iwnty* (-*Sty*) von  *iwn-t* 'Bogen' ab und meint, dass das Wort wörtlich 'bowman' bedeutet. Seine Übersetzung 'Nubian foreigner' trifft das



Richtige.


<sup>2</sup> Daneben tritt er freilich auch in uralter Zeit als 'Gott des Westens' gegenüber Horus als 'Gott des Ostens' auf; Sethe, a. a. O.




um die nubischen 'Iwn·tjw zu schlagen' (*Urk.* IV. 5); ferner von einem Feldzug Amenophis' I., der 'stromaufwärts nach  kš fuhr, um die Grenzen Ägyptens zu erweitern' und dass 'seine Majestät jenen  'Iwn·tj Stj inmitten seines Heeres schlug', wobei seine (des 'Iwn·tj) Leute und seine Herden aufgesucht wurden' (*Urk.* IV. 7), endlich von einem Feldzuge Thutmosis' I. nach , auf dem der König selbst gegen die Feinde kämpfte und von dem er siegreich nach Karnak heimkehrte, 'indem alle Fremländer in seiner Faust waren, wobei jener elende  Iwn·tj Stj mit dem Kopf nach unten am Vorderteil des Königsschiffes aufgehängt war' (*Urk.* IV. 8, 9).

(f) 18. Dynastie. Der Denkstein von Tombos schildert in poetischer Form die nubischen Siege Thutmosis' I.; 'er warf den Grossen der Stj·w nieder, der Nhsj ist mit knapper Not seinem Griff entronnen [?]; die 'Iwn·tjw Stjw sind vor Schrecken niedergefallen und auf die Seite geworfen in  ihren Ländern, ihr Leichengeruch erfüllt  ihre Täler'; *Urk.* IV. 83 f.

(g) 18. Dynastie. Eine Denkinschrift bei Aswân aus dem ersten Jahre Thutmosis II. schildert ausführlich die Niederwerfung eines Aufstandes in Nubien. Darin ist von den Festungen die Rede, 'die die sich empörenden Fremdländer,  die 'Iwn·tjw Stj·w von Nubien abwehren sollen.' An dem Aufstand sind beteiligt ein Grosser im Norden des elenden Kusch und  zwei 'Iwn·tj von Stj von den Kindern des Fürsten des elenden Kusch'; *Urk.* IV. 138 f.

(h) 18. Dynastie. In der Überschrift der Liste der von Thutmosis' III. überwundenen Südvölker (s.o.) werden die  'Iwn·tjw Stj·w von Hnt·hn·nfr genannt. Leider lässt sich von den in der Liste selbst genannten Orts- und Stammesnamen nur ein verschwindend kleiner Teil lokalisieren, sodass die überaus wertvolle Urkunde für eine genauere Festlegung des vom König unterworfenen oder als unterworfen beanspruchten Gebietes nicht in Betracht kommt.

Versuchen wir nun auf Grund der unter 3 a bis h angeführten Stellen, die Wohnsitze der nubischen 'Iwn·wt zu bestimmen, so ergibt sich zunächst ohne weiteres, dass sie bereits in uralter Zeit (a) im Lande Stj, also in Nubien ansässig sind, und dass dies auch im MR. (c) der Fall ist. Wenn der Sesostris-Hymnus (b) den König die 'Iwn·wt 'in ihren (Flach-)Ländern', nicht etwa in ihren  'Wüstenländern' besiegen lässt, so folgt daraus ohne weiteres, dass auch ihre Wohnsitze im nubischen Flusstal, und nicht etwa im östlichen oder westlichen Wüstengebiete gedacht sind. Hiergegen spricht auch nicht der Name der Festung von Uronarti (d). Nur die vorgefasste Meinung, dass die 'Iwn·wt die Trogodyten seien, hat zu der Auffassung geführt, dass hier mit den 'Iwn·wt Stämme der östlichen Wüste gemeint seien, die das Niltal durch ihre Einfälle beunruhigt hätten und durch Festungen ferngehalten werden sollten.<sup>1</sup> Die 'Iwn·wt sind hier kaum etwas anderes als die im Süden der zweiten Stromschnelle wohnenden Nhsj, gegen die sich der Erlass der Grenzinschrift von

<sup>1</sup> z.B. Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altert.* I, § 287a.

Semna aus dem 8. Jahre Sesostris' III. wendet, der ihnen verbietet, die ägyptische, bei Semna liegende Grenze stromabwärts zu überschreiten.<sup>1</sup>

Auch die Siegesberichte aus dem Anfang der 18. Dynastie verweisen die *'Iwn-wt*, bez. *'Iwn-tjw*, denen seit jener Zeit ja auch das Beiwort *Stj-w* 'nubisch' oder 'von Nubien' gegeben wird, nach *Hnt-hn-nfr* 'Nubien'. In der Tombos-Inschrift (*f*) werden, was eben schon hervorgerufen wurde, die *'Iwn-wt* 'in ihren Flachländern', und nicht in den Wüstenländern niedergeworfen, und wenn 'ihr Leichengeruch die Täler erfüllt', so soll damit nichts anderes gesagt werden, als dass er vom Flusstale bis in die Wâdis der Wüste gedrungen sei.

Wenn im Anfang des Neuen Reichs die ägyptischen Könige immer wieder Feldzüge gegen die aufständischen *'Iwn-wt* unternehmen und sich ihrer Siege ausführlich rühmen, so dürfte es sich dabei gewiss nicht um Strafexpeditionen und Razzias gegen die armseligen Stämme der östlichen Wüste, die Ahnen der heutigen Ababde und Hadendoa, handeln, von denen nicht viel zu holen war, sondern vielmehr um die Unterjochung der in der Hyksoszeit zu neuer Selbständigkeit gelangten Bewohner des nubischen Niltals und die Wiedergewinnung der Machtstellung des Mittleren Reiches in diesem Gebiete. Dass dabei gelegentlich auch ein räuberischer Wüstenstamm abgestraft und abgewehrt worden ist, widerspricht solcher Annahme nicht.



Fassen wir das über die *'Iwn-wt* Gesagte kurz zusammen: Ursprünglich sind unter diesem Namen nicht-ägyptische Stämme oder 'Horden', auf dem Sinai in der oberägyptischen Ostwüste, in Nubien, vielleicht auch solche der nubischen Wüste verstanden worden, aber schon im Mittleren Reiche wird er spezialisiert, seit dem Neuen Reiche mit dem erklärenden Zusatze 'nubisch' erläutert, und ganz besonders auf die fremdländischen, nicht-ägyptischen Bewohner des nubischen Niltals der Länder *Stj* und *Hnt-hn-nfr* angewendet. Da aber in dieser Zeit diese Gebiete, wie die Ausgrabungen ergeben haben, von einem hamitischen Volke mit eigenartiger Kultur, den Vertretern der sogenannten C-Gruppe, eingenommen sind, so dürften unter den *'Iwn-wt* des Mittleren Reiches und den nubischen *'Iwn-wt* der 18. Dynastie kaum etwas anderes als die im nubischen Niltal ansässigen und sich oft gegen das ägyptische Joch auflehrenden Leute der C-Gruppe, zu verstehen sein. Die *'Iwn-wt* jener Zeit sind nicht nubische 'Nomaden', wenn unter dieser Bezeichnung nicht-sesshafte Stämme zu verstehen sind, noch weniger 'Trogodyten', mit denen sie auch nicht das Geringste gemein haben.

<sup>1</sup> Sethe, *Ächtung feindl. Völker*, S. 26 f. meint, dass die *Nhs* eine ursprünglich am Roten Meere sitzende, nichtnegroide, den Ägyptern möglicherweise verwandte Bevölkerung sei, die innerhalb der Periode des Alten Reiches nach Nubien vorgezogen sei. In der Zeit zwischen dem Mittleren und dem Neuen Reich hätten dann negroide Elemente Nubien besetzt, auf die man die

Benennung *Nhs* übertragen habe. Die alten *'Iwn-wt* von Nubien könnten dann bei diesen Völkerverschiebungen, soweit sie nicht mit den Einwanderern verschmolzen, in die Wüste gedrängt worden sein. Diesen Vermutungen vermag ich nach dem oben Ausgeführten nicht beizupflichten.

## DIE HERMOTYBIER

Von W. STRUVE

**B**EKANNTLICH zerfielen die Krieger Spätägyptens in zwei grosse Gruppen, die 'Kalasirier' und 'Hermotybie' genannt wurden. Während der erstere Name schon seit längerer Zeit durch Spiegelberg gedeutet worden ist,<sup>1</sup> harret der zweite trotz mehrfacher Versuche in seinem vollen Umfange noch der ägyptologischen Interpretation. Geklärt ist, wieder durch Spiegelberg, nur der erste Teil des Namens 'ερμο', der sich als *st. cstr.* von 'rōme' 'Mensch', — *rēm* > *r̄m* > *erm* — erweist.<sup>2</sup> Für den zweiten Teil des Wortes 'τυβιες' haben die Forscher leider kein allgemein anerkanntes ägyptisches Äquivalent gefunden. Maspero will in diesen τυβιες Lybie sehen, muss aber zu diesem Zwecke τ in λ emendieren.<sup>3</sup> Spiegelberg leitet τυβιες vom ägyptischen  *htrw*<sup>4</sup> > *htawi* > \**ḡṛwōṣi* 'Pferd', 'Reiterei', ab,<sup>5</sup> aber die Pluralendung *w* wurde in später Zeit zum Vokal und konnte deshalb nicht durch β wiedergegeben werden, und auch *r* verschwand nicht in *htr*, wie es das koptische *ḡṛōp* erweist.<sup>6</sup> Infolge dieser Überlegungen schloss sich offenbar Grapow der Deutung Spiegelbergs nicht an und liess die Frage über die Deutung von τυβιες offen.<sup>7</sup> Möller sprach in einer seiner letzten Arbeiten die Vermutung aus, dass τυβιες dem ägyptischen  *db* 'Speer', 'Harpune' entspräche und dass in diesem Falle die Hermotybie durch 'Speerträger' übersetzt werden müssten.<sup>8</sup> Dieser scharfsinnigen Hypothese Möllers widerspricht aber der Umstand, dass die Hermotybie nach dem Zeugnisse Herodots (ix. 32) nicht 'Speerträger', sondern ebenso wie die Kalasirier 'Schwertträger' (μαχαίροφόροι) gewesen waren.<sup>9</sup> Ed. Meyer, der, meines Wissens nach, zuletzt, ausserhalb der U. d. S.S.R., über die Hermotybie handelte, lässt die Frage über Ursprung und Bedeutung dieses Namens völlig ungelöst.<sup>10</sup>

Nun bin ich seit längerer Zeit schon der Überzeugung, dass diese *crux interpretationis* ihre Deutung finden kann in dem grossen Papyrus Spiegelberg, der

<sup>1</sup> *Ä.Z.* XLIII, S. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Ä.Z.* XLIII, S. 87 ff. und 158.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire des peuples de l'Orient*, III, S. 500.

<sup>4</sup> Um der Typographie des *J.E.A.* keine Ungelegenheiten zu bereiten benutze ich nicht die in der U. d. S.S.R. angenommene Japhetologische Transcription des ägyptischen Alphabets.

<sup>5</sup> *Ä.Z.* XLIII, S. 89.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. die Bemerkungen Möllers, *Ä.Z.* LVI, S. 78.

<sup>7</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, VIII, Sp. 905.

<sup>8</sup> *Ä.Z.* LVI, S. 78.

<sup>9</sup> Möller beseitigt diesen Einwand durch den Hinweis, dass sie, die von Xerxes zu Flottensol-

daten gemacht worden waren, auf den Schiffen ihre *db* nicht verwenden konnten. Aus dem Edfuer Horus-Mythos erfahren wir aber, dass *db*, eine Art Harpune, gerade beim Wasserkampf benutzt wurde. S. Brugsch, *Suppl. Wb.* S. 420 = Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, Col. 22.

<sup>10</sup> *Gottesstaat, Militärherrschaft und Ständewesen in Ägypten, zur Geschichte der 21. und 22. Dynastie* (Sonderabdruck aus den *Sitzungsberichten der Preuss. Akad. d. Wis., Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 1928, xxviii, S. 33.) Ed. Meyer geht in seiner Skepsis sicher zu weit, wenn er auch die von Spiegelberg vorgeschlagene Deutung des Namens Kalasirier für unhaltbar erklärt.

über eine der Sagen des Petubastisromanes handelt.<sup>1</sup> Da die Erklärung des Namens Hermotybier von der Erkenntnis des tatsächlichen historischen Hintergrundes des vom Besitzer selbst grundlegend edierten Papyrus Spiegelberg<sup>2</sup> abhängt, erlaube ich mir hier in aller Kürze den Inhalt des Papyrus wiederzugeben. — Diese Petubastissage verherrlicht den Kampf zweier Parteien um die Tempelpfründe des thebanischen Amon. An der Spitze der einen der kämpfenden Parteien steht der König Petubastis aus Tanis. Der Bestand dieser Partei ist durchsichtig und ruft keine Zweifel hervor. Ihr gehörten die Vertreter des Gauadels aus dem östlichen Delta an, zu denen noch der Fürst von Elephantine hinzutrat. Nicht so durchsichtig auf den ersten Blick ist der Bestand der zweiten Partei. An deren Spitze stand eine anonyme Persönlichkeit, die nur nach ihrem Titel benannt wird: 'Priester des Horus von Buto', oder einfach 'junger Priester'. Zwei Mal (Col. 4, 8; 9, 17) wird er 'sm, das Spiegelberg mit 'Asiat' (Hirt) übersetzt, genannt.<sup>3</sup> Er wird so genannt, meint Spiegelberg, weil seine einzigen Parteigenossen 13 'Asiaten' (Hirten) waren. Diese 13 'sm entstammten dem *Pr-dwf*, das Spiegelberg durch 'Schilfdistrict' wiedergibt und mit den Bitterseen, dem biblischen שְׁחַמִּים, identifiziert.<sup>4</sup> Diese Lokalisierung von *Pr-dwf*, so verführerisch sie auf den ersten Blick erscheint, ruft doch starke Zweifel hervor. Wenn sie richtig wäre, so würden der Horuspriester aus Buto und seine 13 Bundesgenossen von einander durch die ganze Ausdehnung des feindlichen Territoriums (das östliche Delta) getrennt gewesen sein. In diesem Zusammenhange entsteht auch die Frage, wo denn, ausser Buto, das durch den 'Priester des Horus von Buto' vertreten ist, die anderen Gaue des westlichen Deltas geblieben sind. In einem Kampf um die Tempelpfründe des Thebanischen Amon, also in einer Sache, die den gesamten Gauadel des Nordens anging, konnten doch nicht die Gaue des westlichen Deltas fehlen. Dieser Umstand wird für unsere Untersuchung um so bedeutsamer, da er in direktem Zusammenhange mit dem Hermotybier-Problem steht. Die Sache ist, nämlich, die, dass nach Herodot (II. 165) die Hermotybier im Westen, während die Kalasirier im Osten des Deltas zu lokalisieren sind.<sup>5</sup> Tatsächlich werden auch die Anhänger des Königs Petubastis aus Tanis, die, wie wir oben sahen, den östlichen Gauen des Deltas angehörten, im Pap. Spiegelberg (Col. 12, 11 und 16, 17) *gl-šrj*, d. h. Kalasirier, genannt. So taucht denn unwillkürlich der Gedanke auf, dass die 13 'sm aus *Pr-dwf* nicht Asiaten aus dem Osten, sondern ebenso wie ihr Führer Krieger aus dem westlichen Delta gewesen sind. Diese Annahme hat desto mehr Existenzberechtigung, da man *Pr-dwf* nicht so ohne Weiteres mit dem biblischen שְׁחַמִּים 'Schilfmeer', identifizieren kann. Die Sache ist nämlich die, dass das hebräische שְׁחַמִּים, phonetisch dem ägyptischen

<sup>1</sup> Ich behandle diese Frage in meiner grossen Monographie über Manetho, die leider bis jetzt nur zur Hälfte in den *Zapiski Kollegii Wostokowjedow*, B. III und IV gedruckt worden ist.

<sup>2</sup> W. Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs*

*Petubastis (Demot. Studien, H. 3)*, Leipzig, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., S. 8 und 10\*-11\*.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., S. 8 und 86\*.

<sup>5</sup> *Zapiski Kollegii Wostokowjedow*, III, S. 117 ff. und Ed. Meyer, l.c., S. 33 ff.

*dwf*, resp. *twf* entsprechend, ihm nicht ganz semantisch entspricht. Das ägyptische *twf*, resp. *dwf*, bezeichnet, wie bekanntlich, die Papyruspflanze,<sup>1</sup> ebenso wie das koptische ⲁⲟⲟⲩⲧ<sup>2</sup>, das hebräische קנב bezeichnet dagegen Schilf überhaupt,<sup>3</sup> während speciell der Papyrus נבֿא genannt wird.<sup>4</sup> Folglich muss man *Pr-dwf* der Petubastissage mit 'Haus des Papyrus' übersetzen und es dort lokalisieren, wo die bedeutendsten Papyrusdickichte vorhanden waren. Die bedeutendsten Papyrusdickichte waren aber bekanntlich im Westen des Deltas,<sup>5</sup> besonders im Territorium der Stadt Buto, Herodots χεμμίτης, in dessen Papyrusdickicht einst Isis den Horus geboren hatte. Hierher würden auch gut die 13 *sm*, die Parteigenossen des Horus-Priesters aus Buto, passen. Im nordwestlichen Delta, nämlich, nomadisierten die Banden der räuberischen Hirten, die von den Griechen βουκόλοι, 'Rinderhirten', genannt wurden.<sup>6</sup> Nun dient in der Spätzeit *sm* nicht zur Bezeichnung eines Asiaten, sondern zur Bezeichnung eines Hirten und speciell eines Rinderhirten.<sup>7</sup> Im Petubastisroman wird auch tatsächlich, worauf Spiegelberg hinweist das Wort *sm* mit  $\overline{\text{sm}}$  und nicht mit  $\overline{\text{sm}}$ , determiniert. Folglich sah der Schreiber des Papyrus in den Gegnern der Kalasirier des Ostens nicht Asiaten, sondern Rinderhirten.<sup>8</sup> Dafür spricht auch die Beschreibung ihrer Rüstung (4, 15-16): die 13 *sm* stürzen sich in den Kampf 'in dem ihre Stierkopf-Helme auf ihren Köpfen waren'. Offenbar diente diesen Hirten die Haut des Tieres, das sie weideten, als Schutz im Kampf. Es ist interessant zu vermerken, dass eben solche Stierkopf-Helme die Feinde des Königs Narmer auf seiner Siegespalette zu tragen scheinen.<sup>9</sup> Dieser Umstand ist um so beachtenswerter da die Feinde des Königs Narmer dem Harpunengau entstammten, also dem Gau von Buto, und die 13 Hirten des Pap. Spiegelberg Bundesgenossen eines Horus-Priesters aus Buto waren! Auch Heliodor bezeugt die nahe Verbindung von Buto, resp. Chemmis, mit den βουκόλοι, 'Rinderhirten', wenn er bemerkt, dass bei Chemmis, einer starkbevölkerten Stadt im Nord-Westen des Deltas, die Weiden der βουκόλοι gelegen waren.<sup>10</sup> Aus diesem Grunde wird wohl auch der Horus-Priester aus Buto manchmal, wie wir gesehen haben, einfach 'Hirte' genannt.

Auf Grund des Gesagten können wir also den Schluss ziehen, dass für den Autor des Papyrus Spiegelberg die *sm n Pr-dwf* nicht Asiaten aus dem Osten, sondern Rinderhirten aus dem Westen des Deltas waren.<sup>11</sup> Folglich entsprechen

<sup>1</sup> Erman-Grapow, *Aegypt. Hdwb.*, S. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Spiegelberg, *Kopt. Hdwb.*, S. 208.

<sup>3</sup> Buhl-Gesenius, *Hdwb. üb. A. T.*, XII. Aufl. S. 530.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. S. 151.

<sup>5</sup> Der Ort *Pr-twffj* wird im Glossar Golénischeff (v. 12-13) vor der Festung *Tyrw* aufgezählt. Doch das beweist noch nicht seine Lage im Osten, da in der Städteliste des genannten Papyrus die Städte des östlichen und westlichen Deltas im bunten Durcheinander aufgezählt werden.

<sup>6</sup> Sethe, Pauly-Wissowa, III, Sp. 1013, s. v.

βουκόλοι.

<sup>7</sup> Spiegelberg, *Rec. de trav.* XXVIII, S. 201.

<sup>8</sup> Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, S. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Spiegelberg, *ibid.* S. 18, Anm. 14 weist darauf hin.

<sup>10</sup> *Aethiop.* II, 18, 21, s. Sethe, Pauly-Wissowa, III, Sp. 2234.

<sup>11</sup> Schon Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, S. 8, Anm. 4, gab die Möglichkeit einer Zusammenstellung der βουκόλοι und der *sm* seines Papyrus zu.



diese *ʿm n Pr-dwf* im Pap. Spiegelberg den Hermotybiern, den Kriegern des westlichen Deltas, die im Papyrus, so schien es bis jetzt, gar nicht genannt waren. Ich glaube aber ausserdem, dass die *ʿm n Pr-dwf* nicht nur sachlich den Hermotybiern entsprechen, sondern auch phonetisch mutatis mutandis mit ihnen zusammengestellt werden können. Die Sache ist nämlich die, dass wir im *Pr-dwf*, resp. *dwf* 'Haus des Papyrus', resp. 'Papyrus', das so lange und vergeblich gesuchte ägyptische Äquivalent für τῦβιες haben.<sup>1</sup> Da nun der Pap. Spiegelberg vom Standpunkt eines Kalasiriers geschrieben ist, so ist es nur natürlich zu erwarten, dass die Hermotybier, die Gegner der Kalasirier, unter einem Spottnamen erscheinen werden. Der Name Hermotybier liess sich auch leicht zu einem Spottnamen ändern; man brauchte nur das neutrale ερμιο 'Leute' durch das verächtliche 'Hirt' zu ersetzen und erhielt 'Hirten des Papyrusgebietes', statt 'Leute des Papyrus'. Genannt wurden die Krieger des westlichen Deltas 'Leute des Papyrus' wegen der Papyrusdickichte, die ihre Heimat erfüllten. Hier inmitten der Sümpfe und Seen des Westens wurden sie geschickte Schiffskämpfer und wurden deshalb auch manchmal λαβαρεῖς, d. h. 'zugehörig zur βᾶρις, äg. *br* 'Schiff', genannt.<sup>2</sup> Auch im Pap. Spiegelberg halten sich die Hirten aus dem Papyrusgebiet auf dem Schiffe des Amons auf.

Ich komme zum Schluss meiner kleinen Untersuchung über den Namen der Hermotybier. Das ägyptische Äquivalent des Namens lautete *ʿrm-twf* 'Leute des Papyrus'. Sie wurden so genannt nach der für ihre Heimatgaue ökonomisch wichtigen Pflanze. Da in den Papyrusdickichten die Viehwirtschaft die Hauptbeschäftigung der Bevölkerung war, so konnte man den Hermotybiernamen zum Spott in 'Hirten aus der Papyrusgegend' verzerren.

Wenn diese meine Deutung des Namens einer der zwei Kriegergruppen Spätägyptens wirklich annehmbar ist, so bin ich glücklich sie einem Gelehrten zu widmen, der so unendlich viel für die Bereicherung unseres Wissens über die Geschichte Spätägyptens getan hat.

<sup>1</sup> Das ägyptische *d*, resp. *t*, kann mit griechischem τ, ägypt. *w* mit griech. υ, ägypt. *f* mit griech. β wiedergegeben werden.

<sup>2</sup> Möller, *A.Z.* LVI, S. 78.

## A PAIR OF CONSTELLATIONS

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

(With Plate 58)

ONE of the most important features of the Egyptian diagrams of the skies is that shewn by the various figures accompanying this article. It is a group composed essentially of a hawk-headed man opposed to another figure and with his arms uplifted or stretched out against it. The details of the man figure vary to some extent but the general character is always the same. His *vis-à-vis* has varied much more in detail throughout the ages, but yet has always retained something of its original character by which it may be recognized. At the beginning, middle, and end we have it as the Foreleg of the Bull.<sup>1</sup> In the middle period it becomes an indefinite egg-shaped form upon which the Bull's head is set,<sup>2</sup> or else the Bull himself.<sup>3</sup> In the Ptolemaic and Roman times it is not only the Foreleg of the Bull once more but has the Bull's head set upon it.<sup>4</sup> Its name  $\text{𓆎}|\text{𓆏}|\text{𓆑}$  *mshtyw* is very regularly written with it.

Now, this Bull's Foreleg was an extremely important constellation in the Egyptian firmament, and fortunately there is no question as to which it was. It was our Great Bear or Plough. This is made certain for us by Fig. 1, which is taken from a coffin of the Herakleopolitan period.<sup>5</sup> On the inside of the covers of some of these there are astronomical lists. At the centre these are interrupted by a pair of panels, in one of which Orion and Sothis represent the southern skies, while in the other is pictured the Foreleg of the Bull. It is described as  $\text{𓆎}|\text{𓆏}|\text{𓆑}$  *'Mshtyw in the northern sky'*. In the XVIIIth Dynasty we read of a constellation called  $\text{𓆎}|\text{𓆏}|\text{𓆑}$  (the Foreleg) in the northern sky'.<sup>6</sup> A mystical text of Graeco-Egyptian origin speaks of 'a golden calf's shoulder which is the Great Bear'.<sup>7</sup> Although the

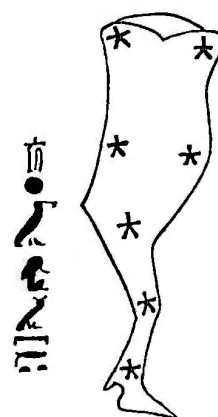


FIG. 1. Herakleopolitan period. After Chassinat and Palanque, *Assiout*, Pl. xxv.

<sup>1</sup> HERAKLEOPOLITAN COFFINS, see Fig. 1; XVIIIth DYNASTY and GREEK, see next paragraph; Roman, Fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Senmut, Fig. 3; Ramesseum, Fig. 5; XXth Dynasty, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 125, Fig. A.

<sup>3</sup> Seti, Fig. 4; XXth Dynasty, Brugsch, op. cit., p. 125, Fig. B, p. 126, Fig. 4.


<sup>4</sup> PTOLEMAIC, L. D. IV, pl. 35 B. = Brugsch, op. cit., p. 126, Fig. 5. Id. op. cit., p. 127, Fig. 6; ROMAN, Fig. 6 of the present article. Brugsch, op. cit., p. 7. At Edfu the Leg has a ram's head instead. It is set on a stand as a sacred object and is called 'The Foreleg of Khnum'. Bénédite,


*Le Temple de Philae*, Pl. XLII and p. 127, l. 9.





<sup>5</sup> Others are recorded in Chassinat and Palanque, pp. 119, 148, 193, and in Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel empire*, II, p. 110. Another is shewn by Winlock, *The Egyptian Expedition for 1920-1921*, Fig. 24, p. 49 (pubd. as *The Bulletin of the Metropol. Mus. of Art*, New York, Nov. 1921, Pt. II). It is named though not figured, on another coffin of this date, Fig. 7 of the present article.



<sup>6</sup> Budge, *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani*, 1894, ch. XVII, Pl. 9, l. 92.

<sup>7</sup> Nock, *J.E.A.* xv, p. 231.

three stars of the lower part of the *Mšhtyw* in the Herakleopolitan pictures are not quite in place, the group is self-evidently the Great Bear  but

drawn when standing on end  as it does in the eastern skies. Considered

from another point of view, when it is high up in the skies above the pole, the Great Bear assumes another shape  which is that of the carpenter's adze of early Egypt.<sup>1</sup> That the Egyptians actually thought of *Mšhtyw* in this way is made clear by the determinative given to the name on one occasion in the Pyramid Texts.<sup>2</sup> Here the word is spelt  where not only is the star  used but also the adze .

Now, in the Pyramid Texts an instrument for opening the mouth of the dead man is called *mšhtyw*  and its determinative shows it to have been adze-shaped.<sup>3</sup> The *Mšhtyw* constellation, therefore, in its form  must have been that original heavenly 'nwš, the *mšhtyw* of *byš* which opened the

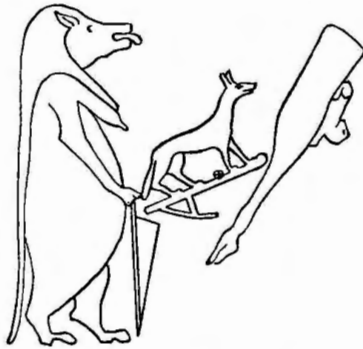






FIG. 2. Roman period. Denderah.  
After C. M., Pl. CCCXLIX bis.

mouth of the gods . . . , with that wherewith he (Horus) opened the mouth of his father, with that wherewith he opened the mouth of Osiris, with the *byš* which came forth from Setesh, the *mšhtyw* . . .'.<sup>4</sup> The actual instruments used by the priests in the land of Egypt were nothing but earthly substitutes for their great heavenly prototype. Another indication of this reaches us by way of the *nwš*, or as it is called later 'the *nwš* of Anubis'.<sup>5</sup> This becomes the generic word for any of the adze-shaped implements for this ceremony.<sup>6</sup> Already in the Pyramid Texts the full description of the *mšhtyw* is  'the *nwš*, the *mšhtyw* . . .'. It is, therefore, significant that both of these two are to be found in the Roman planisphere at Denderah, (Fig. 2). The *Mšhtyw* is there as the Foreleg of the Bull, and the *nwš* as the chopping instrument in front of it. This is drawn as something between the long-handled adze  and the short-handled . The instrument has a jackal upon it. This must surely represent the jackal of the original determinative  of the old adze. The whole group, jackal and instrument together, represents

<sup>1</sup> For example, Petrie, *Medum*, Pl. xi, top register.

<sup>2</sup> Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*, § 458.

<sup>3</sup> Id., op. cit., §§ 13, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Id., op. cit., §§ 13, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, Pl. xvii, bottom register, scene 2.

<sup>6</sup> Boeser, *Äg. Sammlung*, iv, Pl. xiv; Davies and Gardiner, op. cit., Pl. xvii, bottom register = p. 59, scenes 1, 2.

the *nw*. Thus we are able to find each form of the original instrument in the Egyptian firmament, whether *nw* or *mshtyw*, foreleg or adze. This being so, the foreleg of the bull sacrificed at the ceremony not unnaturally had the same virtue as the manufactured instruments. It may often be seen being cut off the victim and passed to the officiating priest with some such words as 'Take the leg. Open the mouth and the eyes'.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact the *mshtyw* instrument was at times made in both the forms of its prototype, for the Louvre actually possesses two tiny objects, one a leg made of iron and the other an adze of ivory with a blade of iron.<sup>2</sup> The fact that they are of iron should be noted, for the Pyramid Texts speak of the '*mshtyw* of *by* (iron)' and then specify it more closely as 'the *by* (iron) which came forth out of Setesh, the *mshtyw*'. It is evident, therefore, that the Sethian iron and the *mshtyw* are one and the same. Already, then, in Pyramid times the *mshtyw* and Setesh are closely associated. In the XXth Dynasty it is definitely said that the constellation is 'this *Mshtyw* of Seth' and that 'it always existeth in the northern sky'.<sup>3</sup> The Leg was so characteristic of Seth that in one of their battles it was this that Horus cut off from him.<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, therefore, is recording the essence of a very ancient belief when he reports that 'Arktos' is 'the soul Typhon'<sup>5</sup> and that iron is 'the bone of Typhon'.<sup>6</sup> 'Arktos' is none other than our Great Bear and the origin of our own word Arctic. For ἄρκτος is the ordinary Greek word for a bear and was the name given to the constellation as early as the time of Homer.<sup>7</sup> Finally, the Beduin of the western desert still call the Great Bear *er Rigl*, 'the Leg'.<sup>8</sup> It is, therefore, well established that the ancient Egyptian constellation *Mshtyw*, the Bull's Foreleg, or the Bull as it occasionally is, was our Great Bear.

But what of the other figure that makes a pair with it from the time of our earliest star diagram? (Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6).<sup>9</sup> The constant characteristic of this man

<sup>1</sup> Virey, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*, Pl. xxxi, second register from the top; Seti, Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerali*, Pls. LVII, §a, LXIII, §a; Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, II, Pls. I, top register; VII, top register and l. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Devéria, *Le fer et l'aimant* (pubd. in Maspero, *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, v), pp. 349, 351.

<sup>3</sup> Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, p. 646 = p. 657, where *Mshtyw* is determined with the foreleg.

<sup>4</sup> Naville, *Le Mythe d'Horus*, Pl. xxiv, l. 106.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, § 21. (Teubner's edn. *Moralia*, II, p. 492.)

<sup>6</sup> Id., op. cit., § 62.

<sup>7</sup> *Iliad*, XVIII. 487 = *Odyssey*, v. 273. The Greeks' other name for it, Ἄρκτος (compare our own Charles's Wain), was no doubt derived from the Babylonians who called it *Mar-gid-da* 'The Long Wagon'. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sternendienst in Babel*, I, p. 250; *Ergänzungen*, p. 55. I owe

this reference to the kindness of Mr. Gadd.

<sup>8</sup> According to Mariette's detailed report, see Biot, *Journal des Savants*, 1855, pp. 465, 466. Brugsch, *Die Aegyptologie*, p. 343, note, confirms this statement as a result of his journeys in the western desert.

<sup>9</sup> Other examples not reproduced in this article are; XXTH DYNASTY, Brugsch, op. cit., p. 125, Figs. A and B, p. 126, No. 4; PTOLEMAIC, L. D. IV, Pl. 35 b; ROMAN, Brugsch, op. cit., p. 7. In Petrie, *Athribis*, Pl. xxxvii, a figure of Roman date appears alone with his arms extended as if stretching his cord. This latter fact and a comparison with L. D. IV, Pl. xxxv b would suggest that he was *Tw*-*nw*. On the other hand a comparison with L. D. IV, Pl. XLIX would suggest that both figures might represent a confusion between him and Orion.

is that he holds his arms extended. He generally stretches a cord between his hands (Fig. 4),<sup>1</sup> though this is often carried straight through to the Foreleg, as in Fig. 3.<sup>2</sup> By an error of the ancient artist or his modern copyist his front arm

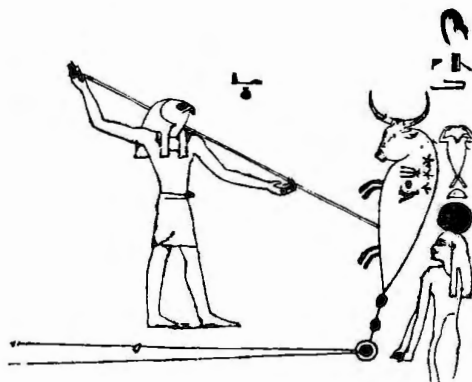


FIG. 3. Tomb of Senmut. After Metrop. Mus. photograph.

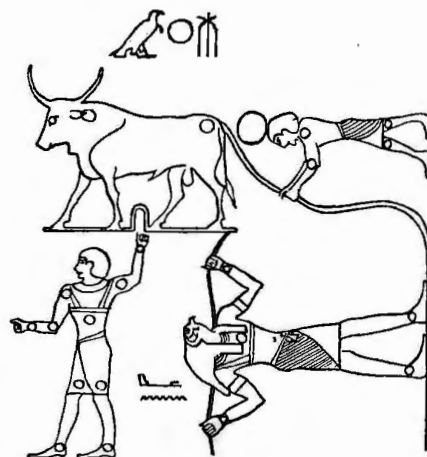


FIG. 4. Tomb of Seti. After L. D. III, Pl. 137.

is dropped in the Ramesseum, where he seems to be making a cast at *Mšhtyw* with what looks more like a short spear (Fig. 5). This change may have been due to the development of thought that by Roman times had transformed his cord into a spear with which he attacks *Mšhtyw* (Fig. 6).<sup>3</sup> Though at present we have



FIG. 5. Ramesseum. After L. D. III, Pl. 171.

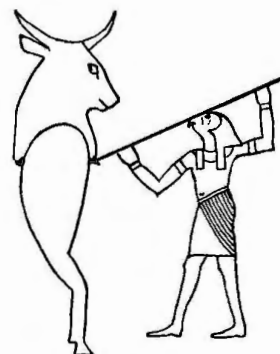


FIG. 6. Roman period. After Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 127, Fig. 8.

no star diagram earlier than Senmut's (Fig. 3), we know that this constellation had been recognized and named long before the XVIIIth Dynasty. The earliest example we have of it is in an unusual collection of astronomical matter on one of

<sup>1</sup> The Ptolemaic picture at Philae omits the cord. L. D. IV, Pl. xxxvb.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also XXth Dynasty, Brugsch, *op. cit.*, p. 125 a. At this time it sometimes passes behind

*Mšhtyw*, see *Id. op. cit.*, p. 125, Fig. B; p. 126, fig. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Another example is Brugsch, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

the coffins of the Herakleopolitan period (Fig. 7). Here he is named, and the name *Mshtyw* is to be read not far off.<sup>1</sup> Thus even here they form a pair, for it is they who are selected to occupy the star-field. Although this part of the scene is much damaged it is unlikely that there should have been others which have perished entirely leaving only these two. Our figure does not appear in the central panel of the more usual type of coffin. This seems strange seeing how intimately he and *Mshtyw* were associated at any rate from the beginning of the New Kingdom onwards.

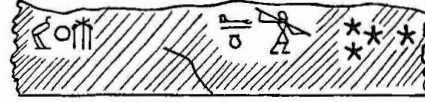


























FIG. 7. Herakleopolitan period. After Gunn, *Ann. du Service*, xxvi, p. 171.

On the Herakleopolitan coffin just mentioned (Fig. 7), his name is written                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     <

each other.<sup>1</sup> As *Mshtyw* was Seth his opponent who rises against him each night could be none other than Horus. Hence, we find *Tw3-ꜛnw* wearing the falcon's head. There can scarcely be any doubt, therefore, that the *Tw3-ꜛnw* constellation of the ancient Egyptians was the one we call Cygnus to-day.

Like *Mshtyw* itself the *Tw3-ꜛnw* constellation gave its name to one of the instruments for opening the mouth, but this apparently did not happen until

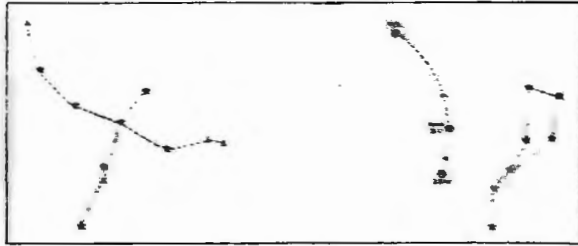


FIG. 8. The Constellations of *Mshtyw* and *Tw3-ꜛnw*, and the positions of the pole. The dotted curve between the positions indicates the path of the pole.

the New Kingdom, when we have an adze-shaped instrument called  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$  in Seti's tomb.<sup>2</sup> The name of this instrument is otherwise spelt  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ , *Dwn-ꜛ*, which form we find as early as the XVIIIth Dynasty,<sup>3</sup> and yet again in the XXVIth.<sup>4</sup> In the text accompanying the XXVIth Dynasty scene the name is duplicated, both forms

being given together, thus  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} = \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ .<sup>5</sup>

*Dwn* means 'to stretch', an idea as suitable to the arms of Cygnus as is *tw3* 'to uplift'. Besides this there is a liability to confusion between the two sounds *tw3* and *dwn*. In the first place *Dwn-ꜛmw*-*f* is sometimes spelt with  $\text{𓆎}$ .<sup>6</sup> Gunn tells me that a spelling of this sort is as early as the XIIth Dynasty, at which date this name is spelt with  $\text{𓆎}$  in some of his unpublished material from Saqqarah. Thus *tw3* and *dwn* tended to merge comparatively early. As *3* and *n* also tend to merge *dwn* and *dwn* were not sharply distinguished, as may be seen, for example, from the variant spelling of a god's name in the Pyramid Texts. This is *Dwn-ꜛnw* as it is usually spelt and as it is by Pepi I and Pepi II, but Mery-n-ré spells it *Dwn-ꜛnw*.<sup>7</sup> This also is a Horus and his wings are outspread, but there does not seem to be any connexion between him and the constellation *Tw3-ꜛnw*. Later on *Dwn-ꜛnw* became god of Hipponon, the XVIIIth Nome of Upper Egypt.<sup>8</sup> Another god, Anher or Onuris, adopts an attitude that gives him some

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 8 gives the constellations as shown by Kiepert and others in the *Grosser Handatlas des Himmels*, &c. (Thüringen, 1871) Map 68. The figure of *Tw3-ꜛnw* has been completed by adding to our figure of Cygnus the two stars at the end of his front arm, and one at the end of the other. These are Cygni  $\chi$ ,  $\mu$ , the only other stars of any magnitude in that part of the sky. The position of the pole for 3500 B.C. has been entered from Miss Williamson's map, and is sufficiently accurate with regard to the Great Bear. Actually Cygnus is a little too far away. To have got his position astronomically correct would have entailed a long extra calculation to no

useful purpose.

