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Editorial Foreword

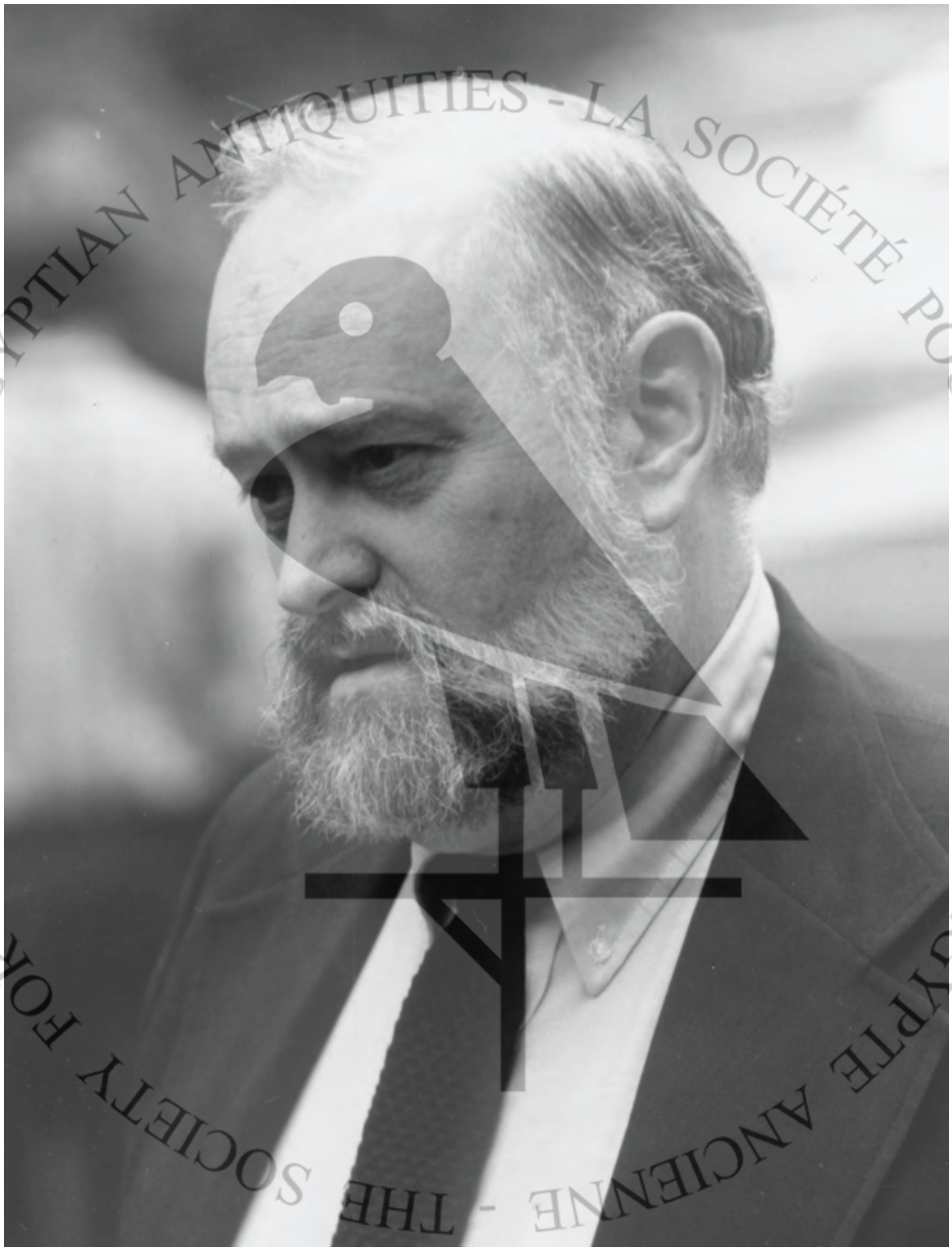
With this volume we bring you the memorial tribute to our long-time friend and colleague John L. (Jack) Foster, who left a lasting and transformative mark on the study of Egyptian literature and made it sing to the modern reader in eloquent poetic translations, and who awakened new audiences to its beauty and importance. The offerings we present here include an unexpected gift – an unpublished paper by Jack himself, which we are proud to make available in his memory and for which we thank his daughter Ann.

As we were preparing to send the Foster-Gedenkschrift to press, we lost two other much-beloved supporters of the Society. Only days after completing her contribution to this volume, our dear friend, dedicated colleague and Associate Editor, Dr. Sally L. D. Katary, passed away suddenly, leaving her family and friends in shock and grief. Sally was a vital part of this Society from the time of its inception in 1969 and gave of herself indefatigably and indomitably in many capacities to the SSEA and to its Journal, as well as to the field of Egyptology and Ancient Studies and to her many students over more than three decades.

Shortly thereafter, we learned of the passing of Prof. John S. (Jack) Holladay, Jr., another long-time member and friend of the Society, and mentor of many of our members. Jack worked in Egypt, both with Don Redford and on his own excavation at Tell el-Maskhuta, and was the inventor of the method of dealing with pottery that Redford adopted at East Karnak.

This volume contains appreciations of two of these cherished colleagues and beloved friends. The appreciation of Prof. John Holladay will appear in volume 43. Shakespeare perhaps said it best: Take them for all in all, we shall not look upon their like again.

- Edmund S. Meltzer and Jacqueline E. Jay



John L. Foster (1930-2011)

John L. Foster
1930-2011
Ann L. Foster

John L. Foster was born in the Englewood neighbourhood of Chicago, November 11th, 1930 to Robert E. and Dorothy R. (Lockwood) Foster. He died in Evanston, Illinois, on January 25th, 2011. He grew up in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and graduated from Creston High School. He attended Kalamazoo College, graduating *magna cum laude* with a Bachelor of Arts followed by work at Harvard University in the English Department. He then served in the United States Army Security Agency in Germany. Upon his return, he married Gloria M. Wallace, his college sweetheart, and enrolled for graduate work in English at the University of Michigan, earning his Ph.D. in 1961 with his dissertation, *The Modern American Long Poem*. He taught in the English departments at the University of Connecticut and Wisconsin State University, Whitewater, before settling in the English Department at Roosevelt University, Chicago. He not only taught American literature there from 1966 until his retirement in 1994, but was chairman of the English Department, served on the Executive Committee of the Faculty Senate and the Executive Committee of the College of Arts and Sciences, as well as a myriad of academic committees at all levels. His longest service on a Roosevelt administration body was as a member of the Board of Trustees from 1975-1987. His teaching, however, was always his priority at Roosevelt. His specialty was American literature, and he taught everything from introductions to American poetry and the American novel to seminars in Emerson and Thoreau or Pound and Eliot. He did his share of Freshman Composition classes, but also taught creative writing classes as well as working one-on-one with students who seemed to him to have promise. He had a reputation among the student body as being one of the most challenging yet fair instructors at the university.

Early in his teaching career at Roosevelt, he began to study ancient Egyptian language and literature at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. His teachers included John Wilson, George Hughes, Klaus Baer, and Edward Wente. Janet Johnson of the University of Chicago said at his memorial service, "I took many classes at the Oriental Institute with Jack as a fellow student. It became obvious to all of us very quickly that Jack's ability to understand Egyptian literature and make it come alive was far above the 'translating' that the rest of us did most of the time." These classes were to begin a long and fruitful association with the Oriental Institute, culminating in a Research Associateship upon his retirement from Roosevelt. After his coursework ended, he made regular journeys to the Oriental Institute to use the Research Archives, where he engaged in extensive study of ancient Egyptian amorous and erotic literature. This led to early professional publications as well as professional and public lectures. It was at this stage that he

made two trips to Egypt to become familiar with the country and the monuments in order to enhance his translations. All of this culminated in his first book in Egyptology, *Love Songs of the New Kingdom*, published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

Another part of his visits to the Oriental Institute was the Museum's collection of hieratic literary ostraca. His other early Egyptological publications were studies of these ostraca. This engaged him to such a degree that his friend and colleague, Ed Wente, ceded his publication rights to the literary hieratic ostraca. A National Endowment for the Humanities Research Fellowship launched his life-long project, a catalogue of the figured and literary hieratic ostraca in the Oriental Institute. The ostraca were cleaned and photographed. Then, using an adapted form of the Chicago House method of epigraphic recording, he inked photographs of each ostracon reading from the ostracon directly. The photographs were then bleached, leaving only the inked areas on the photographic paper. These became the facsimiles for the publication. I, myself, assisted in the process whenever I was home from college. Some of these ostraca were discussed in articles or papers presented to the American Research Center in Egypt and the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities annual meetings.

The ostraca project was one aspect of his Egyptological research, his hands-on work with actual objects. It was part of his larger interest in ancient Egyptian literature and its canon as a whole. When my father was neither teaching at Roosevelt, nor in "the Basement" at the "OI," he was in his home study assembling parallel texts from published ostraca and papyri to form eclectic texts of Egyptian literary pieces. He would then transliterate these texts, make a literal translation, and then his literary translation. The literary translation could vary from close literal renderings to much freer interpretations of the words. In this he used his rich background in literary analysis and criticism and in our dinner conversations we would often hear about translating methods espoused by Ezra Pound ("make it new"), Pasternak via Lowell ("tone is, of course, everything"), and Auden ("words whispering to words"). He said that the audience for his translation would dictate how free the verse might be; for instance, the love songs were often quite free because they were for a more public literary audience, while the translations for the Society of Biblical Literature's Writing from the Ancient World series, *Hymns, Prayers, and Songs*, were much more literal because they were aimed at a more academic audience. One piece that provoked a great deal of discussion—including online—was "The Memphis Swimsuit." My father knew he had gone out on a limb with it, had pushed a free translation to the limit, but the fact that an ancient Egyptian poem was engaging specialists and college students alike seemed all to the good to him. Translation was not an exact science to him, though it included exacting methods; it was an art. He composed and crafted.

His scholarly publications continued in leading Egyptological journals, and with them came his books. The more scholarly works include *Thought Couplets and Clause Sequences in a Literary Text:* The Maxims of Ptahhotep*, Thought Couplets in* The Tale of Sinuhe, and *Hymns, Prayers, and Songs: An Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Lyric Poetry*. His first anthology was *Echoes of Egyptian Voices: An*

Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Poetry published by the University of Oklahoma Press and in the same year a reprint of his 1974 *Love Songs of the New Kingdom*, now published by the University of Texas Press. At this point he began to receive requests to publish essays on aspects of ancient Egyptian literature in a variety of reference works and anthologies: "Sinuhe, Tale of" in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, "Ancient Egyptian Poetry" and "Egyptian Love Poetry" in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, as well as selections from *Echoes* and *Love Songs* in *The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces*. He was often asked to participate in various Egyptophile ventures and even engaged in a few. Permissions began to be requested for use of his translations in the works of composers, as didactics in local museum exhibition spaces, and regularly for course packets by teachers across the country. His *Ancient Egyptian Literature: An Anthology* was published by Texas in 2001, including the selections from *Echoes*, but adding a number of additional pieces to the work. His collaboration with Lyla Pinch Brock on *The Shipwrecked Sailor: A Tale from Ancient Egypt* is truly an exceptional work and displays both of these artists at their peak as translator and illustrator respectively, harmoniously blending the visual and the written, and both with a deft touch for representing ancient Egypt, perhaps even in ways that the ancients might have appreciated. He enjoyed working with other Egyptologists on collaborative efforts like his chapter "The New Religion" in *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen* for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, as editor of the "Texts and Literature" section of *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, and even book reviews. He found common ground and interesting new notions in doing reviews, always trying to balance honest criticism with praise. His only other published collaboration was his "Ancient Egyptian Literature" contribution to *Egyptology Today*, with which I assisted due to his failing health. At all times he was very modest about his work and contributions. One has only to read one of his introductions or conclusions to find that he framed his studies narrowly with provisos and cautions as if to say "this seems to be the case here, but I do not know if it will work elsewhere. What do you think?"

His other publishing contribution to Egyptology was as the editor of the *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* from 1987 to 2001. In his first year as editor he brought out three back issues of *JARCE* and from that time forward had issues once again appearing in a timely manner. He was also credited at the time for making *JARCE* one of the premier Egyptological journals. In editing, he recognized that each author had a unique writing style and though sometime the variance could be abrupt, he felt that as long as the basic style for *JARCE* was followed, he only needed to correct for spelling and grammar. Now and then articles would arrive that challenged his editorial patience, but the germ of interesting ideas and good scholarship made him send these back to the authors with suggestions for revision that, if followed, would likely mean that the articles would be accepted in the next round. He enjoyed professional meetings and his role as contributions recruiter for *JARCE*. He admired established scholars and their work, delighting to see a manuscript arrive in the mail from one. Yet he also encouraged younger

scholars or those less established, particularly if he felt they had a new and interesting perspective. He tried to balance field reports with textual analysis and strove to include contributions from prehistory to contemporary Egyptian culture, technically the purview of the *Journal*, but not always an easy reality to implement. As editor, he served on the ARCE Board of Governors as well as the Executive Committee in a time of transition from the small academic organization of its birth to the larger, broader-based, multi-component organization it is today.

One of his favourite times in the Egyptological calendar was late autumn when he could travel to Toronto to participate in the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities annual meeting. He held this organization and its members in high esteem throughout his lifetime. Not only had they been one of the first to invite him to speak at one of their meetings, but they also continued to provide a warm and welcoming atmosphere every time he attended. He enjoyed encouraging students in their work with the language while at the same time standing up to the challenges of his peers who were not fully persuaded by his "thought couplet" theory. There were lively and earnest discussions, and if feathers were ruffled, they were always soothed back into place at the evening receptions, particularly the glorious early ones when Geoff Freeman was the SSEA's patron. He would return home to share anecdotes about Nick, Freedl, Ron, Gerry, Don, Roberta, Ted, Rexine, and many, many more people who became dear friends and colleagues. Once I had embraced a professional career in Egyptology, it came as a bit of a shock on occasion to equate the name on the spine of an erudite study with one of the Toronto "chums." He derived such pleasure and inspiration from his contact with the SSEA, and our family is deeply moved to realize that this Gedenkschrift must mean that the feeling was mutual.

"Jack Foster, universally liked," was a phrase I heard at one ARCE meeting. But his impact was not just of a friendly face at the meetings. His legacy will not include a cadre of students holding masters and doctoral degrees with his signature on the title page. Instead, it will be subtle and broad, affecting not only scholars but laypeople. Throughout his career he frequently gave public lectures and enthralled audiences with his voice and his accessible translations, which made the stories and poems comprehensible to those who did not read "birds and snakes." In terms of his teaching, he inspired a love for literature in many of his students leading at least one student, to my knowledge, into a career as an award-winning author and another into a rewarding (and award-winning) career as a beloved and inspiring high school English teacher. Closer to home, as a man trained in the New Criticism, he was wryly amused to have produced three cultural historians: my brother, Robert, in Chinese history, my sister, Kristen, in American history, and myself in Aegean and Egyptian history.

To close, I would like to quote from the condolence letter we received from a friend and colleague:

> "Jack proved to me that it <u>is</u> possible to be an excellent teacher, a great scholar, and a deeply decent person. What a gift he shared with those of us who had the immense privilege to know him—and,

through the gift of his writing, generations more will have the benefit of his inspiration."

Reflections from Jack's son, Robert W. Foster:

My father always had his own study in our house. It was a space lined with books on a wide-range of topics, though the Egyptology books were always closest to his desk. Tuesdays, Thursdays, and some weekend mornings were his time to work on his scholarship; which, as a child, always struck me as a peaceful pursuit. With two teachers for parents, it is no surprise that I followed that path.

About once a month we would venture into Chicago to visit the Art Institute, or more often, the Field Museum. Thinking of other cultures was an integral part of my childhood. At the time, I did not know the influence Ezra Pound's *Cantos*, based on ancient literary traditions, had on my father. That influence led to his collecting books on many ancient civilizations, and to the publication of a series of poems entitled *Narrow Road to the Deep West*, written during one of our extended western camping trips, and inspired by the Japanese *haiku* master Basho's *Narrow Road to the Deep North*.

My father's translations of Egyptian poetry were a source of pride for me. I enjoyed going to the Field Museum and seeing his work grace the signs in the Ancient Egypt section. Colleagues at Berea College knew of my father's work from the poems published in the *Norton Anthology of World Literature*. But the extent of his influence came home to me a couple of months ago, when I read his "Memphis Swimsuit" in full in Cai Zongqi's *How to Read a Chinese Poem: A Guided Anthology*. Cai used this poem to support the notion that ancient love poems really could be about ardor, not simply moral didacticism. Not soon after, a friend on FaceBook asked me about my father's work. After my response another friend and colleague from Taiwan posted: "Your father was John L. Foster? I didn't know that!" And I didn't know my father's work was known in Taiwan!

At one particularly disgruntled teenage moment, my father handed me a copy of the Chinese philosopher Laozi's *Daodejing*, translated by Lin Yutang. The text confused and intrigued me to no end. Here was a poetically presented philosophy based upon observation of nature, rather than dogmatic rights and wrongs. I decided if I learned Chinese, I would understand the text. It still confused me. Perhaps, I thought, if I knew the historical context, it would become clearer. Thirty-five years later, it's less confusing, but no less intriguing. As I write this, sitting in Lhasa gazing at the Potala Palace, next to me is a new Chinese copy of the *Daodejing* that I picked up in Beijing a few days ago. Thanks, Dad.

Reflections from Jack's daughter, A. Kristen Foster:

Along with our gentle mother, our father – a Professor of English, a poet, and an Egyptologist – set an example for us all of a life well lived. He was a true Renaissance man: curious, intellectually fearless, always seeking to know more.

And he wanted the same for his children. I still smile when I think of the captain's table he and Mom put up in his study so that we could join him in quiet contemplation. I used to think I disappointed him terribly when the sun was warm, and I wanted to be outdoors. Looking back, though, I realize that he would find a way to come down from his desk for a break to "have a catch" or teach me to throw a football. We had the most wonderful childhood full of love, and learning, and play.

Dad's study was lined with shelves each filled with books acquired to add depth to his own research collection or to salve some curiosity. Not surprisingly, we each seem to have found our life's path in some section of Dad's library. My sister Ann developed her scholarly life around an early interest in classical history from which archeological digs and studies of antiquated trade routes led her back to the ancient Egypt that Dad so loved. Our brother Rob, fascinated by the smaller collection of Chinese and Japanese philosophers, has become a historian of China, still finding lessons in books shared so long ago. For me, the shelves that bowed most under the weight of an extraordinary collection of American writers, "found" me when I was far away and homesick during college studies in the Berkshire Mountains. I decided to take a course on the American Renaissance, and the high tide of memory brought me home. As we read Ralph Waldo Emerson's essay "Intellect" for class, I came to understand why Dad had nearly a dozen copies of Emerson's collected works on those walnut-stained shelves: Emerson was the pied piper of truth seekers. I called to share a favorite passage with Dad, and he listened knowingly (it had always been a favorite of his too):

> God offers to every mind its choice between truth and repose.
> Take which you please, — you can never have both. Between these, as
> a pendulum, man oscillates. He in whom the love of repose
> predominates will accept the first creed, the first philosophy, the
> first political party he meets, — most likely his father's. He gets
> rest, commodity, and reputation; but he shuts the door of truth. He
> in whom the love of truth predominates will keep himself aloof from
> all moorings, and afloat. He will abstain from dogmatism, and
> recognize all the opposite negations, between which, as walls, his
> being is swung. He submits to the inconvenience of suspense and
> imperfect opinion, but he is a candidate for truth, as the other is
> not, and respects the highest law of his being.
>
> -"Intellect" from Essays: First Series (1841)

My brother, and sister, and I are all older now, and the temptation to choose repose is real. But Dad and his study have had some hand, I am sure, in making us all restless seekers; we have chosen his scholar's life for ourselves. Perhaps that lonely captain's table had some magic in it after all.

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Sally L.D. Katary (1946-2016)

Sally L.D. Katary
1946-2016

Shannon & Narasim Katary and Edmund S. Meltzer

We are profoundly saddened by the sudden passing of our dear friend and colleague Dr. Sally L.D. Katary on Saturday, August 6, 2016 in Sudbury, Ontario. Her daughter Shannon and husband of 50 years Narasim honor her memory. A Celebration of Sally's Life was held in Sudbury on Saturday, August 13, 2016 at the Living With Lakes Centre at Laurentian University. For 30 years, Sally had been a Professor in the Ancient & Classics Studies program at Thorneloe College at Laurentian University, where she was appreciated as a committed and engaged teacher who went the extra distance for her students. A highly respected Egyptologist, she was also at home in the field of Classics, in which she did a great deal of her teaching; she also combined the two fields to achieve additional insight, as in her study of the Story of the Two Brothers in *JSSEA* 24 (1994, published 1997) and her final article which appears in this volume of our *Journal*.

Sally Louise Dolan Katary was born in New Rochelle, New York, and grew up in and around Larchmont. She was the third of four sisters in a modest and resilient family. Her elder sisters were Penny Yesko and Ruth Gerrity, with Cindy Lynne completing the foursome. One of their neighbors was Ray Walston, the star of *My Favorite Martian* and *Damn Yankees*.

Sally and Cindy were only 10 months and 29 days apart, and they made ideal playmates. They had a doll collection to which they were very devoted. Sally was a great reader and loved going to the library; at the age of 12 or 13, she read *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* and *War and Peace*, among many others. Not surprisingly, she was a top student. She became enthused with ancient Egypt and other early civilizations at a very young age, and early on she decided to be an Egyptologist. On one occasion, she gave her sixth-grade class a lengthy and graphic lecture on mummification; her teacher was aghast. Sally began to seek out anything she could find on ancient Egypt, a pursuit she continued for the rest of her life.

The family moved to North Castle, New York, where Sally attended high school. She wanted very much to make it into the National Honor Society. Along with getting good grades, a student had to show other interests, so Sally joined as many groups as she could. She was concerned that she didn't belong to any sports teams, so she became a score-keeper for the badminton intramurals. The procedure was that the school would notify the parents that their child was being inducted, which was to be kept secret until the award ceremony. Sally was so nervous about whether she'd get in that she badgered her mother into telling her before the ceremony. Of course she made it!

Following the advice of one of her high school teachers, Sally attended the University of Pennsylvania, taking courses with scholars such as James B. Pritchard,

Samuel Noah Kramer, Moshe Greenberg, Alan R. Schulman and David O'Connor. During this period she became very interested in the field of religious studies and mythology, and it was with a major in Religious Thought that she graduated with an Honors B.A. degree, Summa Cum Laude, while being initiated into the study of ancient Egyptian, Arabic, Hebrew, and other languages ancient and modern. Her outstanding academic achievements also earned her the honors of membership in Phi Beta Kappa and Pi Gamma Mu (the Social Science Honor Society), and Valedictorian of the College for Women at the University of Pennsylvania. Throughout her undergraduate and graduate education, she received a stellar succession of scholarships, fellowships and awards.

For her graduate studies, Sally attended the University of Toronto, where she received her MA and PhD in Near Eastern Studies with a major in Egyptology, studying with Donald B. Redford and Ronald J. Williams. As a graduate student, she went to Egypt with Profs. Redford and Gerald E. Kadish as an epigrapher in the project to record the Chapel of Osiris Heka-Djet (Ruler of Eternity) in Karnak. In 1969, she was one of the founders of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, in which she played a number of important roles throughout her career. She was a long-serving Board member and remained an Honorary Trustee until her passing; she also served on the Scholars Colloquium Committee and Poster Session Committee. The *Journal* was one of her major areas of endeavor; she chaired the Book Review Committee (and her reviews are highly informative publications in their own right and models of what a review should be), and she served as Associate Editor for several volumes including that in which this notice appears.

While she was an undergrad at Penn, at a Guy Fawkes Day party in 1966, Sally met her future husband Narasim Katary, who was a grad student there. Narasim fell in love with her and courted her. They were married on the first anniversary of the Moon Landing (July 20, 1970) in Madison, Wisconsin. Their life together was a well matched union with its share of highs and lows. The most arresting part of their fifty-year-long companionship was how much they shared in common in spite of their diverse backgrounds growing up in two different cultures, she in suburban New York, and he in Metropolitan Bengaluru, India. After Sally completed her doctorate, the couple had a baby girl, Shannon. They made more than one trip to India, to visit Narasim's family and to see the sights of another amazing civilization.

Sally's dissertation, *Land Tenure in the Ramesside Period*, was published by Kegan Paul International in 1989. This volume served as a centerpiece of a series of distinguished publications focusing on ancient Egyptian land tenure, administration and socio-economic history, as elucidated by the study of Papyrus Wilbour and other economic documents. In these publications she shows authoritative mastery of the relevant texts and scholarship covering three millennia of history, and of a rigorous statistical methodology through which she was able to glean important insights about ancient Egyptian society from these sources. Her interests and work were by no means limited to socio-economic and agrarian history, but also included Egyptian literature and its intercultural connections, mythology and folklore studies,

gender in ancient Egypt and other ancient societies, and the recovery of how the ancient Egyptian people lived.

Sally was invited to contribute to a number of important reference works and edited volumes, including the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, the *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, the *Encyclopedia of the Ancient World* published by Wiley-Blackwell, *The Egyptian World* edited by Toby Wilkinson, and *Ancient Egyptian Administration* edited by Juan Carlos Moreno García. One research project that afforded her particular pleasure was researching the life of the beloved Toronto Egyptologist Winifred Needler, resulting in an article which was published in Barbara S. Lesko and Martha Sharp Joukowsky, eds., *Breaking Ground: Women in Old World Archaeology*.

Sally was a frequent presenter at our SSEA Symposia and Scholars' Colloquia, and presented papers at ARCE meetings as well as the International Congress of Egyptologists which was held in Toronto in 1982. She presented many invited lectures covering subjects such as ancient Egyptian tomb robbery and economy, afterlife, urban communities and dreams, bringing ancient Egypt vividly to life for her audiences. In 2004, she headed back to Egypt for the filming of the National Geographic documentary "Ancient Tomb Robbers," which was part of the "Tales of the Tomb" series. She was a natural on film. She was invited to be a Visiting Scholar at the Université Charles-de-Gaulle, Lille 3 (funded by the Institut International Erasme/ Maison Sciences Humaines du Nord-Pas-de Calais), as part of the ongoing international research project Le milieu rural du Proche Orient à l'Âge du Bronze Récent: économie palatiale/économie de l'espace et des activités productives – in which her participation was facilitated by her fluency in French. This project involved travel in France, the Netherlands and Spain as well as work in Canada. She also received a travel grant from the British Academy to participate in the Symposium "Land, Settlement and Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times," which took place at Oxford. It was a particular source of joy that her daughter Shannon accompanied her on some of these travels.

Many students were grateful for Sally's commitment, selfless effort and generosity over the course of a teaching career that spanned more than four decades, including 30 years as a Professor in Thorneloe College at Laurentian University. Though most of her teaching responsibilities were in the field of Classics and general ancient studies, she also introduced students to the ancient Egyptian language, sometimes extending to them the hospitality of her home.

Despite daunting health problems, Sally's work if anything was accelerating during what tragically turned out to be the final years of her life. She had just recently lectured for the traveling Tutankhamun exhibition in Canada and had been recruited as one of the team writing commentaries to the *Ramesside Inscriptions* with Prof. Kenneth A. Kitchen and Benedict Davies, and she had other projects on the drawing board as well, including an edited volume on *Gold in Ancient Egypt*.

Along with her devotion to scholarship, Sally had a lifelong enthusiasm for music. In grade school, she and Cindy started violin and cello respectively, and then added piano and oboe. Sally matured into a talented performer; she played the viola

in the Sudbury Symphony as well as smaller instrumental groups, and sang Baroque opera. As an excellent violist she took part in several community concerts, orchestras and quartets. She belonged to a group of musicians that brought classical music to people who were unable to attend public performances; this gave her a great deal of satisfaction. When she played, her musical spirit filled the room, and she was an expert when it came to classical music and interpreting composers. She was always the teacher, and moreover her music came from the heart.

Sally's love of books led her to the dedicated work of the Friends of Library, part of the Sudbury Public Library system. She aided in collecting, sorting and organizing book sales. Raising funds for the library in this fashion enabled it to undertake acquisitions that would otherwise have been impossible. She delivered books to the elderly and gave them the opportunity to keep reading and share their own personal stories with each visit.

Sally was a devoted mother, teacher, friend and mentor rolled into one. Being the only child, Shannon was given the world, and was also taught how to appreciate the world and respect everyone in it. As a teacher Sally was forever correcting Shannon's spoken and written words. This taught her the value of language, reading and the pursuit of knowledge. Sally was the kind of mom that other kids loved to spend time with, listening to her tales of history and lore. She would give her heart to make you happy. She gave Shannon the love and encouragement to pursue her dreams and have the confidence to take on the world. Once Shannon secured a career in the public sphere, her mom was a mentor guiding her on proper professional conduct. Today, Shannon is the radiant reflection of her mother's love, and her dad is her personal hero.

Sally was an indefatigable scholar and teacher of impeccably high standards and was always helpful and generous, and a devoted friend. She will be greatly missed and forever remembered by her family, friends and colleagues.

The Sad Song of the *Lebensmüde*[*]

John L. Foster[†]

Abstract: This article is a literary overview of the *Lebensmüde*. It examines vocabulary and grammar from the perspective of the tone and structure of the whole work. This method clarifies several of the difficult passages, thus reaching a satisfying interpretation of the poem as a whole.

Résumé: Cette étude propose une perspective littéraire du *Lebensmüde*. Elle en examine le vocabulaire et la grammaire dans la perspective du ton et de la structure de l'oeuvre entière. Cette méthode, qui explicite plusieurs passage difficiles, aboutit ainsi à une interpretation cohérente de l'ensemble du poème.

Keywords/Mots-clés: ancient Egyptian literature, literary criticism, *Lebensmüde*, *Man and His Ba*, "The Debate between a Man Tired of Life and his Soul," "Le dialogue du désespéré avec son âme"

I.

"How my name stinks because of you
more than the stink of bird dung on a summer's day
under a burning sky."

With these words begins one of the most remarkable cries of anguish to survive from the ancient world. They are uttered by a man so tormented by the futility of living that he wants to commit suicide. They open the first "lyric" of the man's final speech in "The Debate between a Man Tired of Life and his Soul," often called simply the "*Lebensmüde*." But *why* does the man say, "How my name stinks because of you"? This is the crucial problem; to solve it correctly is to understand the poem; and the answer helps organize one's response to the interpretation of the individual words, to the sequence of sentences, and to the configuration of the text as a whole. And note that the question is a literary one.

I would like to emphasize the importance of literary considerations in reading a text, how they can be as important as grammatical and lexical considerations, how strictly *literary* criticism can help determine *some* grammatical and lexical questions, and how the two kinds of endeavor can reinforce each other to produce the interpretation.

This seems a truism; but let us use the test case of the *Lebensmüde*, a notoriously difficult text to interpret and understand. The text is from Papyrus Berlin 3024, originally published by Erman in 1896.[1] Its difficulties are stressed, for

[*] This article was written by John L. Foster in 1987 and revised in 1991. It is being published as it was found in his papers after his death.

[1] Adolf Erman, *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele*, APAW (Berlin: Verlag der Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1896).

instance, in the introduction to Lichtheim's translation;[2] and the contradictions which make the text so difficult are confronted by Faulkner in his important study.[3] Faulkner's transcription of the hieratic original has come to be considered standard, as mentioned, for instance, in Williams' article reviewing the state of the long controversy.[4] There have been book-length studies since that time by Barta[5] and Goedicke,[6] as well as a short article by Osing in the *Lexicon*.[7] The continuing disagreements and variety of interpretations point to several cruxes in the poem, two of the most widely discussed being the *st3 r* in column (i.e., "line") 12 of the papyrus[8] (who is dragging whom toward death?) and the *ihm/him r* in lines 18 and 49 ("dragging toward" or "keeping from" death). These are examples of a whole range of grammatical and lexical problems with which the test bristles.

I shall approach the poem using literary considerations rather than grammatical and lexical as the prime criterion. In actuality, of course, it takes a skillful fusion of both of these approaches to best interpret a text. An example of too great a reliance on a grammatical and lexical approach, it seems to me, is Faulkner's translation of the *Lebensmüde*.[9] My criticism of his work on this text is its impenetrability. The reader of his translation often cannot make sense either of individual sentences or their sequences in paragraphs; and the *gestalt*—the overall configuration of the poem—is missing in his translation. His emphasis is too much on the meanings of individual words and on the grammar of individual clauses, not on the meanings and sequences of paragraphs or how the individual word or clause fits the larger whole. In the very real contribution he made to the study of the *Lebensmüde*, his emphasis was on the smaller units of meaning.

A more recent interpretation which insists upon the literary character and quality of the *Lebensmüde* is Goedicke's, where in his introduction, and especially in its final paragraph, he stresses the literary character of the text as a product of human imagination.[10] No matter how much one might disagree with his interpretation of individual words and lines—and translations of this text still differ widely—he rightly emphasizes the *gestalt* of the poem. And in at least one crucial place (the *nhnw* of line 16), he improves on Faulkner's transcription of the hieratic.

[2] Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. I (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 163.

[3] R. O. Faulkner, "The Man Who was Tired of Life," *JEA* 42 (1956): 21-40.

[4] Ronald J. Williams, "Reflections on the *Lebensmüde*," *JEA* 48 (1962): 49-56.

[5] Winfried Barta, *Das Gespräch einer Mannes mit seinem BA*, MÄS 18 (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1969).

[6] Hans Goedicke, *The Report about the Dispute of a Man with his Ba* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970).

[7] Jürgen Osing, "Gespräch des Lebensmüden," *Lexicon der Ägyptologie*, vol. II (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977), 571-73.

[8] Faulkner, p. 22. The transcription of the entire text appears on pp. 22-26.

[9] Faulkner, pp. 21, 27-30.

[10] Goedicke, p. 10.

II.

What is the situation? The poem itself belongs to a type appearing not only anciently in the Near East (this from Dynasty XII, ca. 2000 B.C.E.) but also continuing through Western literature on up to "Dialogue of Self and Soul" by W. B. Yeats and "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" by T. S. Eliot. It is the venerable debate between the body and the soul, prominent almost to cliché in Christian literature, where an internal battle goes on between two aspects or sides of an individual person, one of which desires removal to the next world and the afterlife, while the other, for a variety of reasons, prefers life in this world. "To be, or not to be," said a later *Lebensmüde*. The great irony of this poem is that the positions which become traditional later on are reversed: the man (or self) wants to die and his *ba* (or soul) wants to remain in this world.

Is there need for relating the poem to some historical background? For instance, how important is the apparently new concept of the separable *ba*? This is a very significant question for study of the history and religious ideas of ancient Egypt; but it is not as important for studying the integrity of this poem as a piece of significant philosophical literature. We know the *ba* is separable here because it flies off. There may be more at stake; but that more seems not to be significant for understanding the poem. The same is true of the problem of setting. One is faced with a complete lack of specifics concerning time and place, season or weather, village or countryside. These do not seem to matter in the economy of the poem. Nor should they, since the poem symbolizes, through the dialogue structure, an externalized expression of a psychological divisiveness within a personality. The same I think is true of the problem of burial. The necessity for a proper burial (certainly important to the ancient Egyptian) is not the point here either. Rather, it is how long a man can endure a profound despair which saps his very life—a despair so deep that it has broken apart his personality (into "I" and *ba*), destroyed his self-esteem (his *rn*, "name"), and reduced him to the unthinkable extreme of destroying by fire the very body (*ḫt*) which he needs after death to maintain his identity.

Here is the crux of the debate between the two: The man needs his *ba* to exist in the next world, otherwise he will be annihilated; he cannot kill himself if his *ba* will not accompany him to the other side. The soul knows this; it wants to live; it dreads death (which it sees as empty and gloomy); it loves life in this world; and thus its only hold over the man, to prevent his suicide (the soul's veto power, if you will) is to run away from the man and stay away. The man cannot risk total annihilation in his desire to leave life and commit death by fire; the *ba*, knowing it must accompany the man into the afterlife sometime, simply tries by any means to prolong its term here.

Thus, the man actively pursues suicide from the beginning, and from the opening of the text wants to die. His soul, on the other hand, loves life and its bustle, and runs away so that the man dare not carry out his own death. The psychological tug of war pits the man dragging himself toward death against the soul trying to prevent him from attaining this goal. This reading of the poem is not new. What I

hope to demonstrate is the evidence for this interpretation (including a few new renderings) and that it is more the literary overview—or *gestalt*—a use of literary criteria primarily—which helps to clarify several of the difficult passages and reach a satisfying interpretation of the poem as a whole.

The man wants to die, *now*. What is the evidence for this? We know he does not commit suicide; and there is no disagreement about his wanting to die by the time he utters his final speech. When in the third of his lyrics he calls death "the healthy state of sick man" and in a series of similes likens death to positive desirable things, or when he cries in the fourth lyric, "But to be one who is over there," we know he longs for death.

The man holds this same position at the beginning of the text. The passage, a difficult one, is as follows (lines 11-14):

mtn b3.i ḥr tht.i
n sḏm.n.i n.f
ḥr st3s.i r mwt
n iy.n.f
ḥr ḫ3ʿ ḥr ḫt
r sm3mt.i

See, all of you, my *ba* is wronging me!
I do [must] not listen to it
While dragging myself toward death.
It does not come
For the casting upon the fire
In order to slay myself.

The clause causing controversy is *ḥr st3s.i r mwt*, which seems clearly to be a concomitant clause depending upon the previous line and employing the *ḥr* + infinitive, with the suffix pronoun as object. Then, in a parallel grammatical construction,[11] the refusal of the *ba* to participate in the sacrifice is documented—it stays away. But the man is the active agent here, and it is he who wants to commit the suicide; he simply needs the soul's assistance, which it will not give.

That the *ba* has no attraction for death (such as to drive the man to it) is also seen by implication when the man says (lines 9-10), "Never shall it happen concerning it, that it may flee the Day of Pain," thus implying that the soul is the one avoiding death, and not driving the man toward it.

[11] I would read *n iy.n.f* rather than *n iyt n.f* as do both Faulkner and Goedicke. The sign following the second reed leaf in the hieratic can be read as the pair of diagonal lines representing the abbreviated double reed leaf. That is, the drawing is within the range of this copyist for this sign, though, admittedly, most of the examples in the text represent a *t*, as in line 19, but which is after all a different grammatical form (a *sḏmt.f: n iyt.i n.f*, as Faulkner would also read line 12).

Similarly, in lines 15-16, just after a break in the text, we have,

> Let it be near to me on the Day of Pain
> So that it may stand on that side yonder
> As one who shares (*iri n*) my *joy* [in death].