<sup>2</sup> Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerari*, Pl. LXIII, § b vignette, § c, l. 4=vol. II, p. 163; Pl. LXX, top register.

<sup>3</sup> Boeser, *Ägypt. Sammlung*, IV, Pl. XIV.

<sup>4</sup> Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast des Psusamenep*, II, Pl. VIII, top register.

<sup>5</sup> Id., op. cit., II, Pl. VIII, l. 46. Dümichen gives the first sign as a man holding up a knife. This we have altered as above.

<sup>6</sup> Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 117, No. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Sethe, *Die Pyramidentexte*, § 1098.

<sup>8</sup> Kees, *Ä.Z.* LVIII, p. 95.

resemblance to *Tw3-<sup>c</sup>nw*. Though it is only one of his hands that Onuris uplifts he stretches a cord between them like *Tw3-<sup>c</sup>nw*.<sup>1</sup>

In studying these two constellations and other allied questions, it became evident that hitherto we have had no knowledge as to the appearance of the skies to an observer in Egypt about the time that the Egyptian ideas of astronomy were beginning to take shape. The first thing to do, therefore, was to get a map constructed for the northern heavens. The point of observation was taken to be Cairo, which would be equivalent to the ancient Heliopolis. The date selected was 3500 B.C. This seemed a convenient one for several reasons. In the first place it is not too far removed from the age whence our earliest records come, and they probably enshrine much learning that was already ancient when they were written about 2600 B.C. For instance, by that time the calendar had already been established long enough for the fact to have been discovered that three hundred and sixty days did not make a full year, and five extra ones had been added.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, 3500 is just half-way between the two dates 4241–4238 B.C. and 2781–2778 B.C. The first is that at which it has been thought the Sothic Cycle itself was instituted,<sup>3</sup> and the second is one which has recently been proposed and with more probability.<sup>4</sup> Finally it was at this second date on the one reckoning, or some two hundred years earlier on the other, that Imhotep lived. He was the most famous of Egypt's wise men, and tradition ascribes to him proficiency in astrology as well as in other sciences.<sup>5</sup> In either case, therefore, much astronomical observation had been going on at something approximating 3500 B.C., whether earlier or later. The task of getting out this map was very kindly undertaken by Miss Williamson of the Department of Applied Mathematics, University College, London. Egyptologists will owe her a debt of gratitude for the labour she has expended in calculating the positions of the various stars. Her map is published here as Plate 58.

Miss Williamson supplies the following information on the Great Bear: 'At the date of the map, 3500 B.C., the constellation had just begun its career as a circumpolar at Heliopolis. It continued to approach the pole, i.e. to increase its height, for a further 1862 years, attaining the maximum height in about 1600 B.C. It then began to decline again, and the last star of its tail,  $\eta$  Ursae Majoris, would begin to set about 410 B.C. Finally, continuing for another 1,470 years gradually more and more of the constellation set, till in A.D. 1050 only the top star of the pointers,  $\alpha$  Ursae Majoris, remained circumpolar. At the present time  $\alpha$  Ursae Majoris is still about 2 degrees above the horizon at Heliopolis at the lowest culmination. The Great Bear is still increasing its distance from the pole.'

<sup>1</sup> Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, Nos. 38025, 38028, Pl. III and pp. 11, 12; No. 38024 probably had a cord and perhaps No. 38023 also, see p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Sethe, *Die Pyramidentexte*, § 1961 c.

<sup>3</sup> E. Meyer, *Aeg. Chronologie*, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> A. Scharff, *Grundzüge der ägyptischen Vorgeschichte*, pp. 54 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Sethe, *Imhotep*, pp. 22, 23 (pubd. in *Untersuchungen*, 11).



Miss Williamson here brings out the fact that the Great Bear was circumpolar from the beginning to the end of the Pharaonic period. But it had another characteristic which is probably more important still for our purposes. In 3500 B.C. Polaris, our pole-star of to-day, was so far from the pole that it nearly set each night, probably being lost in the mists of Earth. In those days there was no individual star of any importance that could have served as pole-star. In fact it was *Mšhtyꜣw* itself that then acted instead of a pole-star. The pole was actually so close to *Mšhtyꜣw*, the Great Bear, that this constellation turned a somersault in the skies each night. This it continued to do all through Pharaonic days. Moreover, for at least the first thousand years of our period its sweep became ever more circumscribed as its somersault became more and more symmetrical. It was thus revolving round the pole in an ever diminishing circle during these early ages of human observation. It was not until after the year 1600 B.C., that the circle began to widen again. This gradual alteration was, of course, extremely slow and it must have been very many generations, if ever, before it could have caused any disquietude to the observer.<sup>1</sup> Such an evolution as this nightly somersault performed by so large and brilliant a constellation must have been a most noticeable and impressive sight, especially in the latitude of Heliopolis. Here the Bear is not high overhead as with us in northern Europe, but is low down in the skies just above the house-tops. It is impossible not to see it whenever one is facing northwards and looks upward at all. The fact, then, that there was a centre about which the whole heavens turned, as well as its position within a very definite and circumscribed area, must have obtruded itself upon the notice of the least inquisitive. Indeed, the point of rotation of the heavens must have been far more noticeable than now. To-day it is only marked by a single star and one so insignificant that to find it we are still dependent upon the Great Bear, using his two front stars as 'The Pointers'.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Great Bear took an important place in Egyptian astronomy. Not only is it one of the most splendid constellations in the sky; but it did what no other constellation did in turning on itself; it indicated the pole; and was the only constellation of any importance that never set.<sup>2</sup> It was, therefore, very natural that it should have been separated out from the other circumpolar stars, the '*Iḥmꜣw-sk* 'The Imperishable Stars', thus 'The two Enneads have purified themselves for him as *Mšhtyꜣw* and the Imperishable Stars'.<sup>3</sup>

On the well-known planisphere of Denderah *Mšhtyꜣw* is shown close to the

<sup>1</sup> In passing a curious coincidence may be mentioned. It is that the year 1600 is very near the date of the institution of the era known to us through 'the Stela of the Year 400'. However, it cannot be supposed at present that the one could have anything to do with the other.

<sup>2</sup> The only other one was the Little Bear, which after all is only noticeable because of its resemblance and proximity to its greater neighbour.

<sup>3</sup> Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 458.

pole, which we have marked for the sake of clearness (Fig. 2).<sup>1</sup> M. Biot denies emphatically that this in any way represents the real position of the Great Bear,<sup>2</sup> and this is true for the year 700 B.C. and still more so for Roman days. A comparison, however, of the Denderah planisphere with Miss Williamson's map shews that the constellation's position with regard to the pole is much the same in both. The Denderah planisphere, therefore, gives its traditional position and not its actual one.

Some of the Ptolemaic and Roman pictures show the seven stars of the Great Bear divided up into two groups, three being put below the Leg and four above it.<sup>3</sup> This clearly represents the two parts into which the constellation divides itself, the tail consisting of three stars, and the body of four. In Egyptian terminology the body of the Bear would no doubt have been called the fleshy part of the Leg. The stars forming this part are no doubt the four to which Ramesses VI refers when he speaks of 'the *'Ihmw-sk* and the Four Northern Stars of pure *Mšhtyw*.'<sup>4</sup> The Four Northern Stars are named again in the heading of one of the versions of this text.<sup>5</sup> It is evident, therefore, that these stars had a special importance. In fact they were the Four Children of Horus, for in the XVIIIth Dynasty we read that 'Imsety, Hapi, Duamutef, Qebhsenuf, these are they who are behind the Foreleg (☉ ☽ ☿ ♀) in the northern sky'.<sup>6</sup> A little further on the same text speaks of seven spirits of whom these are the first four, thus 'As for these seven spirits Imsety, Hapi, Duamutef, Qebhsenuf, *Mš-ıtf*, *Hry-bk-f*, Horus *mḥnty-n-ırtı*, they are placed by Anubis as protectors for the burial of Osiris'.<sup>7</sup> The inclusion of these four in a group of seven makes it clear that the reference is to the seven stars of the Great Bear. As the first four are the body, the last three must be the three stars of the tail.

The seventh star in the constellation is significant, for he is Horus *mḥnty-n-ırtı*. This god was not only the father of Imsety, Hapi, Duamutef, and Qebhsenuf<sup>8</sup> but also the god of Letopolis.<sup>9</sup> The thighs of *Mḥnty-n-ırtı* are constantly mentioned,<sup>10</sup> and his service to Osiris was 'guarding this left arm of Osiris which is in Letopolis'.<sup>11</sup> Letopolis was also the capital of the Nome of the Haunch. This

<sup>1</sup> Champollion, *Mons.*, Pl. CCCXLIX bis. On the next plate M. Biot has put in a number of stars, the position of which he has calculated for the year 700 B.C. *Recherches sur plusieurs points de l'astronomie égyptienne* (Paris, 1823), p. 58. A good photograph of the planisphere is published by Daressy, *Bull. de l'inst. franç. d'arch. or.* XII, Pl. I, facing p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Biot, *Journal des Savants*, 1855, p. 471.

<sup>3</sup> Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 127, Fig. 6 and cf p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, p. 645 = p. 657.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, op. cit., II, p. 645.

<sup>6</sup> Budge, *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani* (1894), Pl. 9, ch. XVII, ll. 90-2. *Dwš-mwt-f* is named as a star next before *Mšhtyw* [?] on an Herakleopolitan





coffin. Gunn, *Ann. du Service*, XXVI, p. 169, No. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Budge, op. cit., ll. 98-101. I have to thank Mr. Faulkner for calling my attention to this. The gloss gives another version of the names which is of middle kingdom date. See ll. 103-6 and Grapow, *Das 17. Kapitel des äg. Totenbuches*. (Berlin, 1912), Abschnitt 20. Both sets of gods are shown in the vignette along with Anubis. Budge, loc. cit. <sup>8</sup> Sethe, *Pyr.*, § 2078.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.*, op. cit., §§ 1670, 2086.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*, op. cit., §§ 1211, 1367, 2015. Cf. also § 1547.

<sup>11</sup> Budge, op. cit., pl. 5, ch. I, ll. 20, 21, where he is merely called Horus.

symbol was at first drawn as only the fleshy part of the leg ,<sup>1</sup> later ,<sup>2</sup> and finally as the full .<sup>3</sup> The Letopolite Nome standard, then, was not an earthly 'Joint of Meat' as it has often been called. It was, on the contrary, the upper part of *Mshtyw*, that heavenly Foreleg which was composed of stars sacred to the Four Children of the god of the capital city of the Nome. *Mshtyw* was thus both the emblem of the Letopolite Nome on earth and the heavenly prototype of the implements for opening the mouth. It is, therefore, only natural that Egypt's earthly Opener of the Mouth *par excellence* should have lived at Letopolis. He was, in fact, the high priest of Letopolis, for this official's title was  "The Opener of the Mouth".<sup>4</sup>

In *Mshtyw* and *Tw3-nw* we have the great Bear and Cygnus, two out of the three brightest and most noticeable constellations of the northern skies. There

remains Cassiopeia



.<sup>5</sup> Like Cygnus she faces the Great Bear from the

other side of the pole, at about the same distance as he, and situated rather above their *vis-à-vis* while he stands rather below it. Together they all stand out from the other stars as a brilliant trio. As the ancient Egyptians recognized two of them, it is scarcely possible that they should have overlooked Cassiopeia. Can she be the man who extends his arms in Fig. 4 between *Tw3-nw* and the Bull?

<sup>1</sup> IIIrd DYNASTY. Sethe, *Urk. A. R.*, p. 2, Nos. 10, 17; Vth DYNASTY. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, I, Pl. IX, No. 134; II, Pl. X, lower register.

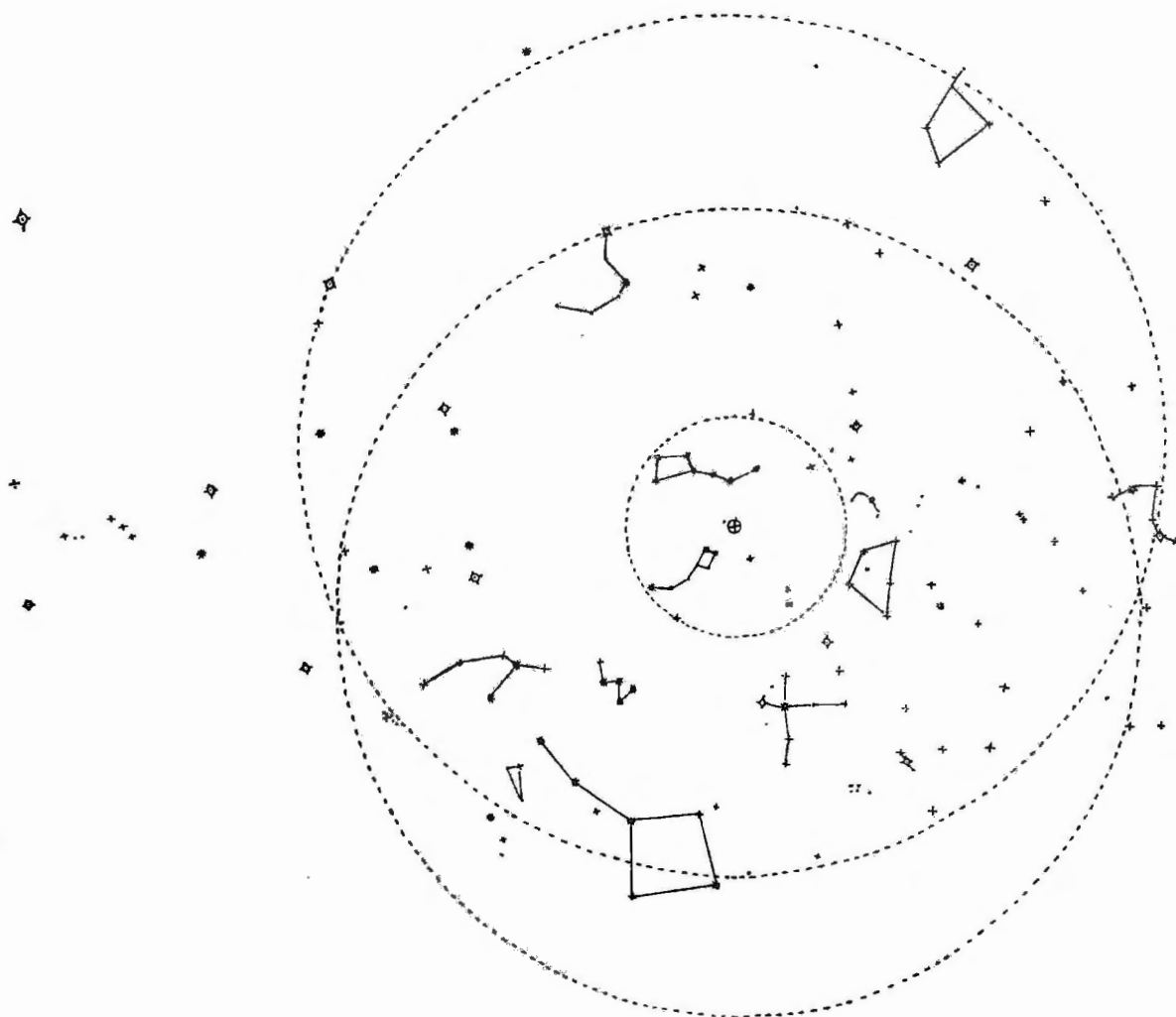
<sup>2</sup> XIXth Dynasty, Caulfeild, *The Temple of the Kings*, Pl. XVIII, and probably already in the XIIth Dynasty, see Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, Pl. 1 a = Gautier and Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht*, Fig. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Dümichen, *Geograph. Inschriften*, I, Pls. XXIX, B. 2; XXXVII, D. 2; LXII, B. 2, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Sethe, *Urk. A. R.*, p. 6, l. 17, p. 7, l. 1;

Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des mittl. Reichs*, I, p. 243, No. 20221; Spiegelberg, *Rec. de trav.* XXVI, p. 146; Bergmann, *Rec. de trav.* IX, pp. 57, 59; Lieblein, *Dict. de noms hiérog.*, No. 1164; Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, pp. 1368, 1377.

<sup>5</sup> The figure is taken from a map of the sky for the present day, when Cassiopeia is more widely expanded than she was in 3500 B.C. Our Egyptian diagrams date from the New Kingdom, roughly about half-way between the two extremes.



The Northern Stars at Heliopolis for 3500 B.C.



## DESCRIPTION OF THE MAP

*By* E. WILLIAMSON

THE map is drawn on the stereographic projection, for North Latitude  $30^\circ$  the point of projection being the north pole of the ecliptic. It shows the brighter stars of the northern hemisphere. It is corrected for Precession and shows the North Celestial Pole and the equator as they were in 3500 B.C. The changes of position of the stars relatively to each other caused by their Proper Motions were investigated. If the motion in 5,400 years (computed from Boss's catalogue) did not exceed  $20^m$  of Right Ascension and  $20'$  of declination they were neglected. The most noticeable changes of position are those of  $\beta$  Cassiopeiae (which alters the shape of the constellation considerably),  $\alpha$  Boötis (Arcturus), and  $\alpha$  Canis Minoris (Procyon).

The observer's horizon is not shown in the map, but the circumpolar circle touches it in the North point. Thus the appearance of the northern sky at any season can be found with the aid of the meridians drawn on the transparent sheet. These meridians give the direction of North and South for the observer at midnight at the equinoxes and solstices, and intermediate times can be estimated. The map only goes down to the equator, so that the observer's southern horizon cannot be shown.

## TWO COPTIC CLOTHS

By THOMAS WHITTEMORE

(With Plates 59, 60)

**T**WO weavings of the fourth century in the possession of Mr. Jacques Matossian in Alexandria are here by his permission reproduced.

They are said to have been found at Panopolis (Akhmim) in Upper Egypt. Each panel is about 35 cm. square and is part of a linen cloth, perhaps the two are fragments of a curtain. They are tapestry-woven, the figures and designs in coloured wools originally purple or dark blue (now almost black) against a buff-yellow ground of undyed linen thread. The beaks, legs, and claws of the birds are in red ochre and serve as accents, much as the outlines of eyes, lips, and nose in carmine glass tesserae enrich the great Byzantine stone mosaics.

In a square in the centre of the first panel is a pastoral scene (Pl. 59). A young shepherd is sitting on what looks like the capital and top drum of an ionic column, such as often may be observed lying about in an Egyptian village. He is leaning on a staff held in his left hand and in his right he holds something not quite visible. His shoulders and legs are bare. Around his loins he wears a skin, on his feet are highish boots or buskins. He is turned almost full-faced towards us, while his dog is crouching at his feet in attitude of play or in appeal for the thing which his master holds.

A goat, whose dappled coat is indicated by short parallel lines, characteristically strains to nibble a leaf from the vine that gives shade to the group. A plant with three leaves fills the space between the goat and the dog. A wide, decorated border composed of vines and clusters of the dark Mediterranean grape growing right and left out of rough, more or less heart-shaped pots (perhaps derived from the grape clusters of the Eighteenth Dynasty friezes), contains eight birds, two and two standing opposite to one another—a series of pigeons, hunched, well-fed ones, such as we see to-day along the ways of Egyptian hamlets moving about on their dusty coral feet.

Although no incident quite like this has survived, the figure of a youth resembling ours is frequently met with in Greek and Roman mosaics.

Vibrant with humour both, the second more arresting picture is a milking-scene framed by a border with more pigeons (Pl. 60). In the shade of vines like those that keep the sun's rays from most saqiyas in Egypt, is a vigorous old man wearing a loin-cloth who kneels on one knee to milk a goat. He is almost bald, but his beard and the hair on the back of his head are still thick and curly. He is milking into a pail in form like a short fluted column. A wide-eyed kid is standing alongside. A somewhat ornate jug with handles hangs over the old man's head cooling.



Woven Coptic cloth  
Scale c. 3 : 7





Both these representations might well be illustrations of pastoral poetry. The goat reminds us of lines in Virgil:

Praeterea duo, nec tuta mihi valle reperti,  
 Capreoli, sparsis etiam nunc pellibus albo;  
 Bina die siccant ovis ubera; quos tibi servo. *Eclogue ii. 40-2.*

The old man is reminiscent of Pan in Virgil's

Pan primus calamos cera coniungere plures  
 Instituit, Pan curat oves oviumque magistros. *Eclogue ii. 32-3.*

Together these representations diffuse the spirit of Alexandrian art, the art of an imperial city, created by a population crowded in narrow streets which nevertheless, living not far from the life of the country, recalls it as supreme human bliss:

Pallas, quas condidit arces,  
 Ipsa colat; nobis placeant ante omnia silvae. *Eclogue ii. 61-2.*

Museum catalogues of textiles would probably say that the ornamentation which surrounds the picture is alike in both instances, but it is just because the weaver protected his spontaneity by asserting a difference that these stuffs, small though they are, are not slight.

If the vine is traced with predisposed and ingenious acumen throughout Syria, it was also commonly to be found in Egypt during the sixteenth century B.C. no less persistently adorning the walls of Egyptian tombs and palaces. Nor are we to suppose that wherever drink and shade were coveted the vine did not lend itself to the praises of design. Moreover, if in archaeological enumeration, which often seems like the catalogue of spare parts, we are told to seek the delineation of the human face in profile only in ancient Egypt and the full face exclusively in Christian days, we have here in our textiles both. All rays were gathered into a single point of light by the Syro-hellenistic-Roman looms of Alexandria. One has no right to assert East or West, now or then; they are one in life's duration. Art, like technique, has no origin. In Mesopotamia the mosaics of Ur and Tello do not disclose their geographical parentage. The dome is in the skull of the bird, and vaulting in the swift ribs of the fish. Both these designs still have that firmness of mosaics which in later Coptic textiles is lost in loose floating patches of colour. Jean Maspero once published a stone found at Coptos on which we see clearly how the Copts treated an Old Kingdom scene. Instead of the arrangement of bird- and plant-subjects in parallel registers with which we are familiar in ancient Egypt, the whole design was broken up. Seeming at first glance to be only the disjointed and detached parts of a jig-saw puzzle, the motive finally took shape and unity in the intricacies of its lights and shades. What was once for the ancient Egyptian in his mystical feeling certainly

■ breath of inspiration had become in his own hands a fixed and evil form. But matter freed from the trammels of its own habits becomes the subject of another inspiration. You can no more measure these textiles than you can measure the vine itself. They are like little stars. The figures here have almost escaped from space; they are freed from all domination of geometrical insistence. The striking thing is that there is nothing individualistic in these remnants either in the scene or in the artist's passion. The old man and the shepherd live breast to breast with life, knowing that life is greater than themselves, yet that they are of it, delighting in telling time by the splendour of the sun, finding their way by the stars, healing their wounds with desert plants and, like Nahum the Elkoshite, seeing the clouds as the dust of the Lord's feet; living fully and sufficiently as notes in the world's dutiful symphony of response.

Wholly without self-interest, the preoccupation of the weaver of these textiles was not consciously with pattern but with colour-effects which he found growing at the touch of his fingers. These figures are woven with a colour-sense and painted with the shuttle in a sentiment that, more fully released, finally reaches blinding exuberance in the limestone sculptures, now in the Cairo museum, from the monastery of St. Jeremias and from Bawīt. Colour is here, as in the chiaroscuro of these carvings, but the terms in which the artist expressed the solution of his problem. Unlike the Mēdūm geese of the IVth Dynasty, these pigeons are not schematized. The geese are outlined maps of geese with details filled in. Nor does the painting of birds of the El Amarna school escape the geometrical treatment of all ancient Egyptian art. These pigeons are not an automaton's replicas but the vision of an autonomous and controlling mind; they move in the manner of a musical theme with variations that pours through a directive will until the satisfying juxtaposition of effects is reached, the one that, falling on our ears, will by the reverse sequence end by exacting from us the musicians' moral attitude.

Whether the object was simply mirrored by a detached and mystical consciousness, or was analysed in a series of profile outlines to be recombined into ■ statue, or whether the executant had recourse to casting from the live or dead face, a procedure which may well have been followed with the Nefertiti head and its set from El Amarna, the final works of the ancient Nile craftsman were not to be powerful forces of attraction to the beholders; they were from the moment of completion what they are to-day, historical documents of greater or less worth. Greek sculpture and Italian painting will prove to be little more when we come to judge them not according to mere relational standards but for their effect on our lives to-day—and beyond that there lies no appeal for art.

Let the matter be stated in dogmatic form: the mystic reaction, whether the cubism of the Dynasties or that of timorous Europe, goes no farther than to repeat the geometry of the crystal or the flower. Classical idealism and its successor, scientific perception, reflect nothing that exceeds the values and the



Woven Coptic cloth  
Scale c. 3 : 7



interests with which we each are burdened from our birth onwards. We demand more than that from privileged minds; and we find that more has been offered to us by them, but we have ignored the gift. The integral and global vision, the power of life's will, the total acceptance by those unifying consciousnesses creating works that demand from us not discursive appreciation but nothing short of conversion of our approach to life and a transcendence of our effort, that obtain from us, in our dwelling with them, the surrender of all prejudices, private interests, and partial affections; that creative power is not to be found in Egypt of the Pharaohs, in Greece of the Democracies, or in Italy of the Tyrants.

It was Byzantine vision, although this name marking the period of its widest realization must not be restricted to time or place. It occurs in the statue of Gudea of the British Museum; it is in the 'Agony in the Garden' in St. Mark's, in Venice; it is in the mosques of Cairo. El Greco knew it, Rubens too. It is in Mozart's music. Nearer, it is in the prophetic utterances of Milton and his descendants; it is in Turner's later works; it is in Paine's Bridge at Richmond; it is in the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

## NOTES

1. A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles from burying-grounds in Egypt*, vol. I (Graeco-Roman period), Pl. x, 26; Pl. xi, 23; Pl. xii; Pl. xiii, 50; Pl. xiv.
2. Representations of dogs are rather seldom met with during the Christian period; a shepherd with a dog has been reproduced in Cabrol's dictionary (see under 'Chien').
3. Goats are frequently met with on Greek vases. On a Greek cup (sixth century B.C.) two goats are represented standing on their hind legs like the one on our Textile. (See M. Heinemann, *Kunst bis Polygnot*, p. 52, Abb. 7, Bonn, 1901).
4. The fur of leopards—Kendrick, I, Pl. xii, 47 (fourth-fifth century A.D.).
5. The representation of Paris, who is seated like the young shepherd of this Textile (S. Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures grecques et romaines*, pp. 163-5. Paris, Leroux, 1922).
6. Two doves with a vase between them in the church of St. John the Baptist at Naples—second half of the fourth century (Joseph Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken*, vol. III, Pl. xxix, also Pl. xxx and xxxii).
7. S. Reinach, *Répertoire*, p. 247, 2 and 3: representing a vineyard, goats, and a shepherd. Mosaic in Hadrian's Villa.
8. At S. Matrona at S. Presco, second half of the fifth century—ornamentation composed of grapes growing out of a vase, and birds and palm-trees. (J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken*, Pl. Lxxv.)
9. 'La vigne symbolise le sang du Christ' in Gayet, 'L'Art copte', *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, 1898, tome IV, p. 51.
10. Wulf und Volbach, *Spätantike und koptische Stoffe*, No. 9136, Pl. LII, p. 22; No. 4621, Pl. Lxv; No. 11435 (all of the fourth century).
11. Milking-scenes are frequently met with in classical art. Very like this representation is one in Pompeii, of Pan milking a goat, in S. Reinach's *Répertoire*, p. 100, No. 8. Also cupids milking a goat; p. 86, No. 1. A rare bronze coin of Cyzicus of the time of M. Aurelius shows a herdsman milking a goat (*Z. f. N.* xv, 42).
12. For representations of vines in Egyptian tombs see the tomb of Sennofer (Sheikh-Abdel-Gurna, No. 96 B.)
13. J. Maspero, in *Recueil de travaux* (1915), xxxvii, Pl. iv.
14. Matthew Prichard, *Conversations*.

## PEARL SHELLS OF SE'N-WOSRET I

By H. E. WINLOCK

(With Plates 61, 62)

IN 1923 Sayyid Mulettim, who was then an antiquity dealer in a small way around Luxor, brought me a pearl shell inscribed with the prenomen of Se'n-Wosret I and a curious tag of blackish leather (Pl. 61*b* and *c* and No. 9 of the list below). He said that they had been found together on the arm of a mummy unearthed at Gebelein, and it seemed obvious that they did belong together, judging from a stain on the shell, unmistakably made by the tag. A number of such shells were known, but many were under suspicion and none had been very satisfactorily explained.<sup>1</sup> Feeling that the curious leather tag might give some clue to the purpose of the shells, I procured both for the Metropolitan Museum.

The tag has since been explained. In 1926, in the tomb of the soldiers of King Mentu-hotpe at Deir el Bahri,<sup>2</sup> we found four such tags. Three were broken and lay loose in the bandages of the plundered bodies, but a fourth still remained in place on the left wrist of one of the soldiers (Pl. 61*a*) and immediately suggested that they were a type of archer's wrist-guard peculiar to the early Middle Kingdom. The correctness of this guess seems assured by the discovery in 1930 of still another tag in an XIth-Dynasty Theban tomb in what appears to have been an archer's duffle bag, along with several lengths of gut bow-string.<sup>3</sup> The statement of Sayyid Mulettim thus received ample confirmation. Considering the fact that such tags were totally unknown to either of us in 1923 he could hardly have invented his tale of the discovery of this one on a mummy's arm, and the stain of the tag on the shell had already proved that they had been found together.

With these points established I began to make inquiries of my colleagues in other museums, and with cordiality and promptness they gave me photographs and descriptions of over thirty shells which have turned up all the way from

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Guide* (1914), p. 524 had merely referred to them as brought back to Aswān from expeditions to the Red Sea. Petrie and Allen (see list) and Reisner, in an unpublished volume in the *Cairo Catalogue*, had classed them under the very general heading of 'Amulets'.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*, February 1928, II, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Since the above was written, Mr. Glanville has called my attention to another of these tags, now in the British Museum (No. 63225). It was found by Mr. Brunton in a 'Pan-grave' burial, together with an axe, the copper head of which

was engraved with the cartouche Neb-ma'at-Re' of an obscure king of the Second Intermediate Period. It is described by Mr. Brunton (*Guide to Egyptian Antiquities from Mostagedda*, . . . 1929. *Exhibited in the . . . British Museum*, . . . 1930, p. 10) as an 'archer's arm-guard of leather, tooled with designs showing a lotus flower and the dwarf god Bes.' He continues: 'If we are right in calling this an arm-guard, it implies that these soldiers [the 'Pan-grave' mercenaries] were bowmen as well as axe-men; but no bows or arrows were ever found. The twisted sinew in Case IV might possibly have been a bow-string.'



*a*



*b*



*c*



*a* and *b*. Wrist-guard and shell from Gebelein  
*c*. Wrist-guard on the arm of a Mentu-hotpe soldier


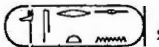
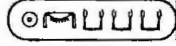




Lisht to Aswān and which are now to be found in collections from Cairo to Chicago.

The shells are those of the common pearl-oyster, *Avicula (Meleagrina) margaritacea*, probably brought from the Red Sea, where this species is still to be found.<sup>1</sup> The outer surfaces of the shells have been ground off, leaving only the mother-of-pearl linings, and these have been polished and trimmed on the hinged sides and around the edges into approximately circular shapes averaging, with remarkable uniformity, eleven centimetres in diameter.<sup>2</sup> After polishing, each shell has been pierced with two holes drilled from the inside through the stout hinge edge which, naturally, was the top when the shell was suspended.

That these shells were worn in life there can be very little doubt. No. 10 in the list below was broken in antiquity and the pieces then lashed together through holes drilled along the edge of the break, and No. 27 has been chipped along the edges, apparently from use, and then reground until it has become unusually small and the cartouche, which was originally in its centre, is now close to the lower edge. However, it is not reasonable to suppose that such fragile objects could have been worn on the wrist, as the Gebelein example (No. 9) would seem to show. The mummy of Tut-'ankh-Amūn is a classic example of how the ancient undertakers put things in inappropriate places, and we should be on surer ground if we were to take it that these shells were usually worn in life as No. 1 was found—on the breast of the body.

Such shells have been found, polished and pierced for wearing, without any inscription,<sup>3</sup> but the interesting point is that a great number bear a cartouche—always without a title—displayed vertically in the centre and, at least in some examples, filled with blue pigment (Nos. 24 and 25). I have been able to run down fifteen (Nos. 1-15) with the prenomen  and twelve (Nos. 16-27) with the nomen , and as the prenomen of no other King Se'n-Wosret has turned up it seems safe to me to assume that all twenty-seven shells bear one name or the other of the same king—Kheper-ka-Rē' Se'n-Wosret I of the XIIth Dynasty. One more (No. 28) is inscribed —the prenomen of Amen-em-hēt II, the immediate successor of Se'n-Wosret I—and another (No. 29) has an unfinished empty cartouche. Here the series ends, so far as I have yet discovered.


The authenticity of the series is amply proved. No. 1 was found in position in Aswān; No. 8 comes from a XIIth-Dynasty tomb at Lisht, which, although

<sup>1</sup> It is certain that they could not have come from Ceylon. For these facts I am indebted to Dr. R. W. Miner, Curator of Lower Invertebrates, American Museum of Natural History, New York City.

<sup>2</sup> This is the average size of twenty well-carved and clearly authentic specimens, none of which

falls short of or exceeds this average by more than one centimetre. The only well-carved specimens which fall outside these limits are the much worn No. 27 and the large No. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Such uninscribed shells were found by Mace at Lisht in the same tomb as No. 8, and by Reisner at Sheikh Farag in the same cemetery as No. 27.

plundered, had never been re-used; No. 9 comes from the mummy at Gebelein with a good history, as we have seen; No. 14 from a Middle Kingdom tomb at Dendereh; No. 25 comes from the Middle Kingdom cemeteries at Sheikh Farag; and finally, Sir Flinders Petrie writes that he once found one, the reference to which is temporarily mislaid. However, as many have suspected, there are forged examples, usually ancient uninscribed shells to which the forgers have given an enhanced value by the addition of a cartouche. Some of the crudely carved examples in the list below might conceivably belong to this category—three shells not included in the list surely belong to it.<sup>1</sup> On the undoubtedly genuine shells the hieroglyphs read from right to left and have usually been written with a great deal of style. In fact, the well carved ones could all have been done by the same person. On the contrary, the three obvious forgeries are done not only in halting, amateurish hands but are written from left to right, and one of them even has the cartouche  written upside down and preceded by a title. Finally, another suspicious circumstance about one of them is that instead of having the standard diameter of about eleven centimetres, it measures only five and one-tenth by five and five-tenths centimetres.

I have left out of the list still a fourth shell.<sup>2</sup> In this case the shell is very large—fourteen centimetres in diameter—and is pierced with only one hole. The cartouche is upside down when the shell is suspended, and, moreover, it is that of Ramesses the Great. Granting its authenticity, it is obvious that this shell does not belong in any series of shells worn as pendants, as our series undoubtedly was, for never would a cartouche be displayed upside down.

The result of this stock-taking of inscribed shells is rather striking. Twenty-seven bear the name of Se'n-Wosret I, one bears the name of his immediate successor, and there they cease. Had they had an ordinary religious or amuletic value in the usual senses of the words, we should expect no such brief vogue. They seem, on the contrary, to have been a badge rigorously limited to one short period—and that period to all intents and purposes the reign of Se'n-Wosret I—and from this circumstance I should suppose they had a secular rather than an amuletic purpose. Beyond that, the intrinsic evidence of the shells themselves will scarcely carry us, and we are thrown back on the meagre details of the finding of two of them for further evidence of their purpose.<sup>3</sup> The Aswān shell (No. 1) was 'found on the breast of a mummy on which was also found a dagger and some beads', and, as we have seen, the Gebelein shell (No. 9) came from the body of an archer.

<sup>1</sup> Metropolitan Museum 05.3.7, received with the Ward Collection of scarabs; Yale Gallery of Fine Arts 13.23a, from the Berens Collection with No. 10 above; and Boston Museum of Fine Arts 03.1702.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum 30731.

<sup>3</sup> No. 8 and apparently No. 14 came from plundered graves. Details of the finding of No. 27 from Reisner's excavations at Sheikh Farag are as yet unpublished.



*a*



*b*



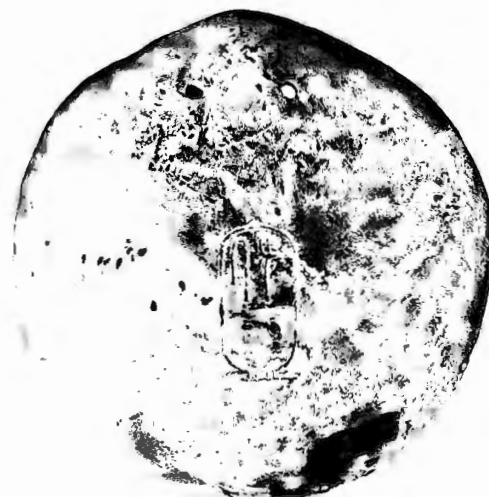
*c*



*d*



*e*



*f*

Six selected shells

*a.* No. 1 = Cairo 36398  
*b.* No. 3 = Cairo 31261  
*c.* No. 16 = Cairo 28320

*d.* No. 19 = Brit. Mus. 29434  
*e.* No. 28 = Brit. Mus. 36499  
*f.* No. 26 = Berlin 11349



This is very little to go on, to be sure, but it seems to me worth while suggesting that here we have the insignia of some military organization or class, raised by Se'n-Wosret I and allowed to become extinct soon after his death.

## LIST OF SPECIMENS

For the following information I am indebted to Battiscombe Gunn, late Cairo Museum and now University of Pennsylvania Museum; S. R. K. Glanville, British Museum; Sir Flinders Petrie, University College, London; Dr. H. Schäfer, Berlin Museum; Dr. Ludlow Bull, Yale University; Dows Dunham, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and Miss H. C. Gunsaulus, Art Institute of Chicago.



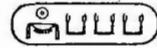
No.

1. *Cairo Museum: Journal d'entrée*, 36398. Plate 62. From Aswān, excavations of Lady William Cecil, 1902. See *Annales*, 1903, p. 68. Size: 108 × 114 mm.
- 2-3. *Cairo Museum: Cat. Gén.* 12827 and 12828 (= *Journal* 31261). Plate 62. Sizes: 103 × 113 mm. and 105 × 109 mm.
4. *British Museum*: 20754. Purchased in Thebes. See *Guide to Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms* (1922), p. 213. Size: 114 × 119 mm.
- 5-6. *University College*: Purchased. Sizes: 113 × 115 mm. and 108 × 105 mm.
7. *Walter Myers, F.S.A.* See *P.S.B.A.*, 1899, p. 175.
8. *Metropolitan Museum*: 22.1.63. From excavations of the Museum at Lisht, 1920-1, Pit 378. Size: 110 × 115 mm.
9. *Metropolitan Museum*: 23.2.76. Plate 61. From Gebelein. See above, page 388. Size: 100 × 100 mm.
10. *Yale Gallery of Fine Arts*: 12.23. Loaned by Ludlow Bull (ex Berens Collection). Size: 105 × 110 mm.
11. *Yale Gallery of Fine Arts*: 436.30. Loaned by G. C. Pier. Purchased in Luxor, 1898. See *Egyptian Antiquities in the Pier Collection*, p. 14, Pl. XIV, No. 3. Size: 109 × 112 mm.
- 12-13. *Art Institute, Chicago*: 94.695, 94.775. Purchased (probably in Luxor) by the Reverend Chauncey Murch. See Allen, *Handbook of the Egyptian Collection*, p. 126. Sizes: approximately 105 × 105 mm. and 107 × 105 mm.
14. *University of Pennsylvania Museum*: 14150. From Denderah, Eckley B. Coxe Expedition, 1917, tomb 23: 682 c. Size: 98 mm. high.
15. *University of Pennsylvania Museum*: 12613. Gift, 1914. Size: 102 × 108 mm.

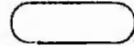


16. *Cairo Museum: Journal* 28320. Plate 62. Purchased in Kūft, 1888. Size: 107 × 107 mm.
17. *Cairo Museum: Journal* 29272 (*Cat. Gén.* 12826). Purchased in Upper Egypt, 1891. Size: 108 × 108 mm. Crude.

18. *Cairo Museum: Journal* 30381 (*Cat. Gén.* 12825). From Aswān, 1893. Size: 116 × 124 mm.
19. *British Museum*: 29434. Plate 62. See *Guide to Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms* (1922), p. 213. Size: 118 × 119 mm.
20. *British Museum*: 30056. Same collection as following. See *Guide etc.*, as above. Size: 108 × 114 mm.
21. *British Museum*: 30057. Same collection as last. See *Guide etc.*, as above. Size: 122 × 125 mm. Crude.
22. *British Museum*: 15423. Purchased in Thebes by Greville Chester. See *Guide etc.*, as above. Size: 102 × 103 mm. Very crude. Pierced with three holes drilled from the outside.
23. *British Museum*: 27723. See *Guide etc.*, as above. Size: 149 × 149 mm. Crude.
- 24-5. *University College*: Purchased. See Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 27, Pl. XLIV. Sizes: 113 × 108 mm. and 118 × 112 mm.
26. *Berlin Museum*: 11349. Plate 62. Purchased in Paris in 1892 from Hakki Bey. Size: 132 × 132 mm.
27. *Boston Museum*: 13.3532. From Sheikh Farag (Nag' ed Deir), Harvard-Boston excavations, 1913, tomb S.F. 5. See Reisner, *J.E.A.*, 1920, p. 117. Size: 87 × 95 mm.



28. *British Museum*: 36499. Plate 62. Purchased in Thebes. See *Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms*, p. 213. Size: 92 × 90 mm.



29. *Cairo Museum: Cat. Gén.* 12829. From Abydos, 1890. Size: 98 × 103 mm.

PART VI  
RELIGION





## A PROPOS DE QUELQUES BUSTES ÉGYPTIENS

Par CHARLES BOREUX

(Avec Planches 63 et 64)

L'ASSIMILATION de l'homme enfermé dans la tombe au grain qui n'a été enseveli dans la terre qu'afin de pouvoir renaître l'année suivante est une idée que l'on retrouve dans la plupart des religions anciennes; elle a enrichi celles-ci de mythes très nombreux, qui traduisent tous, sous leur apparente diversité, ce que l'on pourrait appeler le symbolisme agraire de la mort. Entre ces mythes, l'un des plus significatifs est sans doute celui de l'enlèvement de Perséphoné-Coré, fille de Déméter, par le roi des enfers Pluton, enlèvement à la suite duquel la douleur de Déméter obtient de Zeus que Perséphoné revienne périodiquement sur la terre. "Tant que Perséphoné est absente, qu'elle habite dans les enfers, Déméter est désolée, c'est-à-dire que la terre est sans culture; mais sitôt que le printemps renaît, la fille de la terre, Perséphoné, c'est-à-dire la graine, lève et se dresse comme une plante vers les cieux."<sup>1</sup> Les Grecs ont su exprimer cette conception sous une forme à la fois toute matérielle et infiniment gracieuse, en déposant dans la tombe ces bustes de terre cuite qui sont habituellement désignés sous le nom de bustes de Coré, parce que c'est cette déesse, en effet, qu'ils représentent le plus souvent. Ces bustes étaient 'appliqués contre une des parois, et disposés de manière que la divinité qu'ils représentent parût s'élever de la terre, dans laquelle la partie inférieure de son corps serait encore engagée. C'est là un type de représentation propre aux divinités chtoniennes, qui résident sous la terre et opèrent à la surface du sol, au printemps, une montée périodique, type et gage de la palingénésie des morts."<sup>2</sup> Quelques uns de ces bustes sont d'une grâce et d'un charme incomparables, telle cette Coré du Louvre qui faisait autrefois partie de la collection Rayet, et dont on a pu dire qu'avec sa tête charmante de jeunesse, où se marque l'étonnement de la vierge rendue à la lumière, 'elle exprime, mieux que toute autre, la montée de la déesse à la surface de la terre. . . . La jeune déesse surgit, semblable à une fleur merveilleuse, et son attitude rend, d'une façon aussi exacte que possible, l'étrangeté de l'apparition."<sup>3</sup>

Il semble assez surprenant, au premier abord, qu'il n'ait jamais été trouvé de bustes semblables en Égypte, pays où les mythes relatifs au grand dieu des morts Osiris sont, eux aussi, des mythes essentiellement agraires. Les travaux les plus récents des savants qui ont étudié ces mythes<sup>4</sup> ont définitivement établi qu'Osiris,

<sup>1</sup> M. Maury, *Religions de la Grèce*, I, p. 476 (ap. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, I, 1058).

<sup>2</sup> Daremberg-Saglio, op. cit., p. 1076.

<sup>3</sup> E. Pottier, *Les statues de terre cuite dans l'antiquité*, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. en particulier, J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 18 et suiv.; J. G. Frazer, *Atys et Osiris* (trad. H. Peyre), *passim*; A. Moret, *Rois et Dieux d'Égypte et Mystères égyptiens*, *passim*.

originellement dieu du Delta, a été de très bonne heure identifié d'abord avec l'eau de l'inondation, puis avec le sol que cette eau fertilise, enfin avec les produits de ce sol, c'est-à-dire avec la végétation; et c'est parce qu'il était primitivement un dieu de la fertilité et de la végétation qu'il a pu assumer si vite, en Égypte, le rôle de dieu des morts jusque-là réservé au dieu Khont-Amentj. Plus précisément, c'est pour cette raison que les morts ont pu lui être assimilés; parce qu'Osiris, représentant la végétation, représentait ce qui meurt et renaît constamment, qu'il est devenu à la fois la personnification et le protecteur des êtres qui sont dans l'obligation, pour échapper à l'anéantissement définitif, de renaître de façon périodique, eux aussi. Les Égyptiens ont essayé parfois de rendre sensible cette idée de la renaissance perpétuellement renouvelée du mort, par le moyen de ce que l'on appelle l'*Osiris végétant*. C'est ainsi que certaines représentations nous montrent, suivant les cas, des pousses germant du corps du dieu couché sur son lit funèbre, ou bien un arbre sortant de sa tombe ou de son cercueil. Quelquefois aussi, la même idée est exprimée par les curieux symboles dits *lits d'Osiris*, du type de ceux qui ont été trouvés par Loret, en 1899, dans la tombe de Maherpra,<sup>1</sup> et par Davis, en 1905, dans celle de Yuua et Thuiu, les beaux parents d'Aménophis III.<sup>2</sup> 'On tendait une pièce d'étoffe grossière sur un cadre en bois rectangulaire, on y disposait un semis de grains de blé dont le contour représentait la figure ordinaire de l'Osiris-momie, et on arrosait cette plantation d'un nouveau genre jusqu'à ce qu'elle germât; lorsque l'herbe avait atteint la hauteur de dix ou quinze centimètres, on la couchait et on la desséchait au feu, puis on entourait le tout d'une couche épaisse de linge. C'est l'expression matérielle de l'idée d'après laquelle la vie sortait de la mort, comme le blé nouveau sort du grain de blé ancien enseveli dans la terre. Osiris avait végété de la sorte pour ressusciter . . . et l'on rendait ce concept . . . par les figures osiriennes en blé germé.'<sup>3</sup>

Celles-ci ne sont, au surplus, que le commentaire, si l'on peut ainsi parler, d'un certain nombre de passages du *Livre des Morts*, tels que nous les ont conservés les plus anciennes versions écrites sur les parois des sarcophages du Moyen Empire, et dans lesquels le mort, parlant de lui-même, se compare formellement au grain, et dit, par exemple: 'Je suis vivant comme les dieux, je vis en qualité de grain' (personnifié ici sous le nom de dieu *Naper*), 'je crois comme le grain. . . . Je suis l'orge.'<sup>4</sup> Les *jardinières d'Osiris*, récipients creux dont les contours reproduisent l'apparence générale du dieu momifié, répondent à une idée analogue; on les déposait dans la tombe, comme les lits, après y avoir semé de l'herbe, et cette herbe, en produisant, par son développement, un Osiris en gazon, semblait véritablement avoir fait renaître celui-ci.<sup>5</sup> Ainsi les

<sup>1</sup> G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, Pl. VII (no. 24061), et pp. 25-6.

<sup>2</sup> G. Maspero, *Catalogue du Musée du Caire*, éd. 1912, p. 353.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> P. Lacau, *Textes religieux* (ap. Breasted, op. cit., pp. 22-3, et note 1 de la p. 23).

<sup>5</sup> Une de ces jardinières, provenant de la vente Amélineau (1904), est conservée au Musée du Louvre sous le no. E. 11031.



*a*



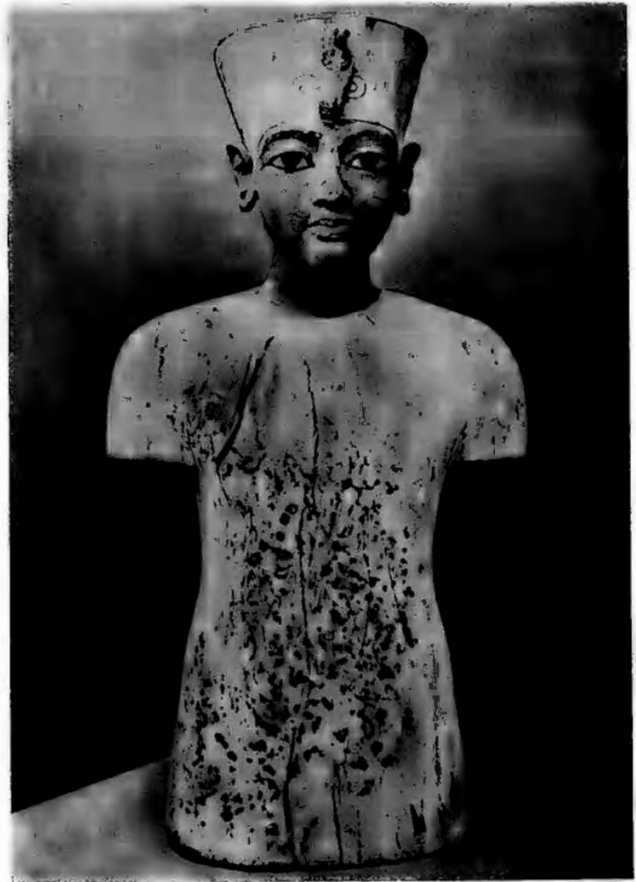
*e*



*b*



*c*



*d*

*a.* Buste funéraire en calcaire (Louvre I 860)—Moyen Empire (Échelle  $\frac{3}{4}$ ). *b.* Buste d'homme, en calcaire (Louvre E 3391—Vente Palin)—Moyen Empire (Échelle  $\frac{4}{5}$ ). *c.* Buste funéraire, en grès, au nom de  $\text{ḥw}$  (Louvre E 10975)—Moyen Empire (Échelle  $\frac{1}{2}$  *c.*). *d.* Buste en bois trouvé dans la tombe de Toutankhamon. *e.* Louvre, stèle C 15 (fragment)—Moyen Empire



preuves abondent que, de même que les Grecs, les Égyptiens assimilaient le mort à une plante qui n'est confiée à la terre que pour en jaillir bientôt à nouveau, renouvelée et plus belle; et il paraît singulier, encore une fois, qu'ils n'aient jamais cherché — comme l'ont fait les Grecs — à traduire cette idée sous une forme matérielle.

On peut se demander, dans ces conditions, si certains bustes égyptiens que possèdent les musées ne seraient pas précisément des symboles comparables aux bustes de Coré. Le Louvre en conserve ainsi trois,<sup>1</sup> d'ailleurs dénués de toute valeur artistique, mais dont deux offrent ce grand intérêt d'être sectionnés si nettement qu'ils devaient, lorsqu'ils étaient posés sur le sol de la tombe, avoir véritablement l'air d'en jaillir. Tous les trois peuvent être attribués au Moyen Empire; deux d'entre eux, taillés dans la pierre calcaire (Pl. 63, *a*<sup>2</sup> et *b*<sup>3</sup>), sont anonymes: le troisième (Pl. 63, *c*) est en grès, et donne le nom  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ .<sup>4</sup> Si ces bustes sont bien en effet des images du *mort-plante* sortant de la terre pour renaître, peut-être convient-il alors d'en rapprocher un certain nombre d'autres qui, déjà parfois dans les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire (par exemple, dans celui de Ptahnofirseshem à Sakkâra<sup>5</sup>), mais, surtout, dans les hypogées thébains, sont sculptés sur le mur du fond de la chapelle, et qu'on interprète, à l'ordinaire, comme des effigies du mort assistant de sa fenêtre, si l'on peut ainsi parler, aux cérémonies de l'offrande qui se déroulaient pour lui dans la tombe.<sup>6</sup> Peut-être aussi faut-il classer dans la même catégorie un autre monument du Louvre, beaucoup plus caractéristique, celui-là (Pl. 64), qui est décrit, dans la *Notice des Monuments* d'E. de Rougé, sous le no. A. 64.<sup>7</sup> Les proportions d'un article comme celui-ci ne permettent guère de donner, à son sujet, que les indications essentielles. C'est un buste en grès statuaire, mesurant soixante-quinze centimètres de hauteur totale, et affectant la forme générale d'un cône aplati sur ses deux faces principales.<sup>8</sup> Il est légèrement arrondi à sa partie supérieure — laquelle est formée par le sommet du crâne — et repose sur une base (dont la hauteur *maximum* est de seize centimètres), qui le débordé entièrement; il est à présumer que cette base figure ici la surface du sol, d'où est censé émerger le buste proprement dit. Ce qui semblerait confirmer encore cette hypothèse, c'est la présence, sur la face antérieure du monument, d'un Osiris momiforme en ronde bosse, qui a l'air de sortir de la base, lui aussi, et dont le diadème *atef* va rejoindre le menton du personnage auquel est dédié le buste. Celui-ci, scribe du dieu Ptah de Memphis, s'appelait *Merj-îwnw* ( $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ ); son assimilation à Osiris ressuscité est si complète ici que c'est à ce dieu que sont présentés, dans le

<sup>1</sup> Deux de ces bustes sont coiffés d'une perruque à lourdes retombées; le troisième est un buste au crâne complètement rasé.

<sup>2</sup> No. I. 860.

<sup>3</sup> No. E. 3391 (Vente Palin, 1859).

<sup>4</sup> No. E. 10975 (Haut: 0.24).



<sup>5</sup> J. Capart, *Une Rue de Tombeaux à Saqqarah*,

Pl. xciv.

<sup>6</sup> E. g. G. Maspero, *Le Musée Égyptien*, I, p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> E. de Rougé, *Notice des Monuments . . .*, p. 35.

<sup>8</sup> 'Il est enveloppé d'un ornement se joignant à la coiffure, et qui ne laisse sortir que la tête' (E. de Rougé, l.c.)

registre inférieur, à gauche, l'encens,<sup>1</sup> et, à droite, le sistre (ce dernier par la sœur du mort, la dame , bien que le texte dise formellement que l'une et l'autre offrande sont adressées à *Merj-iznw* (). Un groupe de six divinités figurées dans le registre supérieur réunit les dieux de la triade memphite: à gauche, Ptah et Nofirtoum, suivis d'Anubis; à droite, Sokhmit, suivie d'Hathor (dont l'épithète 'dame du sycomore' souligne suffisamment, dans la circonstance, le rôle funéraire) et du taureau Hapi. Une ligne verticale d'inscriptions, ménagée entre l'image d'Hapi et celle d'Anubis, répète le nom et les titres du défunt, suivis du nom de sa sœur.<sup>2</sup>

Le buste A. 64 date vraisemblablement de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> ou de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie; l'idée que les bustes du Moyen Empire ne traduisaient encore que d'une façon toute générale et assez grossière s'est singulièrement précisée et affinée, on le voit, sous la seconde époque thébaine. Cet Osiris dont l'*atef* a l'air de soutenir à la fois et de pousser en haut le visage de *Merj-iznw* semble véritablement, en jaillissant de la terre, en faire jaillir en même temps avec lui le mort, et aider celui-ci dans sa remontée vers la lumière; le symbole à peine ébauché, sous la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, pour des morts anonymes ou obscurs a pris corps, sous le Nouvel Empire, pour un fonctionnaire important, jusqu'à devenir une image, dont le réalisme est rendu plus expressif et plus saisissant encore par sa simplicité même, et qui ne pouvait manquer d'assurer au mort, en la traduisant si heureusement sous une forme plastique, le bénéfice d'une renaissance ainsi assimilée de façon concrète à la renaissance universelle de la végétation.

D'autres bustes égyptiens encore pourraient bien n'être, eux aussi, que des figurations du mort-plante renaissant. Il est vrai que les bustes précédents dissimulaient entièrement le corps sous une sorte de housse conique d'où émergeait seulement la tête, tandis que ceux qui nous restent à examiner sont modelés en forme de torsos, et comportent même parfois des bras; ils n'en visent pas moins, semble-t-il, en dépit de ces différences, à rendre sensible un symbole tout à fait analogue à celui qu'exprimaient déjà les trois bustes du Moyen Empire et le buste A. 64 du Louvre. Tel est sans doute le cas, par exemple, du torse grandeur nature, en bois stuqué et peint, qui a été trouvé dans la tombe de Toutankhamon (Pl. 63, *d*).<sup>3</sup> La couleur blanche dont il est couvert imite visiblement une chemise; par ailleurs, comme le corps est coupé à la taille, et les bras au-dessous des épaules, Carter a vu dans cet objet assez énigmatique un mannequin — comparable à nos mannequins de tailleurs — auquel on pouvait suspendre les vêtements et attacher les colliers du roi.<sup>4</sup> La destination est un peu singulière, et l'exemple, au surplus, serait unique; il paraît beaucoup plus tentant, dès lors, d'interpréter ce pseudo-mannequin comme un buste du roi,

<sup>1</sup> Cet encens paraît être présenté par *Merj-iznw* lui-même.

<sup>2</sup> Une image de Ptah dans son édicule est, en outre, gravée sur le sommet de la tête de *Merj-*

*iznw*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Carter-Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, I, Pl. xxv.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 120.



Buste funéraire du scribe *Merj-ıwnw* (Musée du Louvre A 64)

Grès statuaire II<sup>e</sup> Époque thébaine

Échelle  $\frac{1}{4}$  environ





représenté au moment où il surgit de la région des ténèbres et remonte vers la lumière. La comparaison s'impose ici, croyons-nous, avec le buste—de caractère sûrement funéraire, celui-là—qui constitue l'un des accessoires essentiels des cérémonies magiques gravées sur la stèle C. 15 du Louvre.<sup>1</sup> Sans doute le 'mystère de la renaissance', dont ces cérémonies déroulent sous nos yeux les péripéties successives, est-il surtout, dans cette stèle, le mystère de la renaissance animale, s'accomplissant par le moyen de la peau-berceau dans laquelle se couche le *tikenou*;<sup>2</sup> mais les différents symboles figurés sur la stèle C. 15 demeurent encore si obscurs pour nous que rien n'empêche, *a priori*, que le mystère de la renaissance végétale y soit tout au moins rappelé à côté du mystère de la peau. Peut-être y est-il rappelé en effet, précisément par la scène, où l'on voit un personnage en buste (Pl. 63, e), qui a été décrite par Moret de la façon suivante: 'Le cadavre, tout à l'heure étendu sur le lit, est à présent remplacé par un simulacre maintenu debout par deux hommes. Le corps ne comprend encore que la tête et le buste; il repose sur des signes de vie ♀♀ plantés sur une sorte d'enclume. Que signifie cette scène? C'est, me semble-t-il, le moment où l'on commence à fabriquer la statue du défunt, pour reconstituer son corps au complet, comme on l'a fait pour Osiris.'<sup>3</sup> Il serait assez singulier que cette reconstitution du mort fût opérée avant que s'accomplît pour lui le mystère de la renaissance animale, laquelle n'est représentée que dans les scènes suivantes; on peut donc penser, bien plutôt, que nous avons affaire ici à un buste funéraire de même signification que tous ceux dont il a été question précédemment, buste dont deux prêtres [?] aident la sortie mystique hors de terre, au-dessus de deux signes ♀ qui traduisent de façon suffisamment claire, par leur seule présence, le mystère que lui-même symbolise. Dans cette hypothèse, certains détails—l'objet que les assistants soutiennent au-dessus du buste, par exemple, ou bien encore l'enclume supposée, laquelle n'est peut-être, d'ailleurs, que l'un des battants de porte de la chambre souterraine d'où le mort vient de s'évader[?]<sup>4</sup>—restent malaisés à expliquer; cette hypothèse elle-même n'en apparaît pas moins très soutenable, et la stèle C. 15—où l'on pourrait relever, au surplus, d'autres traces encore du mystère de la renaissance végétale<sup>4</sup>—témoigne peut-être, elle aussi, que les Égyptiens matérialisaient quelquefois, par le moyen de bustes ou de torsos sortant ou ayant l'air de sortir du sol, l'idée que le mort est semblable à une plante, et qu'il ne meurt, comme elle, que pour renaître ensuite.

Il serait facile, en tout cas, d'allonger la liste des monuments où cette même idée est traduite, suivant les cas, par des torsos munis ou non de bras, ou bien par des bustes engainés; c'est à cette dernière catégorie qu'appartiennent, par

<sup>1</sup> Ces cérémonies ont été étudiées très complètement par A. Moret, *Mystères égyptiens*, p. 66 et suiv.


<sup>2</sup> Sur ces idées, cf. Moret, *Mystères égyptiens*, l. c., et aussi p. 31 et suiv. de l'ouvrage.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 68.

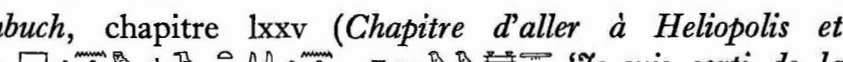
<sup>4</sup> Immédiatement à côté de la peau *khen* portée dans la barque en haut d'une hampe, et dans laquelle le *Tikenou* est censé être enfermé, on voit une grande fleur de lotus dressée; c'est de cette fleur, comme l'on sait, que sortait chaque matin, pour les Égyptiens, le soleil renaissant.

exemple — sans parler de la gaine no. 731 du Musée du Caire, récemment publiée par Borchardt dans le troisième volume du *Catalogue* des statues de ce musée<sup>1</sup> — les douze bustes figurés sur le sarcophage en albâtre de Sethôsis I<sup>er</sup> (Londres, Soane Museum), où ils sont accompagnés chacun de la représentation d'un épi.<sup>2</sup> Encore faut-il, pour que l'interprétation proposée ici de tous ces monuments ait chance d'être exacte, qu'elle s'appuie sur des textes assez précis pour qu'il soit permis de penser que ces monuments en sont bien en effet le commentaire. Je dois à l'obligeance de mon collègue et ami M. Drioton l'indication d'un certain nombre de formules des Textes des Pyramides ou du *Livre des Morts* où il est dit expressément qu'Osiris 'sort' soit de la Daït, ce qui est déjà très suffisamment explicite, soit même de Geb, c'est-à-dire de la terre, ce que l'est davantage encore. Voici ces formules :

Pyr. 257:  "Ton fils Horus a fait pour toi que les Grands aient tremblé en voyant le couteau qui était dans ta main *quand tu sortais de la Daït.*"

Pyr. 1973:  'Ils viennent (les dieux) vers Osiris N, au bruit des pleurs d'Isis, au cri de Nephtys, à la lamentation de ces deux Esprits femelles pour ce grand *qui sort de la Daït.*'

Pyr. 1986:  'Réveil de dieu, surrection de dieu pour cet Esprit "*qui sort de la Daït*, pour Osiris N *qui sort de Geb!*"'

Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, chapitre lxxv (*Chapitre d'aller à Héliopolis et d'y prendre place*):  'Je suis sorti de la Daït, je suis venu des limites de la terre' (Cette dernière expression paraît bien signifier: 'du plus profond de la terre'; elle est à rapprocher de l'expression '[creuser le sol] jusqu'aux limites du Noun,' attestée, pour l'époque ptolémaïque, par Erman-Gradow, *Wörterbuch*, v. 587).

Ainsi la résurrection d'Osiris, comme aussi celle du mort identifié à lui, sont quelquefois assimilées par les textes à une sortie en quelque sorte matérielle effectuée hors de la terre; il y a tout lieu d'admettre, des lors, que cette conception, née de la comparaison du mort et de la plante, pu, quelquefois aussi, être traduite par les Égyptiens au moyen de statuette à mi-corps symbolisant la montée de ce mort-plante vers la lumière. En dernière analyse, ces statuette,

<sup>1</sup> L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten (Catalogue général du Musée du Caire)*, Teil 3, Pl. cxxxv et p. 65. Cette gaine, qui a été trouvée à Sakkâra en 1863, et mesure 14 centimètres de hauteur, est considérée par Borchardt comme une œuvre de basse époque.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bonomi-Sharpe, *The Alabaster Sarco-*

*phagus of Oimeneptah*, Pl. II B. Ces bustes sont seulement représentés sortant de l'eau, au lieu de sortir de terre; l'humidité et la végétation n'étant que les deux aspects d'une même idée, la renaissance par l'eau a été très naturellement confondue avec la renaissance dans la terre.

analogues aux bustes de Coré que les Grecs plaçaient dans les tombes, non seulement correspondraient à une idée très voisine de celle du soleil montant à l'horizon, mais encore exprimeraient cette idée de la même façon; elles font songer, en effet, à l'hiéroglyphe ☉, qui représente le soleil sortant de terre, et qui est traité par moitié, lui aussi.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ce rapprochement m'a été suggéré par M. Drioton.

## ‘APOTHEOSIS BY DROWNING’

Von HERMANN KEES

ALS unser verehrter Jubilar F. Ll. Griffith vor zwölf Jahren in einem Aufsatz der ‘Zeitschrift’ an Hand der Stelle Herodot II. 90 über die Heiligung des Todes durch Ertrinken im Nil oder durch das Krokodil den Zusammenhang der Bezeichnung des ‘Seligen’  $\sigma\alpha\lambda\iota\epsilon$  mit dem ‘Ertrunkenen’ (*hsj*) aufdeckte, bezeichnete er als guter Kenner spätägyptischer Denkart diesen Glauben vorsichtig als ‘late Egyptian view’.<sup>1</sup> Seine Ausführungen fanden vielfachen Wiederhall:<sup>2</sup> Spiegelberg stellte später mit Recht die antiken Nachrichten über den Tod durch Schlangenbiss (Kleopatra!) in dieselbe Linie;<sup>3</sup> er sprach aber zugleich die Vermutung aus, dass es gewiss nur ein Zufall sei, dass solche Gedanken erst aus jungen Quellen bezeugt seien. Viel weiter war in dieser Richtung schon v. Bissing gegangen, der eine ‘apothēsis by drowning’ bereits in der ursprünglichen Osirislegende erkennen wollte und daraus die Folgerung zog:<sup>4</sup> ‘Es hat also einmal eine Osirissage gegeben, nach der der Gott durch die Fluten des Nils entrückt wurde und so zur Unterwelt und Göttlichkeit einging’. Allerdings empfand v. Bissing wohl den inneren Widerspruch, der darin liegt, dass solche Entrückung zur Göttlichkeit gerade als Werk *verderbenbringender*, wenn auch göttlicher, Mächte, — Seth als Mörder des Osiris, Krokodil und Schlange als Raubtiere! — erschien. Er führt selbst am Schlusse eine Pliniusstelle an, nach der die Leute von Dendera Zauber gebrauchten, welche die Krokodile zum Ausspeien der Verschlungenen zwängen.<sup>5</sup> Dort betrachtete man also zweifellos diese Todesart als ein entsetzliches Los. Da aber die Tentyriten im Gegensatz zu manchen ihrer Nachbarn, z. B. den Leuten von Koptos und Chenoboskion, die das Krokodil stets heilig hielten, in der Spätzeit als besondere Krokodilsfeinde bekannt waren,<sup>6</sup> mochte es sich um eine Sonderstellung handeln.

Die Bedenken müssen sich aber verstärken, wenn man die durch Manethon überlieferten ägyptischen Volkssagen über das Ende des Reichsgründers Menes durch ein Krokodil mit dem gleichartigen des als Usurpator gekennzeichneten, von Wahnsinn befallenen Herakleopoliten Achthoës zusammenstellt<sup>7</sup> und bedenkt, dass nach dem Märchen des Papyrus Westcar der Liebhaber der ehebrecherischen Frau des Ubaoner als *Strafe* den Tod durch das Krokodil erleidet, während die Ehebrecherin ein gleich unseliges Ende, Feuertod und Ausstreueung ihrer Asche in den Strom, findet! Beides erscheint also klärllich als Strafe des Verbrechers, der kein rituelles Begräbnis als ‘Verklärter’ erhalten darf. Nicht zufällig wird doch beim ägyptischen Totengericht (*Tb.* Kap. 125)

<sup>1</sup> *Ä.Z.* XLVI (1909), S. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ä.Z.* LIII, S. 124 u. a.

<sup>3</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptol. Mitteilungen, Sitzungsber. bayr. Akad.*, 1925, 2, wo er vor allem auf Josephus *c. Apion.* II. 86 verweist.

<sup>4</sup> *Rec. de Trav.* xxxiv (1912), S. 37.

<sup>5</sup> *Plin. Nat. Hist.* VIII. 93.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. die antiken Zeugnisse in meinem Art. ‘Suchos’, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, Sp. 545, 559.

<sup>7</sup> *F.H.G.* II. 556.

dem nicht als 'recht' Befundenen das Ende seines körperlichen Daseins durch die Schreckgestalt des 'Fressers' mit Löwenleib, Krokodilsunterkörper und Krokodilsrachen angedroht.<sup>1</sup> Hätte man aber in Ägypten den Tod durch das Krokodil von alters her gemeinlich für eine selige Entrückung gehalten, wie eine späte Begründung lautet 'weil er ein Geschenk an den heimischen Gott geworden sei',<sup>2</sup> dann würde man nicht im AR den Grabschänder mit der Rache des Raubtieres gegen die Übeltäter bedrohen und ihn verfluchen: 'Das Krokodil gegen ihn im Wasser, die Schlange gegen ihn zu Lande, wer sich gegen dieses (Grab) vergehen sollte!'<sup>3</sup> Da herrscht vielmehr der natürlichere und primitivere Standpunkt, dass die Wut der göttlichen Raubtiere sich gegen die Übeltäter richtet, der Gerechte dagegen Anspruch auf ihre Gnade und ihren Schutz hat.

Weiter erlaubt gerade die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Osirislegende, auf die sich v. Bissing bezog, die ganz eindeutige Feststellung, dass auch der parallele Glaube an ein beseligendes Ende im Nilstrom erst eine spätägyptische Ausdeutung ist,<sup>4</sup> als die sie Griffith bezeichnet hatte. Bereits in den Pyramidentexten ist offensichtlich neben der Ertränkung des Osiris im Wasser, die das 'Denkmal memphitischer Theologie' benutzt, die Fassung von der Zerstückelung des Osirisleibes durch Seth als Typ unseliger Tat bekannt.<sup>5</sup> Beide Fassungen der Sage lassen sich verbinden in der Annahme, dass Seth die einzelnen Glieder in den Nilstrom wirft, damit sie darin unwiederbringlich verloren sind; der Körper als Vorbedingung des Weiterlebens sollte nun restlos zerstört sein. Selbst in den ganz jungen von Plutarch benutzten Sagenformen schimmert dieser echte Sinn des Wassermotivs durch, wenn der Phallus des Osiris abgetrennt und ins Wasser geworfen sein soll, wo ihn ein 'typhonischer' Fisch verschlingt!<sup>6</sup> Wie jenes in die Pyramidentexte aufgenommenes Schlachtritual setzt auch das jüngst von Sethe erläuterte Krönungsfestspiel aus der Thinitenzeit, also ein Zeitgenosse der Pyramidentexte, die Zerstückelung des Osiris und die Verstreuung seiner Glieder allerorten durch den Mörder (Seth, vielleicht unter Mithilfe des Thot) voraus; denn dort ergeht die Aufforderung: 'Sucht den Osiris, *Fisch* and *Vogel*'.<sup>7</sup> Das Schicksal des Osirisleibes ist also ungefähr das gleiche gewesen, was ein berühmter Text als furchtbares Los aus der Zeit des sozialen Umsturzes am Ende des AR ausmalt 'Es ist doch so: Viele Tote sind im Strom begraben'.<sup>8</sup> Und weiter: Das Wassermotiv der Osirislegende hat eine genaue Parallele in einer alten Sage aus dem Horuskreis: Isis hat dem Horus

<sup>1</sup> Entsprechend erscheinen in einer Glosse des NR zu *Tb.* Kap. 17, Z. 43 (*Urk.* v. 42) 'die Suchoskrokodile im Wasser' als Vernichter der Sünder.

<sup>2</sup> Maxim. Tyr. *Philosophum.* II. 5 (Teubn.) = Hopfner, *Fontes historiae rel. aegypt.*, S. 351.

<sup>3</sup> *Urk.* I. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Auf diese Entwicklung habe ich zuerst

*Totenglauben u. Jenseitsvorstellungen*, S. 192 f. hingewiesen.

<sup>5</sup> z. B. deutlich in dem Schlachtritual Pyr. 1543-9.

<sup>6</sup> *de Iside* 18.

<sup>7</sup> Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen*, S. 115.

<sup>8</sup> Gardiner, *Admonitions*, II. 6-7.

zur Strafe für die Befleckung der Hände im Verkehr mit Seth die Hände abgetrennt und ins Wasser geworfen, damit sie darin untergehen.<sup>1</sup> Aber auf Befehl des Rê findet sich in beiden Sagen ein Helfer in Gestalt des Suchoskrokodils, des Wasserbeherrschers: Als Fischer fängt es hier die Hände des Horus in der Reuse, dort rettet es den 'Gottesleib' des Osiris unversehrt aus dem Wasser.<sup>2</sup>

Überdies lassen sich eine ganze Reihe von Stellen bis ins NR hinab anführen, die das Ende im Wasser gleich der *Verbrennung* des Körpers im Feuer als unseliges Ende, das dem *Verbrecher* zukommt, hinstellen. Wenn nicht nur im MR dem Empörer angedroht wird 'er hat kein Grab, seine Leiche ist ins Wasser geworfen',<sup>3</sup> sondern noch in dem verhältnismässig recht jungen Schutzdekret für das thebanische Grab des weisen Amenophis (21. Dyn.) über pflichtvergessene Beamte strafend verfügt wird: 'Sie sollen im Ozean *ertrunken* sein, der halte ihre Leichen verborgen, dass sie den Adel eines Gerechtfertigten nicht empfangen',<sup>4</sup> dann widerspricht das entschieden einem Glauben an selige Entrückung im Nil. Denn wenn man in der letztgenannten Stelle etwa den Ozean im Anschluss an Plutarch als 'typhonisch' dem Nil gegenüberstellen wollte, um damit ihre Beweiskraft abzusprechen, muss man sich auch daran erinnern, dass noch aus eben dieser 21. Dynastie ein bestätigender Fall aus dem ägyptischen Strafvollzug *aus Theben aktenmässig* bezeugt ist: Da wird die Beseitigung der Leichen verurteilter Verbrecher durch Hineinwerfen ins Wasser (des Nils) verfügt;<sup>5</sup> zweifellos nicht, damit sie das 'selige' Ende des Osiris finden! Man sieht daraus, dass tatsächlich erst Bigotterie der Spätzeit sowohl die 'apotheosis by drowning' anerkennt, wie sie auch erst in ihrer Übersteigerung der Tierverehrung das Ende durch das gefürchtete Raubtier seligpreist. Letzteres geschah zudem nicht allgemein, sondern örtlich begrenzt je nach Kultverhältnissen. Gerade beim Krokodil ist die Überschwenglichkeit auf der Seite seiner Anhänger, etwa der Leute von Ombos, nur ein Gegenzug gegen die Verfemung und Verfolgung von anderer Seite, besonders der Horusstädte einschliesslich Dendera. Beide Extreme sind *junge* Entwicklungsstufen. Man lernt also auch an diesem Beispiel, wie vorsichtig man bei Rückschlüssen aus späten Bekenntnissen auf älteren Glauben verfahren muss, besonders wenn es sich um so altes Gut, wie die Osirislegende, handelt. Leider wird gegen diesen Grundsatz von Seiten mancher religionsgeschichtlicher Schulen ständig verstossen.<sup>6</sup>

Es darf nicht übersehen werden, dass die typisch ägyptische 'innere Deutung'

<sup>1</sup> Tb. Kap. 113, vgl. *Ä.Z.* LVIII, S. 57 f. (*Göttinger Totenbuchstudien*); zur Schuld des Horus jetzt Gardiner, *Pap. Chester Beatty Nr. I*, S. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Junker, *Götterdekret über das Abaton*, S. 41, vgl. Kees, *Totenglauben*, S. 193.

<sup>3</sup> Kairo 20538 = Mariette, *Abydos II*, Taf. 25, Z. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Möller, *Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad.* 1910, S.

932 f. (Taf. VI, Z. 8-9).

<sup>5</sup> Erman, 'Ein Fall abgekürzter Justiz', S. 9, 11. *Abh. Berl. Akad.*, 1913.

<sup>6</sup> Als Beispiel dieser Art sei M. A. Murray, 'The Cult of the Drowned in Egypt', *Ä.Z.* LI, S. 127 genannt. Dort wird mit dem Wassertod als Rudiment einer sakralen Tötung des Königs nach Analogie afrikanischer Völker (Schilluks) gespielt.

aller religiösen Handlungen und Sagenmotive, so früh wir sie in der religiösen Literatur am Werke sehen, eine *Umdeutung* bleibt. Im Osirismythos arbeitet sie von altersher im Sinne der Natursymbolik und weist damit den Weg entscheidend zur späteren Entwicklung. Nach dieser Anschauung bedeutet bereits in gewissen Pyramidentexten Osiris die befruchtende Überschwemmung, sein Wassertod gibt also neues Leben, so wie auch das Korn, wenn es bei der Ernte fällt, Nahrung und Leben spendet.<sup>1</sup> Im 'Denkmal memphitischer Theologie', also einem Werk, das der Blütezeit des AR vorausgeht, wird der nach Memphis verlegte Wassertod des Osiris dazu benutzt, um zeitgemäss die Deutung von Memphis als 'Kornspeicher' Ägyptens zu beweisen.<sup>2</sup> Und dem alten landwirtschaftlichen Fest des 'Herumlaufens des Apis', das einstmals zweifellos die einfache Bedeutung eines Umzuges zur Befruchtung der Fluren und ihrer Herden hatte, legt man die theologische Deutung unter, dass der Apis (*Hpw*) gleich dem König 'eilend' (*m hp*) mit den Symbolen allgemeiner Fruchtbarkeit, besonders des Nilwassers (*h'pj*) auch den 'Gottesleib' des Osiris sammle und herbeibringe.<sup>3</sup>

Je genauer wir durch Erklärung der alten Rituale und dogmatischen Werke in das Verständnis ägyptischer Theologie eindringen und erkennen, dass diese 'deutende' Art eines geheimen Untersinnes im Sinne des göttlichen Mysteriums bis in die Anfänge der ägyptischen Geschichte hinaufreicht, umso eindeutiger muss der Religionshistoriker betonen, dass dies *gelehrte* Arbeit der Priester ist, mit der die alten auf natürlichem Boden einfacheren Denkens erwachsenen Handlungen des Kultus und Rituals auslegend überkleidet wurden. Aufgabe der Forschung bleibt es, hier die Entwicklung im einzelnen aufzuzeigen und die klaren Ausgangspunkte der Kulte aus der Hülle ihrer vielfältigen Überkleidungen herauszuschälen.

<sup>1</sup> Kees, *Totenglauben*, S. 211 f. Zur Gleichsetzung der 'Gerste' mit dem von Seth geschlagenen Osiris jetzt auch Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, S. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Sethe, a. a. O. S. 72 zu Z. 62-3.

<sup>3</sup> Dass der von mir früher in meinem Buche, *Opfertanz d. ägypt. Königs* (1912) S. 102, erhobene Widerspruch gegen die Verbindung der 'Weihung des Feldes' mit dem 'Umlauf des Apis' (*phrr*

*Hpw*) unberechtigt war, hat die von Lacau (*Annal. du Serv.* xxvi, S. 135) besprochene neue Darstellung eines Opfertanzes aus Karnak (Hatschepsut) erwiesen vgl. v. Bissing-Kees, *Re-Heiligtum III* (1928), S. 4 f. Zum Apis als Bringer des Gottesleibes des Osiris = Nil, vgl. die Ritualtexte Kees, *Opfertanz*, S. 92 f. und die späten Sargdarstellungen *Annal. du Serv.* xxviii, S. 75 f.