The reading has been made possible by Goedicke, who called attention to Faulkner's miscopying of the hieratic as *nhpw* rather than *nhnw*. Faulkner had "sorrow" rather than "joy," and thus just the opposite from the author's apparent intention. The man longs for death and rejoices in the West from the first. But the *ba* runs away (line 17). Thus when the man says in lines 19-20, "Make the West sweet for me," he means *now*, and he means it in direct contradiction to his *ba*'s wishes to keep him alive. He is not addressing his soul but the tribunal of gods to which he is about to appeal.

III.

If the man wants to die right from the beginning of the poem, what is the position of his *ba*? It clearly does not want to die nor move on to the next world. One is tempted to call it a coward; but this may be too harsh. That is, the *ba* may desert the man for reasons other than fear; but it is a deserter. The *ba* wants to experience life in the here and now; and it adheres to this position throughout the debate. Indeed, it is not at all convinced that a happy afterlife exists.

What is the evidence? First of all, when the text opens, the *ba* is nowhere to be seen. "My soul would not speak with me!" says the man in hurt bewilderment (lines 5-6). And the verbs describing the *ba*'s actions in the opening scene are *šm* (line 7), "Let my soul not *go*"; *rwi* (line 10), "Never shall it happen, that it may *flee* the Day of Pain"; and *pri* (line 17), "That is the one indeed which goes *off*, that it may bring itself away from it." In these opening lines, crucial for interpretation of setting and situation, the *ba*'s actions are all those of avoidance. It will not remain near the man; and, as interpreted above, in lines 11-13 it patently refuses to help the man put himself upon the pyre as a sacrifice to the misery of the human condition. A *ba* of this sort cannot ever drive a man toward death.

In the man's second speech, after the soul has castigated him ("You are no man at all! Are you even alive?"—lines 31-32) and after a muddy passage mentioning a prisoner, the man is seen attempting to bribe the *ba* to join him in the next world (lines 39-49). After death, the *ba* would find itself quite fortunate (*m'r*) beside the man; and the man would inveigle other *ba*s to join his own, to keep it company, and to play with it. He would do this by waving a sacred or magical fan over the *ba* (in a difficult phrase), by obtaining food and drink, and generally by making the lot of the *ba* as comfortable and enjoyable as possible. The *ba* would have a *good* time in the afterlife. But the passage concludes with a sudden change of the man's tone, to a threat. "But if you keep me back from death *in this manner*, never shall you find your rest because of it!" (lines 49-51). Clearly, the man

threatens his *ba* with persecution, or even annihilation, if it will not join him in the afterlife. Again: the man wants to die; the *ba* does not. And the man's very need to lure the *ba* presupposes that it wants to remain in this life.

There is also the *ba*'s dark description of death in lines 56-67. From the tomb dug in the rock of the hillside, one can no longer come out to see the sunny days (*pri r hrw*) of the construction of the monuments and the tombs for the dead. One is emptied (*wsw*) like the dead, lying as a corpse on the riverbank, where sun and water do their work on the body and fish nibble at (or whisper to) their unhearing ears. Indeed, the *ba*'s conclusion to this speech (a distinct precursor of the *carpe diem* attitude of the Harper's songs) is to enjoy life for all it is worth (lines 67-69): "Listen to what people say! Follow the happy day [i.e., enjoy life]! Forget sorrow!" Then come the soul's two parables which exhort the man to make the most of his lot in life and learn to obey his wife/*ba*. This entire speech by the *ba* is an indictment of death and the afterlife. It has no desire to impel the man (and thus itself) to the next world.

Finally, at the very end of the poem, in the *ba*'s last short speech, it says, "You should say, 'Love me ***here***!' Turn yourself back from the West!" (lines 150-151). Thus, from beginning to end of the poem, the *ba* persists in its desire to remain in this life and to prevent the man from carrying out his threat of suicide.

IV.

With which of the two characters does the unknown author sympathize? Surely, the man. It is his anguish which forms the central theme of the poem; and to him is given the series of lyric outbursts which constitute some forty percent of the text and which form the emotional and spiritual peak of the poem. Yet the soul has a point. The man should not commit suicide, no matter how miserable he is; he is jeopardizing his eternal life, and the *ba* is trying to prevent his extermination, no matter what its selfish motives might be. Thus, the plot of the poem, given that the man is the final locus of value, is the resolving of two apparently irreconcilable attitudes—the death-wish and the life-wish.

But the poem seems to end with no real resolution. Scholarly attitudes have differed somewhat on the ending. On the one hand, there seems to be some compromise between the two characters, a *modus vivendi*—literally, a mode of *living*, not dying. Yet, the man's final speech, with its exquisite lyrics—the sad song of the *Lebensmüde*—shows him apparently as despairing as ever and unreconciled to life. "O to be one who is over there!" How can this be a satisfying ending?

Understanding the poem as I think the author intended is a matter expressed by the literary term, *tone*. Tone, in literature, is "the writer's or speaker's attitude toward his subject, his audience, or himself. It is the emotional coloring, or the

emotional meaning, of the work and is an extremely important part of the full meaning."[12]

The poet, Robert Lowell, quoting Boris Pasternak, says, "The usual reliable translator gets the literal meaning but misses the tone, and . . . in poetry tone is of course everything."[13] Lowell then adds, in a passage to caution all translators, that even though the work of translation be honestly done, if it is done without a feel for language, the translator is a taxidermist, not a poet, and his products are likely to be stuffed birds.[14]

A colleague some years back was translating an Egyptian hymn and wanted to express accurately the speaker's observation that death would eventually come to him. The colleague finally hit upon the phrase, "peg out," as a good englishing of the original. The translation was accurate enough, literally. But "peg out" was so foreign to the spirit, or *tone*, of the poem that the phrase turned the poem into a stuffed bird.

The concept of tone is not very prominent in the study of Egyptian poetry, where emphasis upon lexical and grammatical problems obscures its importance. But I think that the *Lebensmüde* is a case where tone is not only crucial but definitive in the search for meaning. And I think it can go far toward resolving the matter of an unsatisfying ending to the poem.

What is the emotional attitude of the two characters toward each other? The poem itself, of course, expresses this in visible form and inward discussion; and its resolution traces the moderation of the extreme attitudes of man and soul toward each other as the plot progresses—the calming or assuaging of the inner turmoil. Thus we want to follow the course of the emotional tug-of-war between the two characters; and I would argue that the poem ends satisfactorily because the *ba*, the troubler of the *status quo*, is finally persuaded by the man's anguish, as expressed in the final lyrics, not only to stay with him but to make common cause against a sea of troubles.

The poem begins with the apartness of the two characters, and it ends in line 156 with the phrase *n zp*, "together." *This* is what the author wanted the reader to perceive. The estrangement is overcome, and primarily through the moderated attitude of the offending and recalcitrant *ba*.

The changed attitudes of the characters can be seen primarily through the epithets they use to describe each other. In the man's first speech, he does not address his *ba* directly at all; he uses the third person, not the "you"-form which is characteristic of much of the poem:

[12] Laurence Perrine, *Sound and Sense*, 7th ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987), 141.

[13] Robert Lowell, "On Imitations," in *Collected Prose*, ed. Robert Giroux (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1987), 232.

[14] Ibid., pp. 232-33.

This is too much for me just now!
My soul would not talk with me!
It is indeed beyond exaggeration!
As if I should delay in it!

Even in line 18 he refuses to speak directly to the partner of his debate, using, in effect, a rhetorical question: “My foolish soul is going to soothe the cares of life?”—with the implied irony that it certainly cannot. He continues with his comment on the transitory nature of human life and his appeal to the four gods, turning most emphatically from his *ba* to heaven to give him succor. To him, his *ba* not only absconds, it is “foolish” (line 18). In his first speech the man is bewildered, hurt, and estranged from his *ba*; and he asks the gods for aid. He is not angry, but rather unable to understand what has come over the *ba*.

The *ba*’s first preserved speech (only fragments of the initial speech survive) begins, “You are no man at all! Are you even alive?” (lines 31-32). It continues in a scornful tone, “How full you are of your complaints about life, / Like a man of means who speaks to the passerby!” (lines 32-33). The soul is angry, condescending, and verbally abusive.

After a confusing passage, a short hiatus, and an unmarked change of speaker, the man opens his second speech by saying:

If my soul, my foolish brother, would listen to me,
its wish would be like mine;
And it would be fortunate at my hand [i.e., beside me]
so that it would reach the West
Like one who is in his pyramid
which stands for posterity over his grave.
(lines 39-43)

The tone is conciliatory, not angry; it does not reply in kind to the barbs of the soul’s just-completed speech. “If you would just listen to me,” he seems to say, “you would realize we both want the same thing.” Then the man offers to bribe various *ba*s to be friends with his own in the next world.

When the *ba* next speaks, its tone is much modified. It is no longer angry, but rather more meditative, philosophical, and sad. It has not changed its position, as the succeeding passage on the emptiness of death attests; but the earlier shrill tone is muted:

As for your remembering burial, it is sadness of heart;
It is what brings tears by making a man miserable;
It is what digs a man into his house
which is built upon the height.
(lines 56-59)

A melancholy pervades this passage, as it does the grim description of the afterlife. The *ba* of the *Lebensmüde* may be a return to (or a continuation of) an earlier conception of life after death, with the spirit flitting about its tomb or confined within it. The *ba* certainly is not aware of a blissful afterlife such as the man believes in.[15] There is then all the more point to the ending of the poem where the *ba* agrees—after the journey of normal life is done—to join the man in *his* kind of afterworld.

The soul concludes with the two parables pointing out the necessity for the human being to be content with his lot in life—*some* life is better than no life at all!—and this is followed by the rather obscure narrative of the hungry man wanting an early dinner and disobeying his wife (who represents the *ba*), so that he is carried off by the death demons in the person of "the empty-of-heart."

The man's final speech consists of the lyric outpouring of his anguish and despair. Again, he does not address his soul directly. He has moved from bewilderment at its disappearance, through an attempt to persuade it of their common interest in the life after death, and now finally to a resigned expression of his hopelessness. I want to return to these lyrics shortly.

Interestingly, the *ba* has the final words in the poem; and we should ask why, since it has been the offending party. It says, in a phrase difficult to translate, "Hang your complaints upon a clothes-peg"—or something similar to this (line 148). The word, "clothes-peg," can be accepted as substantially correct, even though it is only an educated guess; but the important point is the *tone* in which this short sentence is expressed. Translations have misinterpreted the *ba*'s attitude in this final speech; and the situation is similar to our colleague's expression of "peg out" for "to die," distorting the emotions in the poem beyond recognition.

Let the literal meaning be "Hang your complaints upon a clothes-peg." The feel, the tone, the emotional meaning of the phrase, is a quiet, "Put your murmurings aside now." And if I am correct, one sees how far the literal translation distorts what is really going on. This meaning suggests itself because of the epithets which the *ba* uses in its final address to the man: *ny.sw pn*, "O one who belongs to me," and *sn.i*, "my brother" (lines 148-149); *dmi*, "citizen" (or better, "neighbor," "fellow townsman"—line 150, agreeing with Faulkner's reading of the hieratic). These are terms of friendliness, even intimacy (as they indeed should be at a reconciliation). And the words of the final lines also are conciliatory, as if the soul were now convinced of the depth and reality of the man's despair, persuaded that the man needs the succor and neighborhood of his soul:

[15] The *ba*'s fear may stem from having to confront a conception of personal immortality new to it which is being introduced by the man in this poem. If this is true, it may help explain the significant place of the poem in the development of Egyptian religious ideas at this time.

O you who belong to me, my brother
should you make [i.e., be] sacrifice upon the fire?
Neighbor, you should fight on behalf of life!
Just as you should say, "Love me *here*!"
Put you aside the West! Love, indeed!
so that you may [in due time] reach the West,
So that you may touch your body down to earth,
so that I may flutter down beside your weary self.
Then . . .

(lines 148-153)

And in the final line of the poem, the word *dmi* occurs again. "Then shall we create a little town—a neighborhood—together!" And with that word—"together"—the poem ends. And it is ***tone*** that makes it work.

V.

I would like to return to the man's final speech, the four lyrics. All are characterized by a formal structure, one which has led most commentators to translate them as poetry rather than prose. The form is a sort of litany—a series of assertions or descriptions punctuated by a repeated phrase, which in this poem (much like a refrain in the old ballads) comes first rather than last in each stanza. Further, the variable part of these mini-stanzas seems to be constituted of two-line units or couplets, the whole comprising a sort of triplet structure. The man first describes the devastation the defection of his own soul has caused; then he describes his despair over a world without intimacy or value; in the third place he notes that the result of such a world is a desire for the immediate release of death; and last, he longs for the next world where no one, he says, can prevent him from approaching and speaking with God. This is certainly appropriate, since no one will speak to him in this world. Such is the succession of moods in the lyrical sequence constituting the speech.

In the first lyric, "How my name stinks because of you," the man is speaking to his *ba*. The word, *rn*, "name," is, of course, a highly significant one. It is part of the ancient conception of the individual personality; and knowing someone's *rn* gives the knower power over that person, whether a god, an enemy king, or a gate-guard in the underworld. Here, the meaning of the word centers on an integral part of the man himself: if his *ba is* separable, his *rn* is his idea of himself. Thus when the man cries out against the *ba*, he is saying primarily that his good name, his reputation, is ruined. And since there are no other characters in the poem, real or implied (except for the all-knowing gods), the injury to his reputation is not in the eyes of other mortals but in his own. That is, his self-esteem, his self-respect, his self-image is ruined, stinks. He is distraught over what an essential part of himself has done to him by its truancy.

This lyric is internally structured by use of the comparative *r*, "more than," followed by a series of similes. The things with which the word *bʿḥi* (used to characterize the man's name) are compared are all bad smells; and the man thus is in bad odor with himself. The lyric ends with the comparison to the crocodile taunted by the "rebel" when the crocodile's back is turned, the rebel perhaps indicating the *ba*.

In the second lyric the man rings changes on the spectrum of woes which he has undergone, personally or by observation: "there are no righteous men," "wrongdoing beats on the earth." And, as at the beginning of the poem, there is no companion: "Who is there to talk to today?"

In the third lyric, death is seen as a release. The piece opens with an interesting sentence; for after the initial refrain ("So death is before me now") and unlike succeeding stanzas, there is no simile-marker (*mi*, "like," "as"). The next line thus expresses an apposition to the first: death is "the healthy state of a sick man." There may be a scribal error, and it has usually been taken for such; but this reading works and adds meaning to the lyric. For, all the comparisons are to things desirable. Death is before me today; and it is good! The climax occurs when death is compared with longing to see one's home after years in prison. Life is the prison, and death is home.

In the final brief lyric, the man yearns to be "over there"—fighting evil in the name of God, doling out divine gifts to the temples, but most of all becoming one "who truly knows," a *rḫ-ḫt*. And yonder, he will be able to see the God who seems so fundamentally to have deserted him in this life:

> And he shall not be prevented from approaching Re
> In order that he might speak.
>
> (lines 146-147)

The man's soul, at the beginning of the *Lebensmüde*, would not speak with him; no one out in the world will now speak with him; and it is only the great God to whom he can appeal in death. Yonder, his appeal will not be denied.

The four lyrics, having made their mark on the *ba*, are followed by the soul's much quieter, chastened, final reply, where the emotional reconciliation is effected. The world does not change for the man; but for the first time his soul is willing to face it with him—still asking (but not now demanding) that he postpone the West until he comes to it by nature. It now offers to flutter down beside his inert and weary corpse as it rests in the other world and there make common cause with the man for eternity.

IV.

There are several particularly difficult passages in the poem upon which discussion and disagreement have focussed and which have given rise to varying

interpretations of the whole. I would like to examine some of these passages in the light of the reading given above.

Two of the cruxes concern a short phrase or an individual word and can be dealt with summarily. These are the *st3s.i r* of line 13 and the *ihm/him r* of lines 18 and 49. The first poses the question of who is dragging whom toward death (as discussed above). Grammatically, it seems that either the man or the soul could be the agent, the soul dragging the man toward death, or the man dragging himself toward death. Once, however, the evidence for the positions of the two characters regarding the afterlife is made clear—the man from the beginning of the poem longing for death and the *ba* from the beginning attempting to avoid death at all costs—once this is clear, these attitudes determine which of the grammatical choices harmonizes with the plot; and the man dragging himself toward death becomes the proper reading.

The same process applies to the phrase *ihm/him r* where the opposed readings of “drive toward death” and “keep from death” have been offered. The first instance occurs in the man’s initial speech where he is ironically suggesting that his soul intends to do away with all life’s cares for him and “keep me from death until I come to it [by nature].” The second occurrence involves a threat. In the man’s second speech he has been cajoling the soul to join him in the afterlife by suggesting all the fine things the man will do for it. Then, he abruptly changes his tone. “But if you keep me from death in this manner, / Never shall you find your rest because of it!” Again, understanding the positions of the two characters in the debate is crucial in making the choice of reading; and the configuration of the poem as a whole determines the choice.

There are two other difficult passages to be considered, one of which has a solution while the second remains opaque. The first comprises the soul’s second speech and continues on into the man’s second speech. The *ba* castigates the man, belittles him, and makes reference to a prisoner, following which (after a short lacuna in line 39) the man is suddenly the speaker:

[*Ba*:] *n ntk is z*
iw.k tr ‘nḫt
ptr km.k mḥy.k ḥr ‘nḫ
mi nb ‘ḥ‘w dd sm
ir nf3 r t3
nḥmn tw ḥr tfyt
nn nwt n.k ḫnri nb ḥr dd
iw.i r itt.k
iw grt.k mwt rn.k
‘nḫ st nf3 nt ḫnt
‘fd nt ib dmi pw imnt
n qs. [. . . . . .]

[Man:] *ir sḏm n.i b3.i sn.i bt3*
twt ib.f ḥn‘.i [etc.]

You are no man at all!
Are you even alive?
See how you are full of your complaints about life
Like a man of wealth who speaks to the passerby.
If things go down to ruin,
Save yourself by [Or: surely you are] leaping up!
There are no bonds on you of some prisoner saying,
‘I shall seize you! And you, dead is your name!
Life? That is the place of fluttering down,
Desired of the heart, it is the region of the West,
? A painful river-crossing . . . . [being done?].’

If my soul, my foolish brother, would listen to me,
Its wish would be like mine.

(lines 31-40)

The preceding shows how I would divide and translate the soul’s entire speech. Two problems occur—one the presence of the “prisoner” and the other the unmarked change of speaker. The *ba* opens its answer to the man’s complaint by attacking him, questioning his manhood (or humanity) and his vitality (for the man certainly is slowed and bowed by grief, as he himself says in lines 127-128). The *ba* then disparages the man’s complaints by likening him to a man of means—someone wealthy and powerful—who can spend his life just sitting and preaching about life to anyone who passes in his neighborhood—i.e., a rich bore. Then, the *ba* notes that the man does not wear the bonds of a prisoner—he is free and does not need to make idle threats like the prisoner; nor (and this is the most difficult portion of the passage) does he need to insist that the next world is the place of true “life.” The question dividing them is, after all, where does true life occur? A prisoner, unfree, and perhaps headed for the next world willy-nilly, must claim that true life is over yonder. The *ba*, however, by the scornful tone of its speech and by demeaning the man to prisoner’s status, obviously disagrees with the man’s definition of life. And this harmonizes with the soul’s position in the clearer passages of the poem. The point, then, is that the *prisoner* speaks *all* of the words after the *ḥr ḏd* of line 35 up until the lacuna in line 39.

But there is not enough space in the lacuna to write the words indicating a change of speaker (not even *ḏdt.i n b3.i*); and the man is clearly speaking thereafter. There is indeed an unmarked change of speaker, unlike anywhere else in the poem; but the reason for the lack of introduction—surely a scribal error—is that the man was, in a way, speaking already. That is, the *ba* was putting words into the man’s mouth in the guise of the prisoner; and the scribe (or author) continued the man’s speaking without indication that he was now speaking in his own person, beginning

with line 39. The heart of this interpretation occurs in line 33 with the word *dd*. Since a change of speaker does occur, and since the introductory formulas elsewhere in the poem employ *dd*, most commentators have tried to force this *dd* to do duty as the change: *dd.i*, "I said." But it can better be read as a participle with seated-man determinative "who speaks." This also better conforms to the length of the verse lines in the poem; it completes a unit of thought introduced by the simile (*mi*) and expressing what the man is like ("a man of means preaching [who speaks] to the passerby"). If this is so, then the concept of the "prisoner" arises in the *ba*'s mind and speech, and the prisoner's harsh words are continued by *his* reference to life in the West.

The other passage is more difficult. It occurs at the very end of the man's second speech in lines 51-55 and concerns the "heritor":

w3[ḥ] ib.k b3.i sn.i
r ḫprt iw‘w drp.tyfy
‘ḥ‘.tyfy ḥr ḥ3t hrw qrs
s3y.f ḥnkyt nt ḫrt-nṯr

Be patient, my soul, my brother,
Until there comes to be an heir who shall make offering
And who shall stand at the tomb on the day of burial
That he may prepare a bier in the necropolis.

This passage is usually interpreted as the desire of the man for some sort of traditional burial, which of course conflicts with the evidence for his wish to offer himself upon a flaming altar as a sacrifice to his misery. I cannot solve this dilemma; but that the man is not expecting any sort of traditional burial is certainly implied in his comments earlier (lines 40-43), where he tries to persuade his soul to join him in the afterlife, not only because they actually have a common goal but also because the soul will be most fortunate in company with the man:

iw.f r m‘r r ‘.i
pḥ.f imnt mi nty m mr.f
‘ḥ‘ n ḥry-t3 ḥr qrs.f

And it [the *ba*] will be fortunate at my hand [i.e., side]
So that it may reach the West like one who is in his pyramid
Which stands for the "after-generation" over his burial.

The very need to use this argument with the *ba* shows that the man is not one who will be in his pyramid; he will not have a burial place in the City of the Dead. Rather, his *ba* will be just as fortunate in the afterlife with the man—lacking these things—as a man who has the traditional burial place for later generations to honor. Our man does not. The point of this discussion is that although the basic passage

remains opaque, the lines just cited and the overall meaning of the poem show that the man cannot be suggesting that he himself will later have an heir who will come to do his obsequies. Indeed, being dead, he will certainly have no bodily heirs.

The *iw‘w* might possibly not even be someone to take over the traditional ceremonies for the man himself; he may simply be some sort of "successor," not "my successor," but perhaps someone who agrees with the spiritual position of the man and thus honors him.[16] In this context it is even conceivable that the bier to be prepared in the necropolis does not belong to the speaker in the poem but to someone else, or possibly as a kind of memorial or cenotaph to him. Throughout the references to the "heritor" (lines 51-55), the man does not once use the personal pronoun, "my." Just what the words imply is baffling; but we can say they do *not* refer to the man's own burial.

* * *

There are other difficult passages in the poem, and the last discussed has certainly not been interpreted satisfactorily. But I hope the examples presented in this paper demonstrate that certain readings become much clearer, others are seen to be not possible, while still others show the range of possibilities narrowed, by giving proper attention to purely literary matters, such as the setting of the poem, its general unfolding, its tone, and the characters and views of the two speakers. Literary criticism can help reduce the often frustrating range of options in a difficult work like the *Lebensmüde*.

[16] Cf. fn. 15.

Jack Foster – A Continuing Conversation

Edmund S. Meltzer

Abstract: The author relates the history of his encounter and friendship with Jack Foster over the years and his ongoing dialogue with Jack's work on Egyptian language and literature. He offers an appreciation of Jack and the significance of his contributions, reviewing agreements, disagreements, and some of the questions that still need further investigation.

Résumé: L'auteur relate l'histoire de sa rencontre et de son amitié de longue haleine avec Jack Foster et de son dialogue incessant avec le travail de celui-ci sur la langue et la littérature égyptiennes. Il donne une appréciation de Jack et montre l'importance significative de ses contributions, en passant en revue les convergences et divergences d'opinion qu'ils partageaient, de même que les questions laissées en suspens et qui demandent à être encore approfondies.

Keywords: Jack Foster, Ancient Egyptian literature, Middle Egyptian, verse, prose, thought couplet, Sinuhe, *sḏm.f*, *sḏm.n.f*, Standard Theory

Mots-clés: Jack Foster, Littérature de l'Égypte ancienne, Moyen égyptien, vers, prose, couplet-pensée, Sinouhé, *sḏm.f*, *sḏm.n.f*, théorie standard

I remember the first time I heard Jack lecture. I was a graduate student in Toronto and he was giving a talk in the SSEA series; it was his debut with us and after that initial experience, his return was always eagerly urged and anticipated. I heard a warm, expressive and resonant voice sharing (to say simply "reading" would be too cold and impersonal) beautifully expressed translations of ancient Egyptian verse, in a rhythmical cadence without strict meter which, Jack explained, was the closest that the English language could come to reflecting the structure of the original. Introducing myself to the owner of the voice, I found him a very gentle and approachable man, thoughtful and well-modulated in his replies and very receptive to my questions, and we became close friends, enjoying our conversations during his visits to Toronto and at ARCE meetings, as well as occasional phone calls.

I never knew Jack to say an angry word, or to have anything resembling an outburst, or to react hastily or impatiently to any question, even when someone was disagreeing with him, nor have I ever seen him be polemical in print. He was courteous and measured in his expression. He was a model of the good listener and temperate speaker of few but very well-chosen and insightful words, as described in the Egyptian wisdom literature which he loved to translate and about which he published so insightfully. One could hardly find a greater antithesis to the type of the "heated man" which the Egyptian sages exhort us to avoid. He encouraged me to pursue my work and to submit it to *JARCE*, which he edited, even though I was taking issue with some of his proposals on Egyptian grammar. I have seldom known a scholar as modest as Jack and as fair-minded. When I reviewed his monograph on

Sinuhe,[1] he prevailed on me to condense the review, because he thought it inappropriate for a journal of which he was the editor to feature a long and complimentary review of one of his own works. He was very generous in sharing both his work and his counsel. He presented his very memorable translation of the Great Osiris Hymn in the Louvre at one of his SSEA lectures, and before he published it in *Echoes of Egyptian Voices*[2] he gave me permission to use it in my classes at The Claremont Graduate School, where the students responded enthusiastically to its vivid expression of ancient Egyptian religious devotion.[3]

One of the things about Jack's work that impressed me a great deal was his mastery of hieratic, enabling him, for instance, to publish ostraca in the Oriental Institute collection.[4] With every literary composition he studied, if there was a hieratic text he always worked from it. I don't think I have ever found a more instructive and congenial guide to the art of translation, including the essential step of transcribing the hieratic text, than his two-part article "On Translating Hieroglyphic Love Songs" in the *Chicago Review*.[5] In the pre-digital age, his text-based publications always included a transcription of the text in his unmistakable and very pleasing "signature" hieroglyphic handwriting. The bilingual colophon referring to "the scribe J. F." with which he ends his first anthology, *Love Songs of the New Kingdom*,[6] is indeed an accurate and well-deserved description.

One of Jack's most significant contributions is his fundamental assessment of the style of ancient Egyptian literary works. This is a field which has seen major developments and sometimes markedly conflicting proposals over about the past half-century. Miriam Lichtheim responded to Gerhard Fecht's system of versification with her proposal that Egyptian literary works utilize three styles: prose, poetry and what she calls the "orational style" or "symmetrically structured speech,"[7] a judgment which she underscores by including Sinuhe in the category of "Prose Tales" in the first volume of her anthology of Egyptian literature. Jack

[1] E. S. Meltzer, rev. John L. Foster, *Thought Couplets in The Tale of Sinuhe* = MÄU 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993), *JARCE* 32 (1995), 271-273.

[2] John L. Foster, *Echoes of Egyptian Voices* (Norman-London: U. of Oklahoma, 1992), 40-46.

[3] In this context I would also note Jack's extremely felicitous and respectful discussion of ancient Egyptian theological concepts in the introduction to his anthology *Hymns, Prayers, and Songs: An Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Lyric Poetry* = Writings from the Ancient World 8 (Atlanta: Scholars Press/SBL, 1995), 3-8. And I was moved when I heard Jack tell his Toronto audience that when dealing with Egyptian religious poems we must take off our shoes, because we are on holy ground.

[4] *E.g.* John L. Foster, "Hymn to the Inundation: Four Hieratic Ostraca," *JNES* 33 (1973), 301-310.

[5] John L. Foster, "On Translating Hieroglyphic Love Songs," I. *Chicago Review* 23/2 (1971), 70-94; II. 23/3 (1972), 95-113.

[6] John L. Foster, *Love Songs of the New Kingdom* (New York: Scribners, 1974), 121.

[7] Miriam Lichtheim, "Have the Principles of Ancient Egyptian Metrics Been Discovered?" *JARCE* 9 (1971-72), 103-110; *idem*, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. I, *The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley-LA-London: U. of California, 1973), 11-12.

entered this fray with a carefully worked out and meticulously presented analysis according to which "verse," not "poetry," is the more meaningful category ("poetry" being regarded as a subset of "verse," as is Lichtheim's "orational style"), and concluded "that ancient Egyptian literature is . . . almost entirely a verse literature".[8] Devoting a great deal of thought to these problems, and pondering such literary works as Shakespeare's plays, in which the text as a whole is in blank verse (not prose) but includes segments in different meters such as the songs and Puck's valedictory at the end of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, I decided that Jack's exposition convinced me. Regardless of one's opinions on issues of grammar and style, Jack's work has decisively changed the study and, I think, the perception of ancient Egyptian literature.

Before focusing on Jack's and my conversation on language issues, which is still ongoing as I continue to reflect on and interact with his work, I want to draw attention to another extremely significant landmark that he has achieved for the literature which he has studied with such devotion. Thanks to his articulate and accessible writing, and his position as an academic in the field of English and American literature, he has substantially helped ancient Egyptian literature to enter "the Canon" and to be included in standard and influential collections such as the *Norton Anthologies* and secondary school literature curricula, represented by his own as well as other translations. His discussions, such as the Preface to *Echoes of Egyptian Voices* and Chapter V of his monograph on Sinuhe,[9] have done a great deal to valorize ancient Egyptian literature. This contribution is enhanced by the literary insight he provides in, for instance, his discussion of the Peasant's Eighth Complaint in the Schulman *Festschrift*,[10] his capturing of the mindset of Ipuwer in the Millet volumes,[11] and the masterful exposition on ancient Egyptian literature and how to study it that he wrote with his daughter Ann in *Egyptology Today*.[12]

During the early years of his first Toronto lectures, Jack was working toward an approach to Egyptian grammar growing out of his studies of verse texts. After one of his presentations, I remember him remarking on the diversity of approaches to the *sḏm.f* and grammatical issues, saying that there's Gardiner and Polotsky. . . . As a brash young student I replied, perhaps exercising insufficient prescience, well, now there's mainly Polotsky. The first major synthesis of Jack's grammatical approach was presented in an ARCE paper which grew into a monograph published,

[8] Foster, *Echoes of Egyptian Voices*, p. xvii.

[9] John L. Foster, *Thought Couplets in The Tale of Sinuhe*, pp. 112-128.

[10] John L. Foster, "Wordplay in *The Eloquent Peasant*: The Eighth Complaint," *BES* 10 (1989-90) = Fs. Schulman: 61-76. I also recommend this paper to my Egyptian Mythology students at Pacifica as an important discussion of Maat.

[11] John L. Foster, "The Desolation of Ipuwer," *JSSEA* 33 (2006) = Fs. Nicholas B. Millet vol. 2, 79-84.

[12] John L. Foster and Ann L. Foster, "Ancient Egyptian Literature," in Richard H. Wilkinson, ed., *Egyptology Today* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), 206-229.

I'm proud to say, by this Society, *Thought Couplets and Clause Sequences in a Literary Text: The Maxims of Ptah-Hotep* (SSEA Publications Vol. V).[13]

In describing some of the highlights of my continuing conversation with Jack centering on language questions, I'll pursue it in the present tense. One of the issues on which Jack and I have predominantly differing perspectives is the choice of grammatical models for Middle Egyptian. I was and have remained an adherent of the Standard Theory while he developed a different model based on the position of a given form or construction in a Thought Couplet.[14] Despite this difference of theoretical orientation, I have learned from Jack's approach and I think I have become more receptive to diverse ideas through our appreciative interaction with one another's work.

I am especially impressed by the fact that the thought couplet analysis leads to results that could not be predicted by the Standard Theory, such as the different patterning of *sḏm.f*/*sḏm.n.f* with suffix-pronoun and *sḏm*/*sḏm.n* + Noun.[15] And from the point of view of structure analysis, I find it impressive that in Sinuhe, the flying falcon imagery applied to Senwosret I and Amenemhet I respectively provides independent grounds for demarcating a literary unit which Jack defines with other criteria.[16]

I also find interesting avenues of thought opened up by Jack's suggestion that position could be a criterion for gemination in the *sḏm.f*,[17] a hypothesis (so labeled by Jack) that I find especially intriguing on account of the use of a non-geminating form in the *n . . . . is* emphatic negation. The explanation (for those who follow the Standard Theory) that the use of a non-geminating form in the negation *n sḏm.f is* is a carryover from the simple *n sḏm.f* negation, treating the *n sḏm.f* as a graphically fixed unit even in the *n. . . . is* construction,[18] is possible but still does not seem quite airtight and leaves room for further discussion. Since for me gemination in the

[13] John L. Foster, *Thought Couplets and Clause Sequences in a Literary Text: The Maxims of Ptah-Hotep* = SSEA Publications V (Toronto: SSEA 1977).

[14] See *inter alia* John L. Foster, "The *sḏm.f* and *sḏm.n.f* Forms in *The Tale of Sinuhe*," *RdE* 34 (1982-1983), 27-52.

[15] John L. Foster, *Thought Couplets in The Tale of Sinuhe*, pp. 80-86, 105-106; also *idem*, "Thought Couplets and the Standard Theory," in *Crossroads III, Yale University April 4-9, 1994, Preprints* (William K. and Marilyn M. Simpson Endowment for Egyptology, Yale University/Metropolitan Museum of Art), published as "Thought Couplets and the Standard Theory: A Brief Overview," *LingAeg* 4 (1994, appeared 1996), 139-163.

[16] E. S. Meltzer, rev. Foster 1993, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 271-273; John L. Foster, *Thought Couplets in The Tale of Sinuhe*, p. 98.

[17] John L. Foster, *Thought Couplets in The Tale of Sinuhe*, p. 81.

[18] M. Gilula, "On the Construction of the negative Patterns in the [*sic*] Middle Egyptian," in *L'égyptologie en 1979. Axes prioritaires de recherches (Acts 2nd ICE)* = Colloques internationaux du CNRS No. 595, vol. 1 (Paris: CNRS, 1982), 33. It can also be hazarded that the *n. . . is* negation sufficiently marks the sentence as an emphatic sentence and the *sḏm.f* as a nominal form, and that using the geminating *sḏm.f* could be regarded as pleonastic marking, but this too seems very hypothetical.

participles and relative forms is a gray area and not satisfactorily accounted for by aspect (as discussed in my paper in Crossroads 2 = *Lingua Aegyptia* 1),[19] Foster's comments about the possible motivation for gemination show the potential for another approach to this problem, as I remark at the end of that paper.

Sometimes Jack and I come up with different formulations embodying the same or overlapping observations, or coming at the same problem from different directions, and our conclusions or our understanding of the implications of an observation might differ. One case in point is the use of indicative constructions in Sinuhe.[20] My focus on indicatives used with verbs of motion[21] prevented me from appreciating the larger point that the *ỉw*/*ꜥḥꜥ.n sḏm.n.f* constructions are hardly ever employed with other verbs in Sinuhe as well.[22] Thus the problem is more complicated than it appears at first glance, and it can't adequately be characterized simply in terms of the absence of *ỉw*/*ꜥḥꜥ.n sḏm.n.f* in verbs of motion according to the Standard Theory; it must also involve stylistic choices on the part of the ancient author.

Although it isn't a completely clear-cut issue for me, I'm inclined to disagree with Jack about the classification of the typical (auto)biography as prose or at least to think that there's a need for further discussion.[23] This sense is reinforced by the extremely literary nature of the fragmentary autobiography of Khnumhotpe at Dahshur published by James Allen,[24] although I haven't attempted a verse analysis of the surviving *disjecta membra* of that text. The Khnumhotpe text seems so pointedly literary that one admittedly hesitates to take it as normative, and the same might be said about the letter from King Izezi to Rashepses inscribed in the latter's tomb,[25] which reads as if it could very plausibly be analyzed as verse. On the other hand, a seemingly representative autobiographical text that to me at least seems very

[19] E. S. Meltzer, "Participles, Relative Forms and Gemination in Middle Egyptian: A Working Paper," *LingAeg* 1 (1991) = Crossroads 2: 227-240.

[20] E. S. Meltzer, "*sḏm.f*, *sḏm.n.f* and Verbs of Motion in *Sinuhe*: Some Reflections," *JARCE* 28 (1991), 134-135; John L. Foster, *Thought Couplets in The Tale of Sinuhe*, pp. 93-94, 106-107. L. Depuydt, a strong advocate of the Standard Theory, accepts Foster's major observations about the narrative forms in Sinuhe: *Conjunction, Contiguity, Contingency: On Relationships Between Events in the Egyptian and Coptic Verbal Systems* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 178-179.

[21] E. S. Meltzer, "*sḏm.f*, *sḏm.n.f* and Verbs of Motion," pp. 134-135.

[22] John L. Foster, *Thought Couplets in The Tale of Sinuhe*, pp. 93-94, 106-107; cf. E. S. Meltzer, review of preceding (n. 1 above), 272.

[23] John L. Foster, "*Sinuhe*: The Ancient Egyptian Genre of Narrative Verse," *JNES* 39 (1980), 109-115.

[24] J. P. Allen, "The Historical Inscription of Khnumhotep at Dahshur: Preliminary Report," *BASOR* 352 (2008), 29-39. Cf. also my paper "Beyond Mari: Egypt and the Early Semitic World," presented at the Annual Meeting of ASOR in San Diego, November 2014.