## LES DIEUX DE RAMSÈS-AIMÉ-D'AMON A TANIS

Par PIERRE MONTET

(Avec planche 65)

MARIETTE connaissait à Tanis trois édifices, le grand temple au centre du tell, le temple de l'est contigu au premier et au sud-est du tell une vaste construction dont l'emplacement est encore aujourd'hui marqué par une double rangée de gros blocs.<sup>1</sup> En 1929, dès nos premiers travaux à Tanis, j'ai constaté l'existence d'un quatrième édifice situé comme le grand temple au fond d'une cuvette bordée de collines. Nous l'avons partiellement déblayé au cours des campagnes de 1930 et de 1931.<sup>2</sup> Son axe principal rencontre vers le nord la porte monumentale bâtie par Sesac II à l'entrée du grand temple avec des matériaux plus anciens. Présentement on peut y distinguer trois parties: un vestibule dont l'assise inférieure en granit, assez bien conservée, supportait des murs de calcaire ornés de pilastres qui ont disparu jusqu'à la dernière pierre; une cour qui est principalement l'œuvre de Ramsès II — six colonnes au moins la décoraient; elle a été exploitée de bonne heure comme carrière, réparée par les rois saïtes et saccagée à nouveau — enfin un vaste dallage en calcaire, cios d'un mur de briques, dont nous n'avons encore dégagé que le côté nord avec une portion des deux côtés adjacents.

Le vestibule et le dallage n'ont fourni jusqu'à présent qu'un petit nombre d'objets, mais la cour était peuplée de statues. Deux groupes de granit qui représentent l'un Ramsès II et Sekhmet, l'autre le même roi protégé par la déesse Anta<sup>3</sup> ont été trouvés en assez bon état. Les statues mutilées sont de beaucoup les plus nombreuses. La plus ancienne appartient à Kha-Nefer-Ra Sebekhotep. Viennent ensuite des œuvres de Ramsès II, de Merenptah, de Ramsès III. Les plus récentes sont de l'époque ptolémaïque. Le hasard avait rassemblé aux pieds de Sekhmet et de Ramsès II une grande quantité de statuettes et de petits objets. Décrire ces trouvailles dépasserait de beaucoup les limites d'un article, mais je serais heureux de dédier à l'éminent maître d'Oxford, qui presque au début de sa carrière a commenté avec tant d'autorité les inscriptions du grand temple, une étude des textes gravés sur les six colonnes du nouvel édifice de Tanis.

Ces colonnes, dont le chapiteau est palmiforme, sont monolithes (Pl. 65). Leur longueur est de 7 mètres. Une seule est intacte. Toutes les autres sont brisées et parmi elles deux seulement, IV et V, sont entières. Des tailleurs de pierre se

<sup>1</sup> Mariette, 'Fragments et documents relatifs aux fouilles de Sâh', in *Recueil de Travaux*, t. IX (1887), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Sur les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis voir mes rapports dans le *Bulletin de la Faculté des lettres*

de Strasbourg, novembre 1928, nov. 1929, nov. 1930 et 1931 et l'*Illustration* du 11 octobre 1930.

<sup>3</sup> Le groupe d'Anta et de Ramsès II est exposé maintenant au Musée du Caire, à côté des sphinx de Tanis.



*a.* Salle à colonnes du Temple d'Anta à Tanis




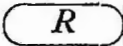

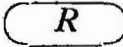


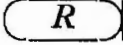



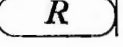

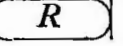

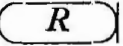


*b.* Colonne II, partie centrale. Au fond la colonne I




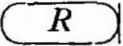
*c.* Colonne V





- Col. II    
   
 .....
- Col. III   (2 fois)  

- Col. IV   
  (3 fois)
- Col. V    
   
 

La colonne VI, mutilée, ne fournit pas d'indication. D'après ce que nous voyons sur la colonne IV, la seule dont j'ai pu faire le tour complet, il est permis de penser que les dieux de Ramsès — Setekh, Ptah, Atoum Prâ et d'autres peut-être — étaient mentionnés trois fois sur chaque colonne, soit dix-huit fois en tout. La quatrième ligne était réservée à des dieux qualifiés d'une épithète différente.

Une déesse faisait partie de cette compagnie divine. Sur la statue que nous avons trouvée dans le même édifice, à quelques mètres en avant des colonnes, Anta est appelée   'Anta, maîtresse du ciel, dame des dieux de Ramsès'.

Ce n'est pas la première fois qu'on rencontre dans les textes ces dieux de Ramsès. Ed. Naville, puis M. Gardiner, dans son magistral article, 'The Delta Residence of the Ramessides',<sup>1</sup> s'en sont occupés. Néanmoins il m'a paru utile d'énumérer ici les exemples que j'ai pu réunir, en tenant compte de leur provenance :

Tanis. Setekh de Ramsès (stèle de l'an 400, dans le centre).

Amon de Ramsès de Pi-Ramsès (statue de Teos, fils d'Ounophris in Daressy, 'Statues de basse époque du Musée de Gizeh', *Recueil*, xv. 154).

Amon de Ramsès (statue de Teos, fils d'Apriès in Daressy, loc. cit., p. 152).

Bubaste. Setekh de Ramsès (*Bubastis*, I. 20).

Ptah de Ramsès (*ibid.*, I, Pl. xxxvi, c et G).

Prâ de Ramsès des Eaux de Râ (*ibid.*, I, Pl. XLVI B).

Ptah de Ramsès sur la rive du fleuve (*ibid.*, Pl. XLVI B).

Héliopolis. Amon de Ramsès et Ptah de Ramsès dans Pi-Ramsès (stèle de l'an VIII de Ramsès II in *Recueil de travaux*, xxx. 215).

Memphis. Prâ de Ramsès (Brugsch, *Ä.Z.* xiv. 69).

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, t. v (1918).

Karnak. Ptah de Ramsès, Toum de Ramsès (L.D. III. 147).

Prâ de Ramsès (L.D. III. 148).

Amon de Ramsès, Ptah de Ramsès (traité entre Ramsès II et le roi des Hittites, cf. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 181, No. 4).

Seboua. Ptah de Ramsès (Gauthier, *Le Temple de Ouadi es Seboua*, p. 151).

Ptah de Ramsès dans la maison d'Amon (*ibid.*, p. 182).

Amon de Ramsès dans la maison d'Amon (*ibid.*, p. 204).

Papyrus. Setekh de Ramsès (grand papyrus Harris, cf. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 195).

Amon de Ramsès, Ptah de Ramsès, Prâ de Ramsès, Setekh de Ramsès (papyrus de Leide 360-368, cf. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 196).

Amon, Prâ et Ptah de Ramsès (papyrus de Bologne 1086, cf. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 196).

Ed. Naville pensait que le roi Ramsès II en liant son nom à celui de quelques grands dieux, comme Ptah, Prâ, Amon ou Setekh, s'en faisait le maître, les attachait à son service.<sup>1</sup> Dans cette voie il aurait eu au moins un prédécesseur, car nous connaissons une Ouadjit de Sethosis-aimé-de-Ptah<sup>2</sup> et deux imitateurs, puisqu'à Tanis on a remarqué un Setekh de Merenptah<sup>3</sup> et que le grand papyrus Harris mentionne un Ptah de Ramsès, prince d'Héliopolis.<sup>4</sup> Même pratiquée par quatre souverains des dynasties XIX et XX, cette appropriation du dieu par un roi nous paraît bien singulière et nous ne pourrions l'accepter sans de bonnes preuves. Les Pharaons que nous avons nommés, leurs prédécesseurs et leurs successeurs se disent fils du dieu, aimés du dieu, mais ce sont eux qui font ce qui plaît aux dieux. Quand ceux-ci exaucent les désirs des mortels, c'est qu'ils le veulent bien. D'ailleurs les épithètes des divinités expriment constamment les droits qu'on leur a reconnus sur l'univers ou une partie de l'univers. Maître du ciel, maître de la terre, maître de Karnak, maître des pays étrangers, la liste de ces épithètes est infinie. Il arrive aussi que le lien d'un pays ou d'une ville et d'une divinité soit exprimé par un mot tel que  $\text{𓂏}$ ,  $\text{𓂐}$ ,  $\text{𓂑}$ , au lieu de  $\text{𓂒}$  et plus simplement encore par le génitif indirect ou même direct:  $\text{𓂓} \text{𓂔} \text{𓂕}$  (Pithom, 11, in *Urk.* II. 91);  $\text{𓂖} \text{𓂗} \text{𓂘}$  (Weill, *Décrets royaux*, Pl. I, l. 6, Pl. II, l. 3); Couyat-Montet, *Hammamat*, 192, l. 18;  $\text{𓂙} \text{𓂚} \text{𓂛} \text{𓂜}$  (*Urk.* II. 64);  $\text{𓂝} \text{𓂞} \text{𓂟} \text{𓂠} \text{𓂡} \text{𓂢}$  (Stèle de l'excommunication, 4, 6 in *Urk.* III. 111);  $\text{𓂣} \text{𓂤} \text{𓂥} \text{𓂦} \text{𓂧} \text{𓂨}$  (Pithom, 1, in *Urk.* II. 84). Dans ces exemples le génitif ne marque pas la possession; il indique plutôt une qualité. Beaucoup de dieux avaient des formes multiples. Quand on voulait fixer les idées, on pouvait qualifier un dieu par le nom de sa résidence. Par conséquent Setekh de Ramsès, Amon de Ramsès et leurs semblables cessent de former une exception difficilement explicable et rentrent dans la règle générale si, au lieu d'y voir le nom du roi, il est permis d'interpréter 'Ramsès-aimé-d'Amon' comme le nom d'une fondation de Ramsès II appelée du nom de son fondateur. A l'appui de cette proposition j'aurais deux remarques à présenter.

<sup>1</sup> Naville, *Bubastis*, I. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, I. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie, *Tanis*, I, Pl. II, 5 A.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

Tout d'abord, dans les expressions géographiques composées avec  $\square$  et un cartouche royal, l'élément initial peut être omis. M. Gardiner a cité deux exemples de cette omission. La ville fondée par Ramsès II dans la vallée de de l'arbre ACH, qui est selon moi la vallée de l'Adonis, près de Byblos, s'appelait  $\square$   $\left( \begin{array}{c} \text{A} \\ \text{B} \\ \text{C} \\ \text{D} \\ \text{E} \end{array} \right)$   $\left( \begin{array}{c} \text{F} \\ \text{G} \\ \text{H} \\ \text{I} \\ \text{J} \end{array} \right)$  'Ramsès-aimé-d'Amon, la ville qui est dans la vallée de l'Ach'.<sup>1</sup> Une seconde cité, dont la situation exacte ne semble pas connue, s'appelle  $\left( \begin{array}{c} \text{K} \\ \text{L} \\ \text{M} \\ \text{N} \\ \text{O} \end{array} \right)$   $\left( \begin{array}{c} \text{P} \\ \text{Q} \\ \text{R} \\ \text{S} \\ \text{T} \end{array} \right)$  'Ousir-Maat-Râ-Setep-n-Râ la ville'.<sup>2</sup> On sait enfin que la Bible nomme simplement  $\text{רַמְסֵס}$ ,  $\text{Ραμϛϛση}$  l'endroit qui fut témoin de la persécution et de la fuite des Hébreux.

En second lieu on notera que toutes les fois qu'il s'agit des dieux de Ramsès, les titres  $\left( \begin{array}{c} \text{U} \\ \text{V} \\ \text{W} \\ \text{X} \end{array} \right)$ , qui devraient figurer ensemble ou séparément devant le cartouche, ont été omis. Cette omission très rare n'a pas lieu sans cause. Elle peut venir d'un scrupule d'artiste, par exemple lorsqu'on grave le nom d'un roi sur la boucle de sa ceinture; le cartouche remplit exactement la place disponible. En outre les titres manquent dans les expressions géographiques composées d'un nom royal et d'un mot tel que  $\square$ ,  $\square$ ,  $\square$ ,  $\square$  ou leurs synonymes. Si une de ces expressions vient à s'abrégier en perdant son élément initial, la fondation royale sera désignée simplement par le cartouche sans titre, comme cela a lieu sur les colonnes de Tanis et dans les textes relatifs aux dieux de Ramsès.

Où se trouvait cette ville de Ramsès, dont le nom apparaît sur des monuments échelonnés depuis Tanis jusqu'au temple de Ouadi es Seboua? Les dieux égyptiens étaient fort hospitaliers. Dans la plupart des temples on trouve à côté du dieu principal, qui est le maître du logis, des dieux venus d'une autre ville, proche ou lointaine, qui conservent dans leur nouvelle résidence l'épithète indiquant quelle est leur véritable patrie. Or, dans plusieurs des localités citées plus haut, on n'a pas de peine à constater que les dieux de Ramsès ont été reçus à titre d'hôtes. A Seboua Ptah de Ramsès voit ajouter à son nom les mots 'dans la maison d'Amon'. Un autre dieu, Ptah aux hautes plumes et aux cornes pointues, pose la main sur son épaule comme s'il le prenait sous sa protection. Nous tenons donc pour certain que Ouadi es Seboua n'est pas le lieu d'origine des dieux de Ramsès. Nous éliminerons aussi Karnak, Memphis et Bubaste, dont les dieux locaux sont connus, ainsi qu'Héliopolis, car dans la stèle de l'an VIII le contexte indique clairement que les statues d'Amon de Ramsès et de Ptah de Ramsès ne se trouvaient pas à Héliopolis. De toutes les cités énumérées il ne reste que Tanis. Or c'est là que les dieux de Ramsès sont le plus souvent nommés: vingt-deux exemples anciens et nouveaux. Nous ne pouvons refuser de voir en eux les véritables maîtres de l'édifice où leur nom se répète sur toutes les colonnes. Autrement dit, cet édifice s'appelait Ramsès-aimé-d'Amon, ou du

<sup>1</sup> Kuentz, 'La bataille de Qadech', in *Mémoires Inst. fr.* LV, p. 118 (Louxor<sup>2</sup> l. 11).

<sup>2</sup> Pap. Anastasi VIII, l. 44, cf. Gardiner, op.

cit., p. 197. Ajouter  $\left( \begin{array}{c} \text{A} \\ \text{B} \\ \text{C} \\ \text{D} \\ \text{E} \end{array} \right)$   $\left( \begin{array}{c} \text{F} \\ \text{G} \\ \text{H} \\ \text{I} \\ \text{J} \end{array} \right)$ , ville du désert libyque selon Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, III. 129.

moins faisait partie d'un ensemble de constructions que Ramsès II avait appelé de son nom.

Nous avons maintenant à examiner si cette fondation de Ramsès est identique ou non à la célèbre résidence du Delta, Pi-Ramsès, que les Hébreux abrégèrent en Ramsès. M. Gardiner a fait remarquer que les dieux de Ramsès sont très souvent cités en liaison avec Pi-Ramsès.<sup>1</sup> Dans les papyrus de Leide et de Bologne, dans la stèle de l'an VIII, dans le traité de paix entre Ramsès II et le roi des Hittites, enfin dans l'inscription de Teos, fils d'Ounophris à Tanis, Amon de Ramsès, Ptah de Ramsès, Setekh de Ramsès, Prâ de Ramsès nous sont donnés comme les grands dieux de Pi-Ramsès. Les dieux de Ramsès, comme nous l'avons vu, avaient émigré dans plusieurs localités. Pour empêcher toute équivoque on fut amené à ajouter à leur nom une désignation supplémentaire, à Seboua 'dans la maison d'Amon', à Bubaste 'sur les eaux de Râ' ou 'au bord du fleuve' et enfin, quand on voulait parler des dieux de Ramsès dans leur véritable patrie, on disait 'dans Pi-Ramsès'. Cette addition était naturellement facultative.

Ainsi nous avons constaté une double équivalence, d'une part entre Pi-Ramsès et Ramsès, d'autre part entre Ramsès et Tanis. C'est le cas d'appliquer à l'archéologie ce principe des sciences exactes d'après lequel deux quantités égales à une troisième sont égales entre elles. Il me paraît donc démontré que la résidence de Pi-Ramsès se trouve bien à Tanis, comme l'avaient pressenti les savants compagnons de Bonaparte qui les premiers ont étudié, décrit et identifié les ruines de San el Hagar.

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-6.



# ISTAR ALS HEILGÖTTIN IN ÄGYPTEN<sup>1</sup>

Von HERMANN RANKE

(Mit Tafel 66)

EINER der Briefe, die der Mitannikönig Tuschratta an seinen Schwiegersohn, den ägyptischen König Amenophis III., geschrieben hat,<sup>2</sup> ist ein Begleitschreiben zu einem Bilde—gewiss einer Statuette—der 'Istar von Ninive',<sup>3</sup> das Tuschratta an Amenophis III. schickt, ebenso wie sein Vater—wir wissen nicht bei welcher Gelegenheit und zu welchem Zwecke—schon einmal die Göttin nach Ägypten gesandt habe.<sup>4</sup> Der Aufforderung, Amenophis möge der Göttin während ihres ägyptischen Aufenthalts gebührende Ehren erweisen und sie dann 'fröhlich' wieder zurückkehren lassen, fügt Tuschratta einen Wunsch hinzu: 'Istar, die Herrin des Himmels, möge meinen Bruder und mich beschützen. Hunderttausend Jahre und grosse Freude möge unsere Herrin uns beiden geben, und so wollen wir dem Guten entsprechend handeln.'<sup>5</sup>

Diese merkwürdige Tatsache, dass das Bild einer Gottheit aus seiner Heimat, gewissermassen leihweise, in ein anderes Land geschickt wird, ist im alten Orient nicht ohne Parallele. In Ägypten entspricht ihr die Legende der sogenannten 'Bentresch-Stele',<sup>6</sup> nach der eine Statue des Chons von Theben—genauer: einer besonderen Erscheinungsform dieses Gottes—von Ramses II. dem Fürsten des fernen Landes *bh̄tn* auf dessen Bitte zugesandt wird, um—was dann auch tatsächlich vollbracht wird—seine von bösen Geistern besessene Tochter wieder gesund zu machen.

Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass es sich in dem eingangs geschilderten Falle ähnlich verhalte, dass also Tuschratta seinem Schwiegersohn das Bild der Istar auf dessen Bitte geschickt habe, um ihm von einer Krankheit Heilung zu bringen. Diese Vermutung<sup>7</sup> wird bestätigt durch die ägyptische Tintenaufschrift, die dem in Keilschrift geschriebenen Briefe auf der Rückseite der Tontafel angefügt ist. Diese Aufschrift nennt nämlich als Datum des Briefempfangs das 36. Regierungsjahr Amenophis III.,<sup>8</sup> d. h. das Jahr, in dessen Verlauf der König gestorben ist. Die Bitte um das Bild der Istar wird er also von

<sup>1</sup> Der folgende Aufsatz behandelt, in etwas veränderter und erweiterter Form, das Thema eines Vortrags, den ich am 10. September 1931 auf dem Orientalistentag in Leiden gehalten habe.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Nr. 23 (S. 178 f.).

<sup>3</sup> Assyrien war damals mitannische Provinz, vgl. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte*, II, S. 134.

<sup>4</sup> Schon damals ist Istar in Ägypten hochgehört worden; sie spricht daher von Ägypten

als 'dem Lande, das sie liebt'.


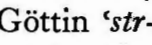
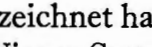
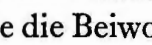
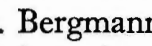
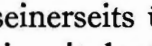


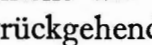
<sup>5</sup> Die Schlussbemerkung 'Istar ist mein Gott, meines Bruders Gott ist sie nicht' soll wohl der Gefahr zu begegnen suchen, dass das Bild in Ägypten festgehalten werde.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. Ed. Meyer, *Aegyptiaca*, S. 66.

<sup>7</sup> Sie wird schon von Ed. Meyer (*Aegyptiaca*, S. 66) geäußert und von O. Weber (Knudtzon, III, S. 1050) übernommen.

<sup>8</sup> Der Name des Königs ist nicht genannt, aber mit Sicherheit zu erschliessen.




Maria Mogensen wieder veröffentlichte<sup>1</sup> Denkstein der 18. Dynastie von einem Türhüter namens *rm* ()<sup>2</sup>, heute in der Glyptothek in Kopenhagen. Auf ihm wird eine Göttin 'str-hr )<sup>3</sup> genannt, die Madsen als 'die syrische Astarte' bezeichnet hat. (Taf. 66). Dass diese Göttin mit der  der einstigen Wiener Statuette identisch ist, kann wohl nicht bezweifelt werden. Sie trägt wie sie die Beiworte  (so statt )<sup>4</sup>,  (das  fehlt), und anstelle des von v. Bergmann vermissten Determinativs findet sich wenigstens ein, allerdings seinerseits überraschendes  — aber die Madsensche Identifizierung dieser Göttin mit der Göttin 'Astarte', die ja auch v. Bergmann schon herangezogen hatte, ist nicht ganz einwandfrei. In beiden Fällen fehlt das *t* am Ende, das die Schreibungen der Astarte auf Denkmälern des Neuen Reiches und der Spätzeit durchgehend zeigen. Wir müssen vielmehr 'Istar' umschreiben oder richtiger 'Istar', denn das anlautende 'Ajin, das uns den Namen der Göttin in seiner altsemitischen Form<sup>4</sup> erkennen lässt, ist in beiden Fällen wiedergegeben — nicht wie in dem offenbar auf eine babylonische oder assyrische Vorlage zurückgehenden Sklavinnennamen  = *Istar-ummi*<sup>5</sup> durch Alef ersetzt.

Legten nun schon die Inschriften der Basaltstatuette es nahe, dass wir es mit einer Weihegabe zu tun hatten, die mit der Hoffnung auf Fortdauer der Gesundheit, wenn nicht auf ihre Herstellung aus Krankheit, geweiht worden war — wobei allerdings neben der 'stj von hr die Göttin *kdš* eine hervorragende Rolle spielte — so lässt der Kopenhagener Denkstein, und das ist seinen bisherigen Bearbeitern entgangen, keinen Zweifel darüber bestehen, dass die Istar von hr auf ihm als Heilgöttin und nur als solche angerufen wird. Ausdrücklich gesagt ist das freilich nicht. Die eingeschnittene Inschrift enthält ausser dem Namen der Göttin nur die Worte *šsp bw nfr n ks:t* 'empfange etwas Gutes für deinen Ka', die vor dem spendenden Türhüter als seine Anrede an die Göttin stehen, und auch in der leider stark verblassten Tintenaufschrift scheint nur von Freude (*ršw-t*) und Fröhlichkeit (*ndm-ib*) die Rede zu sein. Aber die Darstellung selbst spricht ganz unmissverständlich. Freilich hat sie erst seitdem sie mit den Augen eines Mediziners angesehen worden ist, ihr innerstes Geheimnis offenbart.

Der Dargestellte, ein noch junger Mann, zeigt eine Missbildung des rechten Beins, wie wir sie sonst von keiner ägyptischen Darstellung kennen. Sie ist

hagen,' *Ä.Z.* xli (1904), 114-15. Valdemar Schmidt, *Choix de Monuments Égyptiens*, Bruxelles, 1910, S. 28 und Tafel 14. 29.

<sup>1</sup> *La Collection Égyptienne de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* (Copenhague, 1930), S. 99 und Tafel 107.

<sup>2</sup> Derselbe Name, geschrieben , begegnet in ganz ähnlicher Umgebung bei Petrie, *Memphis I*, Tafel 17, unten links.

<sup>3</sup> So in der Beischrift zur Darstellung. Die

Wiederholung in der Tintenaufschrift scheint die gleiche Schreibung zu zeigen.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. südarabisch 'itr und die עטר der Meša'-Inscription.

<sup>5</sup> Sethe, *Urk.* IV. 11, 11. Die Gleichung geht auf Arthur Ungnad zurück. Übrigens ist nach den ägyptischen Umschreibungen 'Istar' (und ebenso 'Astarte'), nicht 'Ištar' (und 'Aštar') zu lesen.

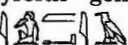
zuerst von dem Dänen Ove Hamburger, dem dann H. C. Slomann und W. R. Dawson sich angeschlossen haben, als ein typischer Fall von Kinderlähmung des Beins erklärt worden,<sup>1</sup> die einen sogenannten 'pes equinus' zur Folge gehabt hat. Der Kranke ist ausserstande ohne Stock zu gehen, und im Stehen muss er, da beide Hände anderweitig beschäftigt sind, den Stock in die linke Achsel stützen. Diese ganz ungewöhnliche, rücksichtslose Wiedergabe der krankhaften Entstellung des Mannes zusammen mit der Widmung an Istar von *hr*, der von einem so niedrig gestellten Manne recht stattliche Spenden<sup>2</sup> dargebracht werden, lässt nur eine einzige Deutung zu: der Kranke hofft, durch die dargebrachten Spenden und durch den der Istar in ihren Tempel geweihten Stein, dessen Bild ihr den traurigen Zustand seines verkümmerten Beins dauernd vor Augen führen soll, das Mitleid der Göttin zu erregen und durch ihre gnädige Hilfe wieder gesund zu werden.<sup>3</sup>

Dass diese auf ägyptischen Denkmälern um Gesundheit und Heilung angerufene 'str (bezw. 'stj) von *hr* und die Istar von Ninive<sup>4</sup> des Tuschratta-Briefes sich decken, ist wohl kaum zu bezweifeln. Auch dass sie in Memphis lokalisiert gewesen ist, geht aus den ägyptischen Inschriften deutlich hervor.<sup>5</sup> Eine andere Frage ist es, wie sie sich zu der schon erwähnten und ebenfalls in Memphis lokalisierten Göttin Astarte verhält.

Von dieser Astarte,<sup>6</sup> die man längst mit der von Herodot (II. 112) erwähnten und nach ihm in einem besonderen Tempel (ἱρόν) in Memphis verehrten

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. die bei M. Mogensen a. a. O., S. 99 gegebene Literatur; dazu *Janus*, 1914, 241-42. Auch mein Heidelberger Kollege, der Kinderarzt E. Moro, bestätigt mir diese Erklärung als die einzig mögliche.

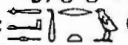




<sup>2</sup> So vor allem der von einem guten Künstler ausgeführte Denkstein selbst, aber auch die Gazelle, die die junge Frau am Horn führt, und die Öle, die wir uns in den langhalsigen Flaschen zu denken haben, und von denen der Mann aus dem kleinen Fläschchen spendet. Was die eigentümlichen Gebilde sind, die die Frau in der Schale darbringt, weiss ich nicht. Der Mann scheint auf seinem Opferstander einen ebensolchen Gegenstand und ein rundes Brot [?] darzubringen. Vgl. dazu Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel Empire*, 34138, 34035, 34075.

<sup>3</sup> Eine novellistische Ausgestaltung der reizvollen Szene drängt sich geradezu auf: der junge Mann, dessen Name zwar semitisch ist — *rm* = רם, vgl. אַרְמִיָּהוּ, אַרְמִיָּהוּ usw. — aber seit der 18. Dynastie häufig auch von Ägyptern getragen worden zu sein scheint, hat offenbar eine Syrerin geheiratet. (Ihr unägyptischer Name  — vgl. die vielen mit -ummi 'meine Mutter' zusammengesetzten babyl.-

assyrl. Frauennamen — wird noch mit dem Deutzeichen des fremden Volkes geschrieben.) Der dieser Ehe entsprossene Knabe, der den Namen *pth-m-hb* erhalten hat, ist völlig wohlgebildet. Was Wunder, dass die junge Mutter ihren Gatten beredet, bei der heimischen Göttin, die schon bei der Geburt so gnädig geholfen hat, nun auch Befreiung von seinem Leiden zu erbitten?

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. auch den Beinamen 'Herrin des Himmels' in allen drei Fällen.

<sup>5</sup> Das beweisen die Erwähnung des Ptah-Tempels auf der Basaltstatuette und des Begräbnisses 'auf der Westseite von Memphis' in der Tintenaufschrift des Kopenhagener Denksteins, dessen Relief auch künstlerisch deutlich nach Memphis weist.

<sup>6</sup> Zu den bei M. Burchardt, *Kanaanäische Fremdworte im Ägyptischen*, Nr. 285, gegebenen Schreibungen sind hinzuzufügen:  Carter-Newberry, *Tomb of Thutmosis IV*, Tafel 10;  *Recueil de tr.* XII. 10, v (Steingewicht in Wien);  Brugsch, *Recueil*, I, Tafel 4 (Inschrift aus Memphis, Dynastie 20?);  Petrie, *Memphis I*, Tafel 15, 37;  Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Pap.* I, Col. iii, 4.





Denkstein der 18. Dyn. in der Glyptothek in Kopenhagen  
 Ein an den Folgen spinaler Kinderlähmung Leidender opfert mit seiner  
 Frau der als Heilgöttin verehrten 'Istar von hr'



Dynastie und bis in die Ptolemäerzeit hinein eine Göttin Astarte verehrt worden ist, die in Memphis ihr Heiligtum hatte, die wie ihre Gefährtin Anath als Kriegsgöttin galt, wie diese aber auch im Privatleben Segen verleihen konnte. Nach LD. I. 16 f. ist sie vielleicht als Gemahlin des Ba'al und in einem Tempel mit ihm verehrt worden.<sup>1</sup> Andererseits scheint man sie aber auch der Sachmet angeglichen und geradezu als Gemahlin des Ptah<sup>2</sup> angesehen zu haben. Dafür spricht jenes Relief aus der Zeit des Menephtha, und hier werden wir auch die Erklärung für eine Lokalisierung der Astarte gerade in Memphis zu suchen haben. Die fremde Kriegsgöttin ist der grossen ägyptischen Kriegsgöttin 'angeglichen' worden. Daher erhält sie—ausser den ihr gewiss schon in der Heimat eigenen Kriegswaffen: Schild und Speer, Kriegswagen—den Löwenkopf als Zeichen ihrer Ägyptisierung.

Wie nun auch immer diese Astarte zu der vorher besprochenen 'Istar von *hr*' sich verhalten mag,<sup>3</sup> eine Angleichung an die ägyptische Göttin Sachmet hat offenbar auch bei dieser stattgefunden und ist gewiss für ihre Lokalisierung in Memphis massgebend gewesen. Zwar als Kriegsgöttin ist sie nicht bezeugt, und leider fehlt von ihr bisher jede bildliche Darstellung,<sup>4</sup> aber gerade ihre Eigenschaft als Heilgöttin—die einzige, in der wir sie bisher zu fassen vermögen—bringt auch sie mit der Sachmet von Memphis in Verbindung. Schon aus dem Alten Reiche kennen wir zwei Ärzte, die den Titel 'Priester der Sachmet' tragen;<sup>5</sup> zur Zeit der 11. Dynastie wird ein 'Vorsteher der Zauberer' und 'Oberarzt des Königs', der eine Expedition in die Alabasterbrüche von Hatnub (als Arzt?) begleitet zu haben scheint, gleichzeitig als 'Vorsteher der Priester (*w'b-w*) der Sachmet' bezeichnet,<sup>6</sup> und im Papyrus Edwin Smith (I, 6)—sowie in der Parallelstelle im Papyrus Ebers (99, 2)—wird von den 'Priestern der Sachmet und allen Ärzten' gesprochen, die 'ihre Finger' auf die verschiedenen Körperteile des Patienten 'legen'. Die Gemahlin des Ptah wird also seit alters auch als eine Heilgöttin und Patronin der Ärzte gegolten und dadurch die gleicher Eigenschaften teilhaftige 'Istar von *hr*' an sich gezogen haben. Diese hat offenbar zur Zeit der 18. Dynastie ein Heiligtum in Memphis<sup>7</sup> besessen, in dem jene Basaltstatuette und der Denkstein des Verkrüppelten aufgestellt gewesen sind. In diesem Tempel sollte vielleicht auch das Bild der 'Istar von

dere Göttin zu sehen hätten (vgl. Burchardt, *Fremdworte*, No. 283 und W. Max Müller, *Eg. Mythology*, S. 156 f.) scheint mir dadurch endgültig erledigt zu sein.

<sup>1</sup> Der dort Genannte ist gleichzeitig Priester der Astarte und 'Priester des Ba'al-Tempels von Memphis'.

<sup>2</sup> Kaum als seine Tochter, als welche sie im Astarte-Papyrus erscheint.

<sup>3</sup> Es ist bemerkenswert, dass Astarte nie das Beiwort 'von *hr*' erhält.

<sup>4</sup> Die merkwürdige, in ägyptischem Stil

gehaltene Elfenbeinstatuette aus Ninive, die King, *J.E.A.* 1, Tafel 15, veröffentlicht hat, wird man hier nicht heranziehen dürfen.





<sup>5</sup> Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, Tafel 11 und Mariette, *Mastabas D 12* (wo auch der Name des Arztes mit dem der Göttin zusammengesetzt ist). Diese Zitate verdanke ich H. Grapow.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. Möller, *Paläogr.* 1, Tafel 1 und Lese-stücke, 1, Tafel 1 b.






<sup>7</sup> Wahrscheinlich wohl innerhalb des grossen Ptah-Tempels.



Ninive', das Tuschratta nach Ägypten geschickt hat, zeitweilig seinen Aufenthalt finden, um dem kranken Könige nahe zu sein, und man könnte hierin eine Bestätigung für die kürzlich von mir gestreifte These<sup>1</sup> finden, dass Memphis und nicht Theben auch zur Zeit der 18. Dynastie die ägyptische Hauptstadt und Königsresidenz gewesen ist.

Die Frage bleibt nur noch, wie das bisher absichtlich unübersetzt gelassene *hr* in dem Namen 'Istar' (bezw. '*stj*') von *hr*' aufgefasst werden soll.<sup>2</sup> Dass in  bzw.  trotz des fehlenden  der geographische Name  zu erkennen ist, wird niemand bezweifeln wollen.<sup>2</sup> Es liegt also am nächsten, 'Istar ('*stj*') von Syrien' oder 'syrische Istar' ('*stj*') zu übersetzen, und man könnte an eine der westsemitischen Formen der Istar denken, wie wir sie z. B. in der עשר-ר-כמוש der Meša'-Inscription (Zeile 17) finden.<sup>3</sup> Ganz sicher scheint mir das allerdings nicht. Möglicherweise ist *hr* hier in einer älteren Bedeutung gebraucht<sup>4</sup> und entspricht dem keilschriftlich *hurri* (oder *harri*) geschriebenen Namen für das Reich von Mitanni, das ja Nordsyrien mitumfasst hat.<sup>5</sup> Wir hätten dann 'Istar ('*stj*') von Mitanni' zu übersetzen, und die Beziehung zu der vom Mitannikönig nach Ägypten gesandten Heilgöttin Istar von Ninive,<sup>6</sup> von der ich ausgegangen bin, schliesse sich noch enger. Aber hier können wohl nur neue Funde eine Entscheidung bringen.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. *Ä.Z.* LXVII, S. 81, Anm. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Die Schreibungen  bzw. , die hinter dem Namen Istar ('*stj*') ein Gottesdeterminativ vermissen lassen, zeigen, dass das Ganze als ein lautlicher Komplex empfunden worden ist. Die Determinierung mit dem Hause macht es wahrscheinlich, dass der zweite Bestandteil dem ägyptischen Wort für 'Strasse' (koptisch *ḡp*) ähnlich gelautet hat. Sollte wirklich der Vokal ein *u* gewesen sein, so wäre dieses ältere *u* gegenüber einem späteren *i*-Laut mit *mu'a* = :  und *šutah* =  zusammenzustellen.

<sup>3</sup> So schon Burchardt, *Fremdworte*, Nr. 284.

<sup>4</sup> Anders allerdings Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte*, II, 1<sup>2</sup>, S. 88 u. S. 6, Anm. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Ed. Meyer, a. a. O., S. 5 f. und 371, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Wie mir Albrecht Goetze schreibt, 'scheint die Istar von Ninive sogar ursprünglich eine mitannisch-subaräische Gottheit zu sein, die als solche den Namen Šauška führte'.

<sup>7</sup> Erwähnen möchte ich noch, dass, wie Adolf Grohmann mir mitteilt, die Gazelle als heiliges Tier des südarabischen Gottes 'Attar—des männlichen Gegenstückes zu der Göttin Istar—galt; vgl. *Denkschr. d. K. Akad. in Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.* LVIII (1914), S. 64 f. Mit Rücksicht auf die der Istar auf der Kopenh. Stele dargebrachte Gazelle scheint mir das bemerkenswert.

## THE EGYPTIAN BACKGROUND OF GENESIS I

By A. H. SAYCE

A WORK of first-class importance has recently been published by Professor Sethe on the origin and character of the Egyptian god Amun ('Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis', *Abhandlungen d. Preussischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, 1929). He has shown convincingly that the god who in the later days of Egyptian history absorbed the other deities of the pantheon and became the centre of a pantheistic monotheism was originally the first member of the divine Octead which in the cosmogony of Hermopolis, the modern Ashmunên, in prehistoric days represented the primeval elements out of which the existing universe has developed. Amun and his female consort Amunet are already referred to in the Pyramid texts, but it is only under the kings of the Middle Empire, when Thebes became the capital of a united kingdom and subsequently, under the New Empire, of a wide-spreading empire, that he took the place of Menthu of Erment, and assumed the rank of lord and king of all the gods. Professor Sethe further makes it clear that the name originally denoted 'breath', in the sense not only of 'wind' but still more of the 'breath' and 'spirit' of life. Hence it corresponds closely with the Hebrew *rûah* and the Greek πνεῦμα and in later usage came to signify 'the invisible'. This was due to the fact that its primary signification was 'the concealed one', the breath of life being like the wind which 'bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth' (John iii. 8). In later times the further conception of immanence seems to have become attached to the name owing to its similarity in sound to the root *men* 'to remain'. Word-plays of this kind were particularly common in Egyptian, suggested as they were by the hieroglyphic nature of the script. It is possible that their frequency in the book of Genesis may have been due to Egyptian influence.

But Professor Sethe's discoveries are not only important for the Egyptologist, I believe it can be shown that they are still more important for the student of the Old Testament. Of late years we have been accustomed to look to Babylonia for light upon the first chapter of Genesis. As far back as 1887, however, in my *Hibbert Lectures* I endeavoured to show that the cosmology prefixed to the Babylonian account of creation discovered by George Smith was of very late date and of Assyrian rather than Babylonian origin. The missing portions of the account since found have to a large extent confirmed both contentions; the whole story is an Assyrianized version of a Babylonian poem which cannot be older than the age of Khammurabi, and the introduction must be a very late addition to it. Moreover the more we have come to know of the poem itself, the less resemblance it has been found to bear to the biblical narrative. It has, in

fact, become more and more difficult to discover any points of resemblance between the two.

Let us now turn to that early Egyptian cosmogony of Hermopolis, out of which sprang the figure of Amun of Thebes and the pantheistic monotheism of the later Egyptian creed. This cosmogony traced the creation of the world to an Ooctead consisting of four primordial elements with their corresponding feminine forms. Of these the first and oldest were Nun and Naunet, Nun being the formless deep, and Naunet the equally formless equivalent of heaven which extended above it. From Nun and Naunet proceeded two other pairs, Huh and Hauhet and Kuk and Kauket, who represented illimitable chaos and the darkness that brooded over it. Lastly came Amun and Amunet, the breath of life, of which the wind is the representative and symbol in the world of to-day.

Creation began at Hermopolis. Here the primeval powers, at once divine and formless, raised a hill out of the 'great deep', and from its summit flashed the light which put an end to chaos. It was not until after this that the Ooctead created the Sun. Amun, the power which had infused motion and life into the primeval chaos, eventually became the god of Thebes and was there identified with the Sun-god Ra (Riya), thus becoming the father of himself. This identification must be traced to the influence of the older Heliopolitan theology (that of Northern Egypt) in which the Sun-god was the first of the gods and the creator of the world, whereas at Hermopolis in Upper Egypt he was himself a created being and later in origin than the light with which creation began.<sup>1</sup>

Between this Hermopolitan cosmogony and that of the first chapter of Genesis the resemblance is obvious and striking. Here, too, we have 'in the beginning' the deep upon which the darkness rested and 'the breath of Elohim' that 'moved' upon it. Not until the breath or spirit had thus moved did God say 'Let there be light', and the first day of creation ended as it had dawned.

The creation of the light was followed by that of the 'firmament (*rakîa'*) in the middle of the waters', corresponding with the 'hill' which rose out of the waters at Ashmunên, and it was only on the third day that the Sun and the other

<sup>1</sup> The 'Hill' of Hermopolis resembles the sacred hill of the Babylonian Eridu where the god was worshipped under the name of Asaritul-azagga 'Asari of the Holy Hill'. The names of Asari and Osiris are not only the same phonetically but are also expressed by the same pictographs, the first of which has exactly the same form in both the pictographic script of Sumer and the hieroglyphs of Egypt. The conception of the twofold bodies of water which we find in Genesis was of Sumerian origin: some

fragmentary Creation texts in the British Museum refer to an 'Upper Tiâmat' and a 'Lower Tiâmat', showing that the Babylonians thought that one half of the body of Tiâmat, which was split up by Marduk, was made into the celestial ocean, and the other half into the terrestrial ocean, in other words, into 'the waters that were above' and 'the waters that were under' the firmament respectively. (*Babylonian Legends of Creation*, British Museum, p. 66.)

heavenly bodies came into existence. We have, accordingly, the following close correspondences between the two cosmogonies:

| <i>Hermopolis</i>                                            | <i>Genesis</i>                                                   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) The chaotic deep;                                        | (1) The chaotic 'deep';                                          |
| (2) The 'breath' moving on the waters;                       | (2) The 'breath of Elohim' moving on the waters;                 |
| (3) The creation of light;                                   | (3) The creation of light;                                       |
| (4) The emergence of the hill 'in the middle of the waters'. | (4) The emergence of the firmament 'in the midst of the waters'. |

But between the two accounts there is one important difference. While the Egyptian cosmogony is impersonal, that of Genesis is rigidly theistic. It begins with the assertion that the creation was not the work of blind chaotic powers but of a personal deity, beside whom there was no other master of the universe. Literally translated the first three verses of Genesis read: 'In the beginning Elohim created the heavens and the earth. Now the earth was formless and void with darkness over the face of the deep and the breath of Elohim brooding (*or* moving) over the face of the waters. And Elohim said: Let there be light, and there was light.' The writer, while adopting the Egyptian cosmogony, has deliberately set himself to remove its non-theistic character and to assert as clearly as possible that behind the blind forces of nature was a personal God.

What is especially noticeable is the creative work of the second day. The hill that rises from the waters in the Egyptian story becomes the 'firmament' which divides the waters which are below it from the waters which are above it, and so separates the 'fountains of the great deep' from the clouds of heaven more effectually than the mountain of the Egyptians. The self-evolved light of the latter is changed into the created light of Genesis, and takes precedence in order of time. But both the Egyptian and the Biblical accounts refer the creation of the Sun itself to a later date.

The transformation, however, of Amun the 'invisible' breath of life into the Amon-Ra of the Theban empire, brought with it, in the later days of the XVIIIth Dynasty, a new conception. The Sun-god of Akhenaton was transformed into the god of a monotheistic religion, who was immanent in all things and made visible to man in the solar disk. While Ra, as it were, absorbed Amun on the one side, Amun on the other side absorbed Ra even more. But he ceased to be the old Amun of Theban worship, the king of the gods who like them was made in the image of man. On the contrary to the worshippers of Aton he became the symbol of the polytheism which Akhenaton sought to destroy; his name accordingly was erased from the monuments, his worship was proscribed and his priests persecuted. The god of Akhenaton was indeed the father and creator of all living things, but he was also, like the Yahveh of Israel, a jealous god who would brook no competitor. It is small wonder that

one of the Psalms of the Old Testament (civ) reads like an echo of Akhenaton's hymn to Aton-Ra.

The close resemblance of the biblical cosmogony to the old cosmology of Hermopolis—a resemblance which is too close to be fortuitous—thus finds a further parallel in the religious revolution of Akhenaton at the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The two facts are remarkable, especially when we remember that after the settlement of the Israelites in Palestine the intellectual and literary influences which surrounded them were Babylonian and not Egyptian. As time went on these influences increased instead of the reverse, culminating eventually in the age of the Babylonian Exile. We are consequently carried back to the age of Moses, who, it must be remembered, bore an Egyptian name and 'was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians' (Acts vii. 22).

In contrast with the cosmogony the story of the Fall is purely Babylonian in colouring like the name and geography of Eden which constitute part of it. They come from a different part of the world and belong to wholly different spheres of religious thought. The compiler of the book of Genesis in its present form has accordingly sought to unite them by identifying the Elohim of the cosmogony with the name of the national God of Israel. Yahveh is the feminine form of Yahu which is found as far back as the era of Khammurabi and indicates that like 'Ashtar-Chemosh' on the Moabite Stone the god had long since been identified with his female consort, as was also the case with In-Urta in Babylonia. By the side of Yahu Yahveh must once have stood like Amunet by the side of Amun, but the absorption of the colourless feminine deity by the more powerful male will have followed the same lines as those which we can trace in Egypt. The plural Elohim itself had developed in Palestine into the title of a single God before the Mosaic age. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets it is already used to designate the Pharaoh; to his Syrian subjects he was *ilâni* 'the gods'. In 'the language of Canaan' the ambiguous *ilâni* could therefore represent all the other gods of the popular faith and sum up in Himself all the spiritual and physical forces of the world. In this he resembled Aton and even the Amun of the higher Egyptian philosophy, with the difference, however, that the pantheistic side of the Egyptian conceptions of the Deity was excluded. The Elohim of Genesis is declared to be the sharply-defined personal Yahveh in whom Israel saw its national God.

Hence the declaration at the beginning of the first chapter of Genesis that 'the heavens and the earth' were no self-development of primeval elements, but the work of a creator. Hence, too, the insistence that the Yahveh of the Story of the Fall was identical with the Elohim of the first chapter. And hence, also the transference of the creation of the heavenly bodies from the first to the fourth day, a transference necessitated by the creation of the 'dry land' and the delimitation of 'the waters' which accompanied it on the third day. The creation of 'night' as opposed to 'day' as well as to the primeval darkness on the first day

caused mention of the 'evening' to precede that of 'morning' ('so evening as morning was'), an order of words which was accordingly followed in the succeeding verses.

On the other hand a reminiscence of the original plurality of Elohim is preserved in the account of the creation of man. There we read that Elohim said: 'Let us make a man in our own image according to our likeness', and man was therefore made in the image of Elohim. We are again reminded of the Egyptian texts of the New Empire where the all-absorbing deity of the monotheistic philosophy takes his place by the side of the other deities of the older cult.




Equally striking is the likeness between the terms in which the primeval chaos is described in the Hermopolitan and Hebrew cosmogonies. The Ooctad was composed of a formless deep, an illimitable chaos, darkness, and a breath; the Hebrew cosmogony begins also with a formless (*tohû*) deep, illimitable chaos (*bohû*), darkness, and breath, but the Biblical writer is careful to add that it was the breath of 'God'. Bohû is phonetically identical with the name of the Babylonian goddess Bau, and appears as Βάου in the cosmogony of Berytus (Beyrouth) where we are told by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* I. 10) that it represented 'Night', Baau being the wife of 'the wind Kolpia' and mother of the first men. Bau, who seems to have been of Sumerian origin, had her original home in northern Babylonia and along with Aruru was credited with the creation of man.<sup>1</sup> We know that there was a close connexion between the religions of Berytus and Egypt in the time of the New Empire, when the Osiriad faith was brought to Phoenicia, and it may have been, therefore, at this period that *bohû* in Canaan, already known there as denoting the creatress goddess, was used to express the meaning of the Egyptian cosmological term.

On the other hand Osiris himself, like the early seal-cylinders of Egypt, must have been of Babylonian origin. As Ball first pointed out, Asari, the early god of Eridu, the primitive Sumerian sea-port at the head of the Persian Gulf, corresponds not only phonetically with the Egyptian name of the deity but is expressed by the same two pictographs of a seat (𐎗) and an eye. His Sumerian title was *lù-duga* 'he who benefits man', and the Seventh Creation Tablet describes him as the 'giver of plantations, appointer of sowing time, who createst grain and fibrous plants and makest garden herbs to spring up' (*Babylonian Legends of the Creation*, British Museum, p. 62).

<sup>1</sup> See my *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, pp. 304-5.

## DJED-PFEILER, LEBENSZEICHEN, OSIRIS, ISIS

Von HEINRICH SCHÄFER

SEIT ich in der *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, Bd. LXII, S. 108, zu zeigen gesucht habe, dass das Zeichen , das im Neuen Reiche als ein Symbol der Isis gilt und dem  als dem Symbole des Osiris gepaart wird,<sup>1</sup> ursprünglich eine Abart des Schriftzeichens 'Leben ' gewesen sei, sind mir verschiedene neue Tatsachen bekannt geworden<sup>2</sup> und neue Überlegungen aufgestossen, die es lohnend erscheinen lassen, den für die ägyptische Religions- und Symbolgeschichte bedeutsamen Stoff, so wie er sich mir jetzt darstellt, prüfend zusammenzufassen.


Für das  hat uns die ältesten genauen<sup>3</sup> Formen der Reliefschmuck der Bauten Djosers in Sakkara geliefert, und zwar in drei Ausführungen. Die Abb. 1





Abb. 1.









Abb. 2.



Abb. 3.

findet sich in einem aus lauter gleich grossen  bestehenden Frieze.<sup>4</sup> Bemerkenswert ist dabei, dass die oberen Ränder der vier hohlkehlen-ähnlichen Ausladungen des kräftig plastischen Zeichenkopfes in scharfe Grate ausgezogen und alle Flächen völlig glatt sind. Abb. 2, von einer Statue des Königs<sup>5</sup> genommen, wo das Zeichen mit  wechselt, zeigt anstelle der scharfen Grate (simsstirnen-ähnliche) Streifen. Diese und die Strichelung der darunter liegenden Flächen machen die vier Teile des Zeichenkopfes architektonischen Hohlkehlen noch ähnlicher. Der Schaft ist auch hier glatt. Abb. 3 stammt aus

<sup>1</sup> Die Erkenntnis, dass die Ägypter die Zeichen  ('Djed-Pfeiler') und  ('Isisknoten') auf Osiris und Isis gedeutet haben, verdankt unsere Wissenschaft S. Birch (*Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, Bd. xv, S. 33). Vom  wird in der Fachliteratur öfters angegeben, die Ägypter hätten es 'Blut der Isis' genannt. Doch ist das wohl irrig. Im 156. Kapitel des Totenbuches steht nichts davon und weitere Stellen, die in Frage kommen könnten, sind mir nicht bekannt. Auch im 155. Kapitel, das über das  handelt, steht nichts davon, dass es 'Rückgrat des Osiris' genannt worden sei. Aber hier liegt die Sache doch anders als beim , indem aus Schriftstellen griech.-röm. Zeit hervorzugehen scheint, dass man von irgendwann ab in


dem Zeichen das Rückgrat des Gottes gesehen hat. So werden die Wörter des Stammes *psd* nach Ausweis des Wörterbuches (Erman-Grapow) mit  geschrieben.









<sup>2</sup> Einiges davon ist schon auf S. 124-5 meines Buches *Ägypt. u. heutige Kunst u. Weltgebäude d. alt. Ägypter* berührt.

<sup>3</sup> Die wirklich älteste Form findet sich in dem Symbol-'Monogramm' neben dem Namen des Königs Chaschemui (Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, Bd. 1, Taf. 2). Doch ist das Zeichen dort nicht fein ausgeführt und aus Stilgründen übermässig gereckt (Abb. 9, S. 427, Anm. 4).


<sup>4</sup> *Ann. du Serv.*, Bd. xxv, Taf. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ann. du Serv.*, Bd. xxvi, Taf. 1.

der Verzierung über einer Tür,<sup>1</sup> wo ein Bogenfeld mit einer Reihe von Djeds  wechselnder Grösse gefüllt ist. Diese sind in ihrem oberen Teile der Abb. 2 gleich, dagegen zeigt der Schaft unter den vier Bändern des Halses eine Gliederung in senkrechte Stäbe, die in gewissen Abständen noch mehrmals durch Umschnürungen zusammengehalten werden. Wir dürfen wohl diese letzte, ausführlichste Form auch als die der Wirklichkeit am nächsten kommende annehmen.

Es ist also nicht mehr erlaubt, die öfters ausgesprochene Deutung, das  sei ein entblätterter Baum mit vier Ästen,<sup>2</sup> weiter zu wiederholen. Natürlich ganz und gar nicht W. M. Flinders Petries Gedanken<sup>3</sup>, es sei eine von oben überblickte Pfeilerreihe gemeint. Das Zeichen enthält in seiner Gestaltung noch allerlei Rätsel, ein sicherer Gewinn ist aber, dass wir es uns nun als einen Bündelpfeiler vorstellen dürfen. Und zwar kann es nicht, wie W. Andrae<sup>4</sup> meint, ein zusammengeschnürter, noch wurzelnder Busch sein. Abgesehen davon, dass mir der Verlauf der Umrisse des Zeichenfusses dazu nicht zu passen scheint — was Andrae bestreitet —, ist die Annahme deshalb unwahrscheinlich, weil im Kultus das Aufrichten und Umlegen des  wichtige Handlungen sind.<sup>5</sup> Man kann nicht glauben, dass der Kultus solche Züge ausgebildet hätte, wenn der Pfeiler eigentlich ein bodenständiger Busch gewesen wäre. Er wird aus abgeschnittenen Stengeln geschnürt gewesen sein, wie die zu erschliessenden Vorbilder der steinernen Bündelsäulen.<sup>6</sup> Unverständlich bleibt noch immer, was der vierstöckige Kopf des Zeichens vorstellt. Andrae meint, dass damit Reihen von Blütenständen der [Papyrus-?] Garbe gemeint seien, aber so einfach liegt die Sache doch wohl kaum. Übrigens wissen wir nicht einmal genau, ob das Vorbild des  ursprünglich ein frei stehender oder ein tragender Pfeiler gewesen ist. Das Letztere ist keineswegs so sicher wie Andrae annimmt, denn aus jener Bogenfüllung ist es nicht zu folgern. Darin steckt nur die gleich zu besprechende Symbolik des , genau so wie in den entsprechenden Füllungen von Kastenwänden,<sup>7</sup> wo ja ausser  - auch  - Zeichen, die doch sicher nichts tragen können, zwischen das obere und das untere Rahmenholz eingespannt sind. Der Bündelpfeiler muss natürlich kreisrunden Querschnitt gehabt haben, den aber seine vielen erhaltenen freiplastischen kleinen Nachbildungen niemals zeigen. Diese sind vielmehr stets flach. Das deutet darauf hin, dass die Hersteller der Amulette und der sonstigen Dinge in  - Form mehr an das zum Schriftzeichen gewordene  gedacht haben. In den besprochenen Formen aus der dritten Dynastie<sup>8</sup> hat

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. du Serv.*, Bd. xxvii, Taf. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner in seiner *Grammar* wiederholt sie, und noch, wenn auch mit einem 'fast wie', Sethe, *Urgesch. u. ält. Relig.*, § 19. Über  als Rückgrat siehe S. 424, Anm. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie, *Medum*, S. 31; siehe dazu Schäfer, *Von äg. Kunst*<sup>3</sup>, Anm. 193c.

<sup>4</sup> Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus*, S. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, S. 156-60.



<sup>6</sup> Schäfer, *Die Leistung d. äg. Kunst*, S. 17. 30.




<sup>7</sup> Etwa Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy*, Taf. 18, Nr. 32. 30.







<sup>8</sup> Sethe erinnert mich an die Reliefs aus der Zeit Djosers in Turin, die in *Sphinx*, Bd. xv, S. 12-14 gegeben sind. In der Tat fehlt, wenn die Skizzen richtig sind, auch da der Knopf. Die Inschrift Snefrus bei Gardiner-Peet, *The Inscr. of Sinai*, Bd. 1, Taf. 2 hat ihn.



das Zeichen noch nicht den knopfartigen Vorsprung über der oberen Hohlkehle wie häufig später.

Der Djed-Pfeiler hat, wie der oben erwähnte Gebrauch im Kultus zu beweisen scheint, seit je religiöse Bedeutung; ihm werden göttliche Ehren erwiesen, werden Opfer dargebracht und wird ein Priester bestellt. Wenn auch der Pfeiler wohl ursprünglich nicht im eigentlichen Sinne ein Gott gewesen ist, keinen bestimmten, persönlichen Gott vorgestellt hat, und jedenfalls nichts mit Osiris zu tun gehabt hat, so ist er doch eine Art Fetisch gewesen.<sup>1</sup> Auf welchen Wegen später der Übergang zu Osiris vollzogen worden ist, ein Übergang, für den es keiner neuen Beweise mehr bedarf, ist noch zu erforschen. Das  ist in sehr alter Zeit auch in die Schrift eingezogen als Wortzeichen für die Laute *dd* und den Begriff 'Beständigkeit'. Wie es zu dieser symbolischen Bedeutung gekommen ist, darüber enthält man sich am besten der Vermutungen, so nahe sie liegen. Vielleicht steckt sie in dem Pfeilergebilde sogar schon von Anfang an. Nachweisbar ist das Zeichen in diesem Sinne, wie aus der Verwendung als glückbringendes Zeichen neben dem Königsnamen zusammen mit dem Zeichen 'Glück'  hervorgeht, seit der zweiten Dynastie.<sup>2</sup>

Für das  finden wir das älteste fein durchgearbeitete<sup>3</sup> Beispiel (Abb. 4) ebenfalls wieder auf jener Statue des Königs Djoser,<sup>4</sup> wo  und  abwechselnd neben einander stehen.

Was das Zeichen eigentlich darstellt, ist unsicher. Seine Ähnlichkeit mit dem Schriftzeichen 'Leben' (Abb. 5) ist schon immer aufgefallen. Der Unterschied ist der, dass beim  die wagerechten Arme bis an den Rand geteilt sind, während bei  die Teilung der hängenden Arme etwas vor dem Rande aufhört, als ob es sich um zusammengedrückte Schlaufen handle. Selbst wenn die beiden nichts mit einander zu tun hätten, könnte es uns nicht Wunder nehmen, dass in den 'Gerätefriese' der Särge des Mittleren Reiches anstelle der dort häufigen Gruppe  sich einmal ein  findet.<sup>5</sup> Für die gegenständliche Deutung des  ist dadurch nichts gewonnen, da die Natur des  selbst dunkel ist. Die

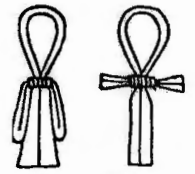


Abb. 4. Abb. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Zu diesen Fragen siehe Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, S. 155–6; *Urgesch. u. ält. Relig.*, Stichwörter Busiris, *Dd*-Pfeiler, sowie H. Junker, *Die Omurislegende*, S. 64 ff. (Der heilige *Dd*). Der alte Name der Stadt Djedu im Delta wird mit dem Djed-Pfeiler geschrieben, aber ihr ursprünglicher Gott ist nicht Osiris gewesen. Als dieser später zum Ortsgott geworden war, wurde auch die Stadtnach ihm Busiris genannt. Die Gardinersche wie die Ermansche Grammatik geben noch den Pfeiler als 'Zeichen des Osiris'.

<sup>2</sup> Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, Bd. 1, Taf. 2 (Abb. 9, S. 427, Anm. 4).

<sup>3</sup> Auch hier wieder steht das wirklich älteste, aber nicht fein ausgearbeitete Beispiel auf dem S. 424 in Anm. 3 genannten Denkmal Chaschemuis (Abb. 9, S. 427, Anm. 4).

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. du Serv.*, Bd. xxvi, Taf. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Siehe Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets*, S. 335 (Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, Taf. 11). Zur Bedeutung der Gerätefriese siehe meinen Aufsatz, *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.* Bd. XLIII, S. 66. Die Friese des Mittleren Reiches finden eine belebtere Fortsetzung in den Darstellungen der Gräber des Neuen Reiches, wo die Gegenstände alle getragen werden, etwa Wreszinski, *Atlas*, Bd. 1, Bl. 257.

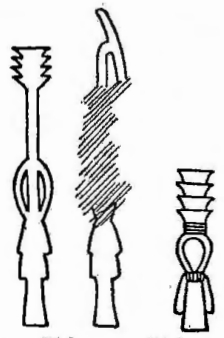
Vermutung B. Gunns,<sup>1</sup> dieses stelle die Sandalenriemen dar, habe ich stets für irrig gehalten. Sie kann jetzt sicher nicht mehr verteidigt werden, seit wir die älteste Form kennen, die den unteren Teil deutlich als gespreizte, offenbar frei hängende Bänder erkennen lässt, eine Form, die merkwürdiger Weise in jenen 'Gerätekfriesen' des Mittleren Reiches gelegentlich wieder aufkommt. Man wird sich also den älteren Deutungen zuneigen, die das ♀ und das ♂ als Gürtel<sup>2</sup> oder magische Knoten auffassten.<sup>3</sup> Ob jener Zeichner des Mittleren Reiches auf die Ersetzung des einen ♀ durch ♂ von der äusseren Ähnlichkeit oder von einer Verwandtschaft der sinnbildlichen Bedeutung her gekommen ist, wissen wir nicht. Schwerlich wird man übrigens so weit gehen wollen, anzunehmen, dass er die ursprünglichere Fassung dieser Stelle des Gerätefrieses bewahrt habe. Jedenfalls aber entspricht das, was er getan hat, durchaus dem, was wir aus dem sonstigen Gebrauche der Zeichen erschliessen können. Sehen wir nämlich, wie in den so beliebten Zusammenstellungen symbolischer Schriftzeichen zu Reihen oder 'monogramm'-artigen Gruppen<sup>4</sup> das ♂ mit dem ♂ ('Beständigkeit'), dem ♀ ('Glück') und dem ♂ ('frisch') zusammengeht,

<sup>1</sup> Bei Eрман, *Grammatik* von 1911, Vorrede. Aus der neuen Auflage ist sie wieder verschwunden, von Gardiner in seiner *Grammar* aber aufrecht erhalten. Zu ♀ ist der gehaltreiche Aufsatz G. Jéquier's im *Bulletin de l'Inst.* Bd. XI, S. 121 ff. zu vergleichen.

<sup>2</sup> Man denkt dabei an Göttergürtel wie in dem Bilde bei Borhardt, *Grabdenkm. d. Königs Sahure*, Bd. II, Bl. 28-30, wo übrigens männliche Götterheiten den dem ♂ ähnlichen Gürtel tragen. Vgl. *Ann. du Serv.*, Bd. XXIX, Taf. neben S. 42, und Murray, *Anc. Egypt*, 1922, S. 16, Nr. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Die Literatur findet man durch Wiedemann, *Das alte Ägypten* und Loret, *Sphinx*, Bd. V, S. 138.

<sup>4</sup> Manchmal wächst dabei ein Zeichen halben Leibes senkrecht aus dem andern heraus. Das scheint ein altertümlicher Zug zu sein, denn er findet sich gerade in der



Zeit der 2. (Abb. 9, Chaschemui) und 3. (Abb. 10, Hesirê) Dynastie. Ein merkwürdiger Ausläufer dieses Bildgedankens lebt aber noch im Neuen Reiche. Damals hat man aus der bekannten Gefässform ♂ eine symbolische entwickelt, die die Form eines ♀ anstrebt (Abb. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, Bd. I, Bl. 82. 153) und

auch 'nh' genannt wurde: auf einem T-förmigen Fusse, also dem unteren Teile eines ♀, steht der

dem 'Henkel' entsprechende Gefässbauch. Da kommt nun sogar auch ein 'Monogramm'-Gefäss aus ♂ und ♀ vor: der Fuss des Gefässes stellt in diesem Falle (ebenda Bl. 59a) ein ♂ dar, über dem sich die Querarme des ♀ ausbreiten und in Gestalt des Gefässbauches der 'Henkel' erhebt. (Ähnlich ist das Gefäss ebenda Bl. 228, nur sind beide Zeichen vollständig, wie in dem Gebilde bei Schäfer, *Von äg. Kunst*<sup>3</sup>, Taf. 51, 1). *Es kennzeichnet das geringe Empfinden des Ägypters für Körper-Raum, dass er in den Bauch eines ♂-Gefässes den offenen 'Henkel' des ♀ hineinsehen konnte, also offenbar die Umrisslinie stärker empfand als das Plastische, Bauchige.* (Vgl. dazu *Von äg. Kunst*<sup>3</sup>, S. 79). Auf das Hineinsehen der ♀-Form in andere Geräte habe ich *Propyläen-kunstgesch.*, Bd. II (1929), S. 79 unten, aufmerksam gemacht. Bei jenen Salbschalen des Neuen Reiches mit blumigem Griff ist aber der Vorgang etwas anders, denn da spielt hinein, dass 'nh' auch ein Wort für 'Blumen', 'Blumenstrauß' ist. (Siehe Jéquier, *Bulletin de l'Inst.*, Bd. XIX, S. 134). So sind auch die Querarme des grossen Strausses *Propyl.*, Bd. II, 387 Mitte, zu Wege gekommen. Ob die Gestalt des Zepters des Gottes Ptah (Abb. 11) mit den senkrecht aufgebauten 'Monogrammen' zusammenhängt, muss noch unentschieden bleiben. Es könnte auch an ein Bündel ♂ ♀ ♂ gedacht sein, wie es, locker gehalten, etwa Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abt. 3, Bl. 57b gezeichnet ist.



Abb. 11.

so ergibt sich zunächst, dass es in dieselbe Begriffsgruppe gehört wie diese Zeichen.

Ein andersartiger, aber in dieselbe Richtung weisender Gebrauch des  ist aus dem Mittleren Reiche zu belegen. L. Borchardt hat vor Jahren einen Ausschnitt aus einem Lischer Relief in Kairo veröffentlicht,<sup>1</sup> auf dem das Tier des Seth dargestellt war. Im Bilde reckte sich von rechts oben schräg nach unten links ein . Die schräge Stellung des Zeichens, das übrigens hier ungewöhnlich viele senkrechte Bänder aufweist (Abb. 6), liess mich vermuten, dass es irgend Jemand gereicht werde. S. Schott hat sich freundlichst der Mühe unterzogen, das Relief mit B. Gunns lebenswürdiger Hilfe aufzusuchen. Er schreibt mir zu einer Skizze und einer Photographie des Hauptteiles (danach Abb. 7): 'Auf dem mit lichten, gut erhaltenen Farben bemalten Relief (Inv. 40484) steht vor einer Dreissigjahr-Kapelle Sesostris des III die Standarte mit dem Tiere des Seth. Sie ist mit Armen versehen und reicht mit dem rechten Arme dem thronenden Könige in seine Kapelle hinein ein Bündel Jahresstäbe, das jener ergreift. Der linke Standartenarm hält ein  und ein langes , die sich auch zum Könige hinrecken. Hinter der Seth-Standarte stehen senkrecht zwei grosse Jahresstäbe, die durch ein Amulett, an dem die grossen Zahlenangaben<sup>2</sup> hängen, verbunden sind. Auf die vorwärts gebogene Spitze des ersten Stabes ist ein  mit seinem 'Henkel' aufgesteckt, sich dem Könige zureckend'. Dass in gleicher Weise an die Spitze eines dem Könige zugeordneten Jahresstabes ein Zeichen langen, glücklichen Lebens und Regierens oder eine Kette solcher Zeichen, darunter besonders das , gehängt sind, findet in mancher Darstellung auf Tempelwänden sein Gegenstück.<sup>3</sup>

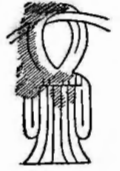


Abb. 6.

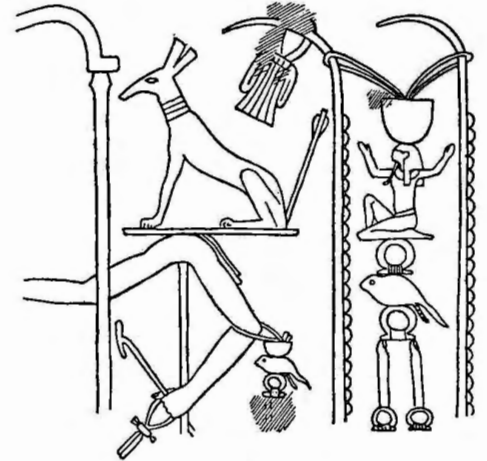










Abb. 7.

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, Bd. XLVI, S. 90.

<sup>2</sup> In dem Relief hat bei dem zweimal vorkommenden Schriftzeichen für 100,000 die Kaulquappe  nicht, wie gewöhnlich, die Hinterbeine, sondern an ihrer Stelle ein quengeripptes, schlauchähnliches Anhängsel. Dazu schreibt mir Herr Dr. M. Hilzheimer: 'Es handelt sich um den Enddarm. Der Schwanz der Kaulquappe ist nur längs der Mittellinie bandartig stark pigmentiert. Ober- und unterhalb davon ist die Haut schwach pigmentiert oder gar glasklar. In diesem durchsichtigen Teile liegt der Enddarm. Er tritt, zumal wenn er mit Fäkalien gefüllt ist, wie ein dunkler Kanal hervor, auch schon zu einer Zeit

wo die Hinterbeine noch nicht ausgebildet sind. Der ägyptische Künstler hat offenbar sehr gut beobachtet, aber doch die klare Haut wegen ihrer Durchsichtigkeit übersehen, und vom Schwanz nur den pigmentierten Teil gezeichnet. So kommt es, dass auf dem Bilde der Enddarm am Hinterende des Körpers unterhalb der Schwanzbasis frei herabzuhängen scheint.'

<sup>3</sup> Zu dem ganzen Relief vergleiche man die Bilder bei Sethe, *Nachr. d. Kgl. Ges. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, 1921, und bei Lepsius, *Denkm.*, Abt. 3, Bl. 74d; man hat da ein schönes Beispiel für die Freiheit, deren sich die ägyptische Kunst in der Ausgestaltung ihrer Bildgedanken erfreute, bei

Für das wenig bekannte Kunstgewerbe der dritten Dynastie bemerkenswert ist die Verwendung des  und des  in einer der Darstellungen im Grabe Hesirês, das auch sonst eine reiche Quelle solcher Dinge ist. Da ist<sup>1</sup> ein Holzkasten mit mehreren Fächern abgebildet. Die Fächer enthalten Salbgefäße und Augenschminke, in dem einen Fache aber liegen neben einander drei Stifte (Abb. 8) zum Auftragen der Schminke, von denen der mittlere ein , jeder der seitlichen ein  zum Griffe hat. Man denkt daran, dass ,  (und ) 'Schutz') auch als Spiegelgriffe vorkommen.<sup>2</sup>

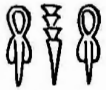





















Abb. 8.

Durch die vorstehenden Ausführungen ist zum mindesten unwiderleglich gezeigt, dass das  in denselben Gedankenkreis gehört wie das , das , insoweit es das Symbol für 'Beständigkeit' ist, und wie das , dem es in der Gestalt am nächsten steht. Dazu kommt bis ins Mittlere Reich dass in den besprochenen 'Monogrammen'  sich neben alle Zeichen stellt, nur nicht—das erwähnte  in dem Gerätefrieze gehört nicht zu den Monogrammen—neben , dass es also geradezu dessen Stelle einnimmt. Da es nun aber gewiss höchst unwahrscheinlich wäre, wenn im selben Verwendungskreise für zwei verschiedene Begriffe zwei sich so nahe stehende Zeichen geschaffen sein sollten, so wird man zu dem Schlusse gedrängt, dass  dieselbe Bedeutung habe wie , also ursprünglich auch 'Leben' bedeutet habe.

Man könnte dagegen anführen, dass  und  sich im Mittleren Reiche zwar nicht im selben 'Monogramme' zusammen finden, wohl aber gelegentlich auf demselben Denkmale. So hängt ja in Abb. 7 an dem Jahresstabe das , während der Standartenarm ein klares  hält. Und in dem bekannten Bilde des in der Sänfte getragenen Gaufürsten von Benihasan<sup>3</sup> sind in dem höheren Armlehenteile die Zeichen  zu einem Frieze vereinigt, während in dem niederen Teile des Sänftenrandes anstelle des  das  steht. Wer aber an die Geistesart der Ägypter denkt, die Älteres ungern fallen lässt, wenn Jüngerer aufkommt, die sogar Freude an der so entstehenden Vielfalt hat, der wird im Nebeneinander der beiden Formen kein Hindernis sehen. Man wird, denke ich, nicht daran zu zweifeln brauchen, dass  und  zwei Spielarten einunddesselben Zeichens sind,<sup>4</sup> obgleich sich das vollkommen noch nicht beweisen lässt.



aller Bewahrung der Grundzüge. (Übrigens ist in dem erstgenannten Bilde, unter Amenophis dem I, noch eine Horos- und eine Sethstandarte zu finden, die des Seth jetzt ausgemeißelt; in dem zweiten, unter Amenophis dem III, sind schon nur Falkenstandarten gebraucht).

<sup>1</sup> Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy*, Taf. 21, Nr. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Eine bemerkenswerte Symbolisierung des ganzen Spiegels, dessen Griff dabei als  gebildet ist, sieht man bei Wreszinski, *Atlas*, Bd. I, Bl. 46a (Thutmosis IV); 370 (Ramses II). Da ist die Spiegelplatte als Sonne gefasst—die Sonnenscheibe ebenso wie die Spiegelscheibe heisst *itn*—und dann das Ganze zu einem Bilde des Son-

nenauf- oder Unterganges gestaltet, ähnlich *Von äg. Kunst*,<sup>3</sup> Taf. 51, 1. Die Symbolisierung als Sonne kann erst zur Pyramidenzeit entstanden sein, da in der Frühzeit die Spiegelplatten noch nicht rund, sondern hoch, und zwar spitz-eiförmig waren. Dass *nh* (eigentlich 'Leben') im Ägyptischen auch 'Spiegel' bedeutet, wird mit dem Spiegelbilde zusammenhängen (Wiedemann, *Das alte Äg.*, S. 156.)

<sup>3</sup> Oft abgebildet, z. B. *Von äg. Kunst*,<sup>3</sup> Abb. 193.

<sup>4</sup> So war L. Borchardt versehentlich auf dem rechten Wege, wenn er im *Grabdenkm. d. Königs Sahure*, Bd. II, S. 53 zu Bl. 44 von -Zeichen sprach statt von .

Ob die beiden Formen in ihrer Entstehung zeitlich oder örtlich verschieden sind, lässt sich noch nicht sagen. Vorläufig sieht es so aus, als sei ♀ das ältere, und komme ♂ erst in der zweiten Dynastie auf. Dafür könnte sprechen, dass das ♂ stets schon die geschlossenen Schaftbänder hat, nie die gespreizten. Nicht unmöglich wäre, dass es das ♀ gar nicht verdrängen sollte, sondern nur für gewisse Stellen der künstlerischen Symbolik erfunden wäre. Natürlich werden aber die Ägypter die beiden Formen in der Benennung unterschieden haben. ♀ hat immer den männlichen Namen 'nh' geführt. Für ♂ kennen wir als besonderen Namen das allerdings nur aus recht später Zeit belegte und recht wunderlich aussehende tj [?]·t,<sup>1</sup> aber schon im Neuen Reiche erkennen wir wenigstens, dass der Name weiblich ist.

♀ und ♂ unterscheiden sich dadurch vom ☩, dass sie niemals in älterer Zeit als Sitz eines göttlichen Wesens gegolten haben, sondern immer nur als symbolische Zeichen. Und von den beiden ähnlichen Zeichen wiederum ist nur das ♀ ebenso wie das ☩ in die Schrift gedrungen, während das ♂, das sich besonders gern mit ☩ zu einem Paare verbindet, stets der reinen Symbolik vorbehalten geblieben ist, was für die eben ausgesprochene Vermutung angeführt werden könnte, dass es nämlich später als das ♀ erfunden sei. Der Unterschied mag irgendwann veranlasst haben, den beiden ursprünglich gleichbedeutenden Formen eine verschiedene Bedeutungsschattierung zu geben, die das Nebeneinander der Zeichen, erst in verschiedenen 'Monogrammen', wie in Benihasan, dann, unter Amenophis dem II (Daressy, Vallée des rois 24395), sogar im selben, noch verständlicher machen würde. Diese geht Loslösung dann weiter dahin, dass ♂ schliesslich als Symbol der Isis gefasst wird.<sup>2</sup> Ich würde mich nicht wundern, wenn es vielleicht gar wie ☩ als Kultbild aufgestellt worden wäre.

Weder ☩ noch ♂, das ist das wesentlichste Ergebnis unserer Untersuchungen, haben ursprünglich etwas mit Osiris und Isis zu tun. Für beide ist bis jetzt vor dem Neuen Reiche kein Fall nachzuweisen, wo diese Beziehung mit Sicherheit vorläge. Sie mag älter sein, aber alle älteren Fälle, die man bisher hat finden wollen, sind zu streichen.<sup>3</sup> Die genaue Zeit des Bedeutungsüberganges bleibt festzulegen.<sup>4</sup>

Ich möchte mir vorstellen, dass zuerst das an sich schon göttlicher Art teilhaftige ☩ sich mit Osiris verbunden habe, wobei die symbolische Bedeutung 'Beständigkeit' mit im Spiele gewesen sein könnte.<sup>5</sup> Als dann der Ägypter

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *Totenbuch*, Kap. 156.



<sup>2</sup> Zeugnisse ausser bei Birch (siehe S. 424, Anm. 1), bei Schäfer, *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, Bd. LXII, S. 108, 110, Anm. 1; *Äg. u. heutige Kunst usw.*, S. 126, Anm. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Also auch mein eigener Hinweis bei Gressmann, *Tod und Auferstehung des Osiris*, S. 37.

<sup>4</sup> In den alten *Dram. Texten* (siehe S. 425,

Anm. 5) gilt das ☩ als Symbol des Seth, und muss das Baumsymbol des siegreichen Osiris tragen. In der Darstellung des Pfeileraufrichtens unter Amenophis dem III (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, Bd. v, S. 1190 ff.) gehört der Pfeiler dem Osiris.

<sup>5</sup> Wenn nicht die Tatsache, dass (S. 426, Anm. 1) Osiris der Stadtgott von Djedu-Busiris geworden ist.

gewöhnt war, im  an Osiris erinnert zu werden, und nun in paarigen Symbol-  
'Monogrammen' neben diesem Zeichen besonders oft das  mit seiner Bedeutung  
'Leben' stehen sah, dürfte es seinem Denken nicht allzu fern gelegen haben, in  
dieses Zeichen eine Beziehung auf die Gefährtin des Osiris hineinzudeuten.  
Auf diese Weise wird vielleicht am einfachsten verständlich, wie das Zeichen,  
das eigentlich keine Gottheit darstellte, zu einem Bilde der Isis geworden ist.

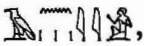
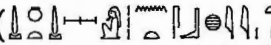
# KOSMOPOLITISCHE GEDANKEN DER ÄGYPTER DES NEUEN REICHS IN BEZUG AUF DAS TOTENREICH

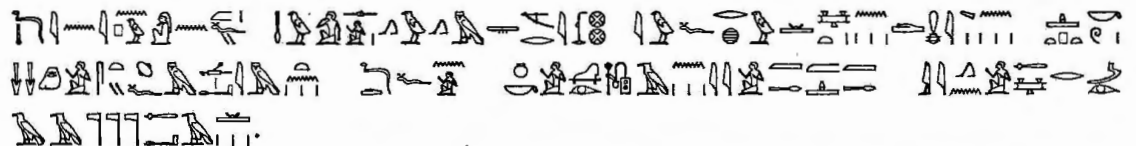
Von KURT SETHE

**D**IE Ägypter haben bekanntlich das Wort *rmt* 'Mensch' nur auf sich angewandt, die andern Völker aber mit ihren besonderen Namen bezeichnet, sodass den 'Menschen' Ägyptens ausserhalb dieses Landes Syrer, Libyer, Nubier usw. gegenüber standen, aber keine 'Menschen'. Dies und die Nachrichten der griechischen Autoren, die von einer gewissen Abschliessung der Ägypter gegen andere Völker reden, haben uns dazu geführt, und das mit einem gewissen Recht, auch wirklich an eine solche Abschliessung zu glauben. Daher wirkte die kosmopolitische Einstellung, die uns in dem Sonnenhymnus Amenophis' IV. entgegentrat, und die Breasted dazu veranlasste, in der Sonnenreligion dieses Königs geradezu einen Versuch zur Schaffung einer universalen, für alle Völker bestimmten Religion zu vermuten, so überraschend.