[25] *Urk.* I, pp. 179-180; N. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, ed. R. J. Leprohon = Writings from the Ancient World 16 (Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 181; E. F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, ed. E. S. Meltzer = Writings from the Ancient World 1 (Atlanta: Scholars Press/SBL, 1990), 18.

amenable to verse analysis in its entirety is the 11th Dynasty stela of Tjetji in the British Museum.[26] Lichtheim translates the bulk of this text as prose and the final section starting with line 17 in her "symmetrically structured" format, commenting that "Tjetji's stylized and rhythmic prose here changes into the symmetrically formed sentences of the orational style."[27] Reading the entire text, I have to question the criteria for her differentiation of "stylized and rhythmic prose," "orational style," and verse (the last of which is absent from her description of this composition). I can't help registering my sense that her labels have an element of arbitrariness or of impressionistic rather than rigorously controlled identifications. One translator and commentator who opens the door to a more extensive use of verse in (auto)biographies, at least in the Old Kingdom, is Nigel Strudwick, who devotes a section of the introduction to his anthology to the question "Are the Texts in Verse or Prose?"[28] Strudwick writes,

> Although the last word is far from being written on textual metrics, it cannot be denied that when reading and translating the tomb texts for this volume, the formal and ritual contexts of the tomb texts seem eminently suitable for translation into a verse-like structure that could be recited if needed.[29]

Likewise, in keeping with Ron Leprohon's study of private epithets,[30] I can't see eye to eye with Jack's understanding that the series of titles and epithets don't scan.[31] The texts that I think one can be most secure in identifying as prose are the technical texts: medical, mathematical, dream books etc. In that regard, Jack's statement that the validity of the Thought Couplet model is only conclusively demonstrated for verse texts could be compatible with the apparent explanatory power of the Standard Theory in analyzing at least the great majority of passages in the Edwin Smith Papyrus, as discussed in my introduction and commentaries in Sanchez and Meltzer, *The Edwin Smith Papyrus*.[32] Since the publication of that work, I have reflected that perhaps I might have made the point that since the Edwin

[26] J. J. Clère and J. Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermediaire et de la XIème Dynastie,* 1er Fascicule = Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca X (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1948), 15-17; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. I, pp. 90-93.

[27] M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. I, p. 93 with n. 5.

[28] N. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, pp. 19-20. Strudwick focuses most on Fecht's system of versification, though he does cite Jack's Thought Couplet analysis. One wishes that he had explored Jack's model in more detail, or that he still might do so.

[29] N. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, p. 20.

[30] R. J. Leprohon, "Remarks on Private Epithets Found in the Middle Kingdom Wadi Hammamat Graffiti," *JSSEA* 28 (2001) = Schulman Volume: 124-146.

[31] John L. Foster, "*Sinuhe*: The Ancient Egyptian Genre of Narrative Verse," p. 110.

[32] G. M. Sanchez MD & E. S. Meltzer, *The Edwin Smith Papyrus: Updated Translation of the Trauma Treatise and Modern Medical Commentaries* (Atlanta: Lockwood, 2012), 9-10.

Smith Papyrus is (with great likelihood) a prose text *par excellence*, the Standard Theory analysis of that text (which I think one can say fits it like a glove) does not militate against the Thought Couplet approach to Sinuhe and other literary texts which were the primary focus of Jack's research and appreciation. (In that regard, the absence of the typically emphatic negations *n sḏm.f*/*sḏm.n.f is* from Sinuhe is undeniably suggestive.)[33] In pursuing this distinction, which I think is a very fruitful one, I am actually following Jack's lead, because one of his criticisms of the Standard Theory as generally practiced is that it doesn't make provision for a literary and a non-literary Middle Egyptian idiom the way Groll does for Late Egyptian.[34]

In his seminal work on the hymns to Isis at Philae, Žabkar uses and builds on Jack's work on the form of Egyptian verse.[35] In reviewing Žabkar's volume, I expressed agreement with him in accepting greater flexibility in the use of triplets and quatrains, and I also registered my perception that Janus parallelism is employed in Egyptian verse composition.[36] These are subjects that merit continued exploration.

Motivated by the stimulus of Jack's work, when I was teaching in China I began to write notes for the verse analysis of the Poetic Stela and Gebel Barkal Stela of Thutmose III, projects which I intend to pursue. The conversation continues and Jack Foster's contribution, and inspiration, endure.

APPENDIX

Going through my file boxes (yes, paper files mainly written in longhand!) from my years in China, from which I have retrieved my notes just mentioned above, I have come across the rough draft of a letter that I wrote to Jack, dated "IHAC, January 31, 1992." I would like to add it to my article, in appreciation of the dialogue between us, to share something of the flavor of that conversation:

[33] E. S. Meltzer, "*sḏm.f*, *sḏm.n.f* and Verbs of Motion," pp. 135-136.

[34] John L. Foster, "Thought Couplets and the Standard Theory."

[35] L. V. Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae* (Hanover-London: Brandeis U. Press/U. Press of New England, 1988), 21.

[36] E. S. Meltzer, rev. L. V. Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae*, *JAOS* 115 (1995), 726; for Janus parallelism, see also C. H. Gordon, "New Directions," *BASP* 15 (1978) = Fs. Naphtali Lewis: 59-66 at 59-60.

"Dear Jack,

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

"Since receiving your letter mentioning Greig's article, I've received the *Lichtheim Festschrift* containing his article. I don't think he's entirely fair to your work (I think – or hope – that I succeeded in being more fair). Next semester I'm reading Sinuhe again with my students who haven't already done so. I also have been interested to see in the same *Festschrift* David Lorton's attempt to apply your method to Thutmose II's Nubian rebellion – a text which I read with one class this past semester (and have often assigned to students – I've found it quite interesting ever since I did my first paper for an Egyptian course about it, for Friedrich Junge in Chicago as a first-year student); I'm interested to see Lorton's promised sequel on the verbal system.[37] Yet another text I read with a class during the past term is the Sehetepibre Stela/Loyalist Instruction, and I would like to urge or encourage you to do a verse-structure analysis of that text. I haven't succeeded in arriving at a fully satisfactory (to me) verse or couplet structure for the entire "instruction" section of the stela, but as I read it over and over I see (or think I see) couplets expanded to triplets or interlocking couplet-triplet sequences ("Janus-parallelism"). What do you think?"

[37] For David Lorton's earlier attempt to analyze a text according to Jack's model, see Lorton, "The 'Triumphal Poem' of the Creator in Papyrus Bremner-Rhind," *SSEA Newsletter* 7 #4 (Aug. 1977), 17-23; this text is of special interest as a composition in very late Classical Egyptian or "Egyptian of Tradition," like the Isis hymns translated and discussed by Žabkar. For Lorton's very appreciative review of Jack's monograph on Ptahhotpe, see the same issue, pp. 23-24.

Concerning Bata and The Doomed Prince: Their "Afterlives" in the Classical Literature*

Sally L.D. Katary†

Abstract: Egyptian history has come down to us in many ways, one of which is through the oral tradition of storytelling. The Late Egyptian stories *The Doomed Prince* and *The Story of the Two Brothers* are two fabulous tales that may contain snippets of historical information transformed by their presence in the evolving folkloric tradition. Historians of the Greco-Roman period were exposed to many sources of history, including material also found in these wonderful tales. From such stories they derived bits and pieces of ancient Egyptian history that they incorporated into their own histories. Here we will investigate some alleged historical points of convergence.

Résumé: L'histoire de l'Égypte ancienne nous est parvenue de plusieurs façons, notamment à travers la tradition orale du conte. *Le conte du prince prédestiné* et *Le conte des deux frères* sont deux histoires fabuleuses qui contiennent des bribes d'informations historiques transformées au cours de leur transmission au sein de la tradition folklorique. Les historiens de l'époque gréco-romaine étaient exposés à plusieurs sources historiques, incluant le matériel que l'on rencontre dans ces récits fabuleux. De ces récits, ils ont retenu des fragments de l'histoire de l'Égypte ancienne qu'ils ont à leur tour incorporés dans leurs propres histoires. Nous étudierons ici certains de ces prétendus points de convergence historique.

Keywords: Doomed Prince, Two Brothers, Bata, Late Egyptian Literature, Manetho, Diodorus Siculus, Menas, Fate, Folklore, Moral Examples

Mots-clés: Conte du prince prédestiné, Conte des deux frères, Bata, Littérature néo-égyptienne, Manéthon, Diodore de Sicile, Ménas, Croyance, Folklore, Exemples de moral

I would like to begin this article with a dedication to John L. "Jack" Foster whom I knew for many years in association with the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities in Toronto, Ontario. Although a founder of the Society, I lived too far away to make Board meetings an easy commute and even yearly Symposia could be difficult juggling lecturing and family responsibilities. Thus I did not get to know Jack until the 1990s when I once again took an active role in the Society. I remember him as the voice of reason and good sense in an arena that could become all too feisty and argumentative. Always purposeful in his comments, he never spoke just to be heard. I also shared with him the frustration of teaching in a field outside Egyptology, juggling a different "bread and butter" discipline with work in Egyptology and lacking the support of colleagues at hand because there were not any to be found. For this reason I have chosen a topic from Classical Studies, the discipline in which I have spent thirty years teaching. I have chosen as my point of departure the work of a Greek historian whose world history I assessed in my course on Greek and Roman historians. Here I have decided to concentrate on a small but useful contribution of Diodorus Siculus to our knowledge of Egyptian history and literature, acknowledging a link between Jack's interests and not only my own teaching, but also my love of Egyptian literature. Although Jack Foster is primarily

associated with Old and Middle Egyptian literature, I think he would appreciate this small contribution to the study of two Late Egyptian fairytales, *The Story of the Doomed Prince* and *The Story of the Two Brothers*.

After the Amarna Period, scribal schools appear to have undergone a profound change, endeavouring to return to older traditions that had been disrupted during the religious revolution. Akhenaten's dislocation of the administration and scribal establishment, and his promotion of a generation of "new men," some of foreign origin, to elite positions, had disrupted the continuity and tradition of the scribal apparatus and education. Among other factors discouraging the continuation of traditional scribal education, it can be noted that the Middle Egyptian literary classics that are replete with traditional divinities and religious expressions would have been out of place in the curriculum of scribal schools at Amarna. The tumult that ensued had naturally affected business as usual in the houses of writing and the written language bears the marks.[1] It has often been maintained that Akhenaten promulgated a form of language with many vernacular features as a deliberate policy initiative, a view repeated but strongly qualified by Junge;[2] these innovations have been understood as an expression of Akhenaten's devotion to Maat or "truth."[3] Even before this troubling period, the vernacular had already made inroads into historical texts as is evidenced in the Annals of Thutmose III.[4] Ultimately, restoration of the traditional language of the scribal schools was not to be.

This provided opportunity for colloquial Late Egyptian to penetrate further and further so that a kind of literary Late Egyptian flourished, risen to new standards of the scholarly elite.[5] Although the purely Late Egyptian story did not come onto the scene until *The Story of Wenamun* at the end of the Ramesside Period, earlier stories were characterized by a kind of literary Late Egyptian that was acceptable to the scribal establishment in its grudging acknowledgement that it could no longer enforce stiff and outdated Middle Egyptian. Ramesside texts with varying degrees of Late Egyptian forms include some monumental texts with literary aspirations,[6] but also the Late Egyptian stories, with characters that are in fact ordinary people or stand-ins for people of much more elevated rank.[7] In their speech they used the

* I would like to thank my friend and colleague Prof. Edmund S. Meltzer for ideas and references that have greatly strengthened this article.

[1] Hans Goedicke, "Late Egyptian Literature." Lecture Presented in the Colloquium of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Nov. 1986, Toronto, Ontario, p. 4 of personal copy.

[2] F. Junge, trans. D. Warburton, *Late Egyptian Grammar: An Introduction*, 2nd English ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2005), sec. 0.2.2.

[3] E.g. F. Behnk, *Grammatik der Texte aus El Amarna* (Paris: Geuthner, 1930), 1.

[4] B. Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit* (Ph.D. Diss. Tübingen, 1970), 62.

[5] Goedicke, "Late Egyptian Literature," 4.

[6] Goedicke, "Late Egyptian Literature," 5.

[7] For the typology of the "Late Egyptian stories" in terms of the extent of Middle Egyptian vs. Late Egyptian features, see F. Junge (trans. D. Warburton), *Late Egyptian Grammar: An Introduction*

spoken idiom or vernacular that reflects the Sitz im Leben of the New Kingdom against a backdrop of literary writing, revealing many features of the vernacular already in popular use for hundreds of years.

These Late Egyptian stories deal with major issues in life subsumed in a folk or fairytale like ambience that reduces them ostensibly to simple, largely imaginary, if sometimes monotonous, tales that could be told to youngsters and so pass on values and core beliefs. One of these stories sure to spark the attention of audiences, young and old alike, was *The Story of the Doomed Prince*, or perhaps better said, *The Story of the Prince Threatened by Three Fates* that is found on the verso of P. Harris 500, a manuscript dating to the early 19th Dynasty, although the origin of the story itself has been placed in both the late 18th Dynasty and the early 19th.[8] The popularity of this story written in "rhythmical prose"[9] was assured by the clever use of symbol and metaphor, a heart-pounding plot, and a small cast of characters, good and evil, that appeals to all readers. This story about a royal prince doomed at birth eventually to become the victim of one of three possible fates: a dog, a snake, or a crocodile, is unhappily for us without an ending, the papyrus terminating abruptly as the result of damage at the point in the tale where the prince is caught between the dog, his first fate, and the crocodile, his third fate. This third fate requests the prince's assistance in overcoming his own enemy, quite a surprising development in light of the terror aroused by the grim prophecy of the Seven Hathors and the agents of its realization. The narrative could not end at a more frustrating point. Not only is the ultimate fate of the prince left completely in the dark, his royal identity has also not been revealed or even hinted at in the presumed setting of Naharin (Mitanni).[10] He is merely a young Egyptian in a foreign land without followers, resources, or other assistance.

(Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2005), 23. In a recent study, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories: Linguistic, Literary and Historical Perspectives*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 32 (Leiden: Brill 2013), Camilla Di Biase-Dyson has explored the analysis of stylistic criteria for distinguishing the language use of Egyptians and foreigners in the tales; see also Jacqueline E. Jay's review in *CdE* 90 (2015): 74-80.

[8] E.F. Wente in W.K.S. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. 3rd ed. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), 75; H.W. Helck, "Die Erzählung vom Verwunschenen Prinzen" in Jürgen Osing and Günter Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht,* ÄUAT 12 (1987), 218-225; E. Brunner-Traut in *LÄ* IV, 1108; Péter Hubai, "Eine Literarische Quelle der Ägyptischen Religionsphilosophie? Das Märchen vom Prinzen, der drei Gefahren zu überstehen hatte," in Ulrich Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies Presented to László Kákosy*, Studia Aegyptiaca 14 (Budapest, 1992), 298. Hubai cites G. Möller's date of the reign of Ramesses II on palaeographical grounds; the origin of the narrative in the 19th Dynasty has been argued by Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians*, pp. 177-79.

[9] Hubai, "Eine Literarische Quelle," 299.

[10] Hubai, "Eine Literarische Quelle," 284-286.

We are lacking the ending of the P. Harris 500 story as a direct result of an explosion in Alexandria in 1860 that destroyed a powder factory near the site where the papyrus was being stored.[11] This loss raises many questions that we must endeavour to answer. That we are dealing with a folk or fairytale is clear from the very beginning of the story when a miracle child is born to a previously childless king by the grace of the gods. The Seven Hathors, who also play a role in *The Story of the Two Brothers* 9, 8-9, pay a visit to his cradle (as in the European *The Story of the Sleeping Beauty*) and decree for him an end at the hands of one of three possible animals. As Eyre makes clear, these animals are not generic: they are specific and therefore unique, specially created to pursue and eliminate the royal prince.[12] The building of the great Tower (*bḫn*) where the prince like Rapunzel must spend his life to ensure his safety is one more familiar motif. In parallel, the prince of Naharin's cherished royal daughter, an only child, has her own specially secured high dwelling featuring a window 70 cubits above the ground. The high tower is designed to keep unworthy young suitors from seeking her hand and gives rise to a contest for suitors to leap into the air to catch her eye and be approved by her. This Bata successfully does although he frustrates the princess's father by failing to reveal his true royal parentage. The prince and the princess are in fact mirror images of each other, existing on a parallel plane in a fairytale setting, bound together by mutual love and gratitude.[13] She will prove a worthy wife.

More recent Egyptologists have generally agreed that in keeping with flexible Egyptian ideas about fate that rejected rigid determinism, the ending should indeed have been a happy one in which the virtuous prince overcomes adversity and his fates fail to destroy him.[14] That would also be in accord with the fairytale character of the story where we can expect worthy protagonists to achieve their goal because divine powers perceive and reward their good character.[15] Earlier on, Posener pointed out that there are, on the other hand, supporters of an unhappy outcome to the story.[16] Posener maintained that scholars previous to Spiegelberg's article of

[11] Hubai, "Eine Literarische Quelle," 277 with n. 1.

[12] C.J. Eyre, "Fate, Crocodiles and the Judgement of the Dead: Some Mythological Allusion in Egyptian Literature," *SÄK* 4 (1976): 103-114.

[13] Hubai, "Eine Literarische Quelle," 298. Differences between the language use of the Egyptian prince and Mittanian princess are due to their respective Egyptian and foreign identities, as developed by Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians*.

[14] Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, vol. II, *The New Kingdom* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1976), 200; Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt.* Translation by E.F. Wente, 75.

[15] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature,* vol. II, 200; H.W. Helck, "Die Erzählung von Verwunschenen Prinzen," 218-225; Georges Posener, "On the Tale of the Doomed Prince," *JEA* 39 (1953): 107. Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians*, pp. 188-89, proposes a kind of middle ground in which the Prince "succumbs, at least initially, to his fate" but is rescued by his wife, who had already rescued him from the snake.

[16] Posener, *JEA* 39: 107; Gustave Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique* (Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1949, rpt 1976), 114-118.

1929 misunderstood the end of the manuscript and so could not hope to get it right.[17] With the help of a meticulous textual examination, Spiegelberg corrects some grammatical and lexical errors of earlier translations. In his reconstruction, the only remaining fate the prince faces is the dog. Spiegelberg maintains that the prince undoubtedly succumbs to his fate, because "Die Schicksalsmächte im Orient gehen unerbittlich ihren Weg, und kennen keine Ausnahme . . . ." In spite of the acuity of Spiegelberg's philological observations, his sweeping and rather stereotypical characterization of "Oriental" concepts of fate does not accord with modern Egyptologists' understanding of the ancient Egyptian way of thinking.[18]

If scholars today tend to be optimistic about the outcome of the prince's tale, how did ancient writers respond to this story, which at that time would not have been incomplete? Was it even in their purview? Is anything written that might elucidate our problem?

One ancient author's response might be found in a curious context. Diodorus Siculus, that is, Diodorus of Sicily, born in Agyrium, who lived in the first century BCE, was an historian of Greek ancestry living in the Roman world who authored a monumental history of the world (*Bibliotheke historica*). Much of this work still survives: out of a total of forty books, fifteen are extant, the rest surviving in fragmentary condition. Using a geographic framework, the first six books cover the Bronze Age Trojan War (Hellenic and non-Hellenic peoples), going on to describe the people he encountered around the world from Egypt (Book I), Mesopotamia, Arabia, Scythia, and India (Book II), North Africa (Book III), as well as Greece and Europe (Books IV-VI). Diodorus was deeply interested in the myths and legends as well as the history of foreign peoples, including the Egyptians. He took the myths and legends he encountered and tried to fashion them into factual history, thus conflating mythical truth with the actual fact of the historical information to which he obviously had some access.

Relatively little attention is given to Diodorus in books dealing with Egyptian historiography. Redford[19] mentions him in connection with some major misconceptions of life and politics in the Old Kingdom since Diodorus saw the 52 immediate successors of Menes as rois fainéants, "do nothing" kings to be dismissed because kings of the First through Sixth dynasties did not erect stelae to memorialize their military achievements, the erection of their monuments, or other great or beneficent deeds. Therefore, in his mind, without such stelae, they could be dismissed as not having achieved anything. To be fair, Herodotus was under a

[17] Posener, *JEA* 39, in reference to W. Spiegelberg, "Die Schlusszeilen der Erzählung vom verwunschenen Prinzen," *ZÄS* 64 (1929): 86-87.

[18] Frank T. Miosi, "God, Fate and Free Will in Egyptian Wisdom Literature," in G. E. Kadish and G. E. Freeman, ed., *Studies in Philology in Honour of Ronald James Williams: A Festschrift* (Toronto: SSEA, 1982), 69-111.

[19] Donald B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, SSEA Publication IV (Mississauga: Benben Publications, 1986), 127-128.

similar misconception. What we call "historical stelae" would not make an appearance until the Eleventh Dynasty, arising out of the private biographical tradition of Old Kingdom royal officials, beginning with the tablet stelae set up in the great open court of the tomb of Antef Wah-ankh.[20] Obviously the great quantity of historical material recorded on papyrus was either not recognized by these great Greek scholars or never seen by them. The carved monuments of the Old Kingdom served only practical purposes and thus could not be described by them as grandly historical though they were clearly culturally important. Diodorus did have a concept of "sacred record," which he called the source for toponyms of the land, but he was likely referring to the nome lists carved in hieroglyphs on temple walls rather than recorded in any administrative papyri.[21]

The Harmais story that stands at the end of Manetho's 18th Dynasty with the story of Amenophis (III) and Osarsiph is present in Diodorus in his account of the Sesoösis narrative (1:57).[22] Both traditions reflect an Upper Egyptian origin and probably are to be described as belonging to the *sḏd* or oral tradition of the Egyptian people.[23] Thus Diodorus clearly absorbed folk memories, however inaccurate they were, into his historical account. The inaccuracy of this folk tradition is exemplified by Diodorus's mistaken account of the Fourth Dynasty so that, as in Herodotus's account, it fills the empty slot resulting from the omission of the Twenty-first through Twenty-third Dynasties.[24]

Relying on the memory of the people is risky at best. That Diodorus should be a reliable source in reconstructing the lost content of an incomplete literary manuscript is therefore an unwise bet but one that may have value in the end. Posener in a Brief Communication in *JEA* 39 (1953)[25] cites Diodorus's comments (1:89) about the adventure of an early pharaoh and perhaps provides us with a possible solution to the missing conclusion of *The Story of the Doomed Prince*. Diodorus tells the curious story of an early king named Menas who was said to have been pursued by his own dogs, finally arriving at the Lake of Moeris, where he was saved by a crocodile who transported him safely on his back to the other side of the lake. The king showed his deep appreciation by founding a city near to the lake in honour of the crocodile. He called this settlement The City of the Crocodiles

[20] Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists*, 128, n. 5 with literature.

[21] Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists*, 224, n. 79.

[22] Kim Ryholt, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, The Carlsberg Papyri 10 = CNI Publications 35 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2012), 185; also Ryholt, "A Sesostris Story in Demotic Egyptian and Demotic Literary Exercises (O. Leipzig UB 2217), in Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz and Daniel von Recklinghausen, *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, OLA 194 (Leuven/Walpole MA: Peeters, 2010), 429-437.

[23] Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists*, 257 with n. 1.

[24] Redford, *Pharaonic King Lists,* 304, n. 57, citing A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II: Introduction* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 187ff.; Porter Moss III, 2nd ed., 17ff.

[25] Posener, "On the Tale of the Doomed Prince," *JEA* 39 (1953): 107.

(Crocodilopolis). In thanksgiving for his safe delivery, he ordered the people of the region to worship the crocodile as a god and dedicated the lake to this god as well (1:89). Diodorus identifies the subject of this tidbit of history as Menas, presumably referring to no less a royal than Menes, whom most Egyptologists identify with Narmer, the founder of the First Dynasty, a line of rulers Diodorus judged of little or no achievements. It is to be mentioned that Pinch has also noted the similarity of the episode recounted by Diodorus to the story of the Prince, without however going into detail.[26] Judging by Diodorus's anecdote, however, one of the early royals was apparently remembered as having remarkable moral fibre and piety. Manetho also attached a crocodile motif to the Ninth Dynasty ruler Akhtoy but it is an altogether negative story in which a crocodile devours the evil king who has gone mad.[27] There are moreover other stories in which dogs attack their masters as in the Odyssey,[28] well known to Diodorus, as well as the Epic of Gilgamesh.[29] Moreover, crocodiles save the protagonist from a pursuing dog in the well-known story of Osiris. There is an episode located in the Fayyum, where the crocodile carries the inert body of Osiris on his back.[30] Considering the frequent identification of Seth with canines, this connection cannot be taken lightly.[31] Diodorus probably was familiar with all of these tales and might easily have confused their elements as he wove his garbled history of the Old Kingdom. That this bit of pseudohistory might connect up to an early Ramesside fairytale is just possible.

Let us look at the events at the end of the fairytale more closely to perceive the analogies. The young prince's first fate, the dog, was given to him as a cherished pet and served him well after he left the tower. When he met and married the princess, she saved him from his second fate, the snake, by tricking it into drinking beer and wine to excess so that she could slay it while her husband slept. Later on, the prince's own dog announces to him that he is his second fate, causing him to run from the dog into the water right into the waiting jaws of the crocodile, his third fate. The fate in the form of a crocodile, however, does not devour the prince but saves him from the dog and carries him to the place where ironically the *nḫt* stands. Some scholars think the crocodile is carrying off the prince as part of a plan to confront

[26] G. Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology: A Guide to the Gods, Goddesses, and Traditions of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 126-127.

[27] Waddell, *Manetho*, 60ff.

[28] Homer, *Odyssey*, 21, 362-365.

[29] *Epic of Gilgamesh*, 6, 66ff. See Cyrus H. Gordon, Review of James B. Pritchard, ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), *AJA* 56 (1952): 93.

[30] Posener, *JEA* 39: 107, n. 5 with literature. A remarkable iconographic parallel to this occurs in the Book of the Fayyum, where a crocodile with a mummiform figure on its back has the caption "Unknown. It is Re. It is outflow." In H. Beinlich, R. Schultz, and A. Wieczorak, eds., *Egypt's Mysterious Book of the Faiyum* (Dettelbach: Röll, 2013), 49, fig. 22.

[31] In P. Jumilhac a dog is identified with Seth, see Jacques Vandier, "La Légende de Bata (Bébon) dans le Papyrus Jumilhac (Louvre E. 17110)," *Rev. d'ég*. 9 (1952): 121-123.

and overcome the *nḫt* – alternately translated "the strong one," "water spirit," "demon," "monster," or "giant" – with whom the reptile had been in combat for three months. Thus, the crocodile might have allied himself with the prince in order to defeat the *nḫt*. Here is where the poor condition of the tattered text precludes an understanding of the events that ensue. Barns's conclusion in restoring the words "Kill the water-spirit! Now if you regard the [water-spirit, you shall regard] the crocodile"[32] contrasts with Redford's restoration of "(I will let you go) if you[r dog will come] to fight [on my behalf, and] you shout about on my behalf (i.e. to the dog): 'Kill the giant.'"[33] Thus Redford has the dog enter into the fray at this point as the prince and the crocodile strike their alliance against the *nḫt* that he believes is a female water monster. Hubai sees it very differently.[34] Rejecting the *nḫt* as neither a "spirit" nor a "water-spirit," he simply translates "der Starke," the Strong One or Powerful One. Hubai prefers to demythologize the *nḫt*, viewing the Horus on the standard as having no more cognitive explanatory power here than the same sign at the end of the word *ḫrd* "child" – although it can equally be argued that the falcon on the standard is significant in both cases. On the other hand, as he points out rightly, the idea of the crocodile seeking a pact with the prince against the *nḫt* would make little sense since the *nḫt* is no enemy of the prince whom he does not know but rather the archenemy of the crocodile. It is entirely possible that this *nḫt* is simply another water creature the crocodile must fight for territory. That it is a sea monster as in Redford's reconstruction seems scarcely credible but can be argued nonetheless. The presence of a monster here would require further development of the fairytale which might be making a mountain out of a mole hill, although an interesting mountain if Redford's Levantine Sea Goddess (Asiatic Vorlage) has credibility here.[35]

Assuming the proposed ending that suggests that the prince succeeds in overcoming his third fate and is free to go on his way, then the resemblance of the tale to the story of Menas told by Diodorus does indeed appear to be important, a valuable analogy showing how an ancient aetiology recalling some historical event was handed down in the oral folkloric historical tradition only to resurface in the folkloric literary tradition. But is it useful for understanding Egyptian history in light of Diodorus's treatment of the Old Kingdom kings? Should we take seriously anything Diodorus Siculus says about Egyptian history? Should we consider him relevant to a tale that may or may not thinly veil the political backdrop of a much later period and its politics (Mitanni-Naharin) as Goedicke suggests when he

[32] John W.B. Barns, "Some Readings and Interpretations in Sundry Egyptian Texts," *JEA* 58 (1972): 163.

[33] Donald B. Redford in Sarah Israelit Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University Press, 1990): vol. 2, 828.

[34] Hubai, "Eine Literarische Quelle," 292-293.

[35] Redford in Groll, *Studies in Honor of Miriam Lichtheim*, 828.

associates the dog with the "Asiatics"?[36] Or is the fairytale after all but a patchwork quilt of folkloric remembrances and historical reminiscences?

Like *The Story of the Doomed Prince*, *The Story of the Two Brothers* is a Ramesside mythic folktale/folkloric myth found in P. d'Orbiney (BM 10183) dating to the reign of Merenptah by the hand of the scribe Inena (last quarter of the 13th century BCE). It possesses an abundance of folkloric motifs characteristic of Ramesside compositions, but it also contains many other motifs that seem to derive from much earlier times. It may have been transcribed from an earlier folktale in oral circulation among the general population,[37] since there is some strong evidence for the existence of an oral folkloric tradition going back to the Old Kingdom. This tradition would long prefigure the Homeric tradition of peripatetic bards wandering from court to court reciting their tales for a living.[38] *The Story of the Two Brothers* reflects the cultural world and social milieu of the early Ramesside Period, but it also reflects the author's place in that world, his values, and his attitudes. Moreover, the story undoubtedly carries with it historical memories from the remote past seamlessly woven with a distinctive charm into a mix of motifs and other mythological elements. The tale appears to be a story that could be a case of the traditional patchwork quilt since its elements might have come from altogether different traditional tales patched together into a much longer narrative given continuity by the character of Bata. The blending of folkloric motifs, mythological elements, and lack of regard for the passing of time "point to a non-literary folk milieu as the writer's working material rather than a sophisticated courtly poetic tradition."[39] The story is relevant to *The Story of the Doomed Prince* chiefly because of two points: first, a royal/deified character must contest the workings of fate and fortune by defeating multiple attacks against his person; and second, in both stories the protagonist may be traced back through the folkloric literary tradition to the historical tradition in the work of Classical historians who handed down bits of history as they understood them in a garbled and confused fashion.

The younger brother Bata in *The Story of the Two Brothers*, like the young prince in *The Story of the Doomed Prince*, is the subject of several plots to kill him that fail when he somehow escapes the threat or overcomes death only to be reborn and thus totally frustrate his enemies. He is a character who undergoes several metamorphoses yet retains his essence throughout. Who is Bata? Bata is first and

[36] Goedicke, "Late Egyptian Literature," 9 of personal copy.

[37] Susan Tower Hollis, *The Ancient Egyptian "Tale of Two Brothers": The Oldest Fairy Tale in the World* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990, 2nd ed. 2008); Sally L.D. Katary, "The Two Brothers as Folktale: Constructing the Social Context," *JSSEA* 24 (1994 printed in 1997): 39-70.

[38] Katary, "The Two Brothers as Folktale," 40 cites the Westcar Papyrus with its three stories as evidence that storytelling was a regular feature of Old Kingdom court life. Westcar was probably composed in the Twelfth Dynasty, but the extant copy dates to the Hyksos/2nd Intermediate Period; see Simpson in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 13.

[39] Katary, "The Two Brothers as Folktale," 41.

foremost a god in the form of a bull, the Lord of Sako, capital of the Seventeenth or Jackal Nome of Upper Egypt where he may have had a temple.[40] Bata also has an association with Seth according to the late Ptolemaic Period P. Jumilhac,[41] which collects myths about the Seventeenth nome of Upper Egypt, some of which can be traced back to the Old Kingdom.[42] There is the story of how Osiris was placed by his son Anubis on the back of Seth in bull form. This bull is none other than Bata himself (Jumilhac 20). "The bull, lord of Sako" is also mentioned in a list of deities in the Leiden V Stela,[43] an early Ramesside attestation to the cult of Bata translated by Gardiner in Onomasticon I, 51-53. In the Poem on the King's Chariot,[44] Bata is the *bt* of the chariot in the lines "As for the *bt* (8) of thy chariot, they are Bata, Lord of (9) Sako when he is in the arms of Bast (?) (10) cast away into some foreign land," a reference to the entanglement of Bata and Anubis, already known from d'Orbiney and much later in P. Jumilhac.

As a minor deity, Bata is an exalted personality who can be compared to the royal prince and future king in *The Story of the Doomed Prince.* Both stories feature the motif of the deadly crocodile. In the case of *The Story of the Two Brothers,* the crocodiles mill around a great body of water sent by Pre to form a barrier between Bata and his angry brother Anubis after Bata prayed for him to judge between the wicked and the just. The great god did just as Bata requested because he knew that Anubis sought to slay Bata as a result of the lies of Anubis's deceitful wife. Bata revealed his virtue by consistently refusing the wife's sexual invitations. When later on, the elder brother realizes that he was deceived by his wife and cannot help his brother as he is separated from him by the swimming crocodiles, Bata announces that he will journey to the Valley of the Pine where he will place his heart on the top of the blossom of the pine where Anubis will tend it with a bowl of cool water.

The story of the creation of a wife for Bata, the second duplicitous female of the tale, fashioned by the Ennead in the manner of Pandora,[45] leads through a

[40] Adolf Erman, "Hieratische Ostraka," *ZÄS* 18 (1880): 94-95; Jean Yoyotte, "Sur Bata, Maître de Sako," *Rev. d'ég*. 9 (1952): 157-158; Alan H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948): vol. II, 49-50; Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947): vol. II, 103-106*.

[41] Yoyotte, *Rev. d'ég*. 9: 157-158.

[42] Terence DuQuesne, "*Jmjwt*" in Willeke Wendrich, ed.-in-chief, *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2012).

[43] P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der Ægyptischen Sammlung der Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, Leiden VI, 1-2, no. 1 and pl. 1; Jean Yoyotte, "Promenade à travers les sites anciens du Delta," *BSFE* 25 (1958): 13-24.

[44] W.R. Dawson and T.E. Peet "The So-called Poem on the King's Chariot," *JEA* 19 (1933): 167-74, pl. 26; also a more recent treatment by A. R. Schulman, "The So-Called Poem on the King's Chariot Revisited: Part 1," *JSSEA* 16 (1986): 19-35; "Part 2," *JSSEA* 16 (1986): 39-49; and a paper presented by Colleen Manassa Darnell and Kathryn Hansen, "New Kingdom Chariot Terms: Interrelating Linguistics and Field Testing," ARCE Annual Meeting, Houston TX, April 2015, Abstract Booklet, p. 37.

[45] Katary, "The Two Brothers as Folktale," 44ff.

complicated storyline to the wife coming to dwell in the house of Pharaoh as Queen. The new Queen tries to eliminate Bata once more by having the pine in which his heart lives cut down. Bata anticipated this development and so instructed his brother that if the pine tree should be cut down he should come in search of it. After three years, Anubis finally finds the fallen tree, the heart resting in a fruit. Cool water revivifies the heart and Bata is restored to life. Another storyline leads to the next attempt on Bata's life by the evil Queen who encounters Bata next in the form of a mighty bull whom the Queen asks to be sacrificed so that the transformed Bata will die. This plot is foiled when drops of Bata's blood fall on either side of the Portal of Pharaoh and give birth to Persea trees. When the Queen requests that the Persea trees be felled to be made into fine furniture for her, a splinter flies off and enters the vile woman's mouth impregnating her with Bata, who will be born as the new Crown Prince. Bata's constant overcoming of the fates that attempted to take his life reveals an innocent hero of sterling character rewarded for his goodness while the evil wife must pay the price.

Is there an historical basis for the character of Bata? Possibly we know him from Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* as preserved by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea in the Armenian Version of Eusebius's *Chronica*.[46] A god named Bydis (or Bites) appears in Manetho in the Armenian Version of Eusebius, Fr. 1 that names the gods of Egypt beginning with Hephaistos. Bydis is last in the list at the end of 13,900 years of rule. This figure of Bydis has been identified with the Egyptian *bity,* the nisbe of the word *bit* "bee" in the title *bity*, King of Lower Egypt.[47] The name is also known from the Hermetical writings where Bitys is a translator/interpreter (Herodotus IV, 155). It is also worth noting that, again according to Herodotus, the Libyans called their king "Battos."[48] Strangely, Gardiner seems somewhat ambivalent or contradictory toward this suggestion, noting in a rather cryptic comment that "the supposition of LAUTH, that he (i.e., Bata) is to be identified with the mythical king Bydis (Bites) mentioned by an ancient chronicler, is a brilliant and even probable, yet wholly unproven, conjecture."[49] Gardiner does not point out that the reference is to none other than Manetho, or that the Bydis or Bites in question is the last of the series of gods who ruled as king, nor does he follow up the tantalizing equation with Bata but leaves it in the realm of "wholly unproven conjecture." It does not seem impossible that Classical antiquity drew upon the folkloristic historical traditions that developed over time and ultimately formed part of the documentary sources provided by the temple libraries to which Manetho had access (see below). Depending upon the

[46] W.G. Waddell, ed., *Manetho*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940, rpt. 2004).

[47] Waddell, ed., *Manetho*, 4, n. 1citing P. E. Newberry.

[48] So P.E. Newberry in Waddell, ed., *Manetho*, 4, n. 1. Herodotus IV 155 states that "Battos" is the Libyan word for "king." H, R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 5th ed. (London: Methuen, 1920), 98 equates "the Battos of the Cyrenaeans" with Egyptian *bity*, citing an unsourced statement of Petrie.

[49] A. H. Gardiner, "The Hero of the Papyrus d'Orbiney," *PSBA* 27 (1905): 185.

source a Classical author had enlisted, it is possible that a priest might have recounted to him stories that were archived in temple libraries. However, these temple libraries would have certainly contained papyri copies of king lists and other historical material committed to writing that Classical authors failed to consult in their emphasis upon monumental historical sources and their inability to read the Egyptian texts. Whether foreigners would have had open access to the contents of the temple libraries, moreover, is another question, but this possibility must be admitted in light of Galen's statement "that in his time Greek doctors consulted medical works in the temple of Imhotep in Memphis," which E. A. E. Reymond, who quotes Galen, "assumes . . . were available in Greek translations."[50]

What were the sources of Egyptian history available to authors in the Greco-Roman Period? Kim Ryholt has written extensively on the subject of libraries, their nature and contents during the Greco-Roman Period.[51] In order to answer questions concerning the extent to which reliable historical information was available, he has examined the Tebtunis temple library since it is the only known ancient Egyptian temple library of which significant remains survive. It appears as though the library may have originally contained three to four hundred texts of first to second century CE date.[52] The Tebtunis temple library was not only the largest single collection of literature from the Greco-Roman Period, its contents can be described as broadly historical (concerning historical people or events) and possibly chosen for that very reason.[53] About one-quarter of the entire library is narrative (including texts such as the Setne stories and the Petubastis cycle). Materials from these libraries would have been available to priest-scholars such as Manetho who could read their demotic easily. Hieratic texts were also kept in the library since a short memorandum listing four hieratic titles was found there, the fourth title referring to a text preserved in P. Carlsberg 388.[54] It appears likely that since the title *ms psḏ.t* is also found in the temple of Tod's great book catalogue, other or even most temples of Egypt also contained standard catalogue lists of material deemed essential.[55] Redford and

[50] J. Gwyn Griffiths, "Love as a Disease," in Sarah Israelit Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1990): vol. 1, 362, n. 17, citing E.A.E. Reymond, *A Medical Book from Crocodilopolis: P. Vindob. D 6257* (Vienna: Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1976), 62.