Dass es im Neuen Reich bei den Ägyptern in der Tat auch ausserhalb dieser Religion zum Mindesten Regungen eines solchen kosmopolitischen Denkens gegeben hat, davon legen vielleicht zwei auf jeden Fall sehr merkwürdige Stellen in der Totenliteratur dieser Zeit Zeugnis ab, auf die ich hier die Aufmerksamkeit lenken möchte. Dieses Zeugnis ist, wenn es anerkannt wird, umso stärker, als es gerade einen Gegenstand betrifft, der wie kaum ein zweiter eine Abschliessung des Ägypters gegen Angehörige anderer Völker erwarten lassen würde, das Leben im Jenseits.

## I

In dem von Budge in der prachtvollen Publikation des British Museum *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani* veröffentlichten Totenbuch des , das nach seiner Fassung des 17. Kapitels in ramessidische Zeit zu datieren ist, findet sich ein Spruch für das Eintreten in die Halle der beiden Wahrheiten, der als eine Art Einleitung zu der 'negativen Konfession' des Kapitel 125 dient (Pl. 30). Darin begrüsst zunächst der Tote in einer Ansprache den Osiris, während er in das Haus dieses Gottes eintritt. Alsdann spricht Anubis zu dem Kollegium der Totenrichter () , das wohl aus den 4 'Horuskindern' bestehend gedacht ist, die in dem Bilde vor Osiris stehen:



'Anubis sagte zu seiner Seite (d. h. den Göttern an seiner Seite): die Stimme eines Mannes, der aus Ägypten kommt, der den Weg zu uns und unserer







PART VII  
ANTHROPOLOGY



# POPULAR RITES IN THE NORTHERN SUDAN: THEIR PLACE AND SIGNIFICANCE

By J. W. CROWFOOT

(With Plates 67-70b<sup>1</sup>)

THE popular rites discussed in the following note are those which are observed on such occasions as births and weddings.<sup>2</sup> These occasions have been the subject of special celebrations in most parts of the world, and the celebrations have proved a happy hunting ground for 'survivals' of archaic modes of thought. In the Sudanese rites there are elements which have persisted from primitive times, but in this note emphasis will be laid equally on more recent additions. The rites in question respond to certain needs of the community: the needs are much the same from one generation to another, all wish to ensue what is good and to escape from dangers, but the community changes and new accommodations and adaptations are continually being introduced into their rites.

The people have been Mohammadans for the last four centuries or more. We do not know much about the process of their conversion, but Islam seems to have been spread among them by the 'holy men' whose lives are written in the book of Wad Dayf Allāh<sup>3</sup> and whose tombs are scattered along the banks of the Nile, and the first of these 'masters' came in the wake of successive waves of invading Bedouin which rolled over the Christian kingdoms of Dongola and the South in the later Middle Ages—fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Later—I do not know exactly when—two galleries (*ruwakāt*) were set apart in the Azhar University at Cairo for training religious students from Dongola and Sennar, and in the nineteenth century the Egyptian conquest added to the effective strength of orthodox Mohammadanism. The Mahdist movements, the spread of religious confraternities, and the popularity of Koran schools are proofs of the hold which Islam has gained.

Before they became Muslims the people were Christian for nine or ten centuries. Again we know very little about the process of their conversion, but the number of ruined churches which remain and a longish series of inscriptions suggest that they were 'without blame as touching the law'. The Nubian Church had its own place in the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, the Chapel of Adam, and Nubian pilgrims are mentioned in medieval accounts of the Holy Land.

Before they were Christian they worshipped the gods of the Egyptian pantheon and some others of their devising. They welcomed the fugitive priests of

<sup>1</sup> The Plates have been reproduced from photographs taken by Mrs. Crowfoot.

<sup>2</sup> The customs in question have been described at greater length in *Sudan Notes and Records*,

II, pp. 183-97, V, pp. 1-28, and I, pp. 119-34.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of this book see H. A. MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan* Vol. II, and S. Hillelson in *S.N.R.* VI.

Amon, they were known to Homer as the blameless Ethiopians and to later Greeks as the most religious of men.

There has been no general displacement of population so far as we know, and the people who observe the rites which form our subject are for the most part lineal descendants of the ancient Ethiopians.

The rites connected with births and weddings contain as we should expect from the analogy of other countries much that is primitive, but they contain also, in varying proportions, relics of the more recent religious phases which have been enumerated. Among the riverain tribes from whom my material was collected there are traces of motherkin such as might perhaps have been found in Dynastic Egypt; on the other hand, there is no trace of totemism nor of the cult of aniconic stones, which last has been reported from Darfur.

We will begin with those customs where recent changes are most obvious and, surprising as it may seem at first sight, these customs are those with which women are exclusively concerned, the rites connected with pregnancy, birth, and childhood. In these rites, side by side with much that is magical, there is one important element at least which is part and parcel of popular Islam, the belief in the blessings (*barakāt*) which can be bestowed by holy men whether alive or dead. These blessings may be the same in kind and outward appearance as the boons which are conferred by priest-kings or rain-makers, but the origin of the holy man's power is entirely different: the holy men who are invoked in the Northern Sudan are believed to derive their power from an Almighty God and Ruler of the Universe, and the name of the person invoked is as good evidence of the religion of the petitioner as the name of a Christian saint would be in other parts of the world. Magical acts which are related to these beliefs belong historically to a different stratum of thought from other magical acts with which they may be accompanied, and we lose a great deal of historical content and perhaps something more if we merge them under a common rubric. It is exceptional to find a holy man or a holy place which is a mere undifferentiated survival carried over from one dispensation to another: deliberate substitutions are the rule.<sup>1</sup>

To turn to the rites. About the seventh month of a woman's pregnancy the expectant mother is presented by her husband with a needle or, in the case of richer families, a pin of gold or silver with little chains and a thread of red silk hanging from it: this is stuck in the hair on the right side of her head, and is supposed like other metal charms elsewhere to keep away dangerous spirits. At the same time a thread with nine knots over which a holy man has prayed is tied round her waist and left there until the child is born, the old world charm in this case being definitely blessed by the new religion. In one family a Koran charm is fastened to the thread and offered with it to the river on the ceremony of the Fortieth Day.

<sup>1</sup> Compare F. W. Hasluck's criticism of Ramsay in *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*.



*a.* A wedding in Rufa'a, Blue Nile. The best man, holding a palm-branch above the wedding mat, announces the approach of the bride



*b.* The bride and her attendants under a bridal veil, the attendants being engaged in arranging her hair and dabbing on unguents



*c.* Unveiling of the bride, who, it will be seen, has a large Koranic charm tied to her girdle



*d.* A further stage in the unveiling





*a.* The bride unveiled but covering her face with her hands, which seems to be the opening gesture of the wedding dance



*b.* The bride dancing before the guests



*c.* Enter the bridegroom with sword: the bride at once reassumes the first gesture and hides her face again



*d.* The bride assumes the second gesture prior to dancing before the bridegroom, who holds his sword 'protectively' above her head





During the confinement things old and new are combined in the same way. As the woman in travail clings to a rope which is suspended from the roof, the women round her call upon Gabriel and Fatma and the holy men of the neighbourhood—Sheikh Abū ‘Asha el Tōr and Sheikh Mīrghanī are mentioned in one song—and they place roses of Jericho and pictures of Mecca before her eyes. The room in which the confinement takes place is called the House of the Angels and it is believed that angels bring, or give life to, the child. How could such a one expect a child when she would keep filthy dogs which the angels were known to abhor, was a question once put to my wife.

In Sukkot (Halfa province) a special ceremony takes place a day or two later before the mother has begun to nurse the child. The midwife carries the infant down to the river, scattering grain right and left as she goes and crying ‘this is the portion of the Mariya, O Angels’ and praying ‘by the Mariya, by the Angels and by this new face, grant us, O God, our desires’. At the riverside they wash the child and push a little raft of wheat stalks with a lighted oil lamp on it into the stream. On their return a cross is painted on the forehead of the child with its meconium which is supposed to be other-worldly and therefore holy, and later on according to the baby’s sex a boy or girl of known good character is given seven dates to chew and spit at the baby telling it to grow up like himself and its parents.

A birth ceremony which is much more widely spread is that of the Fortieth Day after Birth, the *Arba‘in el Wilāda*, the first day when the mother leaves her house. About sunset she rides or walks to the river with the baby, attended by women and children who carry palm branches and offerings of grain, alum, and kohl, of which the angels of the Nile are inordinately fond. On the way they sing songs with intercessions to the holy ones of Islam. Here are some verses from one of these songs:

We have come to you, O river of ours,  
The light has shone before us,  
The river has welcomed us and our hope is  
That our child may grow up and be blessed.

I called upon all of the Holy Ones,  
The people of God came with girded loins,  
They were present at the delivery of the child,  
They delivered her, and from God is peace.

I called on his uncle, the saint,<sup>1</sup>  
And el-Bedawi there in Egypt,  
They were present at the hour of the rope,  
They delivered her and the mother is restored.

<sup>1</sup> Identified with a local holy man, Sheikh Idrīs el Arbāb

A little later in the life of the child when his birth hair is cropped it is the local holy man who receives its weight in gold, and still later it is the holy man who snips off the tip of the 'Horus lock' or *Gambur* which boys wear until their parents can afford the sacrifice which must be made on this occasion.

All these rites it is clear have been permeated more or less by Islamic feeling and accommodations have been made between the older customs and the new religion. This is not the case with the wedding rites which we shall shortly discuss. The wedding rites are pitched in a lighter key, there is more of the element of play and make believe about them: the birth and pregnancy rites are concerned with graver crises when the need for real help is more poignantly felt, and the resort to the holy ones of Islam on these occasions is a proof of the depth of the women's religion. Much that is older than Islam survives: the use of the cross as a sign of power is an obvious relict of Christianity: the offerings to the angels of the Nile belong to a still older religion.<sup>1</sup> Good and evil spirits are recognized in all the revealed religions but the belief in angels living in the Nile who are to be propitiated with material gifts and offerings is purely pagan, the relict of some cult of Nile goddesses or nymphs. Still more primitive are the charms which are supposed to work by magic, contagious or sympathetic.

We turn now to the wedding-rites.

A village wedding with its side shows and accompaniments is perhaps the most vivid expression of the genius of the people: it has a grave side but this side is hidden from the public gaze which is occupied with general jollification, lavish hospitality, games, and the performances of musicians and dancers. Village politics, of course, enter into it: the credit of two families is at stake, and in every village there are at least two parties, the good men who are your friends and the bad men who are your enemies, the hearts of the former must be gladdened and the latter filled with envy and sorrow. No expense therefore is spared, money has been saved for years or borrowed against the event, and the finances of the family may be crippled for a long time. For months the women have been busy with the trousseau and for weeks in preparing food and drink. The livelier functions are after sunset. Beer is consumed in copious draughts, and open house kept for all and sundry from 'master to sot'.<sup>2</sup> A merry procession starts from the bridegroom's house, and during it and thereafter at the bride's house dances, songs, and games are the order of the day or night. Boys and

<sup>1</sup> The belief in spirits is widely spread in the Sudan. Besides the angels of the Nile there are spirits lurking in cracks of the earth, in all running water, in cemeteries and on old sites. Like the Egyptian fellahin the natives know the fertilizing value of the soil on old sites: it comes from the blood of mighty unbelievers which wells up continually so that even newly drifted sand is soon impregnated. There are spirits above

ground also and they are often incarnate in owls, and all shady places are dangerous: when an Arab wishes to sleep under a tamarind tree, which is one of the few thornless trees in the Sudan, he first sticks some thorns in the branches to prevent the spirits from settling above his head.

<sup>2</sup> *Min el fikā lil marrāsi.*



*a, b.* A wedding in Burri, near Khartoum. The preparation of the grain before a wedding. In the Northern Sudan grain has been for thousands of years normally ground on a quern, but on ceremonial occasions such as weddings it is pounded rhythmically in large wooden mortars like those used by African tribes farther south and west



*c.* A bridegroom veiled 'because of the angels' when he is in the open. Note the tassel from his wrist



*d.* The same bridegroom immediately after the forty days and just after he has walked seven times round the holy man's tomb visible in the distance



girls dripping with scented unguents form into lines and dance backwards, singing and clapping their hands. From time to time a couple of youths leave the lines and crouch upon the ground, mimicking the spring of wild beasts: or another pair, stripped to the waist, bare backs to each other to be lashed with hippopotamus hide whips and the girls trill and clap their hands as the blood streams down, and jeer if either of the champions flinches. The most admired solo dances are those which show the greatest power of muscular control: a girl, for instance, stands absolutely motionless except for a single muscle in the throat or back which she throbs violently for several minutes at a time: their finest efforts they keep for the bridegroom when he enters the women's quarters, then they writhe their lissom bodies in exquisite contortions, bending backwards until the plaited tresses of their hair touch the ground: the audience is composed of connoisseurs and to execute such feats requires a training begun almost in babyhood.

The full wedding rites last for forty days, but the most important part of the ceremony and the public entertainments are completed in the first seven. Behind scenes of expansive merriment which recall many reliefs on Egyptian monuments and taking only an occasional part in them, are the hero and heroine of the play, the bride and the bridegroom. For them it is, or it was, a grave ordeal: they are turning their backs on their past life and passing as it were over a threshold into a new life: the rites which they go through have still preserved most of the characters of a typical *rite de passage*.

In the first place, no one can go through these rites more than once. The man is an '*Arīs* only on his first marriage whether the woman he is wedding be a virgin or not, and the woman similarly is only an '*Arūs* once whether her husband be a bachelor or not. It is not necessary for the completion of the rites that the marriage should be technically consummated, as this is often a difficult matter owing to the severe form of female infibulation practised in the country. The rites therefore are not so much marriage rites in our sense of the term as rites of graduation which must be passed before entrance upon the rights and duties of the married state.

In the second place, the rites themselves, which vary in detail from district to district, fall easily into the classical groups of Van Gennep, as rites of preparation, of separation, and of graduation with an intervening liminal period or periods.

It is essential that a lucky date in the calendar should be chosen, the popular calendar being based on the Mansions of the moon, not on the Mohammadan year.

The preliminary rites include the preparation of the amulets which the bridegroom has to wear, his investiture with them, the shaving of his head, and the preparation, in the traditional manner, of the food which is to be consumed.

The most important amulets are necklaces and a bracelet with a blue or green

stone bead threaded on a skein of red silk with a long tassel hanging from it. These amulets are usually family heirlooms, but if the family has none a quest is made for the loan of beads which have brought good luck to others. The beads are dipped first in milk to bring bright days, and then in grain which has been soaked in water until it begins to germinate in order that the marriage may be fruitful, just as in ancient Egypt charms were 'suspended from the boughs of the sycamore and moistened with the sap of shoots' before they were placed 'on the neck of the glorious one'.<sup>1</sup> The bridegroom who has previously been shaved by a lucky barber, one, that is, whose parents are both alive or who has many children or much wealth, is invested with these amulets by a lucky woman, one, that is, preferably who has been married only once and has born several children. His head is covered with unguents, and his clothes are generally those of a woman though he carries a whip and a sword. At circumcisions the same amulets are worn, also in some cases at pregnancy festivals, and in former days the coronations of kings were preceded by similar rites—there are still hereditary royal barbers in the north: hence the proverb 'the Arab is a king on the day of his circumcision and the day of his wedding'.

The bride is invested with similar amulets. Here is an account given me by Mrs. Crowfoot of one of these ceremonies which she was invited to witness in a village near Khartoum:—

'The proceedings began shortly after midnight. First a man brought the wedding mat and spread it over an *'angarib* (a rope-strung bed). Then girls brought in all the necessary articles on a number of trays, and the various things were arranged in a large metal basin, to wit, a funnel-shaped strainer of basket work, a bowl containing milk and germinating grain, dishes of dates and *dura*, three unguents, some red wooden jars with sandal wood and other perfumes, a kohl pot with a steel pencil, and a saucer with a small ivory kohl pot and the special bracelet with a greenish-blue stone strung on red silk with a tassel. The other ornaments, a large ring and an agate bead on a red thread, were brought by another friend. When all was ready, the bride wrapped in the coloured veil (*garmasīs*) was brought in and assisted to the *'angarib*. A white silk veil was then held up behind her so that only those in front or close by could see what was done, and the coloured veil was taken off. Immediately in front were three or four old dames whose duty it was to call down blessings at the right moment, and with them the 'maid of honour' and seven or eight other women. First the 'maid of honour' massaged the bride's face very carefully with the unguents provided, and then her arms, hands, and breast, finishing with a few liberal dabs on the head between the gold ornaments. Next her eyes were touched with kohl. Then the ornaments were dipped into the milk and grain: first the stone of the bracelet was dipped and pressed three times on the bride's breast and forehead before being fastened round her wrist: then the ring was dipped and put on her right hand, and lastly the agate bead was dipped and hung round her neck. The girls then brought two censers and censed her, putting them first in front below the *'angarib* and then holding them on each side. The white veil was next thrown over her head and the censers waved above it. The 'maid of

<sup>1</sup> See Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhat*, p. 112.



a. A wedding in Ondurman. The first gesture of the bride



b. The second gesture



c. Bilingual mummy-ticket in the New York Historical Society's possession  
Scale 1 : 1





honour' then took the edge of the veil, shook it and said a prayer or charm: then the funnel-shaped strainer was held over the bride's head and the milk and grain poured down it. All present trilled loudly and the funnel was shaken above the head of the bride and over those present. This completed the investiture, after which the bridegroom entered the room.<sup>1</sup>

The rest of the ceremony takes place in the house of the bride which is to be the home of the bridegroom for the next year at least. The most obvious rite of separation is the Breaking of the *Rahaṭ*: the *rahaṭ* is the tasseled leather skirt which little girls wear in the Sudan, and the rite consists in the breaking of three or seven tassels by the bridegroom to symbolize that the bride is now about to put off girlish things.<sup>1</sup> Another is the loosening of a knotted girdle which is put on by the bride usually after a marginal period of two or three days, and which must be unfastened by the bridegroom.

A longer marginal period of suspense now follows which is in sharp contrast to the noisy celebrations which accompany the earlier proceedings. It is a period of extreme quietude: both bride and bridegroom are supposed to be in a delicate condition. The bride was first introduced wrapped completely in a coloured silk veil, called the *garmasīs*, like the sheath round a young bud, and a similar veil is in some places wrapped round them both about sunrise and about sunset every day during this period when they must lie motionless side by side. Whenever the bridegroom is present the bride is not allowed to speak at all but is expected to utter only an inarticulate cry, the *ghanj*, which seems to be a reminiscence of the wail of a new-born infant. The bride and bridegroom, like women in childbed, are not allowed to change their clothes during the forty days, and whenever the bridegroom leaves the house for any purpose he should keep his head veiled and carry his sword because of the angels. On the other hand, he and his friends, like the friends of boys or girls who have just been circumcised, have general license to take or steal whatever they want. A native described them to me once as being green like tender shoots, not yet dry and firmly set, and this seems to offer the simplest explanation of this curious period: what is a purely social or communal change is imagined to be also a physical change and the bride and bridegroom are as it were being born again.

On the fortieth day they wash their clothes and go about their business, living in the new house, but under the eye of the bride's mother who is supposed to provide them with grain for the next twelve months or so.

Islam has no part or lot in any of these ceremonies. The Mohammadan registrar of marriages may be engaged to carry out the legal side of the business but there are none of the Koran readings which are customary in other Muslim countries. More than this, Islamic prescriptions are actually flouted, for the bridegroom's head is so plastered with unguents that it is impossible for him to pray for the whole forty days. In the rites which were reviewed earlier it is the

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 316 f.

blessings of the holy man which are sought after, in these it is the luck (*bakht*), the old impersonal virtue or δύναμις, which this man or thing possesses and that does not. It may be said that these observances have survived because they are so trivial, like many of our own superstitions, but though there is something in this, it must be remembered that there are many in all countries who take such things seriously: if a marriage goes wrong or a boy does not recover quickly from a circumcision, many a native mother cudgels her brain for days to remember whether any detail in the preparation of the food or the order of the ceremonies was omitted. These rites do further, I imagine, remove some inhibitions and stimulate self confidence, they may therefore possess some real psychological value, but they have, no doubt, survived mainly because the people enjoy them so much.

With many minor variations these customs are practised over the greater part of the northern Sudan, and rites of the same type are observed, or were until recently, in Eritrea among both Christian and Mohammedan tribes.<sup>1</sup> Many of the details, the whip which is carried by the bridegroom and his best man, the green branches, the necklaces and bracelets, the shooting grain in which these are dipped, suggest Egyptian parallels, like the dances and the plaited tresses of the girls and the rope-strung beds (*angaribs*) on which they sit. To many the rites will be mainly of interest in virtue of the light which they throw upon the monuments of ancient Egypt. We should like to relate them also to one of the literary references to Egyptian religion. Greek writers noted that the Ethiopians were the most religious of men, and they concluded that Ethiopia was the cradle of the Egyptian religion: this conclusion is not, I think, accepted by any one nowadays, but the observation on which it was based is consistent with all we know of the Egyptians and the Ethiopians respectively, and the longer persistence of these rites in the Sudan may be due to the greater fervour and tenacity which impressed the Greeks.

<sup>1</sup> Littmann, *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, Leyden, 1910, pp. 121-47.

## MODERN SURVIVORS FROM PUNT

By H. FRANKFORT

(With Plate 71)

### I

AN undisturbed grave found by the Archaeological Survey of Nubia at Shellal contained a skeleton which carried on either arm a clamp of ivory (Pl. 71 *a*), and Professor Borchardt recognized in this the original of a chevron-like ornament pictured in a corresponding position on the arms of some relief figures in the funerary temples of Sahurē' and Neuserre' which he was just then excavating at Abusir.<sup>1</sup> The figures are prisoners of war whom Borchardt believes to be people from Punt. He concluded, therefore, that in the Early Dynastic cemetery at Shellal a Puntite was buried who had come there as trader, bought slave, or captive.

By the courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum I publish in Pl. 71 *b* and *c* two similar clamps of ivory and one of wood. But these have been worn in our own time by warriors of the Masai in East Africa.<sup>2</sup> Yet they are identical with those found by Professor Reisner at Shellal. And as the peculiar shape of these arm-clamps cannot be explained as due to practical considerations or to circumstances which might lead to similar results on more than one occasion, there can be no doubt but that the clamps of the Masai are direct descendants of those worn by a people with whom the ancient Egyptians were in contact during the Old Kingdom. The astonishing survival of this ornament, absolutely unchanged, for five thousand years is established by the mere fact of its occurrence in an undisturbed Early Dynastic grave. It remains to consider whether that survival is more than a historical curiosity.

Turning first to the Old Kingdom reliefs we must admit that the identification of the figures with the arm-clamp as Puntites is not absolutely certain, for Punt is not explicitly mentioned. While Professor Sethe upholds Borchardt's view<sup>3</sup> Georg Möller, quoted by Eduard Meyer,<sup>4</sup> suggested that they might represent Nubians, whom one would expect to complete with the Libyans and Asiatics the traditional set of Egypt's enemies.

Now it is clear at once that the omission of Punt in the texts accompanying the reliefs does not prove anything one way or the other. For the Libyans, unmistakably portrayed, are not mentioned either. Both Puntites and Libyans are evidently included amongst the 'rebels', 'foreign countries', and so on, who pre-

<sup>1</sup> Borchardt, *Der Totentempel des Königs Sahure*, II. 20, with Fig. 2, i.e. our Pl. 71 *a*.

<sup>2</sup> H. J. Braunholtz, *Man*, 1921, 37.

<sup>3</sup> In Borchardt, *Sahure*, II. 82 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Geschichte des Altertums*, I. 2, § 165 A.

vail in the texts. We have therefore to rely on circumstantial evidence in discussing the origin of the wearers of the arm-clamp.

The physical type of the figures does not give us any clue. We know from the figures of Puntites in the New Kingdom, which are named, that the Egyptian did not distinguish them from himself in appearance; but under the Old Kingdom the same applies to the Nubians, as Professor Junker has shown.<sup>1</sup> In the present instance this identity of type between Puntites, Nubians, and Egyptians, supports somewhat the view that Puntites are pictured; for even if one agrees that the Egyptian was wont to think in terms of the typical<sup>2</sup> and would, consequently, require a Nubian in a scene which showed how Sahurē' upheld the traditional world-supremacy of Egypt, there is no doubt that such a figure would appear purely as a representative of the southern lands, and a Puntite, being of the same physical type, might be used as a substitute. Usually there would be no occasion to do so; but in Sahurē's reign, and more precisely at the time when the reliefs were carved, such a modification of the traditional group would be highly appropriate. While we do not know that Sahurē' undertook any action in Nubia, we do know that he dispatched an expedition to Punt of which much was made in the Annals of the Kingdom. This expedition returned in the very year in which the execution of the reliefs began. For in the same year twelve, for which the Palermo-stone chronicles the return of the Punt expedition, the pavement of the entrance hall of the temple was put down; and this indicates, as Borchardt has remarked, the conclusion of the actual work of construction.<sup>3</sup> Now these reliefs are executed with a precision of racial characteristics and a richness of detail which leaves no doubt that the artist had been able to study actual Asiatics, Libyans and 'southerners'. That he chose as prototype for the last group, not a common Nubian, but one of the captives from an expedition which had just returned to Memphis and of which the king was admittedly proud, is natural enough. In this way (the rendering of a historical fact of single occurrence in the garb of the typical and the traditional), which was particularly dear to the Egyptians, the actual achievement of the king could be commemorated in the canonical scenes of his funerary temple.

The fragments of reliefs from the temple of Neuserrē' cannot be used in any way; for we know too little of that king's reign to decide whether the royal griffin trampling enemies under foot (amongst whom there are some with our arm-clamp) appears in his temple with any better justification than that Sahurē's powerful compositions had supplied attractive models. But in the mastaba of Shesathetep, son of Cheops, a figure appears which is in all essentials identical

<sup>1</sup> *El Kubanieh-Nord*, 14 ff.; *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1921, pp. 121 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See especially De Buck, *Het typische en het individueele bij de Egyptenaren*, Leiden, 1929.

<sup>3</sup> Borchardt, *Sahure*, I. 96. That the reliefs were not executed before is not only a matter of

inference from what would be the most natural succession of work in building, but is also attested by the occurrence of Nefrirkarē', with the royal titular, in those reliefs, which shows that he completed them for his predecessor, who died in the thirteenth year of his reign.

with the Puntites of Sahurē'.<sup>1</sup> He is called the *nehsi* Hartesi, and Professor Erman, arguing that this 'negro' looked exactly like an Egyptian, called him, already fifty years ago, a Puntite.<sup>2</sup> The argument itself no longer holds good; in view of Junker's research he might be a Nubian. But his presence in the tomb of an admiral speaks for Punt.

A last argument is, furthermore, provided by the tomb in which the actual clamps were found. Had these been usual ornaments of a Nubian people, it would be inexplicable that only one of the many hundreds of graves opened by the Archaeological Survey contained them. It is, moreover, significant that this one grave was found at Shellal, or, in other words, near the residence of the Lords of Elephantine, who were during the Old Kingdom in charge of the traffic with Punt and might, as well as the admiral Shesathetep, have occasionally included a Puntite in their retinue. The contents of the grave do not give us any further information except as to its date. The gold and carnelian beads, and the heavy copper axe and adze point consistently to the time of the second or third Dynasty.<sup>3</sup> The body itself seems, unfortunately, to have belonged to those which were too far decayed to allow of any detailed measurements. It is styled 'negroid' in the text, but this term is not quite satisfactory without further qualifications, since Professor Junker has shown that its use, in the volumes of the Survey, was not always equally well founded. It was clothed in goatskins and buried in a contracted position, lying on the left side, not differing in these matters from the Egyptians of that and of an earlier period,<sup>4</sup> or from the modern wearers of the arm-clamps, the Masai. And to the Masai we must turn again to find an explanation for another peculiarity of our Old Kingdom relief, and for a difference between this and the most detailed figure which is stated by inscriptions to render a Puntite: that of the Chief of Punt at Deir el Bahri.

The Old Kingdom figures show at the lower edge of their hair three smooth, oblong appendages. Borchardt explains these as locks hanging over the shoulder. The smoothness, which distinguishes them from the rest of the hair, and, in the Sahurē' reliefs, their apparent rigidity, show that they cannot render ordinary locks of hair. And one takes Egyptian art far too literally by insisting on their hanging over the shoulder: if, for instance, they fell behind the back and could therefore not be shown because the shoulders in the normal Egyptian figure are given in front view, the artist would, if these objects were distinctive and he wanted to show them, draw them simply in front of the shoulders.<sup>5</sup> The only thing which one may safely infer from the relief is that those Puntites

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ägypten und Ägyptisches Leben*, I. 670, Anm. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See Reisner, *Report of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, 1907-8, I. 50; tomb 17/190, and compare also the carnelian beads of Pl. LXVIII B 3 with Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, Pl. XVII, type 86 c 13; and the axe and adze of Pl. LXV B, 8 & 9,

with Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, Pl. II, No. 55; Pl. XVI, No. 74 (Khasekhemui).

<sup>4</sup> Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I. 15.

<sup>5</sup> If proof for such a contention is still required see Schäfer, *Von Ägypt. Kunst*<sup>3</sup>, 120 and *passim*; especially illuminating for our purpose, Fig. 252, p. 289.

had distinctive rigid appendages at the edge of their coiffure, that they wore their hair, therefore, as the modern Masai warriors do (Pl. 71 *d*). We may quote Sir Harry Johnston to explain this head-dress: 'When a Masai youth has reached puberty and is about to become a warrior, he allows the hair of his head to grow as long as it will. Tugging at the wool, and straightening it as far as he is able, he plaits into it twisted bast or thin strips of leather. In this way the hair is, with its artificial accompaniments, plaited into a number of wisps and these, coated with red clay and mutton fat, are gathered into pigtails or *queues*, the largest of which hang down over the back, . . . and there may be one over each ear. The ends of these *queues* are tightly bound round with string, which, like all the rest of the coiffure, is thickly coated with grease and ochre.'<sup>1</sup> Merker<sup>2</sup> adds two interesting facts to this account. In the first place we read that a stick, about a foot long, is often incorporated in the main pigtail at the back. In the second place he pictures some warriors who wear on the back of their head, above the main pigtail, two or three smaller ones. This is an explanation of the triplet of appendages in the Sahurē<sup>c</sup> reliefs alternative with the one following from Sir Harry Johnston's text, viz., one pigtail at the back and one at each ear.

Now we must explicitly note that the pigtails, according to the Masai themselves,<sup>3</sup> are a distinctive sign of the warrior-class, more so even than the arm-clamps. For while the latter are not worn by all warriors, and are sometimes worn by chiefs,<sup>4</sup> this is by no means the case with the pigtails. Just as the head is shaved before the boy reaches puberty, so it is shaved again when a man ceases to be a warrior, marries, and becomes an elder. This may explain, then, why at Deir el Bahri, in contrast with the other Puntites pictured there, and in contrast with the Old Kingdom reliefs, the *Chief* of Punt wears his hair close-cropped. Furthermore, it is just possible that, similarly, the exclusive appearance of the arm-clamp in the Sahurē<sup>c</sup> reliefs, where actual prisoners of war are shown, is significant. We will not press that point however, firstly, because the rules as to its usage are less strict to-day; and, secondly, because the New Kingdom pictures of Puntites, with the exception of that of the Chief of Punt, are rather inconsistent in any case. For this there are several reasons. In the first place the arrival of Puntites at Thebes during the New Kingdom was obviously less of an outstanding event than at Memphis under Sahurē<sup>c</sup>; the impressions which the Theban artists got of their appearance might easily be merged in those derived from other foreigners. Moreover, we know that at the Durbar where Hatshepsut received the 'Tribute from Punt' there was offered at the same time, as was usual, tribute from other foreign countries,<sup>5</sup> and we must allow for this confus-

<sup>1</sup> *The Uganda Protectorate*, II. 804.

<sup>2</sup> Merker, *Die Masai*, 144.

<sup>3</sup> Hollis, *The Masai*, 314.

<sup>4</sup> Merker, *Die Masai*, 20.

<sup>5</sup> Naville, *Deir el Bahri*, III, Pl. LXXVI. It seems to have been usual to enhance the im-

pressiveness of these occasions by staging a simultaneous offering of tribute by other foreigners. This brought, again, a single historical occurrence in line with a general principle: the submission of certain enemies became symbolical of the world-dominion of the divine pharaoh, by



*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*

*a.* Ivory armlet from Nubia in the British Museum

Scale 3 : 7

*b, c.* Ivory and wooden armlets of the Masai

*d.* Masai warriors, showing method of coiffure. (*Phot. Schomburgk*)





ing circumstance when we see how inconsistently the artists distributed such details as they did include in their pictures. For the private tombs confusion can be proved to exist. In Rekhmirē's tomb, for instance, the dress of the Puntites is on the whole like that of the Nubians. Their kilt is also, however, almost identical with that of the Asiatics in the tomb of Menkheperē'seneb.<sup>1</sup> In Amenmose's tomb we see that sometimes negro chiefs donned Egyptian dress, while their followers did not.<sup>2</sup> Add to such displays the attire which we can imagine that foreign servants of Egyptians or egyptianized foreigners wore, classes of people likely to be seen about wherever foreign embassies were staying in Thebes, and we may estimate the odds against a consistent and exact rendering of foreign dresses by the Theban artists. In the official records at Deir el Bahri we find the artist, therefore, drawing his Puntites in a carefully colourless manner, except in the case of outstanding figures like the prince of Punt and his wife, for which he could no doubt draw on information from members of the expedition. The other figures, if compared with those of the Old Kingdom, show all the difference between one drawn from life, and one in which is incorporated all that was known without the commitment of too definite detail. Thus we find most of the kilts drawn in a purely conventional way; but once there is rendered the double girdle and the tail which characterized the Puntites in the Old Kingdom. At Deir el Bahri, however, it is worn by a Kushite.<sup>3</sup>

Elsewhere at Deir el Bahri the Chief of Punt wears at least the appendage, if not the girdle, and his kilt is there different from that of the Kushite. The other Puntites, appearing in the relief together with the Kushites and negroes, show yet two more types of kilt. It is impossible to deny that all this variety corresponds exactly with the artist's observations, but it is equally impossible to affirm it, and in view of the proven confusion in the dress of Puntites in the private tombs we may, at least, state that the kilt is not suitable to be used as a distinctive feature.

As to the coiffure, the filet of the Old Kingdom reliefs appears also at Deir el Bahri, and in one case, where a man looks round, his hair is seen to end in separate pigtailed.<sup>4</sup> In the cases where the hair is shown as falling on the shoulders it is possible that the pigtailed are simply omitted; this is suggested by the one figure of a tribute bearer which is drawn somewhat fuller;<sup>5</sup> there is an

the addition of representatives of the other barbarians. So we see in certain tomb-reliefs at El Amarnah Akhenaten receiving tribute from his main Syrian enemies in year 12; we know from our excavations the building in which this took place and we see that it bears every sign of being especially constructed for this occasion (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XIII. 213 ff.). But the reliefs (Davies, *Rock tombs of el Amarna*, III, Pl. XIV; II, Pl. XXXVII) show that negroes and even Cretans were made to appear on the occasion;

just so Hatshepsut, when the Punt expedition had safely returned, included some other tributaries in her picture.


<sup>1</sup> Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I. 274.      <sup>2</sup> *ibid.* 285.

<sup>3</sup> Naville, *Deir el Bahri*, III, Pl. LXXVI, second row from top. The annals of Thutmosis III for year 34 (Sethe, *Urk.* IV. 708) leave no doubt that 'Irm is situated somewhere in Upper Nubia.

<sup>4</sup> Naville, *Deir el Bahri*, III, Pl. LXIX, upper right-hand corner.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, Pl. LXXVI, left-hand bottom corner.

indication of locks or pigtails in front of the shoulder in that figure, and the ear is also shown, with a large earring (those of the Masai to-day are exceptionally large) while his kilt is more elaborately drawn than that of the others.

Two of the 'Great Ones of Punt' wear an ostrich feather. This is drawn in a purely ideographic way, just as in the hieroglyph , and consequently it is impossible to say whether it is meant to represent one of the various modes in which the Masai wear ostrich feathers as a head-dress.<sup>1</sup> Finally, to return to the Chief of Punt, we notice that his leg is encased from knee to ankle in coiled wire. This is a very common mode of adornment amongst the Masai, with this distinction, that arms, neck, and legs are so ornamented in the case of women, while the men wear as a rule their wire ornaments on the wrists only.

In the second half of this paper we shall enumerate some more survivals amongst the Masai, different in significance but not in character from those discussed above. Their number is truly astonishing if we realize the distance in time separating our contemporaries between Lake Victoria and Lake Rudolf from Hatshepsut and Sahurē'. There are differences, too, of course; the most important, which we have not yet mentioned, is the complete absence of beards amongst the Masai of to-day. This is perhaps due to a decrease in facial hair-growth resulting from an increase of the negro element in the Masai people. However this may be, the fact that two Masai arm-clamps have been found in an undisturbed grave at Shellal, and that certain problematic features of the Puntites of the Ancient Egyptian reliefs fell automatically into place when reference to these same Masai was made, very strongly suggests that survivors from Punt are still among us.<sup>2</sup>

## II

In the foregoing paragraphs we have treated rather a special aspect of the survival, amongst the Masai, of customs and objects known from Ancient Egyptian times. They have also, however, a definite bearing on a problem of a more general nature. Hitherto modern survivals of matters known from Ancient Egypt have, with one or two exceptions, been treated as petrified emanations from the higher civilization of the Nile Valley into a neutral and merely receptive Africa. But we possess in the arm-clamps and in the Masai customs discussed above a set of phenomena which cannot possibly be explained in the usual manner, because they do not refer to Ancient Egypt at all; they refer to a region in East Africa with which the ancient Egyptians were in contact.<sup>3</sup> The inference

<sup>1</sup> Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, II, Fig. 459; Merker, *Die Masai*, 93, Fig. 36; Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, 61 f.

<sup>2</sup> There is no need to explore Masai-land for the rose-granite group of Hatshepsut and Amon which, as Sethe recognized, the queen set up in

Punt. Native tradition and modern research agree in asserting that the Masai reached their present habitat from the north. The satisfactory location of Punt on the Somali coast remains, therefore, unimpaired.

<sup>3</sup> Therefore it is immaterial to the argument

is, obviously, that native African civilization then was in many respects as we know it to-day. This impression is strengthened when we learn from Mr. Braunscholtz's ingenious study that the particular type of Masai arm-clamp found at Shellal is the very last of a long typological series, the various stages of which all survive side by side in Africa to-day.<sup>1</sup> Yet the whole development was already completed at the time of the second or third Dynasty in Egypt.

Now we can observe that Egypt starts her career as a cultural power by differentiating herself from a definitely African<sup>2</sup> civilization, that of the First Predynastic Period, which continues to vegetate outside Egypt, in the whole of Nubia, for almost two millennia without changing in essentials. It is true that Egypt's differentiation from her original African context goes together with an assimilation of Syrian and perhaps Mediterranean elements which probably prevailed in the Delta; and furthermore, that at the critical moment, just before the rise of the first Dynasty, progress was quickened and intensified by contact with Sumer, as is now generally admitted.<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding all this, there is not the slightest doubt that the African substratum of Egyptian civilization entered to a large extent in its final make-up. To what extent? and what is the relative importance of the Asiatic elements? These are questions of absorbing interest. And now we have obtained, in the first part of this paper, proof positive that certain objects, and a very high degree of probability that certain customs, have survived in Africa without change these five thousand years, the suggestion is unavoidable that the one way to the African substratum of Egyptian culture which has always been distrusted, and therefore only intermittently explored, will

in this second section of our paper whether the wearers of the arm-clamp on the Egyptian monuments and the Masai are connected with Punt or with Nubia.

<sup>1</sup> *Man*, 1921, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Scharff, *Grundzüge der Aegypt. Vorgeschichte*, 22, 27; Brunton, *Man*, 1925, 103. Also Junker, in *Festschrift P. W. Schmidt*, 866 ff., who rightly insist that the Badarian culture as well as the First Predynastic is purely African. There is, however, no occasion to speak of a Nubian period 'ehe die ägyptische Vorgeschichte hier eindrang', if, as seems likely, the first predynastic civilization is merely the development of the Badarian, or of a closely related stage, in the whole region where the latter prevailed.

<sup>3</sup> Only von Bissing (*Archiv für Orientforschung*, 1929-31) disagrees; he suspects our attempts to explain as due to cultural contact an outstanding set of phenomena, which appear and disappear together in Egypt and are interrelated in essentials, to be the outcome of sweeping pan-babylonian theories, connected with the names of de Morgan and Hommel, but which have for many years ceased to be as much as mentioned in serious works on

early Egypt! Von Bissing himself does not offer any explanation for the facts, and ignoring their common characteristics, he attempts to show that each comparison in itself has not much power of proof. In doing so he is not too particular about the correctness of his statements: in dismissing the non-Egyptian origin of a certain type of ship with pronounced technical characteristics (such as the position of the mast, e.g.) he ignores the special researches on the subject by Asman, Köster, and Boreux, which have established the significance of those characteristics; his assertion that the long-necked animals of the slate-palettes recur on an inscribed vase at Abydos is not confirmed when one fits together the fragments which he indicates: the result is the figure of an ordinary lioness or panther. The pretended absence amongst early Sumerian seal-designs of a group of two animals looking at the man who holds them is proved to be imaginary by glancing through a little handbook like Weber's *Altorientalische Siegelbilder* (Figs. 180, 188 &c.). These examples may suffice to show the manner in which von Bissing upholds his position, negative in any case.

prove the main avenue of approach: the stratum we are looking for is to be found, in fact, in modern Africa underneath later deposits.

That this is indeed the case becomes clear when we return once more to the Masai. What we have mentioned of their civilization connects them with Punt. But, moreover, they share with some other neighbours of Egypt in protodynastic times, or perhaps with a branch of the protodynastic Egyptians themselves, in any case, with figures of captives known from the slate palettes, a peculiar mode of circumcision, as Dr. Seligman<sup>1</sup> and Sir Harry Johnston<sup>2</sup> have observed. They share with the Ancient Egyptians themselves, and only with these, a peculiar method of time-reckoning, as Borchardt has established.<sup>3</sup> They share a very peculiar type of 'simple bow', as Mr. Wainwright has carefully demonstrated, with the Somalis, the Bahima, and the ancient Egyptians from the earliest times onward.<sup>4</sup> We may further point out that the Kings of Egypt, from Narmer down to Zoser, appear, with one exception,<sup>5</sup> with close-cropped hair, in contrast with at least some of their followers; and that the usual head-dress, emerging in the fourth Dynasty from the composite monstrum worn by Zoser, is the *nemes* head-cloth made to fit a coiffure like that of the Masai warrior (Pl. 71 *d*).<sup>6</sup> The archaic garment worn by the king at the Sed festival, and used in the first Dynasty, tallies in length, shape, and as far as the pictures allow one to judge, material, with the leather cloaks worn by the Masai elders.<sup>7</sup> Just as the 'false beard' of the Egyptian kings is connected, on the one hand, with some vanquished enemies on the slate palettes, and on the other hand with Punt, so the Masai survivals point to Ancient Egypt as well as to Punt and perhaps to yet another of Egypt's neighbours. In other words: the combination of survivals amongst the Masai points to an original cultural complex extending from the Lower Nile Valley up to Somaliland. We know from Professor Newberry's detailed researches<sup>8</sup> that the physical basis for a homogeneous culture all through that area did exist: fauna, flora, and perhaps the climate of Egypt were in predynastic times those of East Africa (and in particular of the White Nile region) of to-day. If we add here that the cultural complex was Hamitic, it is not only to formulate in one word its anthropological and philological character, but also in order to utilize a quotation from an authority who has been a pioneer in the line of research for which this paper is intended as a plea. Professor Seligman writes at the end of 'Some aspects of the Hamitic question in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan':<sup>9</sup> 'It is permissible to seek to reconstruct the early Hamitic culture from those ideas and

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Liverpool, VII. 43 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1913, p. 375.

<sup>3</sup> *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1925, p. 620.

<sup>4</sup> *Bulletin de la Société Sultanieh de géographie* I (1919), p. 109 ff.

<sup>5</sup> King 'Den' on an ivory plaque, formerly in the Macgregor collection (*Zeitschrift für Aeg.*

*Sprache und Altertumskunde*, xxxv. 8).

<sup>6</sup> See Winlock, in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, November 1916, pp. 238 ff.

<sup>7</sup> But see another suggestion as regards the material by Glanville, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xvii. 65 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Egypt as a Field for Anthropological Research*, British Association, 1923.

<sup>9</sup> *Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1913.

customs which are common to Hamites, Half-hamites and Nilotes. A common measure of these can be stated, and this may be considered to outline the beliefs of the early Hamites.' Perhaps it is necessary, in view of certain phenomena which would seem to connect Spain with the Hamitic sphere, to qualify Professor Seligman's statement so that it refers to the specialized Hamitic culture which once existed in East Africa<sup>1</sup> and which we have found reason to identify with the African substratum of Egyptian civilization. This identity implies that not only its beliefs, but also its material culture and its social structure can be recovered to some extent by comparative ethnological research.

<sup>1</sup> See for the Hamitic character of the Iberians Bosch-Gimpera and Pokorny in *Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte*, VI. 4 ff.—In view of the indubitable relationship between the First Predynastic civilization and Libyan North Africa, which Scharff has established (*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, LXI) it remains to be seen whether a qualification as given in our text is necessary, or, in other words, whether East Africa and North Africa had diverged to a considerable extent in early Predynastic times from a common origin. The original unity does not only survive in the anthropological and linguistic features which are meant when both regions are called Hamitic, but

it is materially present in late Paleolithic (Capsien) and perhaps in Neolithic times (Scharff, *Grundzüge der Ägyptischen Vorgeschichte*, 13 ff. 23). Here again one might go further instead of relying exclusively on the results of excavations, and try to establish by comparative ethnological research which factors brought about the differences which exist to-day between East and North Africa, after which the period at which they came about might also, perhaps, become clear. It seems that the sadly interrupted work of Georg Möller requires in the first place some such ethnological continuation.

## PALAEOLITHIC MAN IN NUBIA AND UPPER EGYPT

By K. S. SANDFORD

(With Plate 72)

FLINT implements of Palaeolithic type have been known to be extremely abundant in Egypt, particularly in Upper Egypt, since the later part of the nineteenth century. Farther south, in Nubia, however, they are rare. The flint-bearing strata which form the cliffs of the Nile valley in Egypt are there replaced by sandstone deserts, scattered with quartz pebbles and seamed with occasional bands of hard ironstone. Flint being available only at a distance, Palaeolithic Man had locally at his disposal quartz, ironstone, and yet tougher rocks which he could get from the Cataracts. We are assuming, however, that he was there to use them, an assumption which until quite recently was hardly to be justified, since the only Palaeolithic implements known south of the First Cataract were a few collected by the Archaeological Survey of Nubia (specimens are to be seen in the museum at Assuan), and others found on the surface of the desert near Faras by Professor and Mrs. Griffith. The finest example from Faras is in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford. It represents a high degree of Lower Palaeolithic skill, the more remarkable since it is made of quartz, an intractable material compared with the Egyptian flint or chert. For its technique and for its geographical position it is remarkable, and since 1912 it has been introduced by Mr. Henry Balfour to successive classes of students as a human document without its context, found far from the rest of the volume to which it belongs. Throughout this period of years it has served as a challenge to further investigation, for with others found at Faras it represented the only discovery of Palaeolithic implements in the whole of the vast area of the Sudan, and by far the most southerly in the Nile valley.

During the years 1922-4 the first discoveries in Egypt of human remains of Palaeolithic age, with associated fauna, were made by Mr. Guy Brunton (1922-3) and by Sir Flinders Petrie (1923-4) at Qau-el-Kebir, near Assiut. The bones had been removed from an ancient deposit of the Nile and had been buried in shafts and tombs apparently in the XIXth Dynasty. Some of the fossil hippopotamus ivory, included in the hoards, had been carved.

In 1923 also M. E. Vignard published his important study<sup>1</sup> of Middle and later Palaeolithic Man in the Kom Ombo basin, north of Assuan. It transpired later than he had found the same fossil fauna as that of Qau—although he was unaware of it at the time—with an abundance of human implements, but no

<sup>1</sup> 'Une nouvelle industrie lithique, le Sébilien', *Bull. Inst. français d'arch. orientale*, vol. xxii (1923), 76 pp. and 24 plates.



*a.* Outlier of Lower Palaeolithic (50-foot) terrace at Bir Aras, near mouth of Wadi Qena



*b.* Terrace-gravels containing Middle Palaeolithic implements, near Naqada, Thebaid





human remains. The discoveries at Qau and at Kom Ombo remained unconnected.

Sir Flinders Petrie published a note on the fossil remains found at Qau,<sup>1</sup> with certain deductions based upon them, but some doubt existed as to the age and source of derivation of the material, and I was invited by the British School of Archaeology to investigate the questions at issue from a purely geological point of view.

The opportunity of devoting several months to a special investigation of the Nile valley between Luxor and Assiut, and some time to the Kom Ombo plain and to the region of the First Cataract, made possible certain additions to the earlier observations of Pitt Rivers, Schweinfurth, Hume, Beadnell, Blanckenhorn, Hall, Petrie, Seligman, and others. In particular it became possible to demonstrate that Palaeolithic implements occurred *in situ* in a regular succession of ancient river deposits, marking step by step the excavation of the present alluvium-filled channel during the evolution of Man himself. As the river and its many tributaries, now dry, lowered their beds, the old deposits were abandoned and remained in terrace-like array, with their contained implements, to mark the former levels. A descending series of beds resulted, the age of each with relation to the others determined on geological evidence, and each dated by its archaeological contents. Two such terraces marked the Lower Palaeolithic, a higher being the older (Chellean) about a hundred feet above the Nile (or local dry river bed), a lower terrace of about fifty feet being the younger (Acheulean) (Pl. 72 a). Two more terraces marked the development of Middle Palaeolithic implements from coarse forms (20–30 foot terrace) to fine (10–15 foot terrace) (Pl. 72 b).

It was evident, at least between Luxor and Assiut, that the tributary streams which had previously had a good supply of water now lost it and ceased to flow. This is the first indication that the plateaux adjoining the Nile had ceased to be well watered and were becoming deserts. The Nile, robbed of its local supply, thereafter flowed sluggishly through its valley, deriving its water from more favoured districts in the south. The deposits of the Kom Ombo plain mark this stage and contain later Palaeolithic implements, so also did the beds from which had come the human and other remains found at Qau.<sup>2</sup>

In the following winter (1926–7) Professor Breasted gave me the opportunity of returning to Egypt to continue the investigation over a wider area, and with the collaboration of Dr. W. J. Arkell the tracing of the succession of industries and old deposits was completed to the First Cataract. The deposits of the Kom Ombo plain were brought more thoroughly into the general sequence than had previously been possible. In 1929–30, after two winters spent in northern Egypt, the time came to continue the survey from the First to the Second

<sup>1</sup> *Man*, vol. xxv (1925), p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc. London*, vol. lxxxv (1929), pp. 493–548.

Cataract, and to find, if possible, the full meaning of the isolated Lower Palaeolithic implements found by Professor Griffith at Faras. A few months earlier Dr. Arkell, while travelling in the Sudan, had noted deposits similar to those of Kom Ombo at Wadi Halfa and had collected implements of the same type from them. In due course the section of the river between the two cataracts was found to conform to the scheme already mapped out north of the First Cataract both in the height of the more ancient terraces and in their contained implements, which were found at intervals over the whole distance. The later Palaeolithic deposits were in greater evidence than they had proved to be in Upper Egypt, and they were found to be locally rich in contained artefacts, especially in the lower reaches of the Second Cataract. With the desert closing in around him, Man seems to have found this part of the river particularly well adapted to his needs.

The winter of 1930-1 saw the completion of Professor Breasted's plan, when, six years after my first visit to Qau-el-Kebir, I started northward from it to investigate the length of the Nile valley which lay between it and the southern limit of the ground which Dr. Arkell and I had studied in 1927-9.<sup>1</sup> It remained, in fact, to couple the provinces of Upper and Lower Egypt into a general scheme of Palaeolithic occupation and of river-history. As soon as the data can be fully co-ordinated and published such a comprehensive view, from the Second Cataract to the sea, should be possible. It is already clear that a high degree of uniformity of human culture and of river-history was the character of Lower and Middle Palaeolithic times. In the ensuing period Man continued the development of his culture, but the river, now flowing through growing deserts, became more erratic. In one part of its course the Nile piled up a burden of alluvium until some of the older terraces were buried beneath it, in another it yet further deepened its bed.<sup>2</sup> It will be possible to collate these changes.

No sooner is the plan completed to the Second Cataract than Professor and Mrs. Griffith become once more the pioneers by finding implements of the Kom Ombo type on the remote side of the Dongola Bend, on the surface of the desert near their recent excavations. They have thus traced Palaeolithic Man by a wide margin farther south into the Sudan along the Nile Valley than he was previously known to exist. They have established a new 'farthest south' which remains to be coupled, by the discovery of implements *in situ* in fluvial or other deposits, to strata of known geological age either on the north or on the south. There is good reason to suppose that Palaeolithic implements may be found over a large part of the Sudan; it is strange that they have remained so long hidden, and we are the more indebted to their present discoverers.

<sup>1</sup> K. S. Sandford and W. J. Arkell, 'Paleolithic Man and the Nile-Faiyum Divide', *Oriental Institute Proceedings*, vol. x (1930) (University of Chicago Press).

<sup>2</sup> Compare the reference given above and the paper in *Quart. Jour. Geol. Soc.*, vol. LXXXV (1929), p. 493.

## EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE IN NEGRO AFRICA

By C. G. SELIGMAN

(With Plates 73 and 74)

SIXTEEN years ago, at the Liverpool meeting of the British Association, part of my Presidential Address to Section H (Anthropology) was devoted to pointing out a number of probable contacts between Egyptians and Negroes. It is the purpose of this short paper, dedicated to one who has often helped me on this very matter, to follow up certain clues and endeavour to carry them further. There is, however, one preliminary difficulty which must be faced in any inquiry of this kind. Before agreeing that outstanding resemblances in custom or technical appliance in Egypt and Black Africa—amounting sometimes to practical identity—indicate transmission from one to the other, we must determine or at least attempt to satisfy ourselves that the custom or object we are considering is not part of the early generalized Hamitic culture of northern and eastern Africa. To take an example, the resemblance between the throwing-sticks of Ancient Egypt and those of the Ingassana and other tribes of the hills of the Fung Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, between the White and Blue Niles, is so obvious that even the laity see it and cast about for an explanation, which they immediately supply in terms of transmission due to contact. Although this is not an impossible solution, the evidence, especially that furnished by distribution, makes it more probable that we are dealing with an ancient Hamitic hunting-weapon, with a dispersion from Egypt to Abyssinia. The same conclusion, I believe, applies to the spiked wheel-trap, which, represented in the earliest known painted tomb of Egypt,<sup>1</sup> was recently found among the Ababdeh of the Eastern Desert by my friend Mr. G. W. Murray, and is, as I know from personal observation, in constant use among the tribes of the Upper Nile to the north of Lake Victoria, the Lango, Acholi, and others, as well as farther north among the Nuer. It also occurs among such half-Hamites as the Nandi, Suk, and Turkana.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, the fact that in Uganda every king and king's son in addition to his clan totem claims the eagle as his totem, though no eagle clan exists,<sup>3</sup> seems to point back to Egypt, where, as Dr. Gardiner informs me, in Hellenistic times eagle and falcon were confused.

Within the limitations indicated it is less easy to cite definite examples of

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Quibell and F. W. Green, *Hierakonpolis*, vol. II, Pl. LXXVI.

<sup>2</sup> For knowledge of its presence among half-Hamites I am indebted to Dr. K. G. Lindblom's excellent paper 'The Spiked Wheel-Trap and its Distribution' (*Riksmuseets Etnografiska Avdelning*,

*Smärre Meddelanden*, Nr. 5, Stockholm, 1928), in which he not only discusses the whole distribution of the wheel-trap (for Africa constitutes only part) but comes to the same conclusion of Hamitic origin as I do.

<sup>3</sup> J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, 1911, p. 128.

Egyptian influence in Black Africa than might at first be thought, nevertheless I believe that good instances can be found in connexion with death ceremonies and the artificial deformation of the horns of cattle.

In considering death ceremonies it is important to bear in mind distance travelled and the considerable time spent *en route*, implying the certainty of modification either in the direction of elaboration or simplification. The examples I shall examine derive from Central Africa, and I shall begin by citing the anthropoid coffins of the Wangata, a tribe of the Belgian Congo inhabiting the left bank of the River Congo some 700 kilometres above Leopoldville. Coffin burial is sufficiently rare in Central Africa to be notable in itself, but when the coffins are such remarkable anthropoid structures as those represented on Pl. 73 there can, I think, be very little doubt of their foreign, i.e. Egyptian, origin.<sup>1</sup> Actually only the bodies of rich and important men occupy such coffins, and then only by secondary burial, the corpse having been buried wrapped in a mat while the coffin was prepared in the bush at some distance from the village. When the coffin is ready there is feasting and dancing round it, and only after this is it brought to the village, where it is deposited near the grave. The latter is opened after dark, the remains transferred to the coffin, and the whole lowered into the grave and covered in.<sup>2</sup>

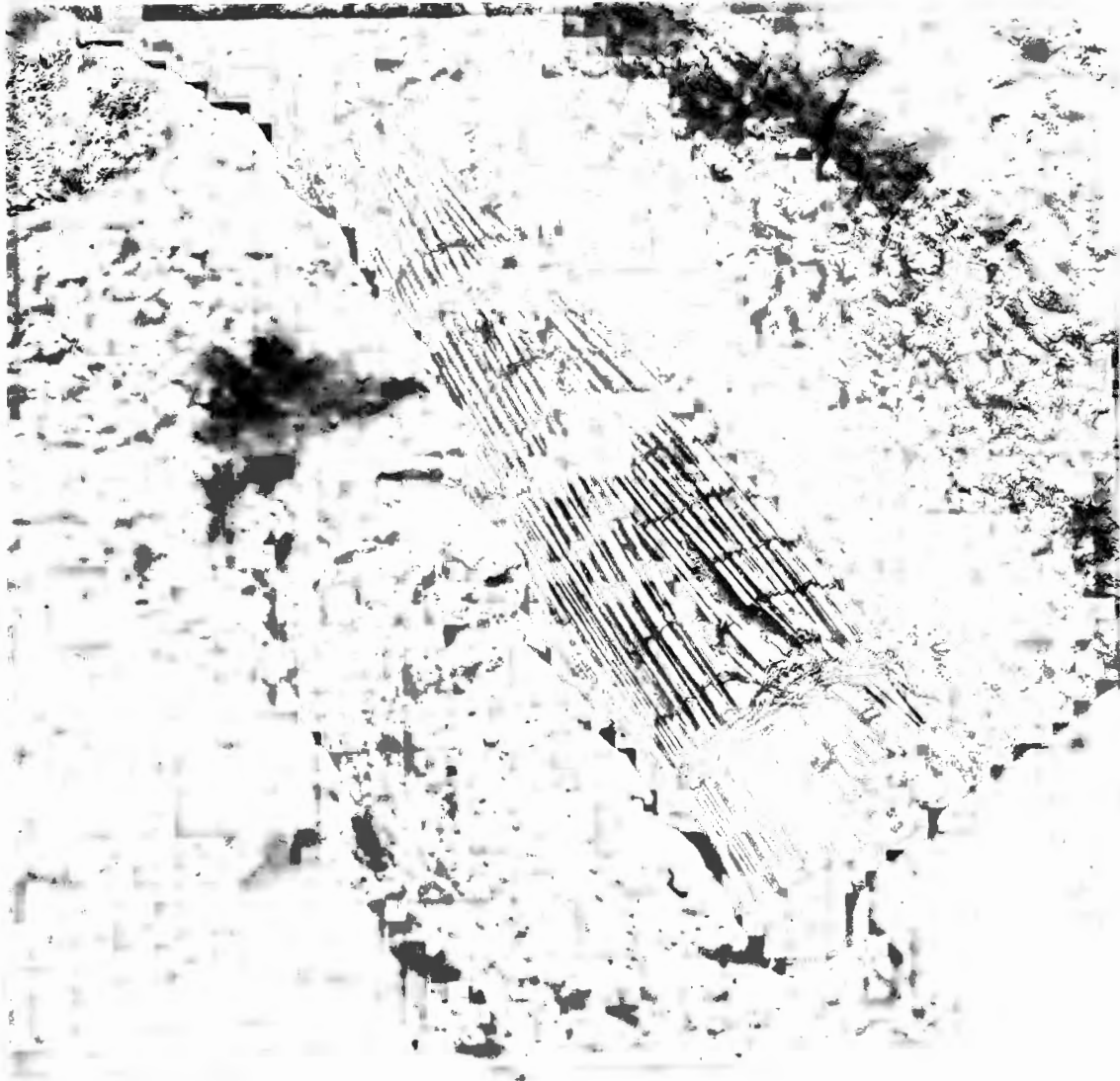
Another group of burial customs seems equally to point back to Egypt and the idea of mummification, viz. the inhumation of the body in innumerable wrappings of native (and, nowadays, imported) cloth, an abundant supply being considered so important that, as Dr. Maes informs me, the men of such tribes of the Lower Congo as the Bakongo, Basindi, and southern Bateke, save up all their lives in order to have a suitable supply ready at their death. In 1914 Dr. Maes saw the burial of a Bakongo (or Bateke) whose corpse was wrapped in so great a quantity of native and imported cloth as to form a bale more than two metres thick. This was too large to pass through the door, and had to be taken out through a hole cut in the wall, whence it was carried in a hammock to the grave. The chest in which the deceased had kept his cloths was placed on the grave with other objects of daily use. Dr. Maes adds that similar methods prevail among the Mayombe.

We may now pass to the Lotuko, a people of whom I have some personal knowledge, inhabiting the south-eastern corner of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The Lotuko have long and complicated death ceremonies, with strikingly rapid inhumation and a tardy exhumation, but these do not concern us now. Our

<sup>1</sup> The idea of Egyptian influence was, I believe, first put forward by Dr. Maes, Director of the Ethnographic Section of the Musée du Congo, in the *Annales* of that museum, vol. I, Brussels, 1902-6. I take this opportunity of thanking Dr.

Maes for some further information and for the gift of the photograph here published as Pl. 73 b.

<sup>2</sup> Lt. Engels, 'Les Wangata', *La Revue Congo-laise*, vol. XXVII, 1911, pp. 41-2.



*a.* Egyptian burial, Meydum (XXIInd–XXVth Dynasty)



*b.* Anthropoid coffins of the Wangata, Belgian Congo



interest is rather in the period immediately after death, when an object called *nametere* is prepared as quickly as possible.

I did not see a *nametere*, as for ritual reasons none was made at the death that took place during my visit to the Lotuko, but a model about four feet long was made for me. Its character will be so readily appreciated from the drawing (made from a photograph) reproduced as Figure 1 that little description is necessary. It consists of a core of dry grass round which are wrapped a number of bamboos, to form a more or less cylindrical bundle representing the dead man, with longer bamboos and cross members mimicking a bier. We ascertained that it bore no indication of sex, nor was it ever painted. The *nametere* is made by four old men, who may be of any clan so long as they are mourners, but here more precision is needed. These men are given a goat, and a spear with which to stab the latter, whoever accepts the spear being bound to provide beer for all four. The following account of the use of the *nametere*, though no doubt incomplete, is probably accurate so far as it goes, with the reservation that among the

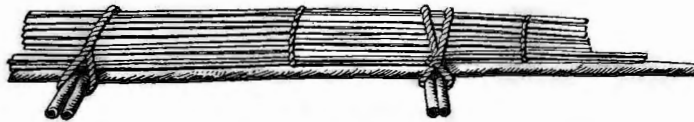


Fig. 1

Lotuko it was always extremely difficult to be certain that the events narrated as constituting a ceremony were told in correct sequence.

Early in the morning succeeding the death (or, if death takes place in the small hours, perhaps the same morning) the *nametere* is brought to the space in front of the house of the deceased, and a mourning dance is performed to the beating of drums, which have been brought from the drum-house. Later the drums and *nametere* are taken to the dead man's drum-house, and, after wailing and drumming, another dance (*nelanga*) is performed in the afternoon. Both dances have close relation to the *nametere*, which, as Mr. Driberg (who was able to confirm my information that the *nametere* represents the dead man) informs me, 'is placed on the ground to the side'. After the *nelanga* the *nametere* is taken into the bush and burnt by the old men who made it, who, according to one informant, pray to Naijok that no one else may die.

The *nametere* may be compared with the outward appearance of a poor Egyptian burial, dating probably between the XXII<sup>nd</sup> and XXV<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, excavated at Meydum by Dr. Alan Rowe, whose courtesy in allowing me to reproduce his photograph (Pl. 73a) I desire to acknowledge.<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt of the substantial resemblance of the two burials, and, although

<sup>1</sup> My thanks are also due to the Editor of the *Illustrated London News* for providing the photograph from which my illustration is made. The date given depends on information supplied by

Mr. Brunton that similar burials of that date were found in the pyramid enclosure at Lahun, buried in pyramid debris.

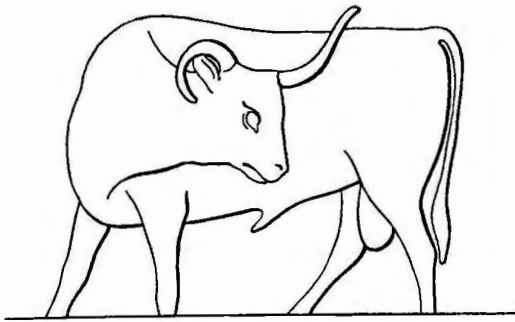


convergence cannot be absolutely excluded, it seems more probable that some experience or tradition of mummification, with poor success in preserving the body, had reached Black Africa and given rise to the Lotuko *nametere*.

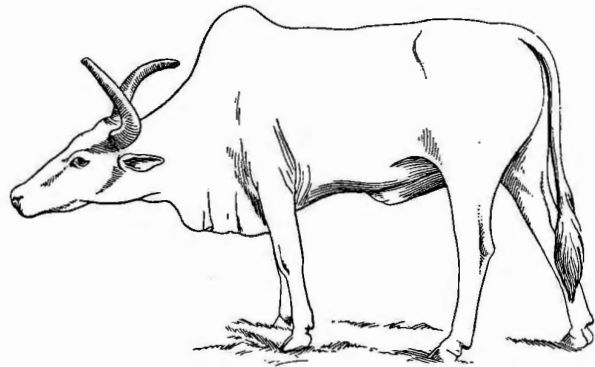
I will next consider the production by the Nilotes of certain artificial deformations of the horns of their cattle. At the present day this custom is found among two closely related Nilotic tribes, the Dinka and Nuer, but not, so far as I know, among the Shilluk, and definitely not among the Bari (who are not true Nilotes), living immediately south of the Dinka. It is also known among the Suk of East Africa, and wherever it occurs the ox with artificially deformed horns is highly valued, plays a definite part in the emotional life of the owner, and when killed in its old age its departure from the world is ceremonial. I shall return to these matters later, meanwhile noting that the form in which the horns are trained tends to vary from tribe to tribe. Examples are well shown in the sketches on Pl. 74, made from photographs taken by Mr. C. A. Wallis, of the Sudan Civil Service, and myself, while the Egyptian examples are taken from tombs of the Pyramid period. Other examples are found at Beni Hasan, but for my purpose these are of less value, as so many foreign contacts had occurred in the intervening period. Ignoring these later examples, I think then that the fact that horns deformed in the style of present-day Dinka and Nuer are represented in Egypt so long ago as the Vth Dynasty, not as unique curiosities but in considerable number, can only signify that this was an Egyptian custom which spread up the Nile to Negro Africa. The fact that up to and including this period Negroes are almost entirely absent from representational art can but indicate that the spread was from Egypt to Negro-land and not in the reverse direction.

We have no knowledge that among the Egyptians bullocks with artificially deformed horns led the herds, but we may suspect that they did in the early dynasties, though this was not the practice in such later days as the XIIth Dynasty; witness the excellent representation of a dappled ox with the Nuer form of horn-deformity in the centre of the procession of cattle in tomb No. 2,<sup>1</sup> the description, as Dr. Gardiner informs me, reading, 'Inspecting the census of the grazing cattle'. Nor can we do more than conjecture that they may have had some emotional significance for their owners as among present-day Nilotes. With regard to these we may note that among the Dinka the usual deformity is with the one horn forwards, the other back; among the Nuer one horn is trained to grow upwards and slightly backwards, the other brought in a curve forwards across the beast's forehead. This is perfectly obvious in the Nuer oxen, but it requires some experience of Egyptian drawing to see the deformity in some of the Egyptian renderings, which at first sight suggest rather that the horn is

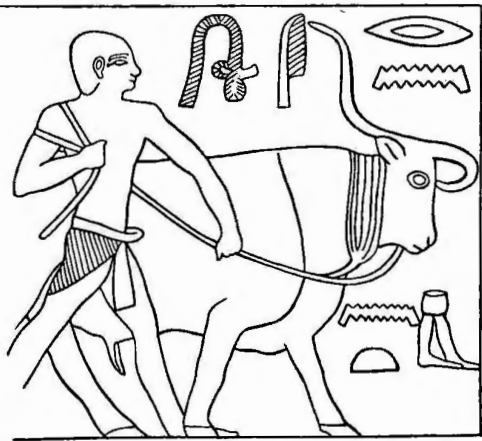
<sup>1</sup> P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, Pl. XIII.



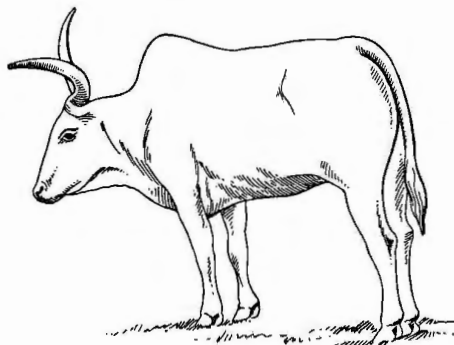
*a*



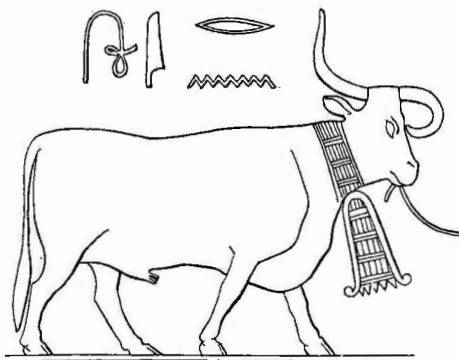
*b*



*c*



*d*

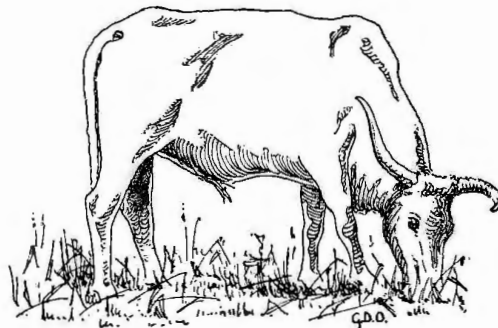


*e*



*f*

- a.* Tomb 15, Saqqara.
- c.* Tomb of User Neter, Saqqara.
- e.* Tomb of Manufer, Saqqara.



*g.* Nuer ox.

- b.* Dinka ox.
- d.* Dinka ox.
- f.* Temple of Luxor; relief of Tut'ankhamon.



brought horizontally forward in a loop or else points downwards lying along the animal's cheek.

The social and emotional value among the Nilotes of cattle with artificially deformed horns is very great. We may call these beasts *muor cien* or *macien*, terms which a Dinka would probably understand, though I doubt whether there is any one term in Dinka for such an animal except in reference to its colour, when it receives a name referring to that colour, e.g. *malwal* if the animal is red, *majok* (perhaps the most valued of all) if white with black spots, and so on, *ma* being an adjectival prefix. Among both Dinka and Nuer a boy should receive from his father at initiation ■ *macien*, or an animal young enough to permit its horns being cut so that it may become one. Between this beast and its master there is established so strong a bond as to amount to a greater or less degree of what psychologists call 'identification'. A man may take the name of his *macien*, or, I believe, more commonly he derives it from the latter in a manner which to the European seems somewhat fantastic. Thus, a lad with a more or less brindled *macien* called Manyang, a name signifying 'crocodile' (*ma*, adj. prefix; *nyang*, 'crocodile'), because the reptile is regarded as to some degree brindled, took the name Magor, *gor* being the brindled mongoose. A man sings to and plays with his *macien* and bids it a prolonged and affectionate farewell when starting on a journey. Among the Nuer, Dr. Evans-Pritchard notes that a man may dance with his arms upheld so as to mimic the horns of his beast, the left bent forward in front of his brow, the right curved upwards. As he shuffles forward he calls out the name of his *macien*.

Such in outline is the position of the *macien*; it should be added that as leader of the herd it wears a bell round its neck, and that among the Nuer Dr. Evans-Pritchard discovered that a tuft sometimes ■ metre long, consisting of a series of segments of cattle-tails, is hung on ceremonial occasions to the horn that comes round in front of the forehead, which horn has a hole drilled near its tip to make attachment easy. This recalls the Egyptian habit of decorating the horns of their processional beasts, especially the elaborate decoration of plumes between the horns of the oxen at Amarna.<sup>1</sup> I would also refer to the walls of the colonnade of the temple of Tutankhamon (usurped by Horemheb) at Luxor; one of the oxen depicted carries a miniature human head between the horns, and the left horn is curved forwards as among the Nuer, its end being carved into a human hand, or, more probably, its tip is inserted into a wooden representation of one.<sup>2</sup>

Actually the interest in beasts with artificially deformed horns extends far

<sup>1</sup> Davies, *Rock Tombs of el-Amarna*, vol. 1, Pl. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> It may be suggested that this represents the hand of an enemy killed in battle, such hands being brought home and exhibited, as in the well-known scenes at Medinet Habu, while the head,

too, may represent that of the enemy. Among other examples may be cited those in the Tomb of Huy (reproduced on Pl. xxx of the Davies-Gardiner volume) in which the Nubian cattle bear representations of hands on the tips of their horns.

beyond the Nile region into Kenya, where among the Suk (a people not closely resembling the Nilotes, but, like them, of mixed Negro-Hamitic origin) ■ bullock with one horn pointing forwards and the other backwards is called *kamar*. Before a raid the *kamar* are collected, bedecked with ostrich-feathers, and taken to the river, where the warriors assemble and dance round them, brandishing their spears and vaunting their bravery. A captured *kamar* is slaughtered and eaten ceremonially.<sup>1</sup>

There remains the interesting question as to whether the colour of the oxen with deformed horns was of importance to the ancient Egyptians as it is to present-day Nilotes. I have no direct evidence on this matter, but it may be inferred that it was, for there is evidence that normal cattle were classified by colour and markings in the XIIIth Dynasty. Dr. Gardiner informs me that at the end of the Ramesseum Papyrus is a list of twenty kinds of cattle, classified according to their markings. First comes an abbreviation, usually unintelligible, of the class-name of the animal, and then follows a description of the type, e.g. 'That means a red ox', 'That means a red ox with a white belly', and so on.

#### *Conclusions.*

(1) Of the many customs and practices common to Egypt and Black Africa, certain can be shown to have originated in Egypt and to have spread southwards.

(2) There are, however, no definite criteria distinguishing these from beliefs and practices widespread in Africa which go back to the old Hamitic civilization of North and East Africa; each example must be judged on its own merits.

(3) Among present-day Negroes, practices definitely Egyptian in origin are features of the burial customs of certain tribes of the Congo Free State and the southern Nilotic Sudan. This also holds for the artificial deformation of the horns of their cattle practised by such Nilotic tribes as the Dinka and Nuer.

<sup>1</sup> M. W. H. Beech, *The Suk*, Oxford, 1911, pp. 8-9.

PART VIII  
HISTORY OF EGYPTOLOGY



## AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DISCOURSE ON HIEROGLYPHS

By WARREN R. DAWSON

THERE have recently come into my hands three manuscripts in the handwriting of William Stukeley, a notable antiquary of the eighteenth century. These manuscripts deal with hieroglyphic writing and they were communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, whilst one of them was also read before the Royal Society. Before describing them, a few words may be said as to Stukeley's career. He was born at Holbeach, Lincolnshire, in 1687, and after attending the local Grammar School, he entered Bennet College (Corpus Christi), Cambridge, and studied medicine. He graduated M.B. in January 1707-8 and proceeded to St. Thomas's Hospital, where he was a pupil of Dr. Richard Mead. In 1719 he took his M.D. degree and in the following year was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. Stukeley had in the meantime been elected F.R.S. (20 March 1717-8) and had helped to found the Society of Antiquaries in 1718, to which body he acted as secretary for nine years. After some years of medical practice in Lincolnshire, he entered the Church and was ordained at Croydon in 1729. He held benefices in his native county until 1747, when he was made rector of St. George the Martyr, Bloomsbury, the living of which he held until his death. A considerable number of medical and antiquarian works proceeded from Stukeley's pen. His published writings include a treatise on gout which had great vogue in its day, and another dealing with Stonehenge, in which he gave expression to his views on Druidism—his greatest interest throughout life. He made frequent communications to the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries and was also a contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. He enjoyed the friendship of the principal scientific men of his time and especially that of Sir Isaac Newton<sup>1</sup> and of John Warburton. Stukeley was enterprising and original, but often unsound, and his religious ministrations are said to have been eccentric and unconventional: on one occasion he postponed the Sunday service at his church in order that the congregation might have an opportunity of observing an eclipse. Stukeley died in London on 3 March 1765, and was buried in the churchyard of East Ham, Essex, where, at his own request, the earth was levelled over his grave and no monument was erected. He had a large collection of coins, fossils, 'rarities' and 'curiosities' which were sold by auction in London in May 1766.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A long notice of Sir Isaac Newton by Stukeley, dated Grantham, 16 June 1727, was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. XLII, 1772.

<sup>2</sup> Further particulars of Stukeley will be found in William Munk's *Roll of the College of Physicians*, II. 71 sq.; W. C. Lukis, *Memoirs of Stukeley*, 3 vols.,

(Surtees Society, 1882-7); *Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1765, 211 sq. (by P. Collinson, reprinted in John Walker's *Selection of Curious Articles*, London, 1814, IV. 14 sq.); *Dictionary of National Biography*, LV. 127.



The three manuscripts in my possession, all unpublished, are as follows:

- I. A quarto of 18 folios, entitled 'On hieroglyphics & Chinese letters. april 1743'.
  - II. A quarto of 13 folios, entitled 'II. Answer to the Attestation from Rome. read at the Royal Society 27 may 1762. read at the Antiquarian Society. 1 july 1762'. Signed w. STUKELEY on the last folio.
  - III. A quarto of 10 folios, entitled 'III. Hieroglyphics. read at the Antiquarian Society. 9 dec<sup>r</sup> 1762'. Initialled w. s. on the penultimate folio.
- MS. I begins with the following paragraph:

'The hieroglyphics of the Egyptians is a sacred character: that of the chinese is civil, or a common way of writing. both probably in their original, as old as the world; but receiving great alterations & additions from time & succession of ages, persons, customs: as must needs be the nature of such things.

'I take them both to have been invented by the father of mankind, Adam. tis a picturesk manner of writing, before alphabet writing was invented. they are the pictures or sketches of idea's: as drawn with a quick & flowing pencil. they were very few & simple at first, like to language; but time & studious & inventive man added, combin'd, & multiply'd them immensely, in proportion to the multiplying of words, in the language of a talkative & polite nation.

'Such is the case among the Chinese, who in my apprehension of things, preserved to this day, some of the original writing of Adam; in which he consign'd the memoirs of the origin of the world, & those sacred pages, whence Moses or his progenitors, took the groundwork of the bible; after alphabet writing was invented.'

The greater part of the paper is devoted to an elaboration of what the author conceived to be the origin and development of picture-writing and its evolution into sign-, or alphabet-writing. Although it is based principally on a study of Chinese characters (many of which are neatly and accurately drawn by way of illustration), the implication is that Egyptian hieroglyphic writing followed the same principles and the same development. Both scripts, according to Stukeley, originated in a drawing of a man, detailed at first and tachygraphic afterwards, his attributes and ideas being expressed by adding to the original figure. A similar process is followed in the case of the sky, a house, and other objects or entities. He sees an affinity between Chinese and Hebrew writing, and observes that they both employ square or geometrical forms and generally avoid circles and curves.

It would be inappropriate to follow the first manuscript further in this place, as it is mainly concerned with Chinese writing. It must be confessed, however, that on his own premises Stukeley makes out quite a cogent and logical case.

The contents of the second and third manuscripts were called into existence as the result of a remarkable controversy that exercised scholars throughout Europe in 1761, and that led to a revival of Stukeley's interest in hieroglyphics after

an interval of nearly twenty years. John Turberville Needham,<sup>1</sup> then tutor of Charles, eldest son of Henry, 11th Viscount Dillon, spent several years in Italy, and whilst there he studied the obelisks at Rome and other Egyptian antiquities and especially a bust, said to be of Isis, that he found in the Royal Museum at Turin. In 1761 he published a remarkable book<sup>2</sup> in which he sought to prove the identity of the Egyptian hieroglyphs and the Chinese characters, relying mainly upon the inscriptions on the so-called 'bust of Isis', an engraving of which was inserted as a frontispiece.