[51] Kim Ryholt, "On the Contents and Nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library: A Status Report," in S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit, eds., *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos: Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum* (Wiesbaden, 2005), 141-170; "Egyptian Historical Literature from the Greco-Roman Period," in *Das Ereignis: Gesichtsschribung zwischen Vorfall und Befund* (IBAES X GHP 2009), 231; "A Hieratic List of Book Titles (P. Carlsberg 325)," *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, The Carlsberg Papyri 10/CNI Publications 35 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2012), 151-154.

[52] Ryholt, "Egyptian Historical Literature," 231.

[53] Ryholt, "Egyptian Historical Literature," 231.

[54] Ryholt, "A Hieratic List of Book Titles," 154.

[55] Ryholt, "A Hieratic List of Book Titles," 154.

Ryholt both affirm that Manetho as well as other priestly scholars of the Greco-Roman period considered folkloric tales in the temple libraries, mainly in Demotic, to be historical and to be valid sources for the writing of history.[56] Moreover, to label such compositions as "fiction" would be anachronistic.[57] Foreign scholars such as Diodorus Siculus would not have been able to read any of these texts and so were forced to rely upon oral transmission for what bits of history had been interwoven and recalled by the population of the day. That Diodorus had heard of a king named Menas saved by a crocodile for which kindness he dedicated a city and temple is exactly the kind of folklore that was likely to be picked up by a non-Egyptian speaking foreigner seeking to learn the history of the country from the people he encountered in his travels. That the same bit of information might find its way into a story of the Ramesside Period is also within the realm of possibility considering the way in which folklore absorbs and transforms historical and cultural details, all the more so because two Ramesside stories feature the crocodile in confrontation with a heroic protagonist, a prince in one case and a god in the other. Is it not likely that in such a folkloristic literary tradition the adventures of two such upstanding figures should come to a happy ending?

Just what kind of an historian was Diodorus? How trustworthy were his remarks even about topics much closer to himself in time in Rome and Greece? The likelihood is that he would be much more reliable in the arena of the more contemporary events of civilizations with which he had immediate experience. Ancient Egypt would be a foreign world whose history was composed in a language he did not know and where so few of the writings that survived to his day were even recognized by him as having any relevance to history. From what we have already seen, Diodorus had little understanding of the sources of Egyptian historiography and failed to appraise correctly what sources he had because he did not recognize that there could be sources other than those that had a monumental character. Nor could Diodorus, any more than Herodotus, discriminate between knowledge passed down garbled through folk memory and knowledge that was documented in the historical record of hieratic administrative texts and other documents that preserve historical information. The loss is incalculable.

What else can we say about Diodorus that would permit us to judge his reliability as a source of history? First of all, Diodorus envisioned himself as a pioneer writing a universal history influenced by his conception of pragmatic history.[58] In this, Diodorus was influenced by Ephorus, although he abandoned Ephorus' Eastern orientation just as he rejected the Hellenocentric view of the civilized world as obsolete and irrelevant, since Diodorus was a Roman citizen and

[56] D. B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 336-37; Ryholt, "Tebtunis Temple Library," 163.

[57] J. Wyrick, review of S. R. Johnson, *Historical Fictions and Hellenistic Jewish Identity: Three Maccabees in Its Cultural Context* (U. of California Press, 2005), *BMCR* 3/16/2006, a reference communicated by Prof. Bernhard Kytzler, KwaZulu-Natal University.

[58] Robert H. Drews, *Historiographical Objectives and Procedures of Diodorus Siculus* (Ph.D. Diss. Johns Hopkins University 1960), i.

Roman in his orientation.[59] Rome was clearly the centre of his world, but that did not prevent him from attempting to explore farther afield, even though it meant using second-hand sources.[60] That he was really not up to his enormous task, he did not know, and subsequent Classical historians largely ignored him for this failing.[61] Lacking a teleological view of history and therefore largely ignoring causal sequence, he chiefly concerned himself with selecting models for virtuous behaviour and noble living. But time and the vagaries of history were kind to Diodorus and, while the works of superior historians were largely lost, his survived and were especially favoured by the Christians for his pragmatic moralizing approach. As Drews notes, he owes his position in Classical historiography "largely to default."[62] The *Bibliotheke* is the result of his systematically compiling, arranging, and epitomizing the works of his predecessors, good and bad, as they served his own pragmatic objectives.[63] He offers thus an abridged synthesis of not merely the best of the best, but of many historians of lesser worth. Thus as Drews puts it so succinctly: "Diodorus' reliability is directly dependent on the reliability of his source."[64] We can often correctly identify the veracity of his history by the author on whom he is dependent (e.g., Ephorus for Greek affairs and Timaeus for Sicilian), but he is not consistent in following his sources, sometimes abandoning a good source for an inferior one for no apparent reason. A good source may be peppered with insertions from inferior writers who happen to agree with Diodorus's outlook. This leaves us with "a confusing mosaic stemming from several sources."[65] At least his selection of sources was largely based upon a conception of history as a method of teaching using examples of good and bad behavior rooted in a consistent ethical stance. It is commonly believed that there is a certain lack of original thinking and research in the *Bibliotheke*, yet we must certainly applaud Diodorus for certain remarkable pieces of work, including the history of Macedonia under Philip and the history of the Diadochi.[66]

In the late twentieth century, a few scholars, including most significantly Kenneth Sacks, have reviewed Diodorus's work and methodologically questioned earlier scholarship, including the study of Drews. Sacks concludes that Diodorus was more creative than previously thought and was in fact responsible for more of the subjective matter in his *Bibliotheke* than had been previously believed. He adds that this work is actually representative of the kind of late Hellenistic prose that is so

[59] Stephen Usher, *The Historians of Greece and Rome*, 2nd ed. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press and Bristol, UK: Bristol Classical Press, 1982), 235.

[60] Usher, *The Historians of Greece and Rome*, 235-236.

[61] Drews, *Historiographical Objectives*, 1.

[62] Drews, *Historiographical Objectives*, 1.

[63] Drews, *Historiographical Objectives*, 2.

[64] Drews, *Historiographical Objectives*, 2.

[65] Drews, *Historiographical Objectives*, 2.

[66] Drews, *Historiographical Objectives*, 1.

scarce today because it is so poorly preserved, lending Diodorus's work greater importance if this is substantiated by further research.[67] In a negative light, L. Hau has offered the opinion that Diodorus did not actually compose his own moralising from scratch as it were when it was lacking in his source.[68] That he did not do this when recalling the Peloponnesian War is remarkable since the subject provided him a great opportunity to discuss the subject of man's inability to bear good fortune, a topic that meant much to him. He did however focus on the changeability of fortune and divine punishment of abuses of good fortune in the case of the Carthaginian Wars (Roman and therefore perhaps of greater interest and knowledge). Obviously in the case of the latter, he found some moralising source to incorporate. He was not entirely on his own. Hau may be correct in saying that rather than give his readers "a moral yard stick consistently applied by the author himself….,"[69] he preferred to paraphrase the collective wisdom of his antecedents and display this material for the reader's assessment. He made his *Bibliotheke* a "library" in the true sense of the word. Since our Egyptian characters display good and bad behaviour (whether human or divine) and the bounty of good fortune can be identified, these proclivities of the author are indeed relevant.

Two important predecessors of Diodorus reveal the influence of Stoic teachings that Diodorus imbibed to some extent: Polybius and Posidonius.[70] Both historians were sources behind Diodorus's history covering the Second Punic War and Pompey's Asiatic campaigns and conquests. The Polybian structure of historiography and Polybius's philosophical basis for it were strongly influential in Diodorus's day. Diodorus would have been exposed to the belief that universal history trumped monographic history every time because it followed causation and thus understood the impact of events one upon the other. With universal history it was possible to set before the reader the successes and failures of others so that the lessons of history might be received and internalized.[71]

However, Diodorus's work gives no evidence that he was a great believer in the Stoic tradition that motivated Polybius's historiographic tradition. It is clear that "Diodorus was not moved to write universal history in order to portray it as an organismic whole or to establish the interdependence of seemingly isolated events."[72] Drews argues that even when Diodorus is at his best as an historian, he fails to maintain this level of thinking and returns to the view of history as a medium of education that serves to teach men the proper way to behave in society: by

[67] Kenneth S. Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990, rept 2014).

[68] L. Hau, "The Burden of Good Fortune in Diodorus of Sicily: A Case for Originality," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 58 (2009): 171-197.

[69] Hau, "The Burden of Good Fortune," 193.

[70] Usher, *The Historians of Greece and Rome*, 235.

[71] Drews, *Historiographical Objectives*, 18.

[72] Drews, *Historiographical Objectives*, 11-12.

making the right decision at the right time. Not surprisingly, Diodorus concentrates on relaying the good deeds and words of influential men of either good or ill repute and commenting on their behaviour. While the view of history as a medium of education is not strictly harmful for a historian, it is valuable primarily if the history it advocates can provide valuable instruction for statesmen and their military leaders to draw upon and so lead their states rightly and responsibly. Diodorus however did not emphasize such merits but rather saw history as broadly instructive in morality, ethics, and everyday life: much as the *Iliad* was viewed throughout Greek history. To value history as having only general pragmatic value is to miss the point almost entirely. Scholarly opinion holds that Diodorus's work suffers from both superficiality and a lack of creativity and also a deficiency in a distinctive style of writing and presentation.[73] Frequently he is referred to as a "scissors and paste historian,"[74] having no distinctive voice and resorting to copying his sources whole or in superficial paraphrase. Despite Sacks and Hau and other more modern scholars, the correct appraisal of these criticisms has yet to be decided.

On top of these limitations, it is not at all certain whether Diodorus chose his sources on the basis of their merit or the way in which they could be adapted to his own moralistic history. In contexts where the eminent historians happened to be strongly capable historians (Timaeus, Polybius, and Posidonius), he certainly used them in his own work as they provided narrative structure and content. However, at the same time, he felt free to delve into the most obscure and poorly conceived works and take from them whatever he liked, especially if they were filled with useful moralizing and ethical teaching. Nor did he hesitate to intercalate bits and pieces of these unfortunate sources into his text without warning or other indication that he was departing from his previous reliable source(s). While good material was often contaminated with bad, other material, good and bad, was simply half-remembered or half-guessed whatever the source.

Where does this leave us with Diodorus's comment on Menas or any of this other material on ancient Egypt? It certainly does not leave us with any great confidence. However, Diodorus's steadfast belief that history should praise the good and condemn the wicked should have the beneficial result that those who read such history are turned toward a virtuous life benefitting all of society. To quote Diodorus:

> …we believe, those whose natures are already inclined toward arête are steered by the prospect of immortal glory to undertake the noblest of enterprises; those, on the other hand, whose nature is quite the opposite, by

[73] Usher, *The Historians of Greece and Rome,* 237; however, see Hau, "The Burden of Good Fortune," 171-197.

[74] Moses I. Finley, *The Greek Historians* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1959), 16.

> contingent reproaches are diverted from their descent into wickedness. (Book XV prooemium)[75]

While Diodorus may not have consistently applied his approach to his historical figures, he did repeatedly insist upon the value of his work as a "thesaurus of moral examples"[76] even if he did not hesitate to include stories of doubtful historical veracity so long as they were morally instructive. It is interesting that Diodorus was quick to criticize Herodotus's comments about ancient Egypt as distortions of the truth and fanciful elaboration with the intent of entertaining his readers.[77] In our day, we include Diodorus with Herodotus as one who strayed too far from the truth with the same goal in mind: the entertainment of those who could not know any better.

This leaves us with a snippet about Menas who comes off as a noble king deserving of rescue because he knew enough to reward his rescuer in a generous and meaningful way. He is literally and figuratively a "prince among men" (although we do not know why he was pursued by his dogs in the first place). Had Diodorus ever heard a tale told about a prince who escaped a dog's vicious pursuit with the aid of a crocodile who transported him to the other side of the river? Perhaps another popular story of a hero/god named Bata who also had crocodiles appear in his life as he tried to escape the unjustified wrath of his angry older brother was also being told around the same time. The Bata of *The Story of the Two Brothers* could conceivably have been a literary incarnation of the early Manethonian king Bytes, known to Classical historians through the Manethonian tradition that would enter Christian chronography with Eusebius. The king's deeds go unattested but that need not disturb us when we perhaps encounter a later version of him in the long-evolving literary tradition. While the young prince and future king of *The Story of the Doomed Prince* could have evolved from the hero of the folkloric version of a miraculous riverside escape for the king Narmer (Menes), a similar folkloristic twist of an undocumented actual event in long past history may have awaited the young hero of *The Two Brothers.* It would not be out of keeping with the oral folkloristic tradition to give rise to literary tales with deep roots in history, a history to which a moralistic/universalist historian such as Diodorus Siculus appended a brief remark about a virtuous ruler whose appreciation for his miraculous escape led him to become the founder of one of the greatest religious centres in ancient Egypt. Did it happen this way? We do not know, but for genuine history to have given rise to such fabulous tales of virtue and goodness would have pleased the heart of one Sicilian historian well known for his worship of leaders who exude good will and justice and prove the utilitarian value of morality.

[75] Drews, *Historiographical Objectives*, 15.

[76] Drews, *Historiographical Objectives*, 16.

[77] Drews, *Historiographical Objectives*, 16, n. 28.

The Great Hymn of the Aten: The Ultimate Expression of Atenism?[1]

James K. Hoffmeier

Abstract: The Great Hymn to the Aten recorded only in the tomb of Ay at Tell el-Amarna is widely recognized to be the most important theological affirmation of Akhenaten's religion. R.J. Williams called the Great Hymn "a major document of the new faith," while Miriam Lichtheim considered this hymn to be "an eloquent and beautiful statement of the doctrine of the one god." The Great Hymn is without question of immense value to modern scholars attempting to reconstruct Akhenaten's religion. Surprisingly, however, the text's date has of yet received relatively little consideration. The hymn's length and eloquence might seem to suggest a relatively late date, making the Great Hymn the ultimate theological development of Atenism. However, it will be argued here that the Great Hymn and its shorter counterpart were composed as early as the Theban stage of Akhenaten's reign, or early in the Amarna stage, and therefore, even as theologically profound as the doctrines within these hymns are, they do not represent the final expression of Akhenaten's brand of monotheism.

Résumé: Le Grand Hymne à Aton attesté uniquement dans la tombe d'Ay à Tell el-Amarna est largement reconnu comme l'affirmation théologique la plus importante de la religion d'Akhénaton. R.J. Williams affirme au sujet de l'hymne qu'il s'agit d'un document essentiel de la nouvelle croyance alors que Miriam Lichtheim considère qu'il s'agit d'une affirmation à la fois belle et éloquente de la doctrine du dieu unique. Le Grand Hymne est, à n'en pas douter, d'une valeur immense pour les chercheurs modernes qui tentent de reconstruire la religion d'Akhénaton. Cependant, et de manière étonnante, la datation du texte n'a jusqu'à présent pas été considérée avec grande attention. L'étendue du texte ainsi que son éloquence semble suggérer une date de rédaction relativement tardive, faisant de l'Hymne le développement théologique ultime de l'atonisme. Il sera néanmoins soutenu que le Grand Hymne et sa plus courte version ont été composés aussi tôt qu'à la période thébaine du règne d'Akhénaton voire plus tôt durant la période amarnienne. Ce faisant, et bien que les doctrines exprimées dans les hymnes montrent une profondeur théologique, elles ne représentent pas l'expression finale du monothéisme d'Akhénaton.

Keywords: Akhenaten, Aten, Atenism, Great Hymn to Aten, monotheism, benben, Amarna

Mots-clés: Akhénaton, Aton, Atonisme, Grand Hymne à Aton, monothéisme, benben, Amarna

Akhenaten's "Great Hymn to Aten" is one of the most celebrated literary and religious documents from ancient Egypt, and was translated and studied by the late John (Jack) Foster in considerable detail over the years.[2] For Foster, who invested

[1] Earlier versions of this article were presented at the ARCE Annual Meeting in Portland, OR in April, 2014 and at the 11th International Congress of Egyptologists in Florence, Italy in August 2015. I benefitted greatly from comments and suggestions offered by various colleagues on these occasions.

[2] John L. Foster, *Echoes of Egyptian Voices: An Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Poetry* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 5-10; idem., *Hymns, Prayers, and Songs: An Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Lyric Poetry* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 102-107; idem., "The Hymn to Aten: Akhenaten Worships the Sole God," *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, Vol. III (ed. J. Sasson; New York: Charles Scribner, 1995), 1751-1761; idem., "The New Religion," *Pharaohs of*

most of his academic research on Egyptian poetic texts, the Great Hymn was "one of the most remarkable documents in all of ancient Egyptian history—and, indeed, in all of the ancient world."[3] Clearly he held Akhenaten's literary masterpiece in high esteem, as others did before him. Because of his mastery of Egyptian poetry, his assessment is to be taken seriously.

Egyptologists have long recognized the literary and religious significance of this great hymn. James Henry Breasted believed that the hymns to Aten were "by far the most remarkable" of the monuments left by Akhenaten.[4] Furthermore he saw the doctrine of "universalism" promoted therein as "a new spirit … breathed upon the dry bones of traditionalism in Egypt."[5] Ronald J. Williams described the hymn as "a fine example of the Egyptian poetic genius."[6] As for its religious profundity, Miriam Lichtheim is representative of the thoughts of many scholars in seeing the Great Hymn as "an eloquent and beautiful statement of the doctrine of the one god."[7] Indeed, based on the theology in the Great Hymn, Foster maintains that Akhenaten "was the first known monotheist in history."[8]

Scholars generally have considered the contents of the Great Hymn to be the ultimate expression of Akhenaten's theological program, his dogma. Jan Assmann has labeled it as "the acme" of the solar hymn tradition.[9] "The fullest statement of Akhenaten's faith" is how Barbara Watterson has described it.[10] Given the length and elegance of the hymn in the tomb of Ay at Amarna, it is obvious why it remains the most salient source on Akhenaten's religion.

What has been surprisingly missing from the scholarly treatments of the Great Hymn and shorter ones is a discussion of their date of the composition. Indeed, none of the scholars cited here specifically address this issue. After reviewing a broad range of studies on the Aten Hymns, however, I am left with the impression that scholars see in the paeans a more advanced and nuanced theological stage of Atenism. If so, the hymns must then have originated during the later years of Akhenaten's reign, though no one has explicitly stated this in print as far as I have been able to determine. Until recently, I had assumed myself that the Great Hymn represented the pinnacle of Akhenaten's theological program and that logically it

the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamun (eds. R. Freed, et. al.; Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 97-109.

[3] John L. Foster, "The Hymn to Aten: Akhenaten Worships the Sole God," 1754.

[4] James Henry Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (London: Hodder & Stoughton), 371.

[5] Ibid*,* 376.

[6] Ronald J. Williams, "The Hymn to Aten," in *Documents from Old Testament Times* (ed. D. W. Thomas; New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1958), 145.

[7] Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 89.

[8] Foster, *Hymns, Prayers, and Songs*, 102.

[9] Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 58

[10] Barbara Watterson, *Amarna: Ancient Egypt's Age of Revolution* (Stroud: Tempus, 1999), 64.

came from late in the Amarna years. In the course of doing research for my recent book, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism* (New York: Oxford University Press 2015), however, several factors forced me to rethink its date. I am now inclined to believe that this hymn was composed earlier in Akhenaten's reign, possibly towards the end of the Theban sojourn or early in the "Amarna" period, certainly prior to the 9th year of his nearly 17 year reign.

It is manifestly evident that Akhenaten's religion went through several developmental phases over the course of the king's first ten years before reaching its final, orthodox form. Donald Redford's analysis of the development of the iconography and onomastics of Aten over the Theban period is most instructive.[11] Let me sketch out these well-known developments.[12] Likely in his first regnal year Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) is shown worshiping Atum, Lord of Heliopolis, and Re-Harakhty in their traditional iconography in the tomb of Kheruef (Fig. 1).[13] Both gods have strong solar and Heliopolitan associations.[14] Possibly as early as year 1 or 2, Re-Harakahty and Aten were associated with each other. The former is portrayed anthropomorphically with the head of a falcon surmounted with a sun-disc, and a new, didactic name was introduced at this time: "Re-Harakhty who Rejoices in the Horizon in his name of Shu who is in the Aten." This iconography and name appear together on the large pre-talatat block (72 x 151 x 27 cm) in Berlin where the name Amenhotep is still employed (Fig. 2). In the next phase, possibly around year 3-4, the image of the Horus-falcon disappears entirely and is replaced with the iconic Aten-disc with its downward pouring rays that end in hands offering life and other beneficences (Fig. 3).[15] Around the same time or shortly thereafter, possibly in conjunction with his Sed festival, the king exchanged his birth name Amenhotep in favor of Akhenaten, and among the Karnak talatat the latter name in some instances was inscribed over the earlier Amenhotep.[16] Furthermore, Aten's didactic name now appeared in a pair of cartouches (Fig. 4). The change in the king's name apparently occurred during the Heb Sed early in his reign, which in turn coincides with the

[11] Donald Redford, "The Sun-disc in Akhenaten's Program: Its Worship and Antecedents, I," *JARCE* 13 (1976): 47-61.

[12] For documentation of this development, see James K. Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), chapters 3-7.

[13] Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb no. 192* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1980), plates 8-9.

[14] For a discussion of Re-Harakhty's role in Egyptian religion prior to Akhenaten, see Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism*, 82-87.

[15] Donald Redford, "Akhenaten: New Theories and Old Facts," *BASOR* 369 (2013): 19-20. Among the *talatat* from Thebes, Re-Harakhty appears a few times, but only as a minor player and shown in diminutive form (see Ray W. Smith & Donald Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, Vol. 1 (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1976), pl. 86, 8-9.

[16] Smith & Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, Vol. 1, pl. 90, n.8; Donald Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, Vol. 2 (Toronto: Akhenaten Temple Project/University of Toronto Press, 1988), fig. 15-19, pl. 35 & 40.

Aten's name appearing in a pair of cartouches like the pharaoh. Norman de Garis Davies thought that placement of the deity's name in cartouches was "a new departure" for "emphasizing the personality of the sun-god."[17] Given the anathematizing of Amun, could it be that the use of the cartouches was intended to elevate Aten and displace Amun as "king of the gods" (*nsw nṯrw*) by using this new royal signature?[18]

Some time after the move to Amarna around year 6, possibly in Akhenaten's 9th year, the didactic name attained its final form (Fig. 5).[19] Stripped were the divine names *Ḥr* and *Šw*, probably to rid the name of any associations with the other deities in keeping with a move towards exclusive monotheism. The ultimate form was: (Living Re,[20] Ruler of the Horizon, Rejoicing in the two Horizons[21])(in His Name of 'Re,' the Father, who has come [or appears] as the Sun-disc). With this brief outline in view, let us turn to the Aten Hymns.

The "Great Hymn" to Aten is found exclusively in the tomb of Ay at Amarna, and uses the earlier form of the didactic name, written in cartouches.[22] Of the five versions of the Short Aten Hymn, those in the tombs of Apy and Tutu use the pre-year 9 form of the didactic name,[23] whereas the texts in the tombs of Any, Meryre, and Mahu show the later didactic name (Fig. 6).

The use of the early form of the didactic name in the Great Hymn and two versions of the "Short" hymns seemingly points to their composition prior the final change was made to the name around year 9. It stands to reason that work began on the tombs of senior officials like Ay, Apy, and Tutu almost immediately upon settling at Akhet-Aten. Tombs inscribed a few years later (after year 9) employed the final form of the Aten's name. A careful reading of the various hymns in the five tombs shows no other signs of later insertions or redactions that reflect the last theological phase.

There is another element in the Short Hymns that points to an earlier composition date. The cultic nature of the Hymns is evident from lines 10-11, which

[17] Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, Vol. 1 (London: EEF, 1903), 9.

[18] J. R. Harris has noted the royal status of this writing, cf. "Aten min fader," *Papyrus* 25, no. 1 (2005), 22-23. I am grateful to Dr. Lise Manniche for drawing this article to my attention and for sending me a pdf of it. On the other hand, David Silverman suggests that the use of the cartouche by a deity "lower[ed] the level of divinity" (in *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, ed. B. Shafer [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991], 83). I rather see this writing as an elevation of Aten.

[19] Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten & the Origins of Monotheism*, 204.

[20] One could render ʿnḫ as a prospective *sḏm.f*, "Long live Re" or "May Re live." Alternatively, ʿnḫ could be treated as a adjective. Translators offer both readings. I prefer the latter.

[21] For a discussion of the translation issues surrounding this name, see Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism*, 204-206.

[22] Maj Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* (Brussels: Queen Elizabeth Foundation of Egyptology, 1938), 90.15; 93.9.

[23] Ibid., 10.13 & 17.

read: "Singing, chanting and joyful shouting are in the open court of the Mansion of the Benben (*Ḥwt bnbn*) and in every temple in Akhet-Aten … food and offerings are presented within it."[24] No doubt the hymns themselves were chanted in the Aten temples during cultic activity and when daily offerings were being made.[25]

A close examination of the orthography in the various occurrences of *Ḥwt bnbn* in texts from Amarna private tombs reveals an instructive range of writings. *Ḥwt bnbn* was the name of one of the east Karnak temples of Akhenaten prior to the move to Amarna.[26] Its name, and perhaps its design, followed the prototype and its namesake at Heliopolis where the *bnbn* stone served as the cultic symbol of the sun-god Re/Atum.[27] The evidence, primarily the determinatives used in writing the name *Ḥwt bnbn* on the Karnak talatat,[28] suggests that such an obelisk or *bnbn*-stone stood in this temple at Thebes.

The Nubian sandstone quarry at Gebel el-Silsileh contains an inscription from the outset of Akhenaten's reign that coincides with the beginning of building projects at Karnak. The text specifies that the purpose of the quarrying mission was "in order to make the great benben (*pȝ bnbn ʿȝt*) of (or for) 'Re-Harakhty in his name of light which is in the disc (Aten) in Karnak'."[29] Legrain was quite emphatic that *pȝ bnbn ʿȝt* in the Silseleh inscription was written with a pyramid determinative () and not an obelisk () as Lepsius's earlier copy of the inscription had recorded it.[30] No trace of this sandstone *bnbn*-stone has been uncovered at Karnak; however, fragments of two granite obelisks belonging to Amenhotep IV, possibly an original pair, have been found in a secondary context at Karnak. One was published by Legrain in 1901 and the texts are only partially preserved; one surface contains the cartouche of Akhenaten, along with the line: ///// *m ȝḫt n ỉtn m ỉwnw šmʿw* – "///// in Akhet-en-Aten in Southern Heliopolis." Regrettably the name of the obelisk or the temple where it stood is in the lacunae.[31] To judge from the dimensions of the

[24] Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, 13.9-14.4.

[25] For a discussion of the various types of offerings, see Cathie Speiser, *Offrandes et purification à l'époque amarnienne* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010).

[26] Donald B. Redford, "Studies of Akhenaten at Thebes 2: A Report of the Work of the Akhenaten Temple Project of the University Museum, The University of Pennsylvania, for the Year 1973-4," *JARCE* 12 (1975): 9-14; Sayid Tawfik, "Aten and the Names of His Temple(s) at Thebes," in *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, Volume 1 (eds. Ray W. Smith and Donald Redford; Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1976), 61-63.

[27] See Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism*, 11 and references.

[28] Meltzer, "Glossary of Amenophis IV-Akhenaten's Karnak Talatat," in *Akhenaten Temple Project* II, Fig. 13, nos. 17, 18, 19 and possibly 20.

[29] Georges Legrain, "Les Stèles d'Aménôthès IV à Zernik et à Gebel Silseleh," *ASAE* 3 (1902): 259-266.

[30] Ibid., 264.

[31] Georges Legrain, "Sur un Temple d'Aten a Hermonthis," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 23 (1901): 62.

fragmentary remains, 42 x 40 x 40 cm, it appears to have been a rather small obelisk.[32] The second has been analyzed recently by J. R. Harris.[33] Where it stood originally also remains unknown, but this granite pyramidion (along with the one studied by Legrain), coupled with the sandstone *bnbn* mentioned in the Gebel el-Silsileh inscription, suggest that there were possibly two different granite obelisks (possibly a matching pair) and a larger sandstone one associated with Akhenaten's Karnak temples.

The determinative used consistently for the writing of *Ḥwt bnbn* in the Karnak talatat is the  sign.[34] The difference between the determinatives used in the Silsileh quarry inscription and the writings for *Ḥwt bnbn* on the later Karnak talatat may suggest that two distinctive cult objects were intended. Early in the study of the Karnak talatat, Sayid Tawfik thought the *bnbn*-stone of the *Ḥwt bnbn* temple may well have been an obelisk based on the use of the  sign.[35] Subsequently E.S. Meltzer's glossary of terms from the Theban talatat documented several writings of *Ḥwt bnbn* and only the obelisk sign is used in the Karnak talatat, confirming Tawfik's observation.[36]

One appealing theory recently advanced by several scholars is that the great obelisk of Thutmose III (relocated and rededicated by Thutmose IV)[37] in the Amun-Re temple nearby might have in some way been the focal point of the *Ḥwt bnbn* temple.[38] This obelisk, now in Rome, was removed from Karnak in the 4th century A.D. on the orders of Constantine. Today it is known as the Lateran obelisk.[39] Standing just over 31.18 m (105 feet) in height, this obelisk was to our knowledge the tallest erected at Karnak,[40] and thus would have been a sensational site visible from any point in the Karnak precinct. Its original location at Karnak, however, remains uncertain.

[32] Ibid., 62.

[33] Harris, "Aten min fader," 21-25.

[34] Meltzer, "Glossary of Amenophis IV-Akhenaten's Karnak Talatat," Fig. 13, nos. 17, 18, 19 and possibly 20.

[35] Tawfik, "Aten and the Names of His Temple(s) at Thebes," 61.

[36] Meltzer, "Glossary of Amenophis IV-Akhenaten's Karnak Talatat," Fig. 13, nos. 17, 18, 19 and possibly 20.

[37] Labib Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt* (Cairo: American University Press, 1984), 112-114.

[38] R. Vergnieux and M. Gondran, *Aménophis IV et les pierres du soleil: Akhénaton retrouvé* (Paris: Arthaud, 1997), 86 & 102; Barry Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Amarna and its People* (London: Thames Hudson, 2012), 82; Redford, "Akhenaten: New Theories and Old Facts," 22.

[39] Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 115.

[40] The unfinished obelisk of the Aswan Quarry would have surpassed it.

Paul Barguet pointed to what he believed was the foundation for the great obelisk, a base made of large blocks interlocked with butterfly clamps.[41] It is located east of the Akh-Menu Temple of Thutmose III, and is aligned with the central axis of the temple complex and lines up with the later Nectanebo gate to the east. In the 13th century B.C. Ramesses II built a temple in such a way that the great obelisk was the focal point, and then in the early 7th century, Taharqa erected a pillared hall in front (west) of Ramesses II's edifice.[42] Given that later monarchs regarded this obelisk as such a significant feature that temples were situated in order to highlight the great Thutmoside obelisk, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Akhenaten might have somehow oriented the *Ḥwt bnbn* temple to optically focus on it, one of the great symbols of Heliopolitan solar religion.

If indeed the obelisk of Thutmose III/IV was the focal point of Amenhotep IV's *Ḥwt bnbn* temple located to its east, it begs the question: what was the function of the great sandstone benben quarried at Gebel el-Silsileh? Several options present themselves. First, it may have been part of an earlier, smaller shrine that was later superseded and abandoned by the new *Ḥwt bnbn* edifice built from talatat. Alternatively, could it be that the great sandstone *bnbn* was incorporated into the second *Ḥwt bnbn* temple, and aligned with or oriented toward the Thutmoside obelisk? This suggestion is shared by Barry Kemp, who describes the placement of the obelisk by Thutmose IV on the axis of Karnak temple as being "where it formed the focus of attention for approaching the temple from the east side…"[43] Then he suggests that the Silsileh Quarry inscription's reference to the great *bnbn*-stone "probably points to the building of a temple that gave greater attention to the existing obelisk."[44]

It is clear that there were many obelisks or benbens at Karnak, but what about at Amarna? The archaeologists who have worked in the "Great Temple," a descriptive name used by 20th century investigators to refer to both *Pr ỉtn* (House of Domain of Aten) and *Ḥwt bnbn*, have found no trace of an obelisk or even foundation stones[45] for one within the temple, even though its name would suggest that one was present, as in its earlier counterpart at Karnak.[46] Moreover, despite the name, which is typically written with the  -sign, there is surprisingly no corresponding depiction of a *bnbn*-stone or obelisk in the temple reliefs of *Ḥwt bnbn*. As Kemp has rightly pointed out, "none of the pictures carved in the tombs at

41 Paul Barguet, "L'Obélisque de Saint-Jean-de-Latran dans le temple de Ramsès à Karnak," *ASAE* 50 (1950): 269-280 and *Le Temple D'Amon-Re À Karnak, essai d'exégèse* (Cairo: IFAO, 1962), 241-242.

42 Barguet, "L'Obélisque de Saint-Jean-de-Latran dans le temple de Ramsès à Karnak," 270, fig. 1.

43 Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 82.

44 Ibid., 82.

45 When the great obelisk of Thutmose III was removed from Karnak, the foundation blocks were left intact; see discussion in ibid., Chapter 4 and Fig. 49.

46 Barry Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 82-83.

Amarna show an obelisk, even though some of them include detailed renderings of Aten temples."[47] Kemp also points to an example where *Ḥwt bnbn* is written with the stela determinative (), suggesting that one should not expect an exact correspondence between writing, the reliefs, and what is discovered archaeologically.[48] It is noteworthy, however, that temple scenes show an elevated stela that corresponds to the writing *Ḥwt bnbn* + (e.g. Mery-Re, *Amarna* I, xxxiii; Ahmes, *Amarna* III, xxx; Tutu, *Amarna* VI, xx).

Although Kemp suggests that there may have been a benben at Amarna despite the pictorial and archaeological record, there is another possible, tantalizing explanation for the absence of the Heliopolitian solar symbol in the Amarna temple. While it is true that some writings of *Ḥwt bnbn* in inscriptions at Amarna use the expected  -sign, there are some other noteworthy variants. The tomb of Tutu has three different writings. First there is an occurrence where *bnbn* is written with only the  -sign as determinative, and in a different inscription no indicator is used at all.[49] The third occurrence of *bnbn* in Tutu's tomb is in the Short Hymn in the very passage quoted above that refers to the cultic activities in the open court of *Ḥwt bnbn*. In this writing of *bnbn* the determinative was apparently originally written. A careful examination of Davis's edition of the text of the Short Hymn in Tutu's tomb, however, shows that the vertical -sign was carefully scratched out leaving just the surrounding hieroglyphs  [50] (Fig. 7). This erasure was also noted in Sandman's edition of the Short Hymn in Tutu's tomb.[51] This appears to be a small, but significant case of iconoclasm. It is as if some literate and astute observer (Tutu himself?) saw the text and had the obelisk-sign removed to reflect the reality of the architecture of this temple. This example of iconoclasm in Tutu's tomb is not an isolated one. Another case of defacing the obelisk-sign is also found in the tomb of Panehsy, where one can clearly see the careful and intentional elimination of the vertical *bnbn* sign (Fig. 8).[52]

The combination of the erasing of the obelisk sign in some writings, or its complete absence, along with the use of the *pr* and stela-sign as determinatives in other writings, prompts the question: was there a *bnbn*-stone in the *Ḥwt bnbn*

[47] Ibid., 82-83.

[48] Ibid., 83.

[49] Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, Vol. 6 (London: EEF, 1906), pl. XIV, S. ceiling inscription & XV, left jamb, l. 3.

[50] Ibid., pl. XVI, l. 10-11.

[51] Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, 13.16.

[52] Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, Vol. 2 (London: EEF, 1905) pl. xxi, left most vertical column.

temple? Then too there is no archaeological evidence for an obelisk in the *Ḥwt bnbn* temple at Amarna, not even so much as a foundation or platform for one has been found,[53] and there are no cases of the sacred solar emblem in the temple scenes in the decorated tombs of Akhet-Aten. Could it be that either the *Ḥwt bnbn* at Amarna never had a *bnbn*-stone or, perhaps more likely, that it was removed after the year 9 purge of the last vestiges of other deities, their names and images and emblems? Redford has noted that Heliopolitan elements disappear over time and especially in conjunction with final phase of Atenism, observing that "gone was Re-Harakhty the falcon, the *ḫprr*-beetle, the Ennead with Atum at its head, *Bḥdty* the winged sun-disc, the solar boat, the *Himmelsfahrt*, Apophis, myth and its use in magic, and a host or other mechanisms and images, read as referential icons."[54] Noticeably absent from this inventory of abolished images is the obelisk or *bnbn*. Perhaps just as these other traditional solar icons had to go, so did the obelisk or *bnbn*-stone even while the name *Ḥwt bnbn* was retained.

The orthography of *Ḥwt bnbn* in the Short Hymn includes the  -sign and may simply reflect the orthography of the name that was standardized during the years at Thebes when the hymn was written. This theory, when combined with the use of the early form of the didactic name written in cartouches, might indicate that the Great Hymn and the shorter hymns were composed near the end of the stay in Thebes or very early in the Amarna sojourn at the latest.

Finally, and somewhat expectedly, we have examples cited here of Atenist iconoclasm at Amarna against the Heliopolitan icon *par excellence* (the *bnbn*) in order to reflect the final religious developments of Akhenaten's thought. The ultimate form of the didactic name is the final confession of Atenist dogma:  Living Re, Ruler of the Horizon, Rejoicing in the Horizon  in His Name of 'Re,' the Father, who has come [or appears] as the Sun-disc  . This name and the sun-disc and extended rays were the only acceptable expressions permitted in official representations during the final years of Akhenaten's reign.

The practice of iconoclasm is well attested in ancient Egypt, and there was no more ardent practitioner than Akhenaten. His program to annihilate Amun and other deities (to a lesser degree) is legendary. What is unexpected is to find Akhenaten's iconoclasm against solar symbols and images as Atenism advanced to its final stage. The discovery of this likely case of iconoclasm came from an unexpected source, viz. my study of the Aten Hymns from Amarna to see if any dating criteria might be discernible in the text. Several conclusions now emerge regarding these celebrated hymns.

[53] Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 82.

[54] Donald Redford, "Akhenaten: New Theories and Old Facts," 27.

1. The Great Hymn in the Amarna tomb of Ay, along with the short hymns in the tombs of Apy and Tutu, utilize the early form of the didactic name, suggesting that both hymns were composed prior to year 9 when the final form of the didactic name became the standard. Thus despite the fact that the Great Hymn contains sophisticated Atenist doctrine, even trending monotheistic, it was written before year 9 when the didactic name went through its final transformation. Consequently, the Great Hymn, as central to Akhenaten's theology as it was, was not the final doctrinal statement of his religious revolution.

2. In the final reforms, the names Hor and Shu were removed from the didactic name to eliminate any polytheistic elements, and the tombs of Any, Meryre, and Mahu use the final form of the Aten name in the writing of the short Aten hymns. Further purging of the previously acceptable solar images, even those of Heliopolitan origin, was carried out. It stands to reason that it would have been around year 9 that the *bnbn*-stone or obelisk likewise fell out of favor, and if the *Ḥwt bnbn* temple at Amarna ever indeed had a *bnbn*-stone, then it was likely removed around this time. The intentional erasing of the  -determinative in the tombs of Tutu and Panehsy reflects this development and indicates that the shorter hymns were composed well before this year 9 purge.

3. The ultimate theological statement of Akhenaten's religion, then, has to be the final didactic name itself, 〈 Living Re, Ruler of the Horizon, Rejoicing in the Horizon 〉 〈 in His Name of 'Re,' the Father, who has come [or appears] as the Sun-disc 〉 .

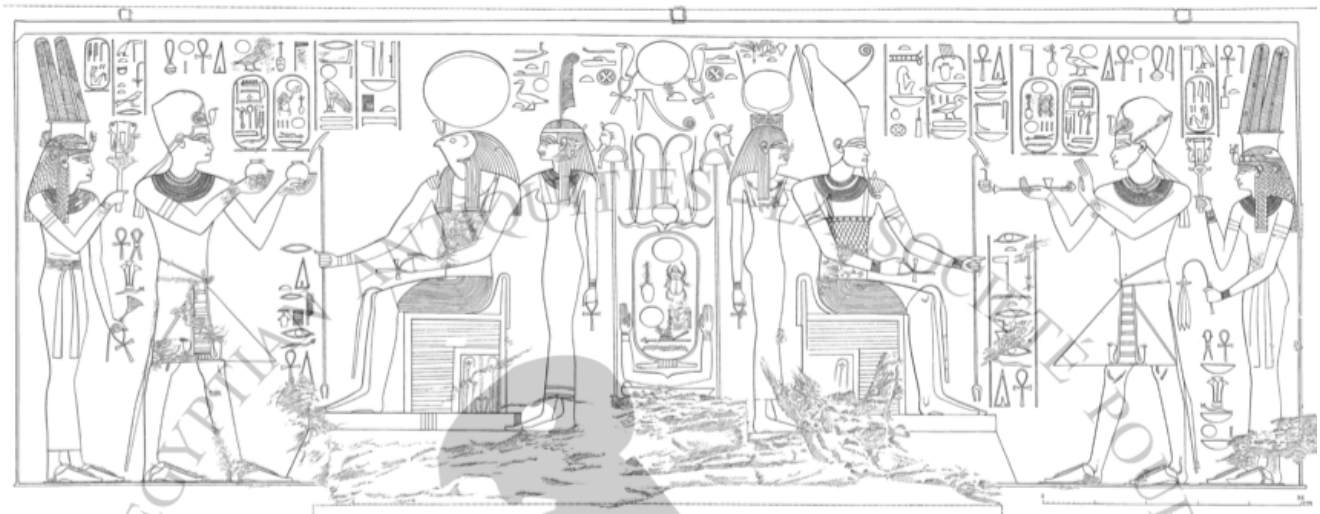


Fig. 1 Amenhotep IV making offerings to Atum and Re-Harakhty (Tomb of Kheruef) -- Epigraphic Survey, The Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb, Theban Tomb no. 192 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1980), pl. 9.

Fig. 2 Berlin Block -- Photo James K. Hoffmeier

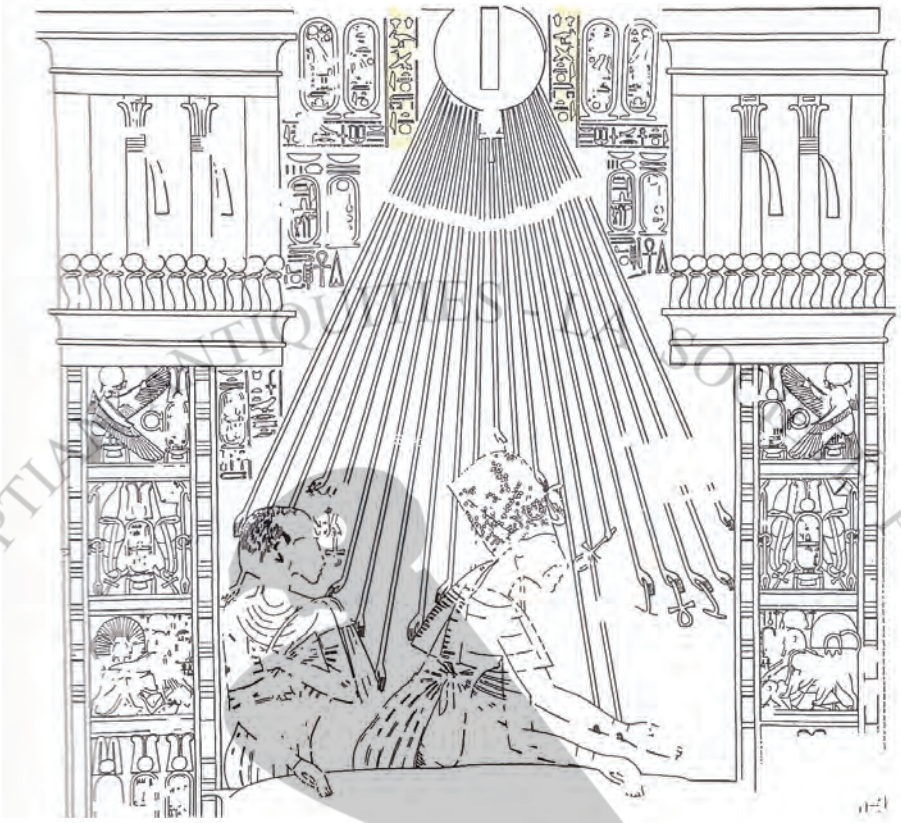


Fig. 3 Akhenaten and Nefertiti with early depiction of the Aten-disc (Tomb of Ramose) – N. de Garis Davies, The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1941), xxxiii a.

Fig. 4 Early didactic name of Aten in cartouches (Berlin Museum) -- Photo James K. Hoffmeier

Fig. 5 Final didactic name of Aten on bronze door fragment (Neues Museum Berlin) -- Photo James K. Hoffmeier

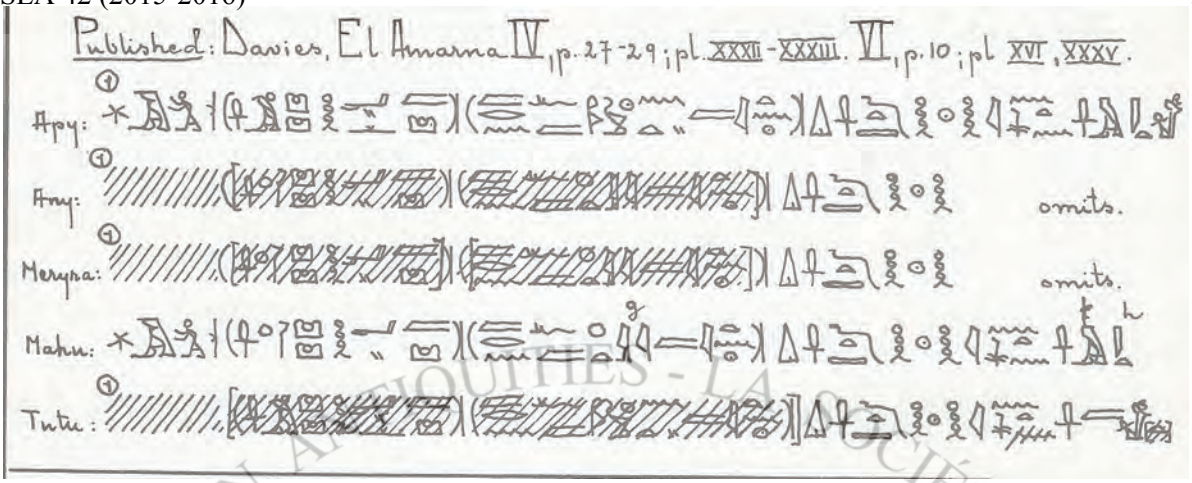


Fig. 6 Short Aten hymn in tomb of Tutu – Norman de Garis Davies, The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna, Vol. 6 (London: EEF, 1906), pl. XVI.

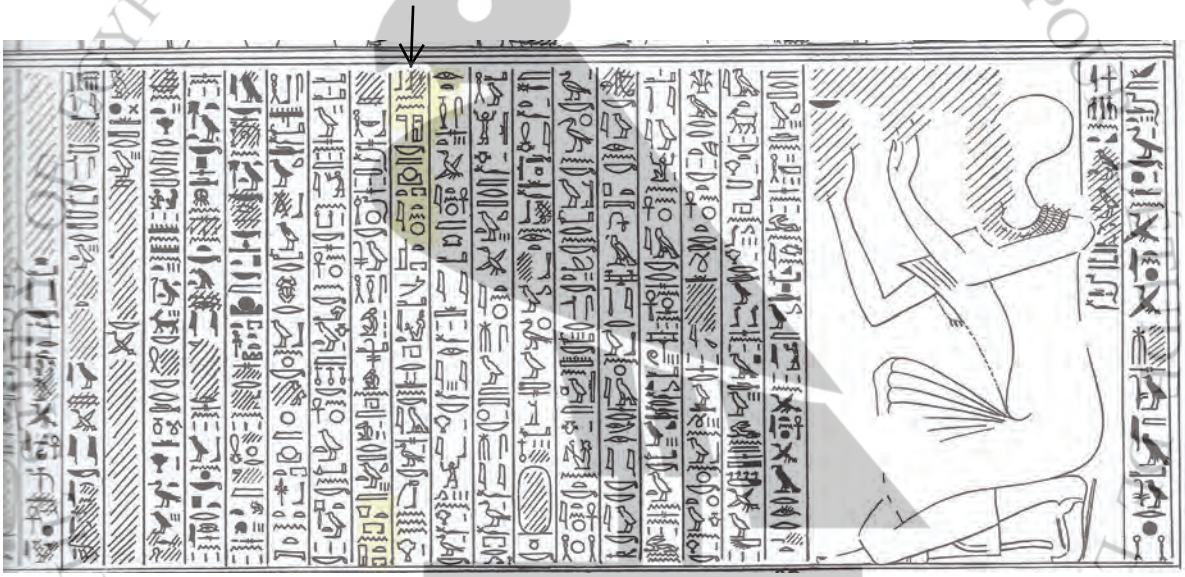


Fig. 7 Norman de Garis Davies, The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna, Vol. 6 (London: EEF, 1906), pl. XVI, l. 10-11.

Fig. 8. Davies, The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna, Vol. 2 (London: EEF, 1905), pl. xxi, left most vertical column.

The Poetic World of Giovanni Battista Belzoni[1]

Donald P. Ryan

Abstract: Expression by means of poetry was not unusual among the literate during the 19th century. The sphere of interaction surrounding the world of the Italian explorer Giovanni Belzoni provides several examples. Noted here are poems by Percy Shelley, Horace Smith, Henry Salt, and Belzoni himself.

Résumé: L'expression par le biais de la poésie n'était pas inhabituelle parmi les littéraires du 19e siècle. La sphère d'interaction entourant le monde de l'explorateur italien Giovanni Belzoni en fournit plusieurs exemples. Ici sont transcrits les poèmes de Percy Shelley, Horace Smith, Henry Salt et de Belzoni lui-même.

Keywords: Giovanni Belzoni, Ozymandias, poetry, Henry Salt, Percy Shelley, Horace Smith

Mots-clés: Giovanni Belzoni, Ozymandias, poésie, Henry Salt, Percy Shelley, Horace Smith

Giovanni Battista Belzoni stands out as a truly unique character in the early 19th century history of Egyptology, if not archaeology in general. To this day, Belzoni is often portrayed as a brash, swashbuckling, 19th century pillager of Egypt's antiquities.[2] Even if this reputation can be shown to be grossly unfair, one usually does not associate his name with poetry. Yet Belzoni was connected, both directly and indirectly, with those who wrote such works, and he composed poems himself, one of which is here published for the first time. The 19th century was indeed a fruitful time for the writing of poetry, especially as inspired by the remains of Egypt's antiquity.[3]

Born in Padua, Italy on November 5, 1778, Belzoni spent most of his early career as an actor and carnival performer in England, a land which he adopted as his own. Sometimes billed exotically as "The Patagonian Sampson," he specialized in feats of great strength and other amusing spectacles. Although the details of his

[1] This article is dedicated to the memory of John L. Foster whose lively translations of Egyptian poetry are wonderful contributions to the study of Egyptian literature. Special thanks are due to the late Alessandra Nibbi, Edmund Meltzer, Sherry Ryan, Samuel Ryan, Lisa and Richmond Prehn, Lois Schwartz and Dorothy Shelton.

[2] Brian Fagan devoted an entire section of his book, *The Rape of the Nile* (New York: Scribner, 1975) to Belzoni's activities in Egypt, referring to him as "the greatest plunderer of them all." Historian of archaeology Glyn Daniel branded him as "that villain in archaeology, the tomb robber – under the guise of scientific inquirer – in the person of Giovanni Belzoni, surely one of the most eccentric characters in the history of archaeology." *150 Years of Archaeology* (London: Duckworth, 1978), 155.

[3] The author of this article has edited two anthologies of antiquarian poetry from this era: *A Shattered Visage Lies…*: *Nineteenth Century Poetry Inspired by Ancient Egypt* (Bolton: Rutherford Press, 2007) and *Ancient Egypt in Verse: An Anthology of Nineteenth-Century Poetry* (Cairo: American University in Cairo, 2016).

education aren't known, it seems that he had some background in engineering and hydraulics.[4] A desire to sell his idea for an innovative waterwheel to the Pasha of Egypt, Muhammed Ali, brought Belzoni, along with his wife Sarah and an assistant, to Egypt in 1815. Although it had the potential of dramatically improving irrigation, the device was ultimately not adopted by the Pasha, but other opportunities for income would soon arise.

While in Cairo, Belzoni met the Swiss explorer Johann Burckhardt (1784-1817) who, during one of his many adventures, encountered the lost city of Petra, which the 19th century poet John William Burgon romantically described as "a rose-red city half as old as time."[5] Burckhardt had traveled far up the Nile and entranced Belzoni with stories of the wonders to be seen including the remains of temples and colossal statuary. Of the latter, it was noted that there was a large and especially impressive, though broken, example to be found upstream on the west bank of Luxor.

In 1816, Henry Salt (1780-1827)[6] arrived in Egypt as the new British Consul-General. Burckhardt, Belzoni and Salt agreed that this sculpture, which had been given the name "the Younger Memnon," would be a magnificent addition to the British Museum, and Belzoni was commissioned to retrieve this splendid piece. With his engineering skills and great perseverance, Belzoni was successful in removing the "Younger Memnon" from the site, which is today recognized as the memorial temple of Ramesses II (the "Ramesseum").[7] The sculpture in question is the upper part of a seated statue of the same ruler, one of a pair.[8] Belzoni admired the extraordinary beauty of the piece as it lay flat in the temple's courtyard, and noted that it was "apparently smiling on me, at the thought of being taken to England."[9] Loaded aboard a boat, the Younger Memnon made its journey north to

[4] Biographies of Belzoni include Stanley Mayes, *The Great Belzoni* (London: Putnam, 1959), Ivor N. Hume, *Belzoni: The Giant Archaeologists Love to Hate* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2011), and Donald P. Ryan, "Giovanni Battista Belzoni," *Biblical Archaeologist* 49[3] (1986),133-138.

[5] Burckhardt was fluent in Arabic language and culture and, traveling under the name "Sheikh Ibrahim" was able to visit places dangerous to Europeans. He died of dysentery in Cairo in 1817. His amazing life is described in the biography by Katharine Sims, *Desert Traveller: The Life of Jean Louis Burckhardt* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1969). Burgon's famous poem about Petra can be found in J. W. Burgon, *Petra and Other Poems* (Oxford: MacPherson, 1846).

[6] Salt was a competent artist and traveled to such places as Abyssinia and India prior to his post in Egypt. Biographies of Salt include Deborah Manning and Peta Rée, *Henry Salt: Artist, Traveller, Diplomat, Egyptologist* (London: Libri, 2001) and C.E. Bosworth, "Henry Salt, Consul in Egypt 1816-1817 and Pioneer Egyptologist," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 57 [1] (1974), 69-91.

[7] The "older" so-called Memnon statues are the two famous seated colossi which are situated in front of what was once the memorial temple of Amenhotep III. The Ramesseum is located nearby.

[8] Anna Garnett, *The Colossal Statue of Ramesses II* (London: British Museum, 2015).

[9] Giovanni Belzoni, Narrative of the operations and recent discoveries within the pyramids, temples, tombs, and excavations, in Egypt and Nubia and of a journey to the coast of the Red Sea, in search

ultimately arrive in England in March 1818, where it was installed as a prized piece in the British Museum's sculpture gallery later that year. Belzoni would continue to collect antiquities large and small, much at the behest of Salt who was developing collections to sell to the Museum in order to enhance its ancient Egyptian holdings.[10]

At this point, it might be useful to dispel an old myth. "Ozymandias" by Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) is certainly one of the best-known poems in the English language and revolves around the remnants of a ruined statue whose inscription ironically boasts, "My name is Ozymandias, king of kings: Look on my works, ye Mighty, and despair!" The scene of "nothing beside remains...the lone and level sands stretch far away" leaves one with a sense of fleeting grandiosity and the impermanence of power.[11] Shelly wrote the poem in friendly competition with his friend, the writer and London *bon vivant*, Horace Smith (1779-1849) – more about Smith later! "Ozymandias" was published in January 1818.[12]

As Shelley never visited Egypt, there has been some discussion as to the inspiration for his poem.[13] The name "Ozymandias" seems to be a Greek interpretation of the Egyptian name "Usermaatre," the prenomen of Ramesses II, as especially noted by the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus (c.60 BC).[14] And indeed there are large broken statues to be found in the Ramesseum, including the Younger Memnon's twin and another that is truly immense. For years, and even still, it is often said that it was the smiling "Younger Memnon" in the British Museum that served as Shelley's inspirational source. The timing of events, however, demonstrates that the sculpture was still in transit when the poem was written and certainly not yet installed in the Museum's galleries, and thus there was no opportunity for Shelley to have been so stirred.[15] There were other more likely sources, including the previously mentioned Diodorus Siculus, along with 18th century illustrated travel accounts such as that of Robert Pococke (1704-1765) and images from the monumental French work, *Description de l'Égypte*, composed by the scholars who accompanied Napoleon's invasion of Egypt.[16] One can also note

of the ancient Berenice, and of another to the oasis of Jupiter Ammon (London: John Murray, 1820), 39.

10 T.G.H. James, *The British Museum and Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum, 1981).

11 For a history of the poem, see: Donald P. Ryan, "The Pharaoh and the Poet," *KMT* 16[4] (2005), 76-83.

12 *The Examiner*, No. 524, 11 January 1818.

13 Donald P. Ryan, "The Pharaoh and the Poet."

14 C.H. Oldfather, translator, *Diodorus of Sicily* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), 1:169.

15 John Rodenbeck makes this quite clear and writes that "this superficially plausible folk thesis has seduced many an amateur critic and is totally fallacious." See his "Travelers from an Antique Land: Shelley's inspiration of 'Ozymandias," *Alif* 24 (2004), 125.

16 Robert Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries*, Vol. 1 (London: W. Boyer, 1743). H.M. Richmond argues for Pococke as a likely inspiration for the poem in "Ozymandias and the Travelers," *Keats-Shelley Journal* 11 (1962), 65-71.

that the sculpture retrieved by Belzoni certainly doesn't possess the "wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command" of Shelley's fallen statue. Furthermore, a somewhat different monument is described in the arguably awkward title of Smith's contribution to the competition with Shelley: *Ozymandias, or, On A Stupendous Leg Of Granite, Discovered Standing By Itself In The Deserts Of Egypt, With The Inscription Inserted Below*.[17]

The retrieval of the Younger Memnon was just the first of Belzoni's many accomplishments in Egypt over the following few years. He made major discoveries in the Valley of the Kings (including the huge and colorfully decorated tomb of Seti I), opened the sand-encumbered temples of Abu Simbel, located the entrance to the pyramid of Khafre at Giza, and explored portions of the Red Sea coast and the Fayyum and Bahariya oasis. He seems to be best remembered, though, for his great success in collecting antiquities for export, much of it in collaboration with Henry Salt.[18] And although his modern reputation often presents him as a veritable tomb-robber, it's now clear that much of his work, including the documentation of his discoveries, was better than that of his contemporaries, to the point where some might consider him to be a genuine proto-archaeologist.[19]

Belzoni and Salt had a complicated and often contentious relationship. Salt, who paid for much of Belzoni's work, seemed to view Belzoni merely as a hired employee. Belzoni, though, saw himself as mostly an independent operator collecting and exploring for the glory of Britain, and was especially concerned that Salt and others were taking credit for his discoveries, many of which were the result of his own sheer ingenuity and determination.[20] Belzoni's time in Egypt was full of intrigue and drama, and he ultimately left Egypt in 1819 and returned to his beloved England.

Salt continued as the English Consul-General for another eight years and suffered from ill health and a series of personal losses, including the death of some of his closest friends. In 1820, he married a young Italian girl. Their first child died, their second survived, but then later his wife perished and a third child died thereafter in short order. In his state of melancholy, Salt wrote a lengthy picturesque poem entitled simply "Egypt" and identified its authorship merely as "by a

17 Horace Smith, *Amarynthus the Nympholept* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1821).

18 Belzoni's adventures are well-described in his *Narrative*; see n. 8 above.

19 For example, the present author has noted: "…I offer no hesitation in my consideration of Giovanni Belzoni as a father of Egyptian archaeology." Donald P. Ryan, "Uninscribed tombs in the Valley of the Kings," in C.N. Reeves, ed., *After Tutankhamun* (London: Kegan Paul, 1992), 26. T.G.H. James (*The British Museum*, 13) wrote: "Work carried out by Belzoni in the Valley of the Kings was the first to be conducted there with serious archaeological intent and with a fair degree of care."

20 The drama of this situation in the context of its times is described in: Maya Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 233-274, and Jason Thompson, *Wonderful Things: A History of Egyptology*, Vol. 1 (Cairo: American University in Cairo, 2015), 140-145.

Traveller."[21] The work was privately printed in Alexandria with the date of July 10th 1824, and was dedicated to his friends. With limited distribution, it is not well known. Its preface gives a sense of Salt's depressed state and melancholy:

> This poem was printed with a view to divert the Author's attention whilst suffering under severe affliction…Should the contents of this little work bring back any agreeable recollections to the minds of travellers, of the various scenes they have noticed in passing through Egypt, the object of its Author will be, in a great measure, attained; beyond this, the only satisfaction he can promise himself consists in the gratification of those friends to whom it is dedicated.

The poem is quite lengthy and is organized into three cantos, each consisting of several stanzas, each with a variable number of lines. The first canto extols the Egyptian Nile, its people, and its wildlife, and begins as follows:

Egypt, renown'd of old, demands my song,
High favour'd land, where Nilus sweeps along
His course majestic with full flowing stream,
And back reflects to day the sun's bright beam…

Canto I then offers quaint descriptions of life along the Nile during the early 19th century:

III.
How pleasant, too, along thy stream to sail,
And catch the fragrance of the morning gale;
Watch the bright orb of day in glory rise,
Taking his course aloft through cloudless skies;
Or passing by each village, with its mosque,
Half hid in trees, or by some gay kiosque,
Observe thy native children, blithe and rude,
Bathe their young shining limbs in thy smooth flood;
Or mark the jar well-poised on maiden's head,
As up the bank she hurries, – round her spread
A dark blue veil, which ever and anon
She lifts aside, as to be gazed upon;
Or listen to the hum of water-wheels
By uncouth oxen turn'd, a rustic sound;

[21] The poem is published in John J. Halls, *The Life and Correspondence of Henry Salt, Esq*. (London: Richard Bentley, 1834), 2:387-420. The original printer was Alexander Draghi at the European Press in Alexandria.

And the loud crack of 'labouring whip, that tells
The peasant's watchful heed, where, planted round,
The sunt, the tamarisk their shade extend,
And to the sun-scorch'd hind a grateful refuge lend.

The second canto is descriptive of Alexandria, and the third focuses mostly on Thebes where we are presented with a description of the magnificent ruined temples found on Luxor's East Bank, where "massy columns front the sky, And catch in somber majesty the eye…" Excerpts follow:

Canto III.

V.
Nor, Luxor, be thine obelisks forgot,
Half hid their merit on a cumbrous spot,
Yet how they rise in sculptured radiancy,
And bare their pointed summits to the sky,
With high and polish'd gloss, that laughs to scorn
The modern sculptor's art, for time hath borne…

VIII.
Here too, Karnak, thy glorious temple rears
Its pile, the wonder of past circling years.
Tread lightly, traveler, tread, nor dare disturb
The awful silence of this solemn scene:
If thou have passions, learn them here to curb,
And banish from thy mind all earthly spleen.
How truly grand this lofty colonnade
That greets majestic admiring eye,
Each pillar casting back its sombre shade,
While all beyond lies open to a sky
Still, blue, serene, and placid as when first,
In pure perfection, it from chaos burst!
What endless mines are here of mystic lore,
Above, around, on every nook and face
Of the broad columns which mine eyes explore!
And mark! on yon tall capital, just by,
That hangs as falling from its pillar'd base,
Sits a white aged hawk, with half-closed eye,
That seems to mourn his long extinguish'd race.

And across the river on the west bank, Salt addressed the Valley of the Kings:

X.
Hail to thee, lonely valley of the dead!
Compass'd with rugged mountains, where the tread
Of man is rarely heard, save his who roams
From foreign lands to visit thy lonely tombs -
Tombs of long perish'd kings, who thus remote
Their sepulchers have set in barren spot,
Where not a blade of verdure ever grew:
To me thou hast a charm for aye that's new,
For I have cast, for days, weeks, months, my lot
Among thy rocks secluded – oft at night
Hath the still valley met my awe-struck sight,
Lighted by silver moon that seem'd to cast
A lingering look upon thy "antres vast,"
While many a blast blew, not unmix'd with dread,
That bore, methought, a chiding from the dead.

XX.
And so, loved valley, so I part from thee,
For I have pass'd full many a pleasant hour
Amidst thy tombs and temples, which have power
To raise up in the mind bright imagery
Of times remote, of nations now no more,
Whose memory lives but in the ancient lore;
Thy every tree, and rock, and monument,
Or mountain gilded with the ruddy glow
Of parting sun, at eve, in softness blent
With the Nile's azure, and the plain's warm green,
Thrills to my soul, with thoughts of what has been –
A voice that calls me to the shades below –

Egypt was not Salt's first foray into poetry; at least three other poems were published in the collection of letters assembled by his friend, John J. Halls.[22] After a severe and protracted illness, Henry Salt died in Egypt in 1827.

Back to Belzoni's story… upon his return to England, the explorer made use of his Egyptian adventures by writing a popular book and by mounting an exhibition of antiquities. The book (with the ponderous title: *Narrative of the operations and recent discoveries within the pyramids, temples, tombs, and excavations, in Egypt and Nubia; and of a journey to the coast of the Red Sea, in search of the ancient*

[22] Halls, *Henry Salt*, 1:379, 414-415; 2:221-222.

Berenice, and of another to the oasis of Jupiter Ammon), and accompanying color illustrative plates, were published by John Murray in 1820 and later translated into French, Italian and German.[23] The exhibition, which opened in 1821 at the appropriately named "Egyptian Hall" in London, included a variety of interesting attractions including mummies, a model of Seti's tomb, and artifacts of daily life.[24] One of its visitors was a duly impressed poet, the previously mentioned Horace Smith, and a mummy on display inspired him to pen the following inquisitive poem, "Address To The Mummy at Belzoni's Exhibition," from which excerpts follow:[25]

And hast thou walked about (how strange a story!)
  In Thebes's streets three thousand years ago.
When the Memnonium was in all its glory,
  And time had not begun to overthrow
Those temples, palaces, and piles stupendous,
 Of which the very ruins are tremendous.

Speak! for thou long enough hast acted Dummy;
  Thou hast a tongue – come – let us hear its tune;
Thou'rt standing on thy legs above-ground, Mummy!
  Revisiting the glimpses of the moon,
Not like thin ghosts or disembodied creatures,
But with thy bones and flesh, and limbs and features.

Tell us – for doubtless thou canst recollect
  To whom should we assign the Sphinx's fame?
Was Cheops or Cephrenes architect
  Of either pyramid that bears his name?
Is Pompey's Pillar really a misnomer?
Had Thebes a hundred gates, as sung by Homer?...

Thou couldst develop – if that wither'd tongue
  Might tell us what those sightless orbs have seen –
How the world look'd when it was fresh and young,
  And the great deluge still had left it green;
Or was it then so old, that history's pages
Contained no record of its early ages?

[23] Belzoni 1820 op cit. A beautifully illustrated presentation of Belzoni's *Narrative* can be found in Alberto Siliotti, ed., *Belzoni's Travels* (London: British Museum, 2001).

[24] Giovanni Belzoni, *Description of the Egyptian Tomb discovered by G. Belzoni* (London: John Murray, 1821); Susan M. Pearce, "Giovanni Battista Belzoni's exhibition of the reconstructed tomb of Pharaoh Seti I in 1821." *Journal of the History of Collections* 12 [1] (2000):109-125.

[25] Horace Smith, *The Poetical Works of Horace Smith* (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), 1:11-15.

Still silent? incommunicative elf!
  Art sworn to secrecy? then keep thy vows;
But prythee tell us something of thyself –
  Reveal the secrets of thy prison-house;
Since in the world of spirits thou hast slumber'd,
What hast thou seen −what strange adventures number'd?

Since first thy form was in this box extended,
  We have, above ground, seen some strange mutations:
The Roman empire has begun and ended,
  New worlds have risen − we have lost old nations;
And countless kings have to dust been humbled,
While not a fragment of thy flesh has crumbled…

In 1822, Belzoni traveled through Europe with hopes of arranging additional exhibition venues. While in Paris residing at the Hotel Le Helder, he composed the following "Venetian poetry" addressed to L. Goldsmid, Esq. and dated October 26, 1822 (Figures 1, 2).[26] It is presented here for the first time as translated into more contemporary Italian and then English by the late Egyptological scholar, Alessandra Nibbi.[27]

"Grazie tante signor amico,
la Sua pipa fumero..."

Thank you very much my friend
I shall smoke your pipe
But forgive me if I tell you
How will I manage without the fire-cup?[28]

Think about it a little
and see if you can
send me this part of it
if you have more than one

But if you only have one
I would not accept it

[26] The poem is in the private collection of this article's author. Details regarding the person addressed, Mr. L. Goldsmid, are currently unknown.

[27] Mrs. Nibbi (1923-2007) was a controversial figure in Egyptology, publishing her own historical interpretations and an often provocative journal, *Discussions in Egyptology*. Apart from her interests in archaeological issues, she was also a scholar of the Italian language.

[28] The bowl portion of a pipe.

for a million beautiful pieces[29]
I would want you to do the smoking.

Please forgive me if I take
a small liberty
but a pipe without its fire-cup
is not pleasant and looks bad.

The pleasure is very great
If the the reed and the fire-cup
are united and from time to time
one puffs a little at it.

I have smoked your pipe sometimes
on a chair or on the sofa
how this occurred
you already know, I need not tell you.

There is nothing better
than to smoke when one wants to
in some hidden corner
when the feeling is aroused.

In the last lines, Belzoni presents a verse that rhymes with his own name:

“Ma se Ella non trova un camino
tra le casse o nei cantoni
fa lo stesso e daro prova.
d’esser sempre il Suo Belzoni.”

But if you can’t find me the missing piece
among your boxes and corners
never mind, I am still
your friend Belzoni.

If one might interpret the meaning of the poem, it can probably be taken literally: a gift received but found to be incomplete; a pipe arrives with only the stem but not the bowl which holds the smoking substance. Belzoni's use of poetry in the above example seems an endearing way to inform the gift-giver of the situation. It should be noted that more than one portrait of Belzoni depicts him holding a long

[29] Refers to valued coins.

pipe, if not smoking it. The frontispiece to his *Narrative* displays such an image (Figure 3).

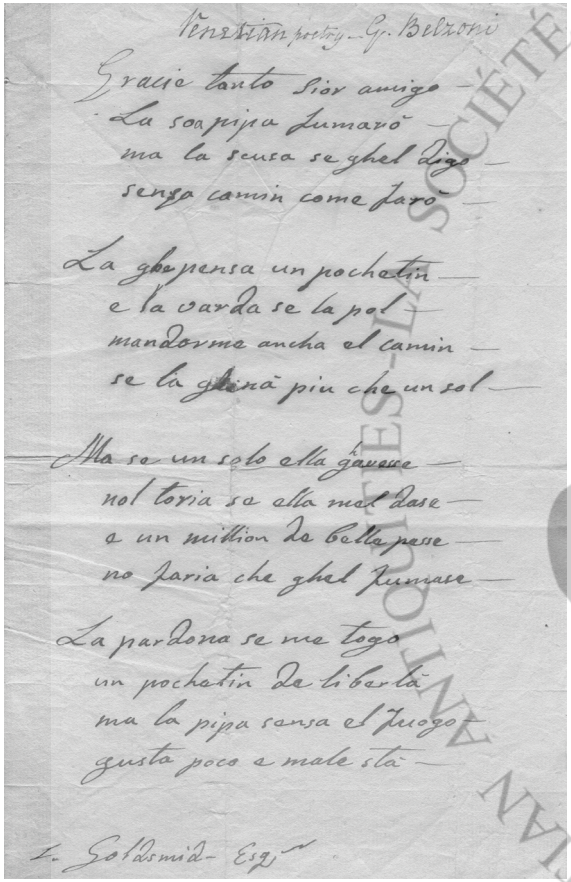
Although achieving a certain amount of long-lasting fame in England and parts of Europe as a celebrated traveler, Belzoni was not content to rest on his achievements, but instead set off to pursue one of the greatest exploration goals of his day: the search for the source of Africa's Niger River. It was a dangerous objective which had already resulted in failure and/or death of those who had tried before, and it is possible that Belzoni was inspired by his friend, Johann Burckhardt, who had similar aspirations to explore the African interior. Before leaving on what would be his last expedition, Belzoni wrote a letter from Paris dated September 2, 1822, to his friend and publisher in London, John Murray. The letter included a farewell poem written in English.[30] Belzoni mentions having recently met the British poet, Eleanor Anne Porden (1795-1825), author of an epic work, *Coeur de Lion, or The Third Crusade*. He wrote, "having read Miss P.'s poem, the poetical spirit inspired me as follows:

Britains farewell my friends adieu
I must far away from the happy shore
My hart will remain ever with you
Should I the dear land see no more
I scoff at my foes, and the Intrigoni
If my friends remember their true Belzoni."

Sad to say, Belzoni saw Britain "no more" after December 3, 1823. His intended venture into the interior of Africa lasted but a few weeks before he died of dysentery on that day in the village of Gwato in what is now Nigeria.

As controversial as Belzoni remains, he was certainly a man of his times and can't be judged by the yardstick of the present. His background as an entertainer should not disqualify him as an engineer, antiquarian, explorer, or poet. As previously noted, his approach to the things he discovered was exceptional for his time. To the extent that he was a poet, we can appreciate his efforts, and recognize that he lived in an era when such was a common and valued means of expression.

[30] The letter is in the John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland. The poem is published in Stanley Mayes, op. cit., p. 278.



Venetian poetry — G. Belzoni

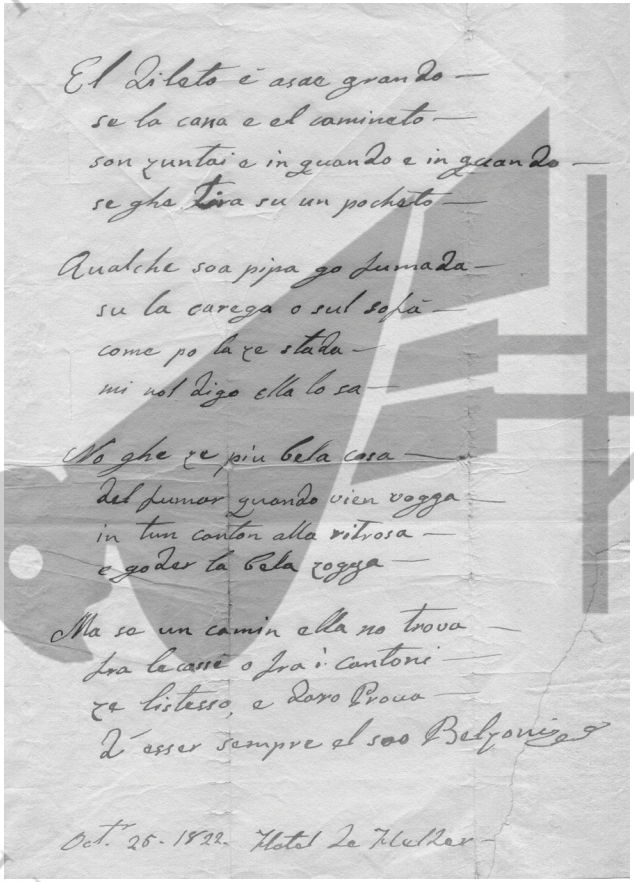
Gracie tanto Sior amigo —
La soa pipa fumarò —
ma la senza se ghel digo —
senza camin come faro —

La ghe pensa un pochetin —
e la varda se la pol —
mandorme ancha el camin —
se la gliena piu che un sol —

Ma se un solo ella gavesse —
nol toria se ella mel dasse —
e un million de bella passe —
no faria che ghel fumasse —

La pardona se me togo
un pochetin de libertà
ma la pipa senza el fuogo
gusta poco e male stà —

I. Goldsmid — Esqr



El Coleto è assae grando —
se la casa e el caminetto —
son yuntai e in quando e in quando —
se ghe tira su un pochetto —

Qualche soa pipa go fumada —
su la carega o sul sofà —
come po la ze stada —
mi nol digo ella lo sa —

No ghe ze piu bela cosa —
del fumar quando vien vogia —
in tun canton alla ritrosa —
e goder la bela rogia —

Ma se un camin ella no trova —
fra la casse o fra i cantoni —
ze listesso, e doro Prova
d'esser sempre el soo Belzoni

Oct. 25. 1822. Hotel de Mulhen

Fig. 1 **Fig. 2** **Fig. 3**

Demotic and Hieratic Scholia in Funerary Papyri and their Implications for the Manufacturing Process[1]

Foy Scalf

Abstract: Many ancient Egyptian papyrus manuscripts inscribed with funerary compositions contain annotations within the text and margins. Some of these annotations relate directly to the production process for illustrating and inscribing the manuscripts by providing instructions for scribes and artists. Two overlooked examples, pKhaemhor (MMA 25.3.212) and pRyerson (OIM E9787), allow for new interpretations of parallel texts previously considered as labels or captions. An analysis of the corpus of scholia and marginalia demonstrates specific manufacturing proclivities for selective groups of texts, while simultaneously revealing a wide variety of possible construction sequences and techniques in others.

Résumé: Plusieurs manuscrits anciens de papyrus égyptiens sur lesquels sont inscrites des compositions funéraires contiennent des annotations dans le texte et dans les marges. Certaines de ces annotations sont directement liées au processus de production relatif à l'illustration et à l'inscription des manuscrits en donnant des instructions destinées aux scribes et aux artistes. Deux exemples négligés, le pKhaemhor (MMA 25.3.212) et le pRyerson (OIM E9787), permettent de nouvelles interprétations de textes parallèles précédemment considérés comme des étiquettes ou des légendes. Une analyse du corpus des scholia et marginalia démontre des tendances de fabrication spécifiques pour des groupes particuliers de textes, tout en révélant simultanément une grande variété de séquences et de techniques de construction dans d'autres cas.

Keywords: Book of the Dead – Funerary Papyri – Scholia – Marginalia – Hieratic – Demotic

Mots-clés: Livre des Morts – Papyrus funéraire – Scholia – Marginalia – hiératique – démotique

The production of illustrated funerary papyri in ancient Egypt was a complex and expensive process that often involved the efforts of a team of skilled scribes and artisans. The exact nature of their working habits remains only partially understood and is mostly obscured by the preserved evidence, which consists primarily of finished

[1] This short article would not exist without the help of Mark Smith who inspired it by drawing my attention to the Demotic note in pRyerson in comments on my University of Chicago dissertation (Passports to Eternity: Formulaic Demotic Funerary Texts and the Final Phase of Egyptian Funerary Literature in Roman Egypt, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2014), which is currently being prepared for publication. He also graciously provided me with his translation of this Demotic note and suggested that it implied the text was inscribed before the images. Further impetus for writing this article I owe to Emily Teeter with whom I discussed several of these ideas pending the revision of her catalog entry on pRyerson for the second edition of OIMP 32. Gratitude is also owed to Robert Ritner who saved me from several unfortunate errors in interpretation. I would like to thank Brian Muhs and Sven Vleeming for reading an early draft of this manuscript. Finally, the comments of two anonymous reviewers allowed me to fix several blunders and clarify some aspects of my argument. Any errors in content or logic should be attributed solely to the author. It is an honor to have this article appear in a volume dedicated to the memory of Jack Foster, whom I remember fondly from his time spent with his daughter Ann in the Research Archives of the Oriental Institute.

products.[2] However, these beautiful commodities retain clues to their material histories as fabricated artifacts in ancient workshops. A number of funerary papyri contain scholia,[3] i.e. marginal notations for the application of vignettes, and several unfinished manuscripts bear fragmentary witness to the processes involved in their production.[4] New readings for scholia in pRyerson and pKhaemhor are presented below and the implications of these new readings are discussed, including correcting published interpretations of manufacturing sequences for the texts in question. When these conclusions are applied to the Rhind Papyri manuscripts, appended textual elements that have long been considered "captions" to images can be reinterpreted as scholia, i.e. explanations for the placement of content and images appended during the course of drafting.[5] A reexamination of these often unstudied scholia and marginalia attest to the implementation of sequential manufacturing techniques while simultaneously demonstrating the overall variability in the production process.

Two papyri are famous for how their "unfinished" states reflect the order of steps employed during their production. In both the papyrus of Nespasefy[6] and that of Khaemhor[7] the full text was laid out inside gridlines, but only some of the vignettes

[2] Ogden Goelet, "Observations on Copying and the Hieroglyphic Tradition in the Production of the Book of the Dead," in Sue H. D'Auria (ed.), *Offerings to the Discerning Eye: An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson*, CHANE 38 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 119-133.

[3] I use the term scholia intentionally as these Egyptian texts perform many of the same functions as certain scholia in Classical texts, for which the term is more commonly applied in scholarly discourse. As noted by Eleanor Dickey, scholia has a wide usage, but in recent work means "commentary or notes written in the margins of a text." See Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 11, n. 25.

[4] Note especially, Chloe Ragazzoli, "The Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset (P. BNF Egyptien 62-88): Traces of Workshop Production or Scribal Experiments," *BMSAES* 15 (2010), 225-248, and Ursula Verhoeven, *Das Totenbuch des Monthpriesters Nespasefy aus der Zeit Psammetichs I.: pKairo JE 95714 + pAlbany 1900.3.1, pKairo JE 95649, pMarseille 91/2/1 (ehem. Slg. Brunner) + pMarseille 291*, Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999).

[5] As captions, the texts have long been understood as descriptions of the scenes in the vignettes. However, several lines of evidence discussed below, including re-interpreting these texts as instructional scholia, necessitate a reappraisal.

[6] Verhoeven, *Das Totenbuch des Monthpriesters Nespasefy*; Ursula Verhoeven, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift*, Orientalia Lovaniensai Analecta 99 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 17 and 70-71; Rita Lucarelli, "Making the Book of the Dead," in John Taylor (ed.), *Journey through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 283. Note that the Metropolitan Museum of Art manuscript previously attributed to Nespasefy by Werner Forman and Stephen Quirke, *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 155, and Woods, *Visible Language*, 163, should rather be attributed to Khaemhor (see references in note 7 below).

[7] See Verhoeven, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift*, 17, 71, and pl. 2; Ursula Verhoeven, "Internationales Totenbuch-Puzzle," *RdÉ* 49 (1998), 222 n. 7; and Terry G. Wilfong, "A Saite *Book of the Dead* Fragment in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology," in Rodney Ast, Hélène Cuvigny, Todd M. Hickey, and Julia Lougovaya (eds.), *Papyrological Texts in Honor of Roger S. Bagnall*, ASP 53 (Durham: American Society of Papyrologists, 2013), 325-330. According to Wilfong, the scattered fragments of pKhaemhor are currently in preparation for publication by Verhoeven.

were ever added.[8] The large empty spaces carefully laid out in preparation for the illustrator are an odd sight to an Egyptologist accustomed to looking at finished funerary manuscripts. Why the papyri were left in such an incomplete state is uncertain, but it was done despite a notation in Khaemhor's manuscript to have the spaces filled with their respective images – the addition of the vignettes was clearly part of the original plan. A hieratic annotation in the papyrus of Khaemhor (selection from pMMA 25.3.212d) reads (figure 1): *ỉrỉ mỉ sšm pn nty m sš* "Produce according to this guide which is in writing," i.e. draw the vignette(s) according to the description in the accompanying text.[9]

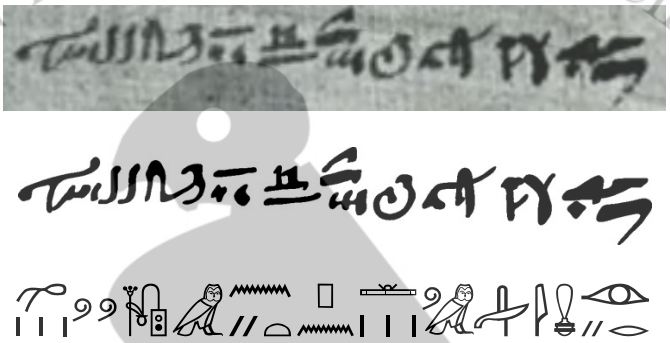


Figure 1. Hieratic Notation from pMMA 25.3.212d[10]

A comparison of pKhaemhor (MMA 25.3.212) and the later pRyerson (OIM E9787) demonstrates that scribes reflected the intended audience of their scholia by employing different scripts. The hieratic note in pMMA 25.3.212d matches the hieratic used throughout the papyrus, written in a hand very similar, if not identical to, that of the surrounding columns. However, such notes could also be written in scripts different from the main text, as shown by the Demotic note on pRyerson (OIM E9787), a famous Book of the Dead papyrus manuscript from the Oriental Institute

[8] See also pTurin 1842 (*Totenbucharchiv Bonn, TM 57580*), a Saite Period manuscript with columns of text and empty spaces for vignettes. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for pointing me to this manuscript.

[9] Visible in the photograph in Forman and Quirke, *Hieroglyphs*, 155, who provided the translation "Add the prescribed images." For the interpretation of the well-known phrase *mỉ sšm pn* "according to this guide" (*contra* "images" in Forman and Quirke), see *Wb*. IV, 289.14-15 ("nach diesem Muster" and "in (dieser) Weise"). The demonstrative pronoun clearly indicates that the noun *sšm* is singular and the preceding preposition rules out the possibility of it acting as direct object of the verb. Based on the context and implicit meaning of this text, it is unlikely therefore that *sšm* here refers to any "image" and there is no need to invoke the root *sšm* that refers to cult statues, forms, and figures of gods (*Wb*. IV, 290-291; Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Text in the Temple of Edfu*, OLA 78 (Lueven: Peeters, 1997), 925).

[10] The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1925 (http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/590941).

Museum,[11] inscribed for a man named Nesshutefnut,[12] son of Asetreshti[13] and Iunihor.[14] The manuscript was purchased in Paris in 1919 and presented to the Oriental Institute by Martin A. Ryerson. Based on the titles of the owner, it has been suggested that the papyrus ultimately derives from Edfu.[15] It is a remarkable example of Ptolemaic Period[16] funerary production whose preservation, well organized text, and colorful vignettes have ensured that it remains a staple in exhibits and museum

[11] Thomas George Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead, Documents in The Oriental Institute Museum at The University of Chicago*, OIP 82 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1960), 10, 16-39, pls. XIII-L. A further fragment from the beginning of the papyrus was published by Holger Kockelmann, "Ein Fragment vom verschollenen Anfang des 'Papyrus Ryerson': pNew York, Columbia University Library Inv. 784," *ZÄS*133 (2006), 94-95, pl. XXV-XXVI. Portions of pRyerson were used as *comparanda* for the Demotic version of BD 125 in Martin Andreas Stadler, *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month (P. Bibl. Nat. 149)*, SAT 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003).

[12] *Ns-šw-Tfn.t*, Greek εστφνις, see Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1935), 179; Erich Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1980), 691 (hereafter *Demot. Nam.*).

[13] *ꜣs.t-rš.tỉ*, see Ranke, Personennamen, 4; Dem. Nam. 79.

[14] *Ỉỉ-n-Ḥr*, cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, 9-10 (s.v. *Ỉỉ-n=ỉ-Wsỉr*, *Ỉỉ-n=ỉ-bꜣ*). The father's name is mentioned only in column clviii (BD 191 *rꜣ n ỉnỉ(.t) bꜣ r ḫ(.t)* "spell for bringing the *ba* to the body"), while the mother's name is mentioned throughout (Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 16). Allen read the father's name as *ʿZp ˁ-n-Ḥr*, but suggested in a footnote the alternative *Ỉỉ-n-Ḥr*, for the hieroglyphic spelling  (Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 10 with n. 5, and pl. L; see also *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 48470*). The name should probably be read as *Ỉỉ-n(=ỉ)-Ḥr*, as hesitantly suggested by Allen, employing the jackal glyph (E17) for the value *ỉỉ* as common in contemporary hieroglyphic inscriptions (*Wb*. I, 37). Cf. the writing of Imhotep as  on the inside of the northeast section of the enclosure wall at Edfu in Dietrich Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep: Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten*, MÄS 36 (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1977), 144-145, §98. For further discussion, see Dieter Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische*, Teil I (Hützel: Backe-Verlag, 2007), 202, with notes. It should be further noted that the mention of the father's name appears in the first column of cursive hieroglyphs following the hieratic columns at the very end of the papyrus.

[15] Listed as Edfu in Trismegistos (TM 48470) and as "unknown" in the databank of the *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*. For the title of Nesshutefnut, *ḥm-nṯr n nꜣ bỉk.w ʿnḫ.w m ḫt=f* "priest of the living falcons in his tree," see Foy Scalf, "The Role of Birds within the Religious Landscape of Ancient Egypt," in Rozen Bailleul-LeSuer (ed.), *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt*, OIMP 35 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2012), 38 with fig. 2.7.

[16] Various dates have been assigned to the manuscript: Persian-Ptolemaic in Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 10; Late Period, Dynasty 31-early Ptolemaic Period, 4th century BC in Emily Teeter, *Ancient Egypt: Treasures from the Collection of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*, OIMP 23 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2003), 98; Ptolemaic, late third-second century BC in Christopher Woods (ed.), *Visible Language: Inventions of Writing in the Ancient Middle East and Beyond*, OIMP 32 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2010), 163; BC 350-200 in Trismegistos; Dynasty 30-Early Ptolemaic in *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*. The late third to early second century BCE date follows Malcolm Mosher's examination of the format and layout of BD manuscripts, where he cited the issues in dating pRyerson: "The classic fault of using palaeography is well illustrated by Allen's attempt to date Papyrus Ryerson. Observing the use of signs that ranged from the 20th Dynasty to 60 A.D., he opted for a general Persian-Ptolemaic designation, whereas, based on an examination of the document's various features, Papyrus Ryerson cannot be dated earlier than the late third century, and may perhaps be attributed to the early second" (Malcom Mosher, Jr., "Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period," *JARCE* 29 (1992), 169-170).

catalogs.[17] However, the short Demotic note appended to pRyerson's column cviii (after BD 140) has received relatively little attention. It is likely because an accurate reading of this inscription has yet to appear in the published literature,[18] and therefore its important implications for the general production methods of Book of the Dead papyri have not been noted before now.[19] In the original publication, Richard Parker provided Thomas George Allen with a reading of the Demotic text as *bn wš n ⸢sš ḥr⸣=f* "There is no lack of ⸢writing on⸣ it."[20] This interpretation can now be corrected with confidence.

Below the hieratic text for Book of the Dead spell 140 in pRyerson the short Demotic note reads (figure 2): *bn wš n ṯk ỉn pȝy* "It is not an empty space for a picture."[21]

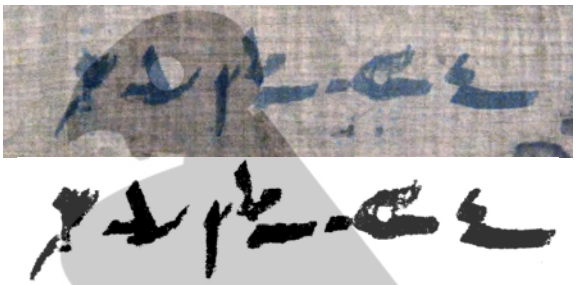


Figure 2. Demotic Note on pRyerson (OIM E9787G)

Several sign groups merit additional attention. The meaning of the word *ṯk*, "colored illustration," which Mark Depauw recently suggested was a ghost word,[22] has now been established beyond doubt by Kim Ryholt in his study of papyri from the Tebtunis

[17] Teeter, *Ancient Egypt*, 98-99; Woods, *Visible Language*, 163-164. Section J (OIM E9787J) is currently on display in the Joseph and Mary Grimshaw Egyptian Gallery of the Oriental Institute Museum.

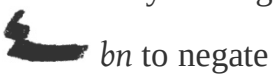
[18] I would like to thank Mark Smith for drawing my attention to this note. It has now been brought to my attention that a treatment of this Demotic note will appear in Sven Vleeming's forthcoming *Short Texts III*, no. 1989 (Mark Smith and Sven Vleeming personal communication).

[19] As suggested by Mark Smith (personal communication) and independently discovered when reading pRyerson during a class in 2006 with Robert Ritner where it was noticed that ink used for the vignettes overlapped ink of the text.

[20] Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 225 n. s. I had initially followed the reading of Parker for the final two Demotic groups in my dissertation (reading *bn wš n ṯk ḥr=f*), for which see Scalf, *Passports*, 183 n. 118. An entry in Trismegistos (TM 48470) cites the following "[but Mark Depauw reads *bn wš bȝk n-ỉm=*]."

[21] I would like to thank Mark Smith for supplying me with his translation "There is no room for a picture" (personal communication). A true clause of negative existence (i.e. "there is no …") would have been constructed with *mn*. Furthermore, *wš* means "emptiness, hole, lack," not "space, room," see *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* W 09.1, 171 (hereafter *CDD*) and Wolja Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954), 101 (hereafter E*G*). If the note indicated that space on the papyrus was insufficient, one would have expected something similar to *mn bw n ṯk* "there is no space for a picture." I would like to thank Robert Ritner for emphasizing this point in discussing this text with me.

[22] Mark Depauw, *The Demotic Letter*, Demotische Studien 14 (Sommerhausen: Gisela Zauzich Verlag, 2006), 259.

temple library.[23] The final two groups have posed the most trouble to previous editors, being interpreted as *ḥr=f* and *n-ỉm=* respectively.[24] However, the paleography does not support either reading. The penultimate group is certainly the negative particle  *ỉn* that is used as the post-negation following  *bn* to negate present tense, non-verbal sentences with nominal predicates.[25] The final group must then be the copula pronoun *pȝy*,[26] necessary here to complete the predication of the nominal sentence.[27] Through this Demotic addendum, a scribe indicated that the space left at the bottom of BD 140 was not meant for the vignette associated with the next spell BD 141. BD 140, for which the correct vignette and title appear at the top of the papyrus,[28] ended close to the bottom of the papyrus and two additional lines from BD 137 in the previous column have further encroached upon the empty space. As a result, the scribe deemed this space inadequate for the location of the BD 141 vignette and feared that the illustrated would mistake it as such (plate 1).[29]

The Demotic note in pRyerson recalls the two hieroglyphic notes  *gm wš* "found blank"[30] in the papyrus of Gatseshen, which Rita Lucarelli believes were "likely to have been added by the illustrator on places previously left empty by the scribe."[31] In one particular section of pGatseshen, a scribe or artist has drawn these

[23] Kim Ryholt, "A Hieratic List of Book Titles," in *The Carlsberg Papyri 7: Hieratic Texts from the Collections*, CNI Publications 30 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), 152-155; Mark Smith, *Papyrus Harkness (MMA 31.9.7)* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2005), 98 n. *(b)*. The hieratic evidence cited by Ryholt seems conclusive in determining the reading *ṯk* < *ṯky*. See also *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* T (14 July 2012): 12.1, 305-306. The transliteration *ṯ* for the first sign (rather than *ṯ*) was established by Jan Quaegebeur, "Le terme ṯnf(j) 'danseur' en démotique," in Heinz-J. Thissen and Karl-Th. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika: Festschrift für Erick Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983* (Würzburg: Gisela Zauzich Verlag, 1984), 157-170 (I would like to thank Sven Vleeming for reminding me of this reference).

[24] See note 20.

[25] For *ỉn* and *bn*, see EG, 32 and 115.

[26] It is not surprising that previous interpreters confused this group with *=f* as the orthography can be very similar, cf. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 128.

[27] For further examples of the sentence type *bn* + NP + *ỉn* + *pȝy*, see Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1975), 211-212, §472.

[28] BD 140: *mḏȝ.t ỉr.t ḫft mḥ wȝḏ.t m ȝbd 2 pr.t ʿrqy* "Book used when filling the sound eye on Mecheir day 30." Cf. R. Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig: Georg Wigand, 1842), pl. LVII.

[29] See Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, pl. XXIX.

[30] Alternatively, "found missing," i.e. lacunar (cf. "etwas zerstört finden" in *Wb*. I, 369.9-11).

[31] Rita Lucarelli, *The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen: Ancient Egyptian Funerary Religion in the 10th Century BC*, EU 21 (Leiden: NINO, 2006), 200-201.

hieroglyphs at a large scale in place of the actual vignette.[32] At this point, in pGatseshen, *gm wš* "found blank" is presumably a reference to a missing vignette in the source material used to compile the manuscript, while *bn wš n ṯk ỉn pȝy* "It is not an empty space for a picture" in pRyerson reflects a conscientious scribe who made an annotation for the artist that the "empty space" (*wš*) was not meant for a vignette. Despite mismatching of text and image elsewhere in pRyerson, the artist correctly skipped adding the vignette for BD 141 to this space and went on with his work. It seems unlikely that this Demotic note would have been added by the artist, for the vignette to BD 141 could have been easily squeezed into the available space[33] and furthermore vignettes in pRyerson were never put at the bottom of a column when the text of the spell began at the top of the next column.[34] Moreover, it implies that the source material used to compile pRyerson did not have a vignette associated with BD 141, a common occurrence with this particular spell.[35]

These scholia have implications for how the papyri were manufactured. Despite published assessments otherwise, it now seems clear that the text and overall layout of Papyrus Ryerson were produced prior to the vignettes being added, a typical manufacturing sequence based on what is currently known from a survey of the surviving evidence.[36] Malcolm Mosher had already noted in 1992 that the papyrus "is exceptional in that a large number of vignettes are misaligned with their respective spells, but even here the misalignment is so completely ordered that it is immediately apparent that the artist was off by one spell, sometimes two,"[37] and "… the scribe undoubtedly entered the text first, leaving space for the vignettes to be added later by the artist."[38] Evidence for this manufacturing sequence is apparent in certain areas where the ink used to produce the vignettes overlaps and covers up the black ink used

[32] Lucarelli, *Gatseshen*, pl. VIII and XXVII. Lucarelli suggests that the two *gm wš* notes perform slightly different functions in pGatseshen: the first (pl. VIII) having been inspired by missing text (BD 162) and the second (pl. XXVII) by a missing vignette for BD 116. Cf. Lucarelli, *Gatseshen*, 202-205 and 213-215.

[33] For examples of a rather small vignette to BD 141, see Paul Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts des anciens égyptiens*, LAPO 1 (Paris: Les éditions du cerf, 1967), 185, and pLouvre N. 3087 in *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56598*.

[34] Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, pls. XIII-L. This is further evidence that the Demotic text does not mean "There is not room for the picture" as no vignette was meant to be placed there.

[35] Richard Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig: Georg Wigand, 1842), LVIII; Edouard Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1886), CLIII.

[36] Ragazzoli, "Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset," 230: "In order to include pictures in a continuous hieratic text during the Third Intermediate Period, the most commonly adopted solution was to leave space for the image to be drawn in." Cf. the comment in Woods, *Visible Language*, 163, that the "vignettes … on Papyrus Ryerson were apparently done first, for the text in some areas is crowded into the available space," following Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 19: "Most at least of the vignettes were evidently sketched in ahead of the text, and the latter did not always fit as the artist had planned." A revised second edition of Woods, *Visible Language*, currently in preparation, will be amended to reflect more current research on pRyerson (personal communication by Emily Teeter).

[37] Mosher, "Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead," 146-147 n. 25.

[38] Mosher, "Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead," 148.

for the text,[39] a phenomenon also known from the famous papyrus of Iatesnakht where drips of color from the illustrator's brush dripped upon the columns of text.[40] The Demotic note in pRyerson provides further support to demonstrate that the hieratic text had already been written when it came time to add the vignettes. If any further proof of this sequence were needed, the empty space in pRyerson for the missing vignette of BD 37 is conclusive. Because BD 37 started in the middle of the papyrus, the illustrator accidentally missed adding the illustration and thereby caused the mismatching of text and vignettes previously cited when he went on to add the vignette for BD 37 to the text of BD 38. This follows the pattern of laying out the text prior to the vignettes reflected in the "unfinished" papyri of Nespasefy and Khaemhor.

Like the textual indications for the layout of vignettes, several manuscripts contain embedded notations describing in words the pictures found on a source text from which the scribe copied. Papyrus Bibliotèque Nationale 149 is not illustrated, but contains a selection of several Demotic compositions, including a Demotic translation of a funerary text often associated with the Book of Traversing Eternity, a textual description of the vignette of BD 125, a Demotic translation of BD 125, a description of a second vignette identified as the vignette for BD 148, a Demotic translation of BD 128, and a colophon identifying the scribe.[41] The Demotic texts associated with BD 125 appear following a short blank space in the papyrus separating it from the previous funerary compositions. At this point, there is an introductory text *nꜣ sḫ.w nty šm r tꜣ wsḫꜣ.t n nꜣ nṯr.w nty wpy* "the writings which go to the hall of the gods who judge," which is not a title for BD 125, but a description of where the text was positioned in the source material in relation to the vignette. This is followed by a lengthy Demotic description of the judgment scene associated with BD 125.[42] Martin Stadler has shown how the subsequent Demotic translation of BD 125 in pBib Nat 149 was clearly copied and translated from a hieroglyphic original in columnar

[39] Noticeable especially around the judgement scene where the baboons' tails overlap text. See Woods, *Visible Language*, 164, fig. 84.

[40] Ursula Verhoeven, *Das Saitische Totenbuch der Iahtesnacht P. Colon. Aeg. 10207*, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 41 (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1993), 13-14. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer who pointed this out to me.

[41] Franz Lexa, *Das demotische Totenbuch der Pariser Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus des Pamonthes)*, Demotische Studien 4 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1910); Martin Andreas Stadler, *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month (P. Bibl. nat. 149)*, SAT 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003); Mark Smith, *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 437-454; Martin Stadler, *Einführung in die ägyptische Religion ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit nach den demotischen religiösen Texten*, EQA 7 (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2012), 132-133; Joachim Friedrich Quack, "A New Demotic Translation of (Excerpts of) a Chapter of the Book of the Dead," *JEA* 100 (2014), 381-393. It should be noted that, simply by coincidence, a Demotic note indicating the number of columns is found below the vignette of BD 148 in pBerlin 10477. See Malcolm Mosher, Review of Barbara Lüscher, *Das Totenbuch pBerlin P. 10477*, *JAOS* 123 (2003), 894.

[42] Joachim Quack, Review of Martin Stadler, *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month (P. Bibl. Nat. 149)*, *WdO* 35 (2005), 189, where comparative material is cited; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 440.

format.[43] In this case the scribe decided to simply compose a description of the scene rather than illustrate the papyrus with a version from the source.[44]

Similar notes from other papyri further reveal the compilation process in arranging the compositions of a given manuscript. While making no reference to illustrations (the manuscript is not illustrated), a short Demotic note from pLeiden T 32, column 7, demarcates the end of the previous hieratic composition:  *pꜣy=f mnq pꜣy* "It is its end."[45] Like the more familiar *ỉw=f pw* "This means it ends," *pꜣy=f mnq pꜣy* signaled the separation of the previous composition from its hieratic neighbors like the spaces and notations in pBib Nat 149 described above. Joachim Quack and Mark Smith have pointed out that a hieratic composition following this Demotic note, although included in the publication of the Book of Traversing Eternity by François René-Herbin,[46] is only associated with that composition in roughly half the attested examples.[47] The Demotic note and independent exemplars (including the Demotic copy at the beginning of pBib Nat 149) rather suggest that this was an independent composition, which would have been brought together with other compositions during manuscript preparation presumably in the scriptorium. The scribe of pLeiden T 32, perhaps the owner Harsiesis himself,[48] therefore indicated his understanding of these texts as discreet units by adding this Demotic note, although it is uncertain why he would have added it in Demotic and not hieratic.

Several questions are raised by these interesting passages. Who wrote them and who were the intended readers? At first glance, one would presume that the Demotic

[43] Stadler, *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month*, 17-20.

[44] It is important to note here the scribe's role in composing the description of the vignettes in an attempt to interweave the compositions of pBib Nat 149 together. The main texts of the papyrus consist of Demotic translations of texts typically written in "l'égyptien de tradition." Using these as a basis, the scribe not only translated them into Demotic, but composed freely the vignette descriptions, for which it is assumed he did not have a textual source.

[45] See B. H. Stricker, "De Egyptische Mysteriën, Pap. Leiden T 32," *OMRO* 37 (1956), pl. VI; François René Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, OLA 58 (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), 477, pl. VII; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 399, and 428. Another case of the mixing of scripts in a single text is when personal names are written in Demotic in an otherwise hieratic text. The name of the owner of pGeneva D 229 appears in Demotic, as discussed by Didier Devauchelle, "À propos du papyrus de Genève D 229," *Enchoria* 8:2 (1978), 73-75. In pBM EA 10098, an unexplained Demotic orthography of *mn* "so-and-so" occurs in the spaces reserved for the owner's name. See Jacco Dieleman, "What's in a Sign? Translating Filiation in the Demotic Magical Papyri," in Arietta Papaconstantinou (ed.), *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the 'Abbasids* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 137-144. For a discussion of Demotic addenda in hieratic funerary papyri, see Scalf, *Passports*, 203-205; Mark Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 403-404.

[46] Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*.

[47] Joachim Quack, Review of Martin Stadler, *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month (P. Bibl. Nat. 149)*, *WdO* 35 (2005), 189; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 399-400, 438 n. 10. See also Martin Stadler *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month (P. Bibl. nat. 149)*, Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 16-17; Scalf, *Passports to Eternity*, 50 n. 193.

[48] Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 399.

notes regarding the placement of illustrations and text were written by the scribes who produced the hieratic texts and were therefore written in Demotic[49] since the contemporary vernacular would have been easier for the artist to comprehend than the archaic vocabulary, script, and grammar represented by the Middle Egyptian text in hieratic.[50] This seems to be the most likely explanation for the note in pRyerson. The fact that the ink in the pRyerson Demotic text is a slightly different shade of black than the surrounding hieratic text suggests that it may have been added at a later time, probably by the scribe checking his work after copying out the hieratic columns from his sources. There are no other Demotic texts in pRyerson with which to compare, but the scribal hand is similar enough to the hieratic, although not identical.[51] That the scribe wrote this note in Demotic would seem to indicate that the illustrator was literate in Demotic,[52] but less familiar with hieratic, a circumstance that would also

[49] In general, Demotic notes, glosses, scholia, and translations are found on numerous hieratic and hieroglyphic papyri, e.g., the Book of the Dead of pTurin 1791: R. Lepsius, *Das todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig: G. Wigand, 1842), pl. LX, and Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Die Datierung des Turiner Totenbuches," *ZÄS* 58 (1923), 152-153; Book of the Dead of Iateshankht (pColon. Aeg. 10207): Verhoeven, *Das Saitische Totenbuch*, 339 and 347; pBoulaq 3: Susanne Töpfer, *Das Balsamierungsritual: Eine (Neu-)Edition der Textkomposition Balsamierungsritual (pBoulaq 3, pLouvre 5158, pDurham 1983.11 + pSt. Petersburg 18128)*, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 13 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 205-209; pJumilhac: Jacques Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1959), Karl-Theodor Zauzich, "Zu einigen demotischen Glossen im Papyrus Jumilhac," *Enchoria* 4 (1974), 159-162, and Sandra L. Lippert, "L'étiologie de la fabrication des statuettes osiriennes au mois de Khoiak et le ritual de l'ouverture de la bouche d'après la Papyrus Jumilhac," "*ENiM* 5 (2012), 215-255; Book of the Faiyum: Richard Jasnow, "Greco-Roman Period Demotic Texts from the Faiyum and Their Relationship to the Book of Faiyum," in Horst Beinlich, Regine Schulz, and Alfried Wieczorek (eds.), *Egypt's Mysterious Book of the Faiyum* (Dettelbach: J. H. Röll, 2013), 79-87. For a discussion of the interaction between Demotic, hieratic, and hieroglyphic in the transmission of texts, see *inter alia* Alexandra von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne: Das sogenannte Nutbuch*, Carlsberg Papyri 8 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2007), 258-273; Didier Devauchelle, "Une stele hiératico-démotique provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis (Louvre IM 3713)," in F. Hoffmann and H. J. Thissen (eds.), *Res Severa Verum Gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*, Studia Demotica 6 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 95-108; Jan Moje, "Die hieroglyphisch/demotische Stele Louvre E 13074: Synoptische Untersuchung der bilinguen Inschriften," *SAK* 42 (2013), 233-249.

[50] A similar situation is attested in pBNF Égyptien 62-88, where the marginal notations for the vignettes are composed in Late Egyptian using the definite article and in a more cursive hieratic hand. See Ragazzoli, "Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset," 233-234. Cf. the habits of the scribe of pNu, who used *wš* to indicate lacunae in his source material and corrected missing text by inserting a sign in the text and added the missing text in hieratic in the margin (despite the remainder of the text being written in cursive hieroglyphs). See Günter Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477)*, Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum 1 (London: British Museum, 1997), 54 (*wš*), 55 (in hieratic), pl. 58-59, pl. 56, pl. 21.

[51] There may be a slight difference in hand from that of the hieratic text, especially in the form of *k*. If the Demotic is indeed in a second hand, it is possible, if perhaps unlikely, that the artist, having reached this section of the papyrus and realizing that the space was not appropriate for an image, wrote the note to indicate why no vignette appears. Cf. the comments of Mosher, "Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead," 148 n. 28: "This does not imply that all of the text was added first, with all the vignettes added later, for one can occasionally observe errors that clearly indicate that the scribe entered a section of text and the vignettes were then filled in before the scribe moved on to the next section." Unfortunately, there is nothing to be gained from comparing the paleography of the Demotic copular pronoun *pȝy* with the hieratic Middle Egyptian *pw* of *ỉw=f pw* in BD 140 in column cviii above the Demotic notation.

[52] Or perhaps that the scribe felt more comfortable composing freely in Demotic rather than hieratic.

explain the mismatched vignettes throughout pRyerson. One wonders if the artist would have been provided with a separate list of spells in order to place the vignettes in the appropriate position. A further complication is the lack of Neshutefnut's name and his mother's name in the hieroglyphic text of the judgment scene. The image is complete, but when the hieroglyphic text was applied, spaces were left for the deceased's name and matronym, which subsequently were never filled.[53]

The scholia and marginalia discussed above can be added to a growing body of evidence revealing how funerary papyri were produced.[54] Marginalia in pBNF Égyptien 62-88 indicate the specific images the scribe intended to appear in the accompanying vignettes, although according to Ragazzoli, the illustrations here were added according to the marginalia before the main text.[55] Similar Demotic notations in the famous Rhind papyri[56] should probably be considered likewise as instructions for draftsmen rather than "captions" as they have generally been understood.[57] That these Demotic notations in pRhind I-II were written prior to the addition of the images is suggested by their position above the ruled framing lines demarcating the area for the vignettes. It is more difficult to discern the sequence employed for the further "labels" accompanying the figures inside the frame of the vignette. However, the hieroglyphic texts in the vignettes must have been added after, or simultaneously to, the images as the epithet *nb mꜣʿ.t* "lord of truth" is carefully written around the extended hand of Thoth in pRhind I, column 4 (figure 3).

Figure 3. Vignette from pRhind I, Column 4[58]

[53] Woods, *Visible Language*, 163-164.

[54] For general comments, see Lucarelli, "Making the Book of the Dead," 268-269. Hieratic and Demotic notes on mummy labels also reveal manufacturing sequences, see Holger Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch-Handschriften auf Mumienbinden*, Band II: *Handbuch zu den Mumienbinden und Leinenamuletten*, SAT 12 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 147-189.

[55] Ragazzoli, "Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset," 234-235.

[56] Georg Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museum zu Edinburg* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1913).

[57] Möller, *Totenpapyrus Rhind*; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 317, 332-334.

[58] On the left, a facsimile from Samuel Birch and A. Henry Rhind, *Facsimiles of Two Papyri Found in a Tomb at Thebes* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1863), pl. II. On the right is an image of the papyrus from Möller, *Totenpapyrus Rhind*, pl. IV.

In contrast, Demotic "label" texts written within the framing lines must have been produced before the images, as suggested by the way that the funerary bier seems to overlap the Demotic signs in *ḫr ḫpr 9* in the vignette to column 9 of Montusef's papyrus, pRhind I (figure 4).

Figure 4. Vignette from pRhind I, Column 9[59]

In addition, the vignettes in the Rhind papyri are occasionally mismatched,[60] thereby indicating that a scribe was not "captioning" or "labeling" images that had already been produced, but that an artist was most likely painting them at a separate stage. Similar indications hinting at the order of production are missing from pRhind II, the papyrus for Montusef's wife, where only true marginalia appear: notations outside of the border lines of the scenes where the scribe did not feel it necessary to add any further descriptions inside the vignette frame (figure 5). However, it is clear at the very least that the guidelines were drawn first with the text and images added second, for sections of the marginalia texts and images overlap the inked guidelines.[61]

Figure 5. Vignette from pRhind II, Column 2[62]

[59] On the left, a facsimile from Birch and Rhind, *Facsimiles of Two Papyri*, pl. V. On the right is an image of the papyrus from Möller, *Totenpapyrus Rhind*, pl. IX. The facsimile shows the overlap more clearly.

[60] Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 317. Like pRyerson, the mismatched vignettes in the Rhind papyri are often one column off.

[61] E.g., figure 5, from Möller, *Totenpapyrus Rhind*, p. XIII, where the down stroke of *wꜥ* overlaps the upper border line.

[62] From Möller, *Totenpapyrus Rhind*, pl. XIII.

What is revealed by the scholia discussed above are the complex, multidimensional processes involved in creating such elaborate funerary papyri whose contents include vast compilations of text and imagery. Much has been learned in the study of various "traditions" followed in Book of the Dead production, [63] but more remains to be studied, especially about the actual manufacturing steps involved in preparing the finished products. It is still unclear how many individuals were involved, and the process was certainly not one-dimensional across space and time. For example, some manuscripts (such as pBNF Égyptien 62-88) had the vignettes added before the text, and some (such as pRyerson) after. Some manuscripts were produced with reference to source materials; others may have been made from scratch.[64] The fact that multiple individuals participated in certain demonstrable cases is indisputable;[65] in other cases, a single scribe was clearly responsible for an entire manuscript. The hieratic and Demotic marginalia imply a level of literacy among the funerary workshop staff, if we interpret these annotations as communication between personnel.[66] For elaborate papyri compiled from source material, this is no surprise as their origins in the scriptoria have long been assumed, where scribes with skills in texts must have worked alongside artist scribes with talents in drawing and painting.[67] Whether the procedures of the scriptoria pertained to the production of texts and images among the larger mortuary assemblage remain for further study.[68]

[63] Malcolm Mosher, Jr., "An Intriguing Theban Book of the Dead Tradition in the Late Period," *BMSAES* 15 (2010), 123-172; Marcus Müller-Roth, "From Memphis to Thebes: Local Traditions in the Late Period," *BMSAES* 15 (2010), 173-187.

[64] For a discussion of producing Demotic funerary papyri outside of the scriptorium or formal workshop setting, see Scalf, *Passports*, 182-185.

[65] pBM EA 10743, pBM EA 10554, pBM EA 10470, in Lucarelli, "Making the Book of the Dead," 282, 284-286. Ragazzoli, "Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset," 234-235, discusses the difficulty of determining how many people were involved.

[66] For manuscripts produced by a single scribe, the notes are clearly for internal purposes only, such as those on pBib Nat 149 and pLeiden T 32. Rather than instructions, these are traditional scholia, explanatory notes or comments to the text.

[67] Of course, in certain cases, a single scribe was competent enough to perform both tasks. See Ragazzoli, "Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset," 235, citing Jaroslav Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, 2nd Edition, BdÉ 50 (Cairo: IFAO, 2001), 193, for the instance of Harshire, a draftsman who later became a scribe.

[68] See Kathyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death: The Social and Economic Value of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Art in the Ramesside Period*, EU 22 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2007).

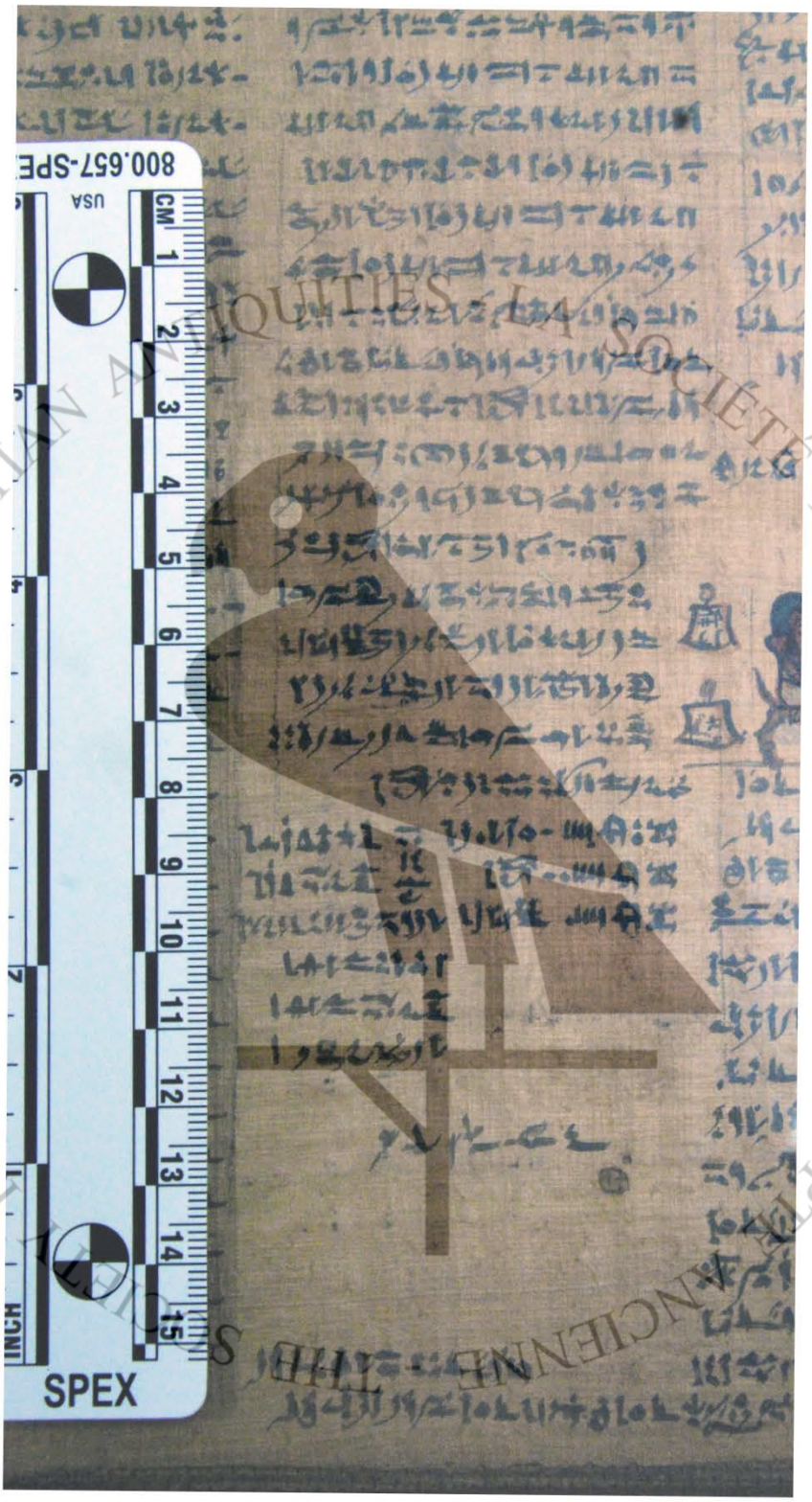


Plate 1. Column cviii of pRyerson (OIM E9787G): Crowding from BD 137 and BD 140

The Carrying of Logs Intended for Shipbuilding during the Old Kingdom

Simon Delvaux

Abstract: Carrying logs by hand in order to transport them is attested for the Old Kingdom through depictions preserved in mastabas or private tombs. Unfortunately, this iconographic theme is rarely used by Egyptian artists. Indeed, we know of only seven examples, many of which have not been well preserved and have never been compared to one another. Moreover, none of them contains captions specifying the type of wood being transported, its origin, or its destination. Only the context is known: this wood was meant for shipbuilding. Faced with so little information available for the interpretation of these depictions, a useful recourse is 3D modelling, based on stylistic analysis of available scenes to enable us to understand how this mode of transport was implemented.

Résumé: Le portage de troncs comme mode de transport est attesté à l'Ancien Empire grâce à des représentations préservées dans des mastabas ou des tombes de particuliers. Malheureusement, ce thème iconographique a rarement été exploité par les artistes Égyptiens. On n'en connaît effectivement que sept exemples, dont beaucoup sont mal conservés et qui n'ont jamais été confrontés les uns aux autres. De plus, aucun ne possède de légende qui pourrait nous préciser le type de bois déplacé, sa provenance ou sa destination. Seul le contexte est connu, il s'agit de l'apport de bois pour la fabrication de bateaux. Face au peu d'informations disponibles pour l'interprétation de ces représentations, le recours à des modélisations en 3D s'appuyant sur une analyse stylistique des scènes à notre disposition s'avère utile pour permettre de comprendre la mise en œuvre de ce mode de transport.

Keywords/Mots-clefs: carrying of logs, Old Kingdom, land transport, carrying pole, Portage de troncs, Ancien Empire, Transport terrestre, Barre de portage

The iconography of ancient Egypt is a vast and valuable documentary resource whose potential has, unfortunately, only been partially exploited until now. This is especially true for the carrying of logs. These scenes have been known since the mid-nineteenth century, after the publication by K.R. Lepsius of a log transport scene in the Khunes mastaba. More than fifty years passed before N. de G. Davies published two new scenes found at Deir el-Gebrawi. Another was discovered in 1938 by A. Varille in Zawyet el-Maiyitin. The three other currently known scenes of this type were published in the second part of the twentieth century by T.G.H. James, S. Hassan, and finally A.M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller. Unfortunately, although these authors provided descriptions of the scenes, comparisons, which would have been very advantageous for the study of land transport, have never been made. The same applies to studies about shipbuilding,

where the issue of log transport is, at best, barely mentioned.[1] Scenes depicting log transport are regrettably very difficult to interpret, most of them being incomplete and lacking inscriptions. Faced with so little information available for the interpretation of these depictions, a useful recourse is 3D modelling,[2] which, based on a stylistic analysis of preserved scenes, enables us to understand how this mode of transport was implemented by testing different theories and proposing different readings.[3]

Carrying poles

Of all the tools used in land transport, both worldwide and in ancient Egypt, the carrying pole is one of the most commonly employed and is probably that which offers the most diversity in its use. It can be used on its own, shouldered by two men to carry a medium load like a basket of food (fish, vegetables, fruits, etc.). Poles can also be used in pairs or more, by at least two people, for a heavier load, such as a large chest, a sarcophagus, or a sacred barque. Although wood was more abundant in ancient Egypt than previously believed,[4] it was probably a valuable resource, and we can assume that, as with sledges or rollers, carrying poles were used until completely worn out.[5]

This is why we have recovered only very few examples. One of them is preserved in the Museo Egizio in Turin[6] and comes from the tomb of Khâ.[7] It is a curved piece of wood in the middle of which a notch was made to hold the rope that bore the goods.

[1] C. Boreux, *Études de nautique égyptienne. L'art de la navigation en Égypte jusqu'à la fin de l'Ancien Empire* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1925); E.M Rogers, *An Analysis of Tomb Reliefs Depicting Boat Construction from the Old Kingdom Period in Egypt*, M.A. thesis, Texas A&M University, 1996.

[2] Elaine Sullivan has done a similar work in "Visualising the Size and Movement of the Portable Festival Barks at Karnak Temple," *BMSAES* 19 (2012), 2-37. Although the context is different, Sullivan uses 3D modelling to show how the priests moved the processional bark in different areas of Karnak Temple.

[3] The present article is part of the author's doctoral research, entitled *Les modes de transport terrestre en Égypte de l'Ancien au Nouvel Empire* under the direction of Bernard Mathieu, Université Paul Valéry Montpellier.

[4] P.P. Creasman, "Timbers of Time: Revealing International Economics and Environment in Antiquity" in *Crossroads II: There and Back Again*, eds. J. Mynářová, P. Onderka and P. Pavúk (Prague: Charles University Press, 2015), 45-58.

[5] J.-Cl. Goyon et al., *La construction pharaonique du Moyen Empire à l'époque gréco-romaine: Contexte et principes technologiques* (Paris: A & J Picard, 2004), 180.

P.P. Creasman, "Ship Timber and the Reuse of Wood in Ancient Egypt," *Journal of Egyptian History* 6 (2013), 152-176.

[6] Inventory number S. 08422/RCGE 19768.

[7] E. Schiaparelli, *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha nella Necropli di Tebe, Torino, Relazione sui lavori della Missione archeologica Italiana in Egitto (1903-1920) II* (Torino: R. Museo di antichità 1927), fig. 11-12.

For the carrying logs motif, we possess only seven scenes. These examples occur in mastabas and tombs from all over Egypt and date from the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (Table 1).

Owner of the mastaba/tomb	Dynasty	Reign	Localisation	Carriers
Niânkhkhnum and Khnumhotep	V	Nyouserre to Menkaouhor	Saqqara	8 men
Khunes	V	Djedkare-Isesi to Unas	Zawyet el-Maiyetin	4 or 8 men
Nebkauhor	V-VI	Unas to Pepy II	Saqqara	6 men
Niânkhpepy Khnumhotep-heti	VI	Pepy I	Zawyet el-Maiyitin	8 men
British Museum (EA 994)	VI	Pepy II	Giza	4 men
Ibi	VI	Pepy II	Deir el-Gebrawi	4 men
Hemre : Isi	VI	Unknown	Deir el-Gebrawi	4 men

Table 1: Provenance and dating of the carrying of logs scenes.

Analysis of Scenes

Studying transport techniques through the prism of tomb and mastaba iconography is possible only when precautions are taken and when done from a necessary distance. The first problem encountered stems from the very nature of Egyptian art, which, rejecting perspective, attests to a system of thought completely different from our own. This rejection of perspective - theorized by Henri Schaffer and supplemented by Emma Brunner-Traut,[8] who called it "aspective" - is perfectly summarized by Dimitri Laboury:

> Cet art […] combine perpétuellement différents points de vue autour d'un même objet, dans le but manifeste de signifier le mieux et le plus précisément possible. […] Il y a donc un décalage constamment entretenu par rapport à la perception visuelle, décalage qui produit une image plus conceptuelle que « perceptuelle », visant, semble-t-il, à représenter les choses telles qu'elles sont et non telles qu'elles apparaissent à nos yeux.[9]

We must also always bear in mind that what we have to work with are subjective representations of daily life. Subjective, because they had to comply with the Egyptian aspective aesthetic canons and with the functional intentions of a burial place. We can also add that, although the imagery in the tombs adheres to particular criteria, it is not fundamentally intended for an external observer. The representation must still be realistic, however, to maintain its performative function. So, Egyptian artists produced the images with sufficient precision so that they would retain their

[8] H. Schäefer, *Principles of Egyptian Art, Edited by Emma Brunner-Traut, Translated and edited by John Baines with a foreword by E.H. Gombrich* (Oxford: The Alden Press, 2002).

[9] D. Laboury, "Fonction et signification de l'image égyptienne," *Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts*, 6e série, Tome IX (1998), 131-148.

effectiveness, offering us reading keys, such as the position of the characters in relation to objects, their posture, etc. The draftsmen's inspiration for all of these details, which differ from scene to scene, probably comes from their environment. Any analysis must be based on these realistic elements.

Angled carrying

This approach is revealed to us by one scene (Fig. 1 A) from the Niânkhkhnum and Khnumhotep mastaba,[10] which depicts a log being carried by eight men. Only the position of the carriers to the log, as well as to the carrying poles - depending on whether the poles and log are placed behind or in front of their legs or their faces – can give us information necessary in order to understand the scene. Although other solutions can be considered, the parallel projection view (Fig. 1 B) model would appear to provide the most logical understanding of the ancient scene. When this model is presented in perspective view (Fig. 1 C), we immediately notice that the carriers are placed at an angle to the log. It is difficult to imagine the action they are undertaking at that moment. Are they walking in a straight line? Are they turning? Regardless, we can assume that such a mode of carrying would need careful coordination, since the smallest mistake could lead to an accident.

Perpendicular carrying

Two scenes show this method. The first scene (Fig. 2 A) comes from the Khunes mastaba.[11] Unfortunately, a large section of the wall it is depicted on is missing. Since it is not possible to know if we are dealing with a log being carried by four or eight men – or possibly more – or two groups of four men, each moving a log, I have chosen to propose a restoration with four carriers. If we use the same criteria as those employed for the model of the Niânkhkhnum and Khnumhotep scenes, we are faced with a major problem. Indeed, the carrying pole is placed on the right shoulder of every carrier. Therefore, if the carriers are positioned at an angle to the log, those at the back of the convoy would have the carrying pole pressed against their faces, hindering their vision, which is less than ideal when carrying logs.

One possible way to understand this scene is to examine how the draftsman chose to represent the position of the carriers in relation to the log, to the carrying pole, and to one another. Prior to this analysis, two essential remarks should be made. First, the log should be considered to be perpendicular to the carrying pole, even though it is depicted as being parallel to it. Second, not one, but two carrying poles are being used.

[10] A.M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep. Old Kingdom Tombs at the Causeway of King Unas at Saqqarah*, ArchVer 21 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1977), 74.

[11] K.R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien II*. Band IV (Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849), 106.

Let us begin the analysis by positioning the carriers 3-dimensionally. With respect to the log, there are two groups of carriers, those on the left (M1, M2) and those on the right (M3, M4). Unfortunately, it is difficult to ascertain which carriers are at the front and which are at the rear of the convoy. Indeed, although the draftsman used the technique of lateral layering to create an impression of depth, a mistake prevents any certainty. Looking at the two men on the right we see that:

a. M4's right arm is behind M3's torso.

b. M4's right leg is in front of M3's left leg.

This "mistake" forces us to seek answers elsewhere. If we look at the orientation of the faces of the carriers, we have two solutions:

c. If we consider the carriers who are looking in the same direction, we have two pairs, carriers M1, M3 and carriers M2, M4.

d. If we consider the convergence/divergence of the carriers' gazes, we have two new pairs: carriers M1, M4 and carriers M2, M3.

Two readings of the Khunes scene are possible here. The first, based on a. and d., assumes that M2 and M3 are at the front and M1 and M4 are at the rear. In this case the drawing is made from two points of views (Fig. 2 B). The second, based on b. and c., presumes that M2 and M4 are at the front and M1 and M3 are at the rear. In this case we have a side view (Fig. 2 C). This second solution has the advantage of being much closer to what is seen in the Khunes scene. Whichever approach is adopted, the final result remains unchanged. The men have the carrying pole on both shoulders. They are holding the rope with one hand and the carrying pole with the other (Fig. 2 D).

The second example (Fig. 3) comes from an anonymous scene preserved in the British Museum.[12] The top of the relief is missing, but the position of the legs leads us to believe that the carriers are in a similar position to that shown in the second reading of the Khunes scene (Fig. 2 C). However, it is regrettable that the top of the relief was not preserved. It would allow us to determine whether the "mistake" observed in the Khunes scene was intentional or not.

Parallel carrying

Parallel carrying is seen in two scenes, one from the Nebkauhor mastaba at Saqqâra[13] and the other from the Tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi.[14] Although they

[12] T.H.G. James, ed., *British Museum Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Etc.* Part I (London: The British Museum Press, 1961), 26.

[13] S. Hassan, re-edited by Zaky Iskander, *The Mastaba of Neb-kaw-her. Excavations at Saqqara 1937-1938*, Volume I (Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing Offices, 1975), 29-30.

[14] N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi. Part I.–Tomb of Aba and smaller Tombs of the Southern Group*. *Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, Eleventh Memoir (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902), 20-21.

are neither from the same period nor the same area, it seems appropriate to compare these two scenes, considering how similar they are.

The Nebkauhor scene (Fig. 4) depicts a log being carried by at least six men (one of whom is in the missing portion to the right). All of the carriers are on the same side of the log. This is also the case in the scene from the Tomb of Ibi (Fig. 5), where the log is carried by four men. In both examples, three ropes are used to attach the log to the pole. If there were only one scene of this type, we could assume it was a mistake made by the draftsman, but these two examples seem to demonstrate the intent to represent a specific carrying technique. N. de G. Davies describes the Ibi scene as follows: "The piece of timber is slung from a pole carried on the men's shoulders, so that the weight is well distributed. The men steady the ropes with their hands to prevent any swaying of the load." S. Hassan has a similar interpretation of the Nebkauhor scene: "The pole is carried across the shoulders of the men, who walk in single file, each taking his share of the weight, while their hands are left free to steady the swing of the burden in any manner they think fit." These two interpretations only fail to mention how difficult it must be to move with a log against one's leg. One possible solution is to interpret the scene as a "sectional view," with the log being carried by twelve and eight men, respectively, positioned on both sides of the log (Fig. 6).[15]

Unknown

Being in an advanced state of deterioration, it is impossible to reconstitute the scene from Niânkhpepy's mastaba (Fig. 7),[16] all techniques of carrying being possible.

Manoeuvre

The only scene which definitively shows a manoeuvre (Fig. 8) comes from the Tomb of Hemre[17] at Deir el-Gebrawi. This is also the only known example of a labelled log carrying scene. This label consists of an incomplete word:  *s*[…] and the word  *ḫ.t*, *wood*, which refers to the transported log.[18] The scene depicts

[15] Another option is to assume that all carriers are represented, and that the logs are carried by six and four men, respectively, distributed on either side of the log.

[16] A. Varille, *La Tombe de Ni-Ankh-Pepi à Zâouyet el-Mayetîn*. *Mémoires de l'Institut français du Caire*, 70 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1938), 15

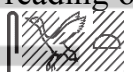
[17] N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi. Part II.–Tombs of Zau and Tombs of the Northern Group. Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, Twelfth Memoir (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902), 23-24; N. Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi, Volume 1: The Northern Cliff. The Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports* 23 (Oxford: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 2005), 25. Notice that this scene might be the only one to depict the carrying of log for another purpose than shipbuilding. This purpose, however, remains unknown.

[18] This is the only known mention of the nature of the transported material, mention which is not very helpful. For a discussion of the type of wood used for shipbuilding, see R. Gale et al., "Wood" in *Ancient Egyptian*

four men, distributed in two pairs, facing each other. The rope is tied to the log using a ring – probably two, but one is not visible – with both anchor points distantly spaced from each other. The type of attachment system used here is not parallel. We can assume that the carriers are organized as in the Khunes scene, in order to move the log. So, in all likelihood, the carrying pole was perpendicular to the log, and the carriers used two carrying poles (Fig. 2 D). To reproduce the scene, the draftsman chose to draw it from two different points of view (Fig. 2 B).

As for the unusual position of the carriers, and in particular, the position of their arms, we can posit that we have, here, a representation of movement(s). Two readings are possible: either the carriers are represented lifting the log, or they are putting it down. The second solution – which seems to be the more probable of the two – was chosen for this article. To describe the manoeuvre, however, we should first describe and understand the preliminary steps which are not shown in this scene.

a. As previously mentioned, the carriers are positioned as they were in the Khunes scene, moving the log (Fig. 8 B).
b. Then, when they decide to put the log down, they pivot to be face to face and coordinate their movements. At this time, the carrying pole is placed on one of their shoulders (Fig. 8 C).
c. With their free hand, they seize the carrying pole (Fig. 8 D).
d. Finally, they pull it off their shoulders to put the log down (Fig. 8 E).

It is probably this last movement that is represented here. Two details would seem to confirm this interpretation: the position of the carriers' arms and the fact that the pole is not resting on their shoulders. According to this reading of the scene, we can hypothesize that the incomplete label should be:  *s*[*ḫn.t*], "to rest." Therefore, the carriers would be putting down the log to have a break.

Conclusion

The present analysis, although potentially subject to adjustments, not only provides insight into the transport of logs, but also those manoeuvres made during transport: the putting down of the log in the Hemre scene and possibly an as yet undefined manoeuvre in the Niânkhkhnum and Khnumhotep scene. Also of note is the fact that the more recent the scene is, the smaller the log is. The reasons behind the decreasing size of these pieces of wood – technical developments, lack of raw materials – would be interesting to know. This is why, besides the modelling and interpretation of these scenes, it would seem appropriate to implement an experimental protocol in order to test the viability of these reconstitutions.

Materials and Technology, eds. P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 367-368.

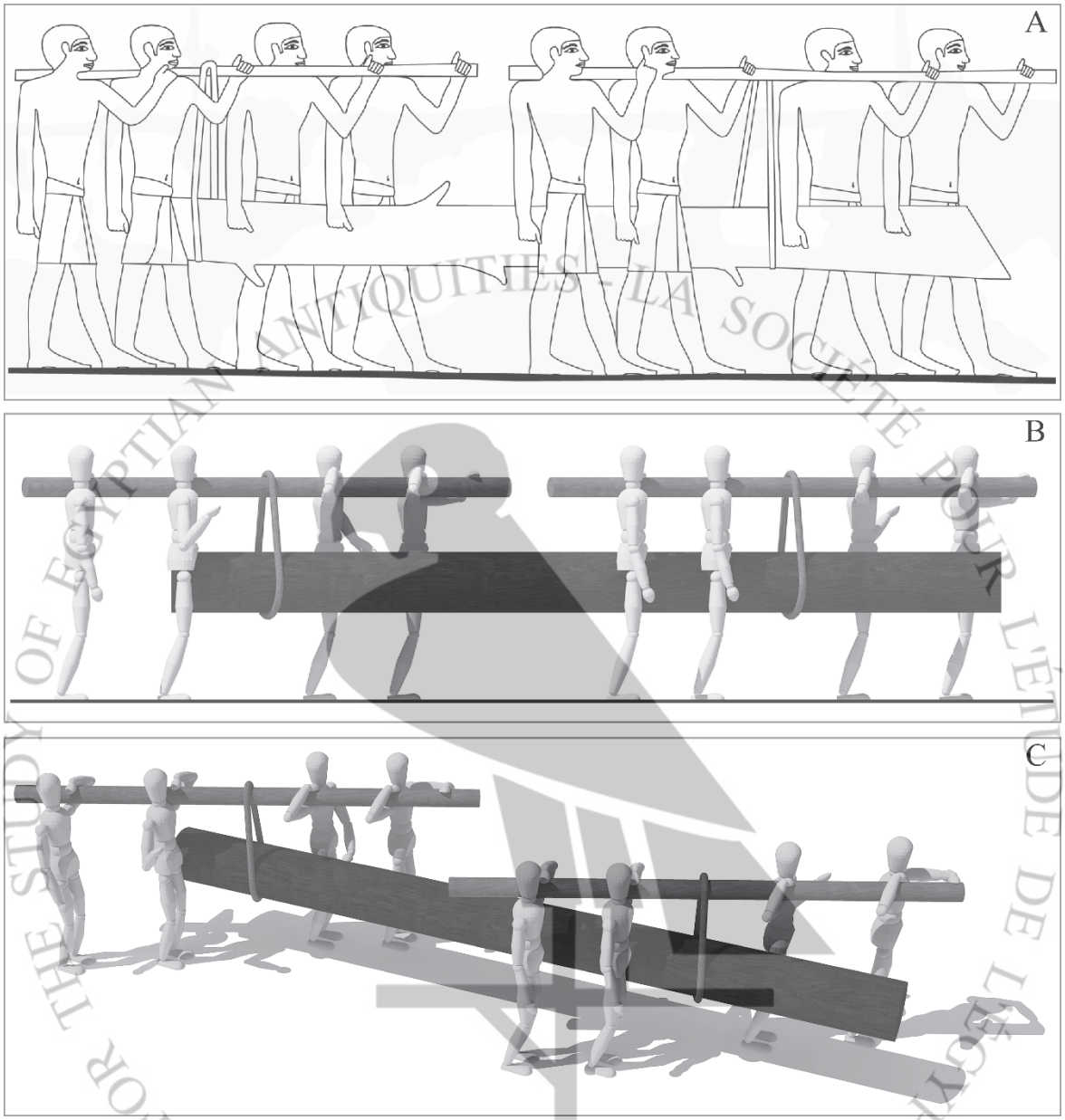


Figure 1: Scene from the Niânkhkhnum and Khnumhotep mastaba. Drawing after Moussa and Altenmüller (A), 3-D model of parallel projection view (B), 3-D model of perspective view (C).

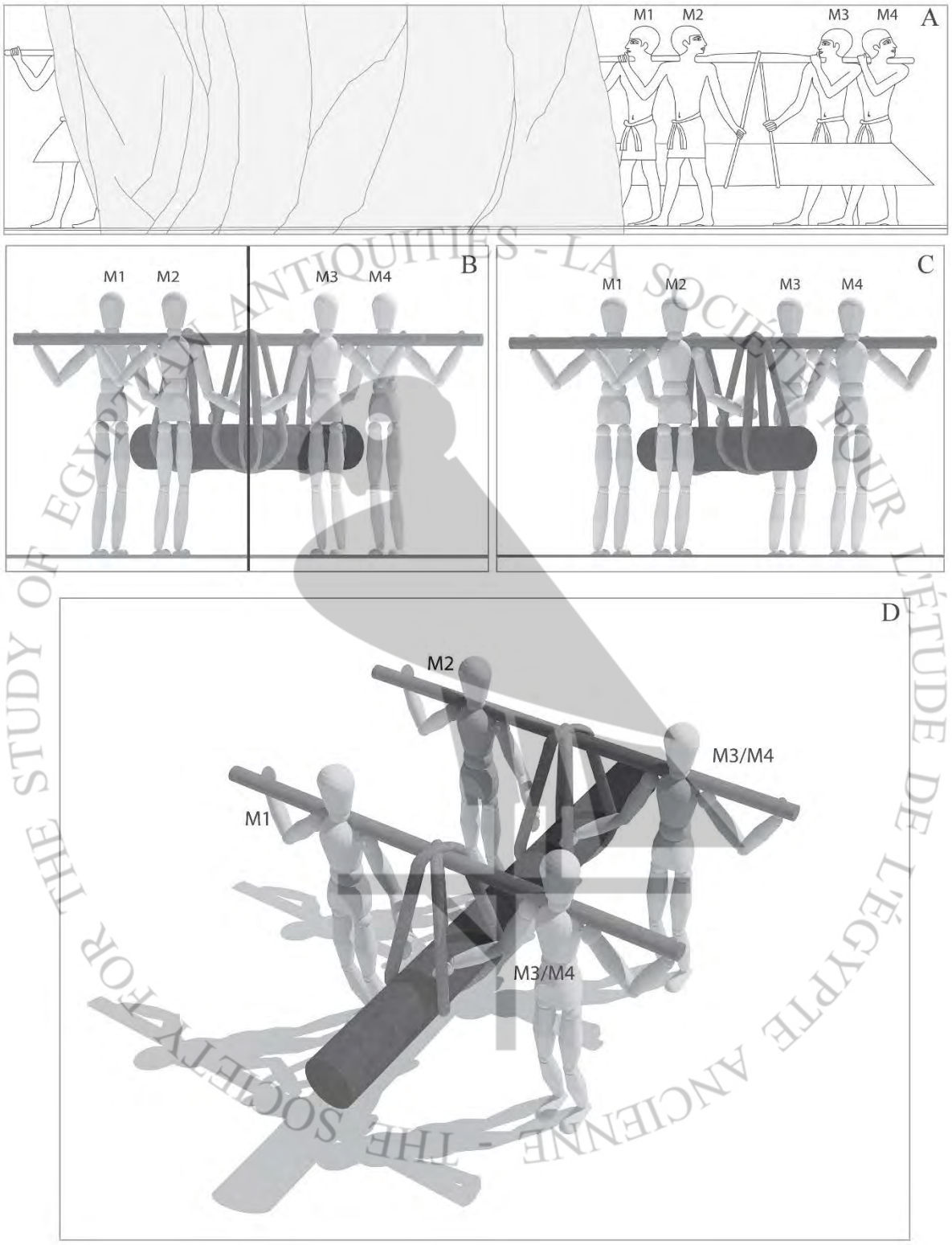


Figure 2: Scene from the Khunes mastaba. Drawing after Lepsius (A), 3-D model of parallel projection views (B-C), 3-D model of perspective view (D).

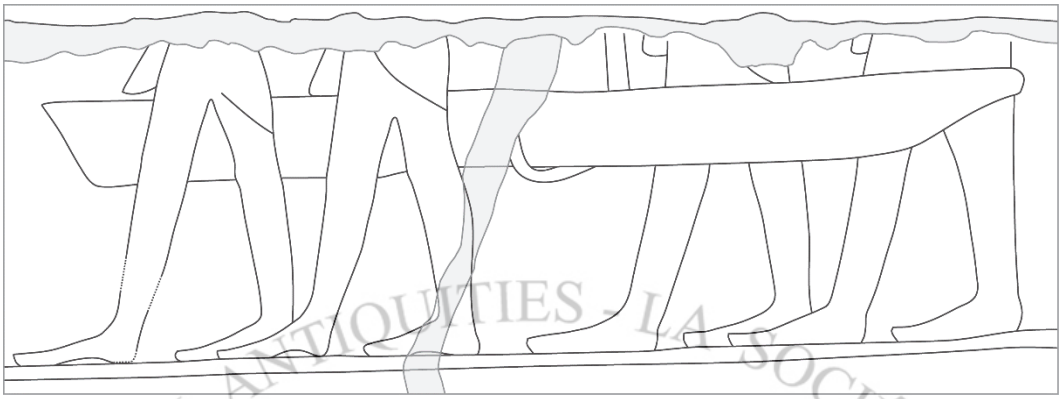


Figure 3: Scene from British Museum’s tomb-relief (EA 994) drawing after a photograph.

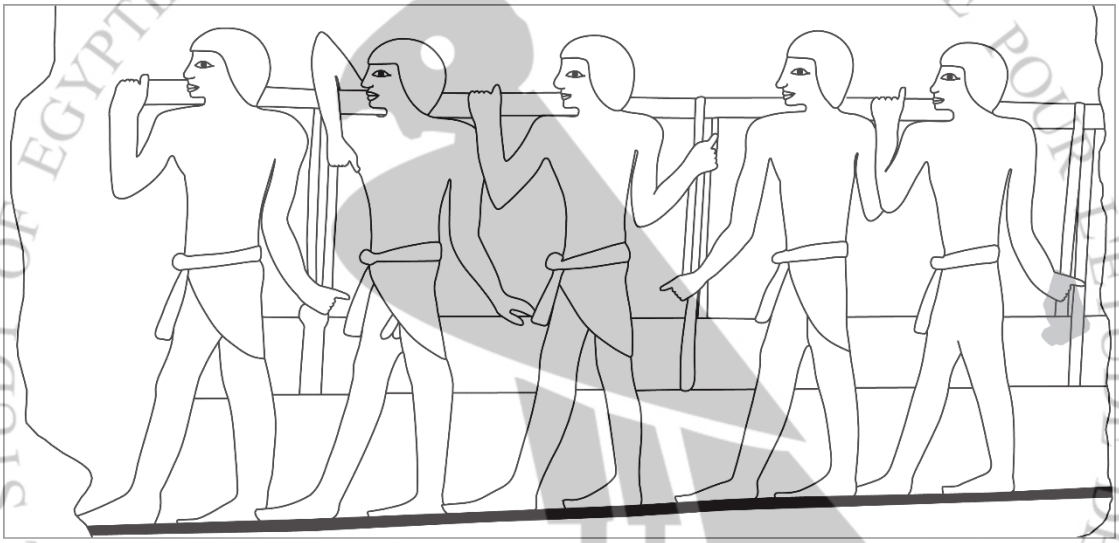


Figure 4: Scene from the Nebkauhor mastaba drawing after a photograph.

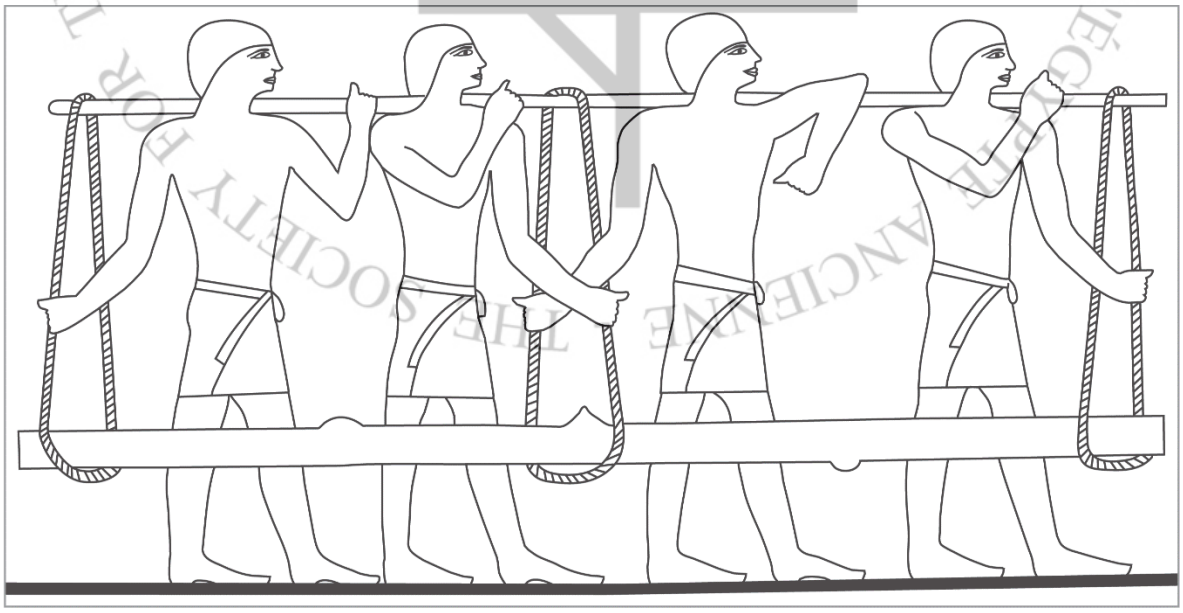


Figure 5: Scene from the tomb of Ibi drawing after Davies.

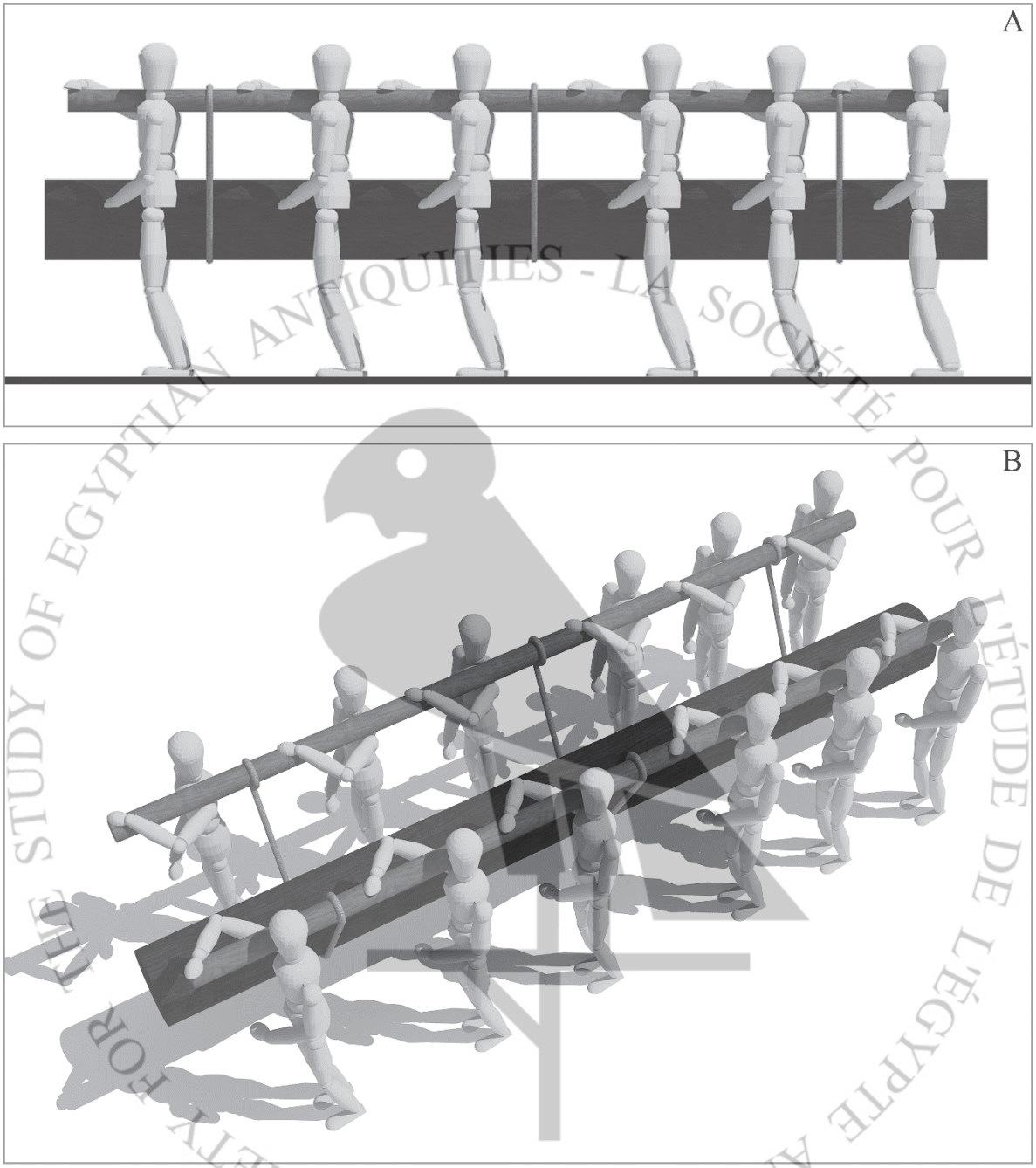


Figure 6: 3-D model of parallel projection view (1), 3-D model of perspective view (2).

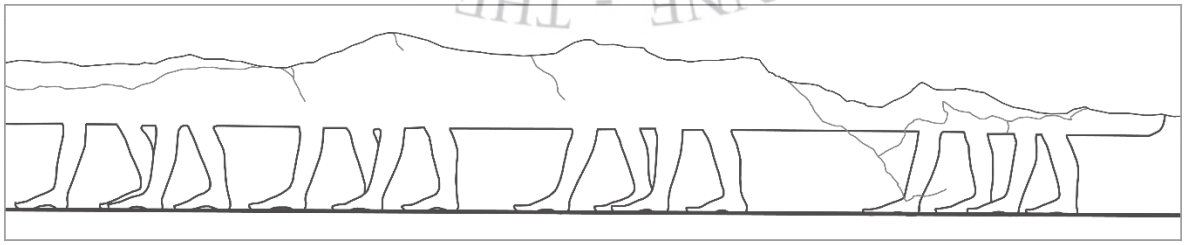


Figure 7: Scene from the Niânkhpepi mastaba drawing after a photograph.

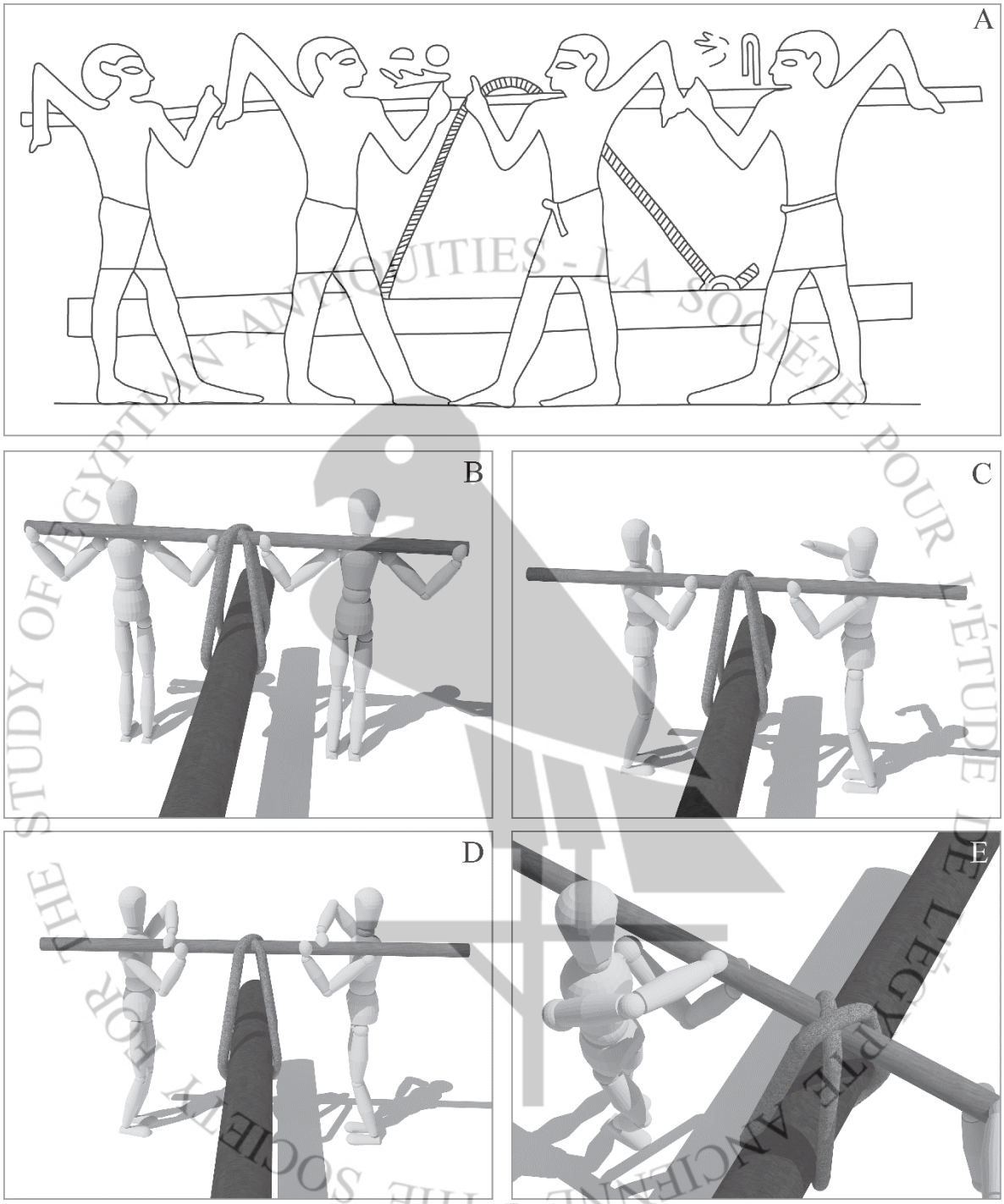


Figure 8: Scene from the tomb of Hemre. Drawing after Davies, Kanawati and a photograph (A), 3-D model of perspective views (B, C, D, E).

Mikael and Mikeset in Beth Shean[1]

Arlette David and Ernest Bumann

Abstract: The site of Beth Shean has revealed an intriguing case of linguistic familiarity and exchange between the New Kingdom Egyptian occupants and the Semitic populations in their own land: the knowledge of the Semitic pattern of divine incomparability [*mî* + *kā* + divine name] by the Egyptian authorities is evinced by the way they used it on the first Beth Shean stela erected in occupied territory to interact, in a rather subtle way, with the local population. We propose to read *mʿkst mʿkst* as a Semitic interrogative of praise מי-כ-סת 'Who is like Seth?' and will offer evidence for this from elsewhere on the stela and from two literary texts. Other examples of the pattern in hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts from the Middle Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period corroborate this reading, especially another famous document belonging to the private religious sphere discovered in Beth Shean, the 'Mekal Stela'.

Résumé: Le site de Beth Shean offre la preuve de la familiarité de l'occupant égyptien avec la langue sémitique dans ses échanges avec la population locale durant le Nouvel Empire. Les autorités égyptiennes avaient de toute évidence connaissance du paradigme linguistique sémitique d'incomparabilité divine [*mî* + *kā* + nom divin] qu'elles ont utilisé sur la première stèle de Beth Shean érigée en territoire occupé dans le but de communiquer de façon très subtile avec la population locale. Nous proposons de voir dans l'expression *mʿkst mʿkst* la forme interrogative sémitique **מי-כ-סת** "Qui est semblable à Seth?" en nous appuyant sur le contenu de la stèle et sur deux textes littéraires. D'autres exemples de ce paradigme dans des textes hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques datés du Moyen Empire à la Troisième Période Intermédiaire corroborent cette idée, et plus particulièrement un autre document célèbre provenant de Beth Shean, de nature votive et relevant de la sphère privée, la "stèle de Mekal".

Keywords: Semitic [*mî* + *kā* + divine name], divine incomparability, theophoric names, group writing, linguistic exchange, Egyptian occupation of Beth Shean, Wenamun, Sinuhe

Mots-clés: sémitique [*mî* + *kā* + nom divin], incomparabilité divine, noms théophores, écriture syllabique, échanges linguistiques, occupation égyptienne de Beth Shean, Ounamon, Sinouhé

A few ancient Egyptian inscriptions employ the Semitic proper name construction of the type [*mî* + *kā* + divine name] 'Who is like [God]?,'[2] a rhetorical question of divine incomparability attested in ancient Near East narratives[3] and individuals' names in Ebla[4] and in Akkadian,[5] as well as in West Semitic sources.[6] After

[1] We are thankful to Ran Zadok, Tallay Ornan, Dan'el Kahn, Steven Fassberg, Haggai Misgav, Raphael Ventura, and James Ford for their insights on the matter.

[2] R. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 28 (Leuven: Peeters, 1988), 58.

[3] C. J. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 16-23, esp. 21.

[4] See *Mi-ga/gi-il* in M. Krebernik, *Die Personennamen der Ebla-Texte: Eine Zwischenbilanz*, Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 7 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1988), 10:3.2.2.

[5] E.g. *Mì-ka-ia-a-ma*, *Mannu-ki(ma)-*, *Mannu-ki-ili* and also the variant without another type of name e.g. *Ma-an(-ki-be-lì)* and *Ma-núm(ki-Šulgi)* in I.J. Gelb, *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar*, Materials for the

presenting known examples of this pattern in Egyptian sources, new readings of the same construction will be proposed in Seti I's first Beth Shean stela and in the *Sinuhe* narrative.

Mekal/Mikael

The best known example, commonly read as 'Mekal,' is *Mikael* (מי-כ-אל)[7] attested in hieroglyphs in Beth Shean (no trace of a cult of 'Mekal' has been located in Egypt),[8] twice on the 'Mekal Stela' (Dynasty 19, Jerusalem Rockefeller Archeological Museum IAA S-982),[9] and perhaps also on fragments of a faience bowl showing a partial reading of the same sort (Dynasty 18, IAA G-342).[10] The literal spelling of the name in hieroglyphics is  [***Mʿk3r* + divine classifier**],[11] in the characteristic 'group writing' of the New Kingdom, with the

Assyrian Dictionary 2 (Chicago: University Press, 1961), 136. See M. Noth, *Die Israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament 46 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1928), 144; J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939), 237-8; J. J. Stamm, "Hebräische Frauennamen", in *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner*, eds. B. Hartmann, W. Baumgartner, et al., Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 314; Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the Old Testament*, 46-50; H. D. Baker, *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, vol. 2/II, The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2001), 679-700.

[6] Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*, 58; N. Avigad, B. Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences & Humanities/Israel Exploration Society/Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University, 1997), 349 and 509.

[7] A. Jirku, "Mitteilungen. 2. Das he. n. pr. f. Mikal", *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 48 (1930): 229-30; H. O. Thompson, *Mekal: the God of Beth-Shan* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 76, 187, 191-2; E. Lipinski, "Resheph Amyklos", in *Studia Phoenicia V: Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C., Proceedings of the Conference held in Leuven from the 14th to the 16th of November 1985*, ed. E. Lipinski, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 22 (Leuven: Peeters, 1987), 89.

[8] W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971), 500; the reference to E. Drioton, "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale", *ASAE* 40 (1940): 337 in a cryptographic inscription of Pinedjem I in Medinet Habu (Dynasty 21) is dubious.

[9] For the dating, see A. Mazar, "The Egyptian Garrison Town at Beth-Shean", in *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature, Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3-7 May 2009*, eds. S. Bar, D. Kahn, J.J. Shirley (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), 162-3, esp. n.25.

[10] A. Rowe, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan*, Beth-Shan 2 (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1940), frontispiece and pl. 67A 4, 5, assigned by him to Thutmose III's reign, from Level IX.

[11] Though  should represent at this stage an a-vowel in the group *k3* (J. E.Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994], 500 and 511), not the penultimate consonant of Canaanite *Myk'l* that should have been rendered by  as in *Israel* on Merneptah's famous stela Cairo CG 34025 (K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical* [*KRI*] IV [Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1982], 19 line 7). The omission may be the error of an artist/scribe with a less than perfect command of the script (there are several clumsy or garbled signs and some other errors in the text) on a private monument. Furthermore, in examining the toponym *Beth Shean* on official monuments of Seti I, one may note various discrepancies in the writing of שְׁאָן as well, and it is rarely written with (*KRI* I 32 n.1), more often  as on our Mekal stela (e.g. *KRI* I 12 line 9, 29 n.56, 32

divine male anthropomorphic classifier. It is formed either on the basis of the generic אל 'god,' or the proper name of the West-Semitic God *El* (thus theophoric).[12] Some rare Semitic divine names are constructed with the help of another god's name, built like Egyptian names of syncretistic deities (e.g. AnathYHW),[13] but apparently no other case of the pattern 'Who is like + name of a specific god' to designate another god has been uncovered. Thus here we are most certainly dealing with a generic 'god' as in *Mannu-kima-ili* or *Manum-ili* 'Who is (like) god?' to refer to the deity represented on the stela; Labuschagne noted that 'this type of name proves that any idea of comparing one god with another was lacking, the attribute being considered nothing more than an exclamation of praise.'[14] Lipinski has proposed three origins for the divine name: the name of the tribe *Makir*, the theonym *Mukurra* mentioned in a Weidner God-list from Ugarit, or Mikael as the epiclesis (invocation) 'Who is like El!' which became the name of the god. Importantly for the purposes of this paper, it is the last of these possibilities that he prefers.[15] It is well-known that the pattern 'Who is like god?' refers in ancient Near Eastern texts to a specific god, e.g. in Psalm 113:5 (Who is like YHWH (…)?) or in a hymn to Nergal quoted by Labuschagne:[16]

Lord, who is like thee? Who equals thee?
Most mighty, who is like thee? Who equals thee?
O Nergal, who is like thee? Who equals thee?

As for the textual and ritual context of the name on the votive stela, the Egyptian practice is to name the represented god addressed by the performer of the cult; accordingly, the designation is used twice on the stela, in the identifying vertical registers above the seated god (*Mʿkɜr nṯr n Bɜtišɜr* 'Mikael, god of Beth Shean') and, in the lower part of the stela, in the first register of the offering formula before the kneeling figure of the addressor (*ḥtp dỉ nỉ-swt Mʿkɜr nṯr ʿɜ* 'an offering that the King gives (to) Mikael, the great God'). It is clear that  is used as the proper name of the seated god, with the traditional classifier  used for Egyptian male gods' names, and not as the proper name of a human individual.

n.51). For the Egyptian  (*mʿ*-) rendering the Semitic -מי, see e.g. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, 494:  *Mʿšili* (execration texts, E 13) 'Who belongs to god,' מי-ש-אל.

[12] For generic and proper name *El* in the Bronze Age, see M. S. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 135.

[13] B. Porten, "The Religion of the Jews of Elephantine in Light of the Hermopolis Papyri", *JNES* 28 (1969): 120-1.

[14] Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the Old Testament*, 49-50.

[15] Lipinski, "Resheph Amyklos", 89.

[16] Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the Old Testament*, 42.

Mikamer

Another already noted attestation of the pattern appears as *Mikamer* in hieratic in Wenamun's account,[17] late Dynasty 21,  [***Mʿk3mʿrw* + foreign classifier + foreign/hill-country classifier**].[18] This designation has been associated with מי-כ-מר by Lipinski and Scheepers on the basis of the name of the storm god *(Ilu)Mer*,[19] who prefer this option to מי-כמו-אל (though no such name has been attested in other sources and Schneider[20] views the form as a m-prefixed nominal form for which he proposed four possible readings, *kmr, kml, gmr,* and *gml*). As the proper name of a non-divine human, it should have been classified with the human male classifier  (no divine classifier  for *Mer* being required for a theophoric name in the Egyptian script),[21] and the replacement of by the classifiers associated with foreign populations and regions has puzzled scholars. Nevertheless, the insertion of the name among a short list of local rulers secures the proper name nature of the lexeme, despite the poor choice of classifiers.

Apart from these two known examples, two more attestations of 'Who is like God' may be proposed, mikeset and Meki/Miki.

Mikeset

The site of Beth Shean has provided a further hieroglyphic example of the pattern on the first Beth Shean stela (Dynasty 19, Jerusalem Rockefeller Archeological Museum IAA S-884),[22] lines 12-13, in which Seti I's eulogy dwells on the fear that the King instills into the heart of the local rebels:

sḏr.sn ḥr {*s*}*smtr m rn.f ḥr* ***mʿkst mʿkst***  *m ib.sn*
It is appealing in their heart to his name/reputation with "*mʿkst mʿkst*" that they spend their nights.

[17] A.H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 1 (Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth), 62, line 10.

[18] Not to be confounded with the loanword *mkmrt*  for "net" in *Amenemope* 7, 6 (*pBM* EA 10474), see T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 114 (Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 133; G. Takács, *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian III: m-*, Handbook of Oriental Studies 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 665.

[19] A. Scheepers, "Anthroponymes et toponymes du récit d'Ounamon", in *Phoenicia and the Bible: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Leuven on the 15th and 16th of March 1990*, ed. E. Lipinski, Studia Phoenicia 11 (Leuven: Peeters, 1991), 46.

[20] T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, 132-4 N287.

[21] For New Kingdom examples, see among many others H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, Vol. I (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1935), 196 nos. 10-11  .

[22] *KRI* I, 11-2 n. 2.

Kitchen acknowledges that '*mkst-mkst* remains a complete mystery'.[23] Though it has been suggested that the term is based on Egyptian *mki*  (to protect),[24] the absence of the coercion classifier 𓎟 and the mystifying presence of a feminine/neutral pronoun *st* does not permit the interpretation of the form as a 'protect me/us' prayer. A tentative Egyptian reading *m.k st* 'see it' is also proffered by Kitchen and others,[25] awkward for the same reason and for its lack of meaning in this context. Furthermore, these interpretations contradict the link established in the text between *mʿkst* and *rn* 'name, reputation.' We argue, therefore, that this form could well be a Semitic מי-כ-סת 'Who is like Seth?' chanted by the awed, restless local chieftains.

This linguistic expression *mʿkst mʿkst* must be seen in the context of the political and social realities of that day. It is well known that the royal family of Dynasty 19 was deeply devoted to the Egyptian god Seth. The founder of the new dynasty, Ramesses I, called his son and later successor Seti ('of Seth'), which was also the name of his own father, an army commander from the Delta.[26] The new royal family had strong roots in the military history of Dynasty 18 and – unlike any other dynastic family before them – appears to have originated from the area around Avaris, the ancient capital of the Hyksos. This is corroborated by the fact that Seti I's famous son, Ramesses II, built his capital, Pi-Ramesses, right beside and partially on top of the ruins of the former Hyksos capital, Avaris.[27]

Equally significant is the fact that Ramesses II, in an attempt to honor his forefathers – particularly his father Seti I, who also appears on the stela – and to show his reference and affiliation with Seth, erected the so-called Four Hundred Year Stela.[28] Although the stela was found in Tanis, there is good reason to assume that it originally stood in Avaris/Piramesse.[29] The stela reveals three important facts. Firstly, the connection between Seth and the military focus of the Ramesside family becomes immediately obvious when Ramesses II addresses his main god: 'Hail to you, o Seth Son of Nut, Great of strength in the Barque of Millions (of years), with

[23] K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments* (*RITANC*) I (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1993), 19; see his references for earlier translations of the lines.

[24] J.-M. Kruchten, "La stèle de l'an 1 de Séthi Ier découverte à Beith-Shan", *AIPHOS* 26 (1982): 42.

[25] *RITANC* I, 19.

[26] E. Cruz-Uribe, "The Father of Ramses I: OI 11456", *JNES* 37/3 (1978): 237-44.

[27] L. Habachi, *Tell el-Dab'a I. Tell el-Dab'a and Qantir – The Site and its Connection with Avaris and Piramesse*, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 2, DÖAW 23 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001); M. Bietak and J. Dorner, "Der Tempel und die Siedlung des Mittleren Reiches bei 'Ezbet Ruschdi: Grabungsvorbericht 1996. Mit Beiträgen von E. Czerny und T. Bagh", *Ä&L* 8 (1998): 9-49; M. Bietak, "Die Hauptstadt der Hyksos und die Ramsesstadt", *Antike Welt* 6/1 (1975): 28-43.

[28] R. Stadelmann, "Vierhundertjahrstele", in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, eds. W. Helck and E. Otto (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), 1039-43.

[29] L. Habachi, "The Four Hundred Year Stela Originally Standing in Khatâ'na-Qantir or Avaris-Piramesse", in *Actes du XXIXe Congrès International des Orientalistes. Égyptologie* 1-2, ed. G. Posener (Paris: L'Asiathèque, 1975), 41-44.

his triumphs at the prow of the Barque of Re, Great of war-cry in ...!'[30] Secondly, it is interesting to note that the stela is not dated to the reign of king Ramesses II, as one would expect, but to 'Year 400, 4th month of Shomu, Day 4 (of): King of S & N Egypt: Seth Great-in-strength, Son of Re, He of Ombos, the beloved of Re-Horakhty – may he exist eternally and forever!'[31] This unusual dating makes blatantly obvious the fact that the Ramesside kings were fervent adorers of the Egyptian god Seth. While Seth originates from Upper Egypt (the Ombite) and is regarded as one of the oldest and most important Egyptian gods, the origin of the Seth cult in the eastern Delta must be connected with the ever-increasing Asiatic population in and around the settlement of Tell el-Dab'a, which finally led to the emergence of the Hyksos rule.[32] The 400 years indicated by Ramesses II can be regarded as a 'Distanzangabe,'[33] which would place the beginning of the Seth cult to ca. 1644 to 1639 BC,[34] thus approximately at the beginning of the Hyksos regime.[35] This stela is thus a historically important memorandum that the Ramesside rulers were unconstrained in connecting themselves with a historical period that the rulers of Dynasty 18 (including Queen Hatshepsut) had found so repugnant.[36] Although not mentioned in Seti I’s King List of Abydos, the Hyksos kings were responsible for the government and administration of a large Asiatic population in the Egyptian Delta. According to the Late-Egyptian text 'The Quarrel of Apophis and Seḳnenrēʿ' (Pap. Sallier I),[37] Apophis, the penultimate Hyksos ruler, even appears to have introduced the first monotheistic cult in the Ancient Near East, the sole reverence of the god Seth.[38]

[30] K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated* (*RITA*) II (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1979), 288:11.

[31] *RITA* II, 288:7.

[32] See M. Bietak, "Zur Herkunft des Seth von Avaris", *Ä&L* 1 (1990): 9-16.

[33] For 'Distanzangaben,' which are not infrequent in the Ancient Near East, see N. Na'aman, "Statements of time-spans by Babylonian and Assyrian kings and Mesopotamian chronology", *Iraq* 46 (1984): 115-23. A. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East c. 3000-330 BC* (London: Routledge, 1995), 84 cites an example of the Middle Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076), who recalls the erection of the temple of the gods An and Adad 641 years before.

[34] According to Bietak, "Zur Herkunft des Seth von Avaris", 14. Bietak based his calculation on Goedicke’s assessment that the stela was written in Ramesses 35th to 40th year of reign; see H. Goedicke, "Some Remarks on the 400-Year Stela", *CdE* 41 (1966): 38.

[35] The Seth cult in the eastern Delta must have existed earlier than the Hyksos, however, as evidenced by a monument of *ʿ3-zḥ-Rʿ* Nehesi, who held the title 'Beloved of Seth, Lord of Avaris.' The monument predates the Hyksos period by ca. 70 years; see Bietak, "Zur Herkunft des Seth von Avaris", 14.

[36] See particularly the Speos Artemidos Inscription of Queen Hatshepsut (ca. 1473-1458 BC), in which she fulminates against the former overlords of Egypt ('… they ruled without Reʿ'), long after the expulsion of the Hyksos. In A.H. Gardiner, "Davies’ Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription", *JEA* 32 (1946): 48, pl. VI (line 38).

[37] A.H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, BAe 1 (Bruxelles: Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1932), 85-89 (lines 85.4-89.6).

[38] While line 85.9 indicates monotheism ("[Apophis made] for himself Seth the lord. He would not serve any god which is in the whole land except Seth"), the fact that Apophis had the god Re' acknowledged in all his praenomina indicates that he introduced a form of monolatrism, rather than monotheism. See also O.

The third important fact revealed in this stela is that while Ramesses II addresses his dynastic god as the Egyptian god Seth, the Ombite, the pictorial depiction is of the Canaanite/Syrian weather god Baʿal with high bonnet typical for gods, long cord, and pommel. The god is horned and wears clothes that during Ramesside times were typical for Syrians and Shosu-beduins.[39] Neck collar and apron are of Egyptian style and display signs of acculturation.[40]

For the Egyptians, Seth had always been the 'god of foreign countries,' but by the time of the Ramesside kings, Seth – at least the 'version' of Seth in the Eastern Delta – had already accrued a good number of Asiatic characteristics, which undoubtedly stem from the time when the Asiatic population in the E-Delta and its rulers, the Hyksos kings, chose Seth as their divine overlord.[41] This is not surprising because of all the Egyptian gods, Seth was the one god the Asiatics could identify with the most. Not only were they used to the fact that deities often took on a local character but there is every indication that Seth, the Ombite, not only became Seth, Lord of Avaris, but also the *Interpretatio Aegyptiaca* of the Canaanite/Syrian weather god Baʿal.[42] It is rather surprising that the Ramesside rulers did not recuperate Seth's Egyptianess when commissioning the 400 year stela, but depicted him, so it appears, as he was known for 400 years to the Asiatic/Egyptian population of the Delta, as Seth/Ba'al.

Seth is not the only Egyptian god who appears in different forms and places, but when it comes to his status in foreign countries, he is certainly the most prominent one. The interchangeability of gods of equal status becomes evident when Ramesses II, while translating the Hittite version of his peace treaty with Hattusilis III, replaced the name of the Hittite supreme god, Teshub, with the name of Egypt's archetypal god of foreign lands, Seth. The inscription on the temple walls thus reads:

> Seth, the lord of the sky, Seth of Hatti, Seth of the city of Arinna, Seth of the city of Zippalanda, Seth of the city of Pitrik, Seth of the city of Hissaspa, Seth of the city of Sarissa, Seth of the city of Aleppo, Seth of the city of Lihsina,

Goldwasser, "King Apophis of Avaris and the Emergence of Monotheism", in *Timelines – Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, vol. II, OLA 149 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 129-33.

[39] R. Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 241ff. pls. XVIA-C.

[40] Bietak, "Zur Herkunft des Seth von Avaris", 11-12. This is one of many examples where the culture of ancient Egypt shows signs of foreign cultural influence that can be traced back to the Asiatic presence and later domination during the Second Intermediate Period. See E. Bumann, *The Hyksos and Acculturation. Processes of Acculturation of the Asiatic population at Tell el-Dabʿa (Avaris) during the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period*, Chapter 4.7.3.2 (in press).

[41] An important piece of evidence that the Asiatics revered Ba'al is a cylinder seal found in one of the palaces/mansions of the Early Asiatic settlement at Avaris (Stratum d/1, ca. 1785-1740 BC). The seal depicts the N-Syrian weather-god Baʿal Zephon, stepping from mountain to mountain and holding a duckbill-axe in his hand. The cylinder seal, although reflecting Syrian style, was made in Egypt under the influence of Egyptian art. See E. Porada, "The Cylinder Seal from Tell el-Dab´a", *AJA* 88 (1984): 485-488; M. Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule: Avaris (Tell el-Dab´a)", in *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. E. Oren (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1997), 104.

[42] Bietak, "Zur Herkunft des Seth von Avaris", 11-12.

Seth of the [city of Hurma], [Seth of the city of Uda], Seth of the city of Sa[pinuwa], [Seth] of thunder (?), Seth of the city of Sahpina.[43]

Recently, a scarab found at Sidon has testified to the existence of a Seth cult in a region in Lebanon. The scarab, whose owner bears a West Semitic name, reads *Stḫ nb Ɜ3ii* 'Seth, Lord of *Ɜ3ii*' and has been attributed to the end of Dynasty 12.[44]

Given the fact that Seth enjoyed such prominence during certain periods of ancient Egyptian history, often even far beyond Egypt's borders, it is not surprising that the subdued Canaanite princes knew about the Egyptian Seth cult and were thus seeking to impress their Egyptian conquerors. What better way would there have been than to invoke the name of the god they knew had become the dynastic god of the new dynasty? The importance of Seth in connection with the name of the conqueror of Beth Shean was evident and is also alluded in the text of the stela: "It is appealing in their heart **to his name**/reputation with "*mʿkst mʿkst*" that they spend their nights." Even if the Canaanite princes would have slightly misinterpreted the Egyptian PN Seti ('of Seth'), in their language it would have sounded like סתי ('my Seth'), thus resulting in basically the same meaning. It was obvious to them that Seti I must have been a fervent adorer of Seth.

The stela's text claims that the expression *mʿkst mʿkst* was uttered by 'princes of every foreign country of the ends of the earth.'[45] However, this is probably little more than imperialistic propaganda. The *Sitz im Leben* of this phrase has to be applied to already defeated enemies, not to 'every foreign country of the ends of the earth.' One also has to be aware that the Egyptian stela is fundamentally the Egyptian version of the story and the Egyptians could simply have put these words in the Canaanites' mouths. However, given the fact that Beth Shean was factually conquered by the Egyptians and scenes reported on the stela (defeated Canaanites begging for mercy) will most likely have occurred, the real-life chanting of *mʿkst mʿkst*, which equals the Semitic מי-כ-סת 'Who is like Seth?', can be interpreted as an extremely shrewd move on the part of the Canaanite chieftains in order to positively influence the impending judgment of their conquerors.

According to the text, this confessional mantra *mʿkst mʿkst* was repeated at least twice, but it can be assumed that the Canaanites said it as many times as needed in order to convince the new Egyptian overlords to judge them favorably, as the Egyptians will certainly have interpreted such actions as submissiveness. The Canaanite chieftains' *mʿkst mʿkst* was therefore not a confession of a newly adopted deity, but an opportunistically motivated attempt to save their very lives, as their

[43] The Hittites acknowledged a version of their supreme and storm god Teshup in every major city of the state. See M. Van de Mieroop, *The Eastern Mediterranean in the Age of Ramesses II* (Malden: Blackwell, 2007), 220. Translation after E. Edel, *Der Vertrag zwischen Ramses II. von Ägypten und Hattušili III. von Hatti* (Berlin: Mann, 1997), 69.

[44] O. Goldwasser, "Canaanites Reading Hieroglyphs. Horus is Hathor? – The Invention of the Alphabet in Sinai", *Ä&L* 16 (2007): 123. See also H.-C. Loffet, "The Sidon Scaraboid S/3487", *Archaeology & History in Lebanon* 24 (2006), 78–84.

[45] The translation, slightly modified, is from Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 253-4.

"confession" was in fact not much of a departure of their veneration of one of their own main gods, Ba'al. After all, striking parallels to the chieftains' cry are noted in the Qadesh accounts, first in the Poem when the enemies of Ramses II cry at his sight 'He is not a man (… but)' *Swtḫ ʿ3 pḥty Bʿl m ḥʿw.f* 'Seth great of power, Baal in the flesh!';[46] then in the Bulletin, the Egyptian divine comparative pattern appears in the designation of Ramses II as *sw mi Swtḫ* 'Him being like Seth'.[47]

The fact that the text explicitly refers to the expression as an appeal to the King's reputation (King Seti identified with the God Seth) indicates the Egyptians' understanding of the use of the West Semitic pattern for designation, though *mʿkst* is used here as a conjuration formula, a solemn invocation and appeal to his reputation, rather than a Semitic proper name given to the King. Since the stela is a victory monument, it should not surprise us to get a praise of Pharaoh's might from the mouth of his fearful enemy.[48] Nevertheless, two issues arise from the repeated formula's wholly phonetic spelling: first, the Egyptians render the name of the King/God phonetically as (*St*) instead of  (*Stḫy* or *Swty*) as inscribed in his titulary in line 3 of the same stela, although it must be noted that the name of the God Seth, with which the royal name is composed, is also attested in Egyptian sources in the form *Sti*  or *St*  .[49] Of course no cartouche should be expected since this is not the King's official protocol. Second, and more importantly, no classifier categorizes the repeated expression into a lexico-semantic category, the repeated *mʿkst* being written entirely phonetically. One may at least expect for *St* a divine classifier (for the God) or a classifier of kingship (as a direct allusion to Seti I), since Egyptian records of direct speech in a foreign language, in group writing, apparently keep the Egyptian lexico-semantic classification; see for instance the Israel Stela Cairo CG 34025,[50] where we find other Egyptian quotes of Semitic direct speech of rulers in the forms  and  *š3lm* 'Peace!', with salutation classifiers  . But the objection to identifying מי-כ-סת in our stela on the basis of the absence of a classifier also applies to any other interpretation of the expression: zero classifier implies no visible semantic categorization in any case. The absence of any classifier probably denotes the irregularity of a composite form which associates a Semitic pattern with the designation of an Egyptian King in a conjuration formula.

If we are ready to admit the proposed interpretation, an interesting type of interaction between the Egyptian occupant and the local population is revealed by both Beth Shean stelae: first, the Egyptians' desire to inscribe on an official Egyptian

[46] *KRI* II, 53 lines 1-5.

[47] *KRI* II, 120 lines 2-3.

[48] This common motif is evinced e.g. in Medinet Habu's Great Inscription of Year 11. K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated* (*RITA*) V (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1993), 50-1.

[49] H. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 1-3; A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* V, Oriental Institute Publications 73 (Chicago: University Press, 1954), 337a.

[50] *KRI* IV, 19 lines 3-4.

monument implanted in local setting (the Seti I stela) a typical Semitic pattern to qualify Pharaoh in a way the local population could relate to (presumably when the stela was publicly read by the Egyptian authorities to the mixed attendance on the tell) implies a clear propagandist intent, since probably only this Semitic element would have been recognized and understood by all the local addressees. By adopting a local formulation to exalt his own glory on the stela, Seti I was addressing the local population in a form which may have been in a limited but essential way acknowledged by a totally alphabetic reading, without even the disturbing Egyptian addition of a classifier.[51] An effective propaganda campaign requires the use of formulas well-known to the targeted public, and what other slogan could have been more appropriate to the King's occupation than an awed 'Who is like Seth?!,' the Semitic counterpart of the typical Egyptian affirmation of royal likeness to the gods. The use of this Semitic pattern serves to “enliven” the narrative, setting it apart from other examples of a generally highly formulaic genre. Second, the choice of Egyptian state employees to perform private devotions to a local deity in the foreign land of their assignment (the Mekal stela) proves their attunement and open-minded approach to local beliefs; an alternative would be to consider them Egyptianized locals enrolled in the Egyptian local administration, adopting Egyptian votive practices. The consistent spelling (-מי כ as *mʿk*-) in both hieroglyphic forms Mikael and mikeset emphasizes the common pattern in both designations.

Meki/Miki

The much earlier 19th century BC *Sinuhe* narrative uses the Northwest Semitic hypocoristic *Meki/Miki*  **[*Mʿki* + foreign classifier + human male classifier]** as the name of a ruler from *Ḳdm*, written in hieratic (Dynasty 12 earliest version on *pBerlin* 3022, B 219).[52] Though it has been recently viewed as a name based on the Eblaite title *malku(m)/mēki(m)*,[53] it is also possible that it belongs

[51] On multilingualism as exemplified by the Amarna letters, see e.g. A. F. Rainey, The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna based on Collations of all Extant Tablets I, Handbook of Oriental Studies 110 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), 10-11; on style-switching related to foreignness in Biblical Hebrew, see e.g. G. A. Rendsburg, "Style-Switching", in Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics III, ed. G. Khan (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), 633-6.

[52] See also the Dynasty 19 version  **[*Mʿky* + abstract classifier?]** of *oAshmolean* 1945.40, line 30 in A. M. Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 2 (Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1972), 33; R. Koch, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 17 (Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1990), 66.

[53] C. Kühne, "Meki, MeGum und MeKum / MeKim", in *Past Links: Studies in the Languages and Cultures of the Ancient Near East*, eds. S. Izre'el, I. Singer, R. Zadok, Israel Oriental Studies 18 (Warsaw: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 311-22; T. Schneider, "Sinuhes Notiz über die Könige: Syrisch-anatolische Herrschertitel in ägyptischer Überlieferung", *Ägypten und Levante* 12 (2002): 257–72; C. Wastlhuber, "Das Vorkommen von malku(m)/mēki(m) in den Schriftquellen des Mittleren Reiches: Hinweise auf Beziehungen zur nördlichen Levante", in *Texte – Theben – Tonfragmente: Fs. Günter Burkard*, eds. D. Kessler et al., Ägypten und Altes Testament 76 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 442-8.

to our incomparability pattern. In fact, Wastlhuber's[54] recent list of occurrences of the name as a personal or spatial designation in Middle Kingdom texts shows two essential spelling variations:

- the ones spelled *Mʿki* (in Sinuhe; in the Saqqara execration texts as a toponym)[55]
- the ones spelled *Mɜk-* (*mɜki* in Khnumhotep's tomb in Dashur[56] and *Mɜkɜm* in the Luxor execration texts).[57]

These variations clearly indicate two different patterns:

- the first, consistent with the spelling of the pattern in its New Kingdom attestations, refers to our 'Who is like God' pattern. Though dating to half a millennium earlier than the occurrences in Beth Shean, this early usage reflects the Early East Semitic sources of [*mi k* + divine name] in 3rd-millennium Ebla noted above,[58] as well as the much later hypocoristics such as Akkadian *Mannu-ki*[59] and paleohebraic *Mki* (מכי) for Mikhayahu (מכיהו)[60]

- the second, spelled with the Middle Egyptian *aleph* that translates a Semitic *lamed* or *resh*,[61] is indeed based on the Eblaite royal title *malku(m)/mēki(m)*.

If these conclusions prove correct, we can trace both variants in Middle Kingdom Egyptian sources to two different early patterns from Ebla, and attest for a consistent spelling in Egyptian distinguishing them throughout a long historical period. With Miki, Mikael, mikeset, and Mikamer, we have evidence for roughly nine centuries of the use of the Semitic 'Who is like God' pattern, and for an intense cultural synergy that is attested in Egyptian hieroglyphic and hieratic sources, as a formula used to name a god or a private individual, and to refer to Pharaoh.

[54] Wastlhuber, "Das Vorkommen von malku(m)/mēki(m) in den Schriftquellen des Mittleren Reiches: Hinweise auf Beziehungen zur nördlichen Levante", 443.

[55] G. Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie: Textes hiératiques sur figurines d'envoûtement du Moyen Empire* (Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1940), 83, 93.

[56] J. P. Allen, "The Historical Inscription of Khnumhotep at Dahshur: Preliminary Report", *BASOR* 352 (2008): 33.

[57] K. Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässscherben des Mittleren Reiches*, Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 5 (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1926), 50 e16.

[58] Krebernik, *Die Personennamen der Ebla-Texte: Eine Zwischenbilanz*, 10:3.2.2.

[59] Baker, *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 680.

[60] J. Renz, W. Röllig, *Handbuch der Althebräischen Epigraphik* II/2: *Materialien zur althebräischen Morphologie. Siegel und Gewichte* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003): 274, 344, and 405; N. Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society [Hebrew], 1986), 27 for bullae of the time of the First Temple.

[61] Wastlhuber, "Das Vorkommen von malku(m)/mēki(m) in den Schriftquellen des Mittleren Reiches: Hinweise auf Beziehungen zur nördlichen Levante", 443.

Book Reviews

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Divine Creatures
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An update to the 2005 volume of the same name, editor and author Salima Ikram's *Divine Creatures* is a collection