The monument is a black marble bust of a woman with two long pendant tresses of hair united by a clasp on her breast. The forehead, cheeks, nose, and breast are adorned with signs. The style of the bust is neither Egyptian nor Greek nor Roman, and the signs are not Egyptian hieroglyphs. It is clearly a forgery. The author, however, had no doubts on these points and he believed it to be an Egyptian statue. It is difficult to understand why Needham failed to observe the entire dissimilarity between the characters inscribed on the bust and those of the obelisks and other genuine Egyptian monuments he studied. The general aspect of the signs engraved upon the Turin bust is similar to that of the astrological and other signs found in late Greek manuscripts, of which Du Fresne Du Cange gives a large collection in his *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, but there is not one of them that is identical with any of those in Du Cange's series.

Needham's book created a lively interest amongst scholars, especially in Paris and London. There are indications that in some quarters at least the proposal was regarded favourably as suggesting a means by which the secret of the Egyptian hieroglyphs might be unlocked. But the thesis had opponents, and opponents of weight. In Paris, de Guignes had been working on a similar line of inquiry, but his investigations proved to him conclusively that there was no relationship whatever between Egyptian and Chinese writing. It was doubtless de Guignes who wrote the critique of Needham's book in the *Journal des Sçavans* of December 1761, and another article in the issue of August 1762 was probably from the pen of Bartoli, Antiquary to the king of Sardinia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Needham, a Catholic divine and scientist, was born in 1713. He was the first English Catholic to be admitted to the Royal Society, of which he was elected a Fellow on 22 January 1746-7. In 1761 he was elected F.S.A. He was a man of great learning and of very varied tastes: his published works include books on microscopy, electricity, the barometer, the decomposition of organic tissues, cattle-diseases, and miracles. He died in 1781.

<sup>2</sup> *De Inscriptione quadam Aegyptiaca Taurini inventa et Characteribus Aegyptiis olim et Sinis*

*communibus exarata, Idolo cuidam antiquo in Regia Universitate servato ad utrasque Academias Londinensem et Parisiensem, rerum antiquarum investigationi et studio prepositas Data Epistola.* Turbervillus Needham, ex Societate Regia Londinensi. Romæ, MDCLXI.

<sup>3</sup> Needham's letters to de Guignes and to Bartoli and other relevant papers supporting his claims, are now in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 21416). The opinion of Charles Morton, Principal Librarian of the British Museum, was also invoked, and there are several long letters

Needham believed that each character on the bust had a special signification, and, struck by their resemblance to the Chinese characters, he searched the pages of a Chinese lexicon of twenty-six volumes in the Vatican library, and satisfied himself that equivalents could there be found in ancient Chinese for all the hieroglyphs (as he supposed them to be) of the Turin bust, and by means of the modern equivalents of the old Chinese characters, aided by imagination, he translated the inscription as follows:

*Frons tam lata est, oculi sunt caerulei, alba est facies, unum (sive primum), persona magna haec est figura ejus longitudine palmas magnas marmoreas cum dimidia habeat novem ejusdem generis, coloris nigri, nimis (aut valde) pulchra prius erat praesenti tempore tanquam Dea veneratur Shi-sou-chi.*

There cannot be any doubt that this interpretation was influenced by the positions of the signs, which, it may be noted, are read from right to left. Those on the forehead of the bust suggested the *frons lata*, that on the nose, *unum*, and so on. The final groups were understood by Needham to be a proper name, Shi-sou-chi, and this personage, he thinks, is the king who dedicated the statue or the divinity to which it was dedicated. He equates his king with Sasouchis or Asouchis, but both these are imaginary names. Possibly he had in mind Sesonchis or Sochis.

From his translation Needham proceeded to draw conclusions. He believed that the spoken language of the Chinese was the same as that of the Egyptians, and that the former learned it from the latter, but he expressed the opinion that the two nations were separate, and that China was never colonized by the Egyptians.

The criticisms of de Guignes and of Bartoli had moved Needham to seek for independent confirmation of his theory. He submitted his case to a committee of savants in Rome, and so succeeded in convincing them, that the following Attestation was drawn up and signed by the Dukes of Grafton and Roxburghe, the Marquess of Tavistock, John Hinchcliffe,<sup>1</sup> H. James, R. Smith,<sup>2</sup> Le Bailli de Breteuil,<sup>3</sup> Thomas Le Seur, Francis Jacquier,<sup>4</sup> and Ridolfino Venuti.<sup>5</sup>

'Caractères Egyptiens pris des monumens publics à Rome et ailleurs et confrontés avec des caractères dans le grand Dictionnaire Chinois au Vatican gravé à Pekin en vingt-six volumes. Le titre du Dictionnaire est *Ching-zu-tung*.<sup>6</sup>

'1°. 29 Caractères dont quelquesuns sont composés sur le Buste dit d'Isis dans le Cabinet Royal des Antiquités à Turin publiées par Mr. Needham.

'2°. 202 Caractères pris d'un moule fait à Venise par ordre de Mr. Jennings, Gentil-

from him in this collection. Morton at this time was Secretary of the Royal Society.

<sup>1</sup> John Hinchcliffe (1731-1794) master of Westminster School and afterwards Bishop of Peterborough.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Smith (1689-1768), astronomer and mathematician, founder of Smith's Prizes at

Cambridge.

<sup>3</sup> Maltese ambassador at Rome.

<sup>4</sup> Le Seur and Jacquier were professors at the University of Rome.

<sup>5</sup> Antiquary to the Pope.

<sup>6</sup> The title is also given in Chinese characters.

homme Anglois, et actuellement en sa possession, sur un marbre noir quarré qui contient outre les Caractères plusieurs figures hyeroglyphiques.

'3°. 70 Caractères pris des obelisques Berberin, et Latèran, des deux lions aux Thermes Diocletiennes, des deux Sphinx dans la ville Borghese, des deux Statues dans la Ville Albani, et de la Table d'Isis à Turin.

'Nous soussignés attestons et certifions qu'une grande partie des dits caractères cités ci-dessus nous ont été montrés dans le Dictionnaire Chinois, et que nous n'en avons point trouvés qui ne fussent conformes à L'Original, particulièrement ceux du Buste dit d'Isis, Gravés dans le Dissertation de Mr. Needham que nous avons examinés avec plus d'attention.'

'Fait à Rome, le 25 Mars, 1762.'<sup>1</sup>

Needham published a pamphlet in reply to the criticisms of de Guignes and of Bartoli,<sup>2</sup> and in it was included a plate in which he reproduced the signs from the Turin bust with their equivalents in ancient Chinese characters. These pairs of groups are all identical, or nearly so.

This long excursus on the Needham controversy has been necessary in order to explain the circumstances in which Stukeley's second paper was written. The arrival in London of the solemn attestation from Rome revived his interest in hieroglyphs, and he accordingly laid his views before the Royal Society on 27 May, and before the Society of Antiquaries on 1 July 1762. The paper begins with a little piece of moralizing so dear to eighteenth-century writers:

'A person who is desirous of improving his mind, pursues all the branches of learning, to a certain quantity. for the human mind cannot take in every thing. after that, he pushes his inquiries, into those particular branches of science, wh are his more immediate purpose.

'A Student is so to conduct himself, as to carry with him, a general knoedg of learning; & to take care, that his mind be not overburthen'd, perplex'd, with a confus'd, & indigested heap: nor to have only a meager, & poor stock, to work upon. especially he may remember this rule. *maxima pars est humanae sapientiae, valde similia posse distinguere.*

'in the junior part of my life, among other things, I studyed the Egyptian learning. there is a certain connexion, betw. all the species of knoedg; & they *further* one another. I made drawings of all the obelisks, mummys, the Isiac table; & whatever monuments of the Egyptians are left. I consider'd with particular attention, thir hieroglyphics. & I can very easily perceive what those learned gent. from Rome, have in view; & wherein they are misguided, in thir present inquiry; to make a relation betw. the Egyptian, & Chinese lers.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The original document bearing the signatures is now in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 21416, fol. 16). There is in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries (in *Tracts* 17 (i)) a contemporary copy, countersigned as a true copy by four persons. It nevertheless contains several inaccuracies.

<sup>2</sup> *Reponse de Monsieur Needham de la Société Royale de Sciences et celle des Antiquités de Londre aux deux Lettres de Monsieur Bartoli, Antiquaire de S. M. Le Roi de Sardaigne, Turin, 8 May 1762, 4to.*

<sup>3</sup> Abbreviation for 'letters'

Stukeley then gives the substance of the Attestation from Rome, and proceeds :

‘now from all this pompous attestatiō, there is nothing that we can collect of Science, nothing to prove this bust of *Isis*. what I suppose the drift to be, is to insinuate, that the Egyptian characters on thir monuments, are the same as the Chinese. whence they hope to be able to read the Egyptian hieroglyphics, by means of the Chinese lexicon : as if the hieroglyphics & the Chinese writing were the same.

‘I can very readily allow, that there may be some of the Egyptian characters the same as the Chinese. they are both ideal & picturesc writing. but it by no means proves, they have the same signification; that there was any relation betw. them; or betw. the two nations.

‘the reason of the thing, I gave in my former disc. tis this.

‘the characters cut on Egyptian monuments, are purely symbolical. they are nothing than hymns & invocations to the deity. the best idea we can have of them, is to liken em to those calld *Orpheus's* hymns. a new character says the learned author of the life & writings of *Homer* holy letters invented by the priests, to be known by none but themselves, & used by them only in divine matters. symbolic learning makes use of a thousand figures, or characters, if we please to call them so, apt to signify thir intention.

‘to give a few instances. a feather so often appearing, signifys sublime. an eye is providence; water means the Nile; an asp, a serpent, vitality; a miter supreme power; ■ boat, the orderly conduct of providence in the government of the world. a pomegranate imports fecundity, from the multitude of its seeds. an oar, motion thro’ the element of water. A footstep, the secret motion of the divinity, visible by its effects. the tendril of a vine fructification. a gourd of a long form, the power of generation. ■ beetle signifies the soul of the world; & a hundred more of like sort.

‘very many symbols are pertinently taken from animals, by observing thir predominant, & most eminent quality. this subject is highly delightful, & opens ■ grand scene of the famed Egyptian learning. therefore have I gone so far. it requires a volume to pursue it to any true purpose.

‘beside these, & the like particulars, wh I have recited, we must bear in mind, that the wise Egyptians adopted many geometrical figures, into the number of thir symbols. a few for instance. an upright staff or scepter, naturally means power, royalty. an horizontal line is a rule, the mode of power. an *isosceles* triangle is the element of fire, or an obelisc. an equilateral triangle, is the three fold process of the trine deity. what we call S. *Andrews* cross, or saltire, is the ascent and descent of the soul of the world. the cross was a most sacred & venerable symbol. therefore very commonly put into the hand of thir deities, with a ring to hold it by. that ring, or globe, means no less than the supreme deity. as a square signifys the material, the elementary world.

'I shall burden your patience no more, than to give this obvious, & natural remark: the Chinese, equally wise in thir way, or whoever invented thir method of writing, wh not improbably was ADAM himself, purposing to make a character, wh is to signify a word, not a symbol, must needs introduce many geometrical figures. hence the same are found on Egyptian monuments, & in the Chinese *lexicon*. & this is the true solution of the problem, wh those curious gentlemen at Rome, have been considering with attention.'

Stukeley then devotes several pages to explaining that the geometrical signs in Chinese writing which resemble those of the Egyptian have altogether different significations. The results of this section of his paper he thus tabulates:

| Egyptian Symbols.                      | Chinese words.         |
|----------------------------------------|------------------------|
|                                        | descent.               |
| ∩                                      | ∩ connexion.           |
| —                                      | — number one.          |
| X                                      | X a portable chair.    |
| +                                      | + number ten.          |
| □                                      | □ the face. <u>ls.</u> |
| β                                      | β a vassal, slave.     |
| ∧                                      | ∧ to walk.             |
| π                                      | π space no bot tom.    |
| ⋈                                      | ⋈ great.               |
| ○                                      |                        |
| a scepter, regality.                   |                        |
| the regard, wh the deity has to us.    |                        |
| rule, order, method.                   |                        |
| the ascent & descent of divine influx. |                        |
| divine benediction.                    |                        |
| the earth,                             |                        |
| a yoke, the ox, agriculture.           |                        |
| ascent.                                |                        |
| a sacred table.                        |                        |
| an idea.                               |                        |
| the divinity.                          |                        |

'very many Egyptian hieroglyphics, are made of circles, circular figures, parts of circles. the Chinese have no circular characters.'

The suggestion of any intercourse between the Egyptians and Chinese is next dealt with and dismissed by the author as absurd. He believes that the Egyptians learned astronomy and other sciences from the Chaldeans to which nation alone they were indebted. He finally recapitulates the whole of his argument, and considers that the absence of all circular figures in Chinese writing and their frequency in Egyptian is alone sufficient to disprove any possible connexion between the two.

Stukeley's third discourse was read before the Society of Antiquaries in December 1762. It consists very largely of extracts from the writings of classical authors who mention Egyptian hieroglyphics. He gives no credence to any explanations from such writers, and affirms:

'I believe the true knowledge of the hieroglyphics was immersed in the extremest antiquity. so that if any skill of interpreting them, remain'd with the priests, to the time of *Cambyses*; after that time, the just understanding of them was lost.'

Further on Stukeley says:

'it w<sup>d</sup> be endless, to recite the sentiments of all writers of antiquity, agreeing that they [*sc.* the hieroglyphs] are symbolic & sacred. the very appearance of them shows it. I c<sup>d</sup> give 100 particular instances to prove it & show the invalidity of the contrary opinion; besides the greatest authorities. yet I am fully persuaded, the perfect knowledge of 'em is irrecoverable, with the most ancient priests. many I can venture to explain with precision. & I verily believe, the learned & industrious *Kircher* has deciphered many thereof . . . . the hieroglyphics are really pictures of sacred persons & matters, not civil or political. is it not obvious to eyesight, that on the summit of obelisks for instance, is the sacred hierogram of the divinity the circle serpent & wings, then figures of deities, then sacred bulls & so on, what have these to do with matters of state . . . . it must be acknowledged, *Kircher* has given us too many pertinent interpretations in this kind to leave us quite out of the secret, enough to make it in a great measure to be depended on. & that is sufficient to our purpose.'

The final paragraph of Stukeley's paper shows that he considered the question as fully settled, and that he had said the last word on the subject:

'This, & the two former memoirs wh<sup>ch</sup> I read to the Society, are abundantly sufficient to convince every one, that is desirous to know the truth. & I judge, the argument is fully handled.'

On the last page of the manuscript Stukeley added the following note:

'read this paper at the Antiquariā Society 9. dec<sup>r</sup> 1762. the same day, at the Royal Society, read a paper of Mr. Wortly Montagu's,<sup>1</sup> concerning the Turin busts fully establishing my opinion. he says the marble is from the neighborhood the characters are magical, not akin to any Chinese: the notion of old & new Chinese characters is imaginary.'

<sup>1</sup> Edward Wortley Montagu (1713-76), author and traveller. He travelled in Italy in 1762 and afterwards visited Egypt and the Holy Land.

It would appear that when the enunciation of Needham's theory was made in 1761, the President of the Royal Society (the Earl of Macclesfield<sup>1</sup>), was anxious to obtain independent confirmation of the genuineness of the Turin bust, and applied to Montagu, who was about to visit Italy, for information on the subject. Montagu addressed two letters to Lord Macclesfield on the subject; the first dated Turin, 17 April 1762 and the second, Rome, 2 October 1762. These letters were communicated to the Royal Society in 1762 and were printed as a pamphlet in the following year.<sup>2</sup> Montagu impugns the veracity of Needham's engraving of the bust and says that it does not accurately represent the original. He called in two lapidaries, who gave it as their opinion that the bust was made of a local stone known as Lavaggio. He also consulted the Abbé George Winkelmann, who considered the bust to be a modern imposture, and Giuseppe Simonia Assemani of the Vatican, who stated that the Turin characters did not at all resemble the true hieroglyphs of the obelisks at Rome, and thought them to be modern astrological signs representing the planets or the signs of the zodiac. Montagu ordered a cast of the bust to be made and dispatched to the Royal Society. Whether it ever arrived, we do not know, for nothing further is to be found concerning the matter. It is probable that Montagu's letters were communicated to the Royal Society by Stukeley on 9 December, and that the date stated on the pamphlet, 25 November, is incorrect. It is hardly likely that two communications from the same author and identical in purport would have been made at such closely adjacent dates.

Although they are futile and contribute nothing to the elucidation of hieroglyphic writing, Stukeley's discourses, in common with the printed books on the same subject enumerated by M. Henri Gauthier,<sup>3</sup> are interesting as showing the delusions, the prejudices, and the scepticism of scholars, and they form the background against which the luminous figure of Champollion stands out in bold relief when he brought his critical acumen and genius to bear upon unlocking the door that revealed a new and wonderful chapter in the world's history, while at the same time he barred the door upon prejudice and conjecture.

<sup>1</sup> George Parker, 2nd Earl of Macclesfield by the second creation (1697-1764), astronomer, elected F.R.S. 1722, P.R.S. 1752.

<sup>2</sup> *Observations upon a supposed Antique Bust at Turin, in Two Letters addressed to the Right Honourable the Earl of Macclesfield, President of the Royal Society, by Edward Wortley Montagu*

*Esq., F.R.S.* Read before the Society 25 November 1762. London, Printed for T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt, at Tully's Head in the Strand, MDCCLXIII. 19 pp. 4to.

<sup>3</sup> 'Un Précurseur de Champollion au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Bulletin de l'Inst. Franç. d'Archéologie Orientale*, t. v, 1906.



## AN ALBUM OF DRAWINGS BY SIR J. G. WILKINSON

By SEYMOUR DE RICCI

IT is perhaps not generally realized that Wilkinson was not only an excellent archaeologist, but also a draughtsman of no mean capacity. The charming little woodcuts which have contributed so greatly to the popularity of his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* are founded throughout on the author's own drawings.

Sir John Gardner Wilkinson (1797–1875) spent many years in Egypt (1821–33, 1842, 1848–9, 1855) and his records, together with those of Champollion and Rosellini's expedition, serve to fill up the gap between the surveys of the 'Commission d'Égypte' and of Richard Lepsius and his staff.

As far back as 1893 I had known from P. E. Newberry that a number of Wilkinson's egyptological manuscripts and drawings were in the possession of Sir Vauncey Crewe.<sup>1</sup> These had been bequeathed to the late Sir John Harpur Crewe to be kept as heirlooms at Calke Abbey, Derbyshire. By the kindness of the present owner, Mrs. Godfrey Mosley, most of them have now been deposited on loan at the Bodleian Library for the use of Miss Porter and Miss Moss.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after the war I was told by Mr. Sidney Hodgson that he had discovered an album of Wilkinson drawings among some books which had belonged to W. S. A. Vaux, formerly of the British Museum. In the Vaux sale (London, Hodgson, 24 July 1924, No. 661) this album was purchased by Messrs. Quaritch and again disappeared. In July 1931 I was informed by that celebrated firm of booksellers that the volume was still in their possession, and a few days later it passed into my library.

It is a stately folio volume in a somewhat shabby half-roan binding lettered 'Egyptian drawings I. G. Wilkinson, 1', and containing two hundred and eighteen drawings and water-colours, pasted on to 140 pages. Most of these drawings concern natural history and modern life in Egypt; but the following are of archaeological interest and may be worth while listing in these pages for the use of fellow scholars.

13. View of the temple of Dendour (Nubia).
17. *View of the ruin near Gertásy* (Nubia).
19. *The 2 temples of Aboosimbel, May 5th 1822.*
20. *Head of [Graeco-]Egyptian mummy from Thebes. . . . In the possession of E. Hogg, Esq., M.D.*
30. recto. View of the *Temple of Dakkeh* (Nubia).

<sup>1</sup> P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, part 1 (1893), p. 10. *Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 1 (1927), p. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, *Topographical*

30. verso. *Portico of Esneh (Latopolis), Egypt, 1 July 1822.*
33. *Mounds of Sais (Sa-el-Hagar) from the N.W.*
34. *View from the quarries of Toora Maasara, showing the Pyramids in the distance.*
39. *Remains of the Roman station at Babylon near Old Cairo.*
40. *Citadel of Cairo from a gorge between mounds behind an enclosure of crude brick just below Massara and perhaps part of old Pagus Trojanus. It seems to have been once a square but the river has encroached and carried away the upper end towards Massara, together with the bank, 1823.*
- 47 recto. *Convent of St. Anthony, near the Red Sea.*
- 50 and 51. *House of commander of station at Gebel Dokhan, between the Nile and the Red Sea.*
- 52 and 55. *Well and station at Gebel Dokhan.*
- 53 and 54. *The ruined temple of Sarapis, Gebel Dokhan.*
56. *Blocks 8 feet 6 inches in diameter raised on small stones to be more easily worked in the quarries of Fateereh, Eastern Desert.*
57. *Broken block of granite on one of the roads to the Quarries, Fateereh.*
58. *Side-room in the temple of Sarapis at Fateereh.*
59. *Eastern Desert. Roman town (Fateereh).*
60. *Antinoe, now Sheikh Abade, as it was in 1821; destroyed by the Turkish Government.—On the reverse, the view of a colonnade (Luqsor?).*
61. *South view of Philae.*
62. *North view of Philae.*
63. *West view of Philae.—On the reverse Part of the Second cataract from the rock.*
64. *View of the old ruined and modern dyke of Tomeeh in the Fyoom.*
65. *View of the ruins El-Kasr in the Wah el Gharbi (Little Oasis).*
66. *View of the ruins El-Kasr in the Wah el Gharbi.*
69. *Four capitals of columns in the Portico, Philae.—Two of these are engraved in Manners and Customs (1878), II, plate at p. 288, figs. 1 and 3.*
70. *Two capitals of Rameses II, doubtless at Karnak.—Engraved, l. c., figs. 2 and 4.*
71. *General view of the ruins of Karnak.*
75. *Alabaster quarry near El Amarna.*
76. *Gateway before the Great Temple at Medeenet-Haboo.—Engraved in Manners and Customs (1878), II, p. 454.*
79. *Removal of obelisk of Luxor, 1831.*
81. *View of Luxor temple showing both obelisks.*
82. *Descent of the Western obelisk of Luxor in 1831.*
83. *Bird's-eye view of the temple of Medinet Habu.*
85. *Courtyard at Medinet Habu.*

- 86-7. Two views of Luxor.
88. Panorama of Thebes, from Western bank. *View from the court before the tomb I lived in at El Qoorneh.*
- 106 verso. View of the Ramesseum.
113. View of the Convent of St. Paul.
118. Group of cranes, from a tomb at Beni Hasan, *Following the 'Strangers'.*
- 140-1. Paper impressions of dogs from tomb-reliefs.
199. Back view of the Memnon colossi during the inundation.—Engraved in *Manners and Customs* (1878), II, p. 1.
200. Interior of a tomb at Thebes.—Engraved in *Manners and Customs* (1878), III, p. 427.
212. Paper impression of a gazelle from a tomb at Thebes.
213. Lithograph by C. H. of a relief in a tomb at Thebes (impression *supra*, No. 141).—Engraved in *Manners and Customs* (1878), II, p. 86.

It is much to be desired that a catalogue could be printed of the drawings contained in the volumes now deposited in the Bodleian Library.

## FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE

AT the end of 1886, having a commission to photograph the racial types on the monuments in Egypt, I turned to Griffith—who had worked for two years with me—with the proposal to make a joint search along the Nile cliffs. Accordingly we met in Cairo, and by 19th December we went to Miniah to look for a boat. There we secured a small one with a cabin built on to it, 12 feet by 7; a bench on each side served us for sleeping, and in the day a box-lid, hung in slings from the roof, made a table between us. We had the boat for ten francs a day with a reis and two boys, to be discharged where we liked below the cataract. Two fellows from the Pyramids served us for cook and marcher. So our Nile trip cost ten shillings a day for the two. In this way we tramped most of the Nile bank up to Aswan, picking up the boat each night for sleeping and food. The usual delays for wind were not very awkward as we wanted to be ashore every day. With so small a craft, towing was easy. My old journals tell the story, and of most sites no obvious note need be repeated, but some details belong to the old order of things.

A curious form of conjuration was seen at Assiut. A boatman tossed a folded cloth to and fro violently, saying, *Wallah! Wallah! Wallah!* and then, dashing from it some small object into the stream, he said, 'Will you go or come?', and seeing it float away, said, 'It goes'. Eshmuneyn was the first large site, at that time all Coptic and Arab on the top, but some large columns of Philip Arrhidaeus were visible. The place was being ransacked by a native dealer, though English workers were restricted to the Delta. Antinoe, Bersheh, and Sheykh Sayd were seen, and copies made of inscriptions, on the way to Amarna. There, several tomb chambers were noted as being mostly filled up with potsherds. A rain-storm for twelve hours made our roof leak like a sieve.

The drawings of capitals at Gebel Abu Fodah were copied. Thence a fine wind ran us on in three hours to Manfalut. There we cleared off some whitewash from the tombs of Deir el Gebrawi, and copied as long as light allowed. From Baliana we walked over to Abydos. The rounded door-jamb and flat band down the columns were noted as refinements, also the careful filleting of the roof-joints. There were then pieces of fine early statues lying at the gateway to the old temple. It was fifteen years before I could act on my note that 'this being the seat of the early monarchy, here we ought to find the oldest buildings'.

Hou and Chenoboskion were visited. Coming in tired one night, I handed out a tin pot to be filled for our kettle; but that took a long time to boil, and the stove smelt very strongly. Coffee made at last, Griffith took a gulp of it—'But

this is pure paraffin.' Our boy had handed in paraffin for the stove, instead of water for the kettle, and we had boiled a kettle full of paraffin in our little cabin; why it did not blow us up is a puzzle.

Denderah was interesting for its perfection, late and poor as it is. We speculated on unopened passages under the temple. At Quft we saw the Roman fortress, almost complete then, and I met Girgis the Coptic dealer whom I knew well and respected in after years.

At Thebes we landed at a distance, and managed to get all over the western valley without any hangers-on. There I found many pieces of wood and alabaster vessels which were still lying in the tomb of Amenhetep III. Griffith copied the tomb of Ay. We met Greville Chester, and we all dined, Arab fashion, with old Mustafa Agha. Todros the dealer had a fine complete set of foundation deposit from the temple of Thothmes III. Our main visit to Thebes was left to be done when we came back tenting.

Erment was visited, and at Gebeleyn a shrine chapel was copied. At Esneh we looked over the three sandstone quays, one built from temple ruins. The pyramid of El Kula 'has been barbarously mangled, to open it, all one side torn out in a great gash from top to base, just as Maspero wrecked the brick pyramids of Dahshur. The deeds of the Bulak department in Egypt remind me of that blackbird who used to pick off all the finest bunches of currants, eat one, and leave the rest to rot on the ground.'

There was a great spread of flint-work in the fort of Hierakonpolis, and at that time no one could say what was the age of such work. Two of the tombs we copied, also at El Kab we copied all the seventy names and titles in the tombs, so far unregarded, as they were encrusted with dirt which I cleaned off. Then we looked over the rock graffiti of the early kings there, and at Soba Rigaleh, in two half-days, we copied all of the graffiti that we could see. The American expedition, later, found scarcely any more. The animal figures on the rocks are far darker than the oldest inscriptions and 'are, I believe, the oldest things in Egypt'.

At Gebel Silsileh we copied all the tombs and shrines, and concluded that the Nile had cut the barrier long before the prehistoric age. Many tombs could not be reached except from our boat. From Kom Ombo I walked on to Aswan. We sailed up beyond the town, and pitched tents, dismissing our boat. Here we copied all the rock inscriptions that we could find, many of which escaped notice in De Morgan's later catalogue. Day by day, Griffith and I took out a rope ladder for scaling the rocks, and copied hard, each checking the other's copies. We worked thus from 7.30 to 6 every day, without any pause for lunch. The great block of kings, Unas, Pepy, Antef, and Amenemhat, I found at Elephantine and dug it clear. All the rock inscriptions of this trip I published in *A Season in Egypt*, and all the tomb inscriptions Griffith put in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. Time did not allow of copying the two

thousand Cufic stelae which lay in the old cemetery, and which were being fast destroyed.

Coming down the river, the steamers were all full, and we had to go on deck. That also was full, with only a narrow pathway. Not only full of civilians, but the government sent sixty soldiers down also, who considered that they had first claim to everything. We stacked our baggage and lay on the top of it. Then a dozen criminals in irons were brought on and squeezed upon us. In the evening, I watched the paddle-box, and when it was vacant I jumped my claim to the forbidden region, sat on my blankets and held it triumphantly.

At Thebes my work was to copy the foreigners' heads by paper squeezes, these I afterwards cast and photographed. The casts are in the British Museum. Griffith meanwhile wandered after inscriptions. At Karnak, ostraka were brought up, thirty or forty a day, which I bought. From there Griffith parted by the next boat, while I went over and pitched in the Ramesseum for some time, copying the heads of foreigners. So ended our two months on the Nile, by one of the happiest ways of seeing that fascinating river.

## LOOSE ENDS

By J. E. QUIBELL

MOST of us who have been in Egypt for years have seen incidents and heard tales that would be judged worthy of chronicling if only they could be checked and guaranteed and published with a dignified little apparatus of notes and references. But this is often neglected, or is not possible, and many a tale, suspicious or too fragmentary, is retained only in one or two memories and will in the next generation be entirely forgotten. Yet, as an antiquity of an unknown type and rather suspect is sometimes bought by an enterprising collector and, years afterwards, proved genuine by the discovery of similar pieces, so some of these narratives may be accredited by later experience.

Thus the history of the granite sarcophagus, brought up from a deep shaft at the Pyramids without pulley or ropes, may not be generally known, though Maspero must have told it to many besides myself. He had it from Mariette. The sarcophagus was a heavy one: the expense of sending out tackle and a gang of men would have been too heavy for the small and uncertain budget of those days and Mariette had decided, though with regret, to leave the huge block where it lay, when, to his surprise, some Arabs came forward and offered to get it up for a fixed sum (I think it was £30) *à forfait*. The bargain was struck, the earnest paid, and some dozen long-legged Arabs clambered down the shaft and squatted on the edge of the coffin, each with his quarter-staff in his hand. A small boy passed down baskets of sand as required, and the men, using their staffs as rammers, stamped it down with the action used for grinding coffee, uttering vindictive grunts. The process continued week after week and the sand was driven under the sarcophagus and lifted it, with the men perched above, till eventually (after how long I do not know) it reached the top of the shaft, a lift of some 60 feet.

We are accustomed to the idea of a shaft being filled with sand, a coffin dragged over it and the sand removed uniformly from along the four sides: the block would descend slowly and safely. This method was certainly employed; that it should be reversible is at first hard to believe. The manœuvre is, however, by no means impossible and, on a smaller scale, the experiment would be easy to repeat. Should this property of sand turn out to be real and the tale, as I think it, reliable, we are faced with the question whether the method had been discovered by the Arabs or handed down from antiquity; as the second alternative seems improbable we should have to credit the Arabs with a very pretty invention.

Another manifestation of Egyptian skill, that of the forgers of antiquities, has hardly met with the recognition it deserves. Forgers do not court publicity: their masterpieces are never signed and seldom exhibited under the authors'

names. Yet there are exceptions. An artist employed in the Education Department was studying native industries and, while making inquiries in a certain Middle Egypt village, fell into conversation with a middle-aged man, a fellah to all appearance, dressed in abaiyeh and turban, but, as soon became plain, also an artist. 'Come to my house', he said, 'and see what I am making!' My friend went with him and was shown a fine statue of a squatting man, covered with inscriptions, one of a well-known type, worth at that time some £300 or £400. 'This is genuine,' said the host, 'it has been sent me by my friend so-and-so (a Cairo dealer) who wants a copy of it to sell; he will pay me £120 (or was it £150?) in all; I have received £90 already. This is the copy I am making. Is it not a good copy?' It was. We have indeed reason to believe that some excellent statues of this kind have found their way into collections in late years: I remember in particular seeing a head as certainly false as it was charming.

'Now I will show you a wooden bed that I have completed,' continued the sculptor. (It was one of the very short Old Kingdom bedsteads supported on bulls' legs.) 'When this was found', he said, 'it had only three legs, and for such an object these Europeans will give but little, while for a complete bedstead they will give a great deal. So I have made, of a piece of really old wood, one of the four legs you see. Can you tell me which it is?' My informant, a man, be it remembered, with a trained eye and quick to detect modern tool-marks, after careful examination avowed that he could not; he saw no difference in material or workmanship. We may be sure then that the bed was successfully sold and that it is now adorning some important collection, public or private.

It seems a pity that forgeries, inadvertently bought by Museums, are, when detected, always withdrawn and no longer exhibited. If in a great museum such mistaken purchases could be shown, so far as possible in chronological order, with their dates of acquisition attached, an interesting measure would be afforded of the increasing skill of forgers and the growing discrimination of museum officials. All who have bought great numbers of antiquities must have acquired some forgeries or else refused genuine bargains on account of their novelty, or again committed at times both these errors. There would be no reproach addressed to the scholars concerned. Mistakes are made in other kinds of investment.

A survival of practices of the old religion which interested and surprised both Mohamed Eff Chabaan and myself, when we came upon it at Eshmunên, was connected with a granite colossus made by Rameses II, usurped by his unscrupulous son and found, still standing, before the site of the temple; the sebbakhin had uncovered it. It had aroused more interest among the fellahin than unsalable antiquities generally do. Indeed, people came from miles around to ask benefits from it—to pray, in effect. One woman offered it a galabiyeh if it would cure her child: a man sacrificed an animal to it. Another woman light-heartedly mocked it and said 'Ha! Ha! why did you resist the prophet



Moses and get turned into stone?' (The word for statue, *maskhúteh*, is recognized by the fellah as meaning 'bewitched', and sometimes he does really seem to think that a statue has once been a living creature. Doubtless he might also acknowledge that it had been hewn out of stone, but logical contraries may lodge peacefully together in his mind.)

That such veneration of a graven image, frowned on by Islam and Christianity alike, should have survived some 1,500 years of denunciation is surely a fine example of the truly conservative spirit.

Another relic of pre-Christian belief, more startling because of its modern background, was witnessed one day in Cairo by Firth and myself. As we were coming away from the Museum we heard a band playing 'God bless the Prince of Wales'—in mournfully slow time. The Prince was just then in Cairo and extreme Nationalists were rather eager *not* to show him any special civility, so this demonstration was surprising and attracted our attention. Walking on towards the Sharia Soliman Pasha we soon saw the explanation. The funeral-procession of a prominent Mohammedan was passing and the tune was played, not as a political demonstration, but because the band happened to know it. All the accustomed features of such processions passed before our eyes—the men with coloured aprons and brass bowls, the mixed train of victorias, motor-cars, and walking mourners, the coffin sidling and twisting along borne on the shoulders of volunteers, who acquire merit by the deed—all this we had seen before. But in the last carriage was something new: perched on the back of it with her feet on the seat was a hard-faced woman, unveiled and with her yellow-dyed hair loose about her shoulders. With a jerky, wooden movement of her head she turned now to one side, now to the other, at regular intervals of about a second, and at each movement gave a tug at her hair, as one pulling at a bell-rope. This surely was Isis.

Another survival, strange if true, is that of crypto-Christians in a well-known village. They have no church, but are not Muslims: once a year they go out to a certain cemetery and sit among their dead, so said my informant, a Muslim of the same village. The tale appeared to me probably true or at least to have some truth in it, but a learned Copt knew nothing of such a community, and it would be difficult to make inquiries on the spot.

In the same neighbourhood I heard a detailed account of the capture of a hyaena, a beast now somewhat scarce but well known at any rate to the older men. This animal had been seen several times and a trap was set for it, just south of one of the Dahshur pyramids. My informant, a pleasant fellow with a sense of fun, described to me how well the gun was loaded, with pebbles and bits of metal, 'very full indeed'; if the powder had not been of the home-made, slow-burning variety the gun would surely have burst. On the second night the hyaena caught the trip-wire and duly received the charge: it was stunned but not killed, and our friends, after tying it up and holding a consultation,

decided to take it to Heluan where a certain Pasha was known to be a likely buyer. No agreement on the price, however, could be attained, and the muzzled hyaena, with his escort, started back across the Nile. 'Every woman we passed wanted a few hairs, so that before we got home the beast was almost naked. You would have laughed to see him. Then we killed and ate him and the meat was very sweet. The heart was bought by a man who felt himself rather fearful and cowardly: he ate it to give himself courage. The next morning there came a foreigner from the Zoological Garden at Cairo, having heard of the hyaena and wishing to buy it, but we, desiring to avoid anger and strife, said that the body had begun to corrupt and that we had thrown it into the Nile. And all the while the meat was in our bellies.' He smiled happily.

It is curious that the food-value of hyaena-meat, so appreciated in the Old Kingdom, should not have been forgotten.

Is it quite impossible that the lion should have been seen in Egypt within our life-time? The report I heard, some thirty years ago, that one had been seen drinking in the Nile in Upper Egypt, was far too vague to produce conviction, but it must be remembered that a leopard was shot during the war in the western desert, Sollum way, where no mortal would have believed it could have existed for many centuries past. The lion should be as capable of a long journey. In the same neighbourhood, as Royle of the Frontier Districts Administration, than whom there was no better authority on the desert, once informed me, there was a man still living (in 1916) who had himself caught young ostriches, 'chickens as big as fowls'. Royle believed that the ostrich had not been exterminated by hunting: the last birds lived on a stretch of desert where no man dare stray from the path to pursue them for steady marching was needed to get through on the water-supply that could be carried.

A trade of which one would like to know more is that in camels from Syria: before the war one often saw troops of these young creatures, reddish in colour, very hairy, well-nourished, just arrived from their walk across the desert. They were sold mostly to the butchers. It was curious to learn what large sums, up to £3,000 at a time, were paid in gold into Cairo banks for transfer to Syria and Asia Minor to the credit of wild-looking Arab drovers, and to contrast their ready acceptance of banking facilities with the caution of our Breton onion-sellers, who always carry back their money to France in cash. Whether this trade has recovered since the war I have not observed. Probably it has.

Another Egyptian industry not widely known—though Adair, who told me of it, may have published an account of it in an entomological journal—is the silk manufacture carried on by women in part of the Delta. The product does not come upon the market: the women keep the silk-worms, spin and weave the silk and make their own underclothes.

Egypt is changing fast but there are, in its social structure, still unchronicled traces of an older world of which one catches but a glimpse and they are away

(a relation, for instance, between an old Mamluk family and its former dependants; or the existence of a man who gains a large income by distributing his blessing, which derives its value, not from his personal piety but from that of his father, a *weli*). Much leisure and, still more important, much Arabic, are required to obtain an explanation.

It was not, however, Egypt itself but one of its outlying dependencies which impressed me most as needing study before contact with Europe should change its character. Siwa was visited during the whole nineteenth century by very few Europeans, probably not a score, and they had six days' walk over a featureless desert to get there, while now motors can bring the tourists from the coast in a single day, and if they sleep in the desert and not in the oasis itself they need not fear the myriads of mosquitoes.

The oasis is not, of course, in Egypt at all, except politically: one has there the feeling of being in Africa at last. The people all know about Sokoto and Bornu as well as Egypt. The men speak two languages, the women, we are told, Siwi only. They must form a very secluded community, cut off for many centuries from contact with the outer world. No one can know much about them, except the Egyptian midwife placed there by the P.H.D., and only a woman, of course, could ever see them: she would need Arabic and some medical knowledge, preferably a great deal. She would learn the language, not really well known as yet, and would hear much of the economics of the community, on which subject information is equally scanty.

The first impression made on a visitor is that, against all expectation, the contrast between poverty and riches is as sharp and painful as with us in Europe. The poor live largely on dates, not being able to buy rice: wheat cannot be thought of. Even the goats live an austere life. I have seen them feeding on date-stones which a small girl broke up for them by pounding them with a pebble in a cup-shaped depression in the rock. The possible explanation of *some* cup-markings is doubtless well known to prehistorians.

Such are a few of the incidents observed or half-observed on Egyptian journeys. How many must have been missed altogether, being not understood, like that black patch on the 'pretty' about the fifth hole on the Heluan golf-course from which we have often played with iron or niblick, not noticing that it is, most probably, a neolithic hut-circle!


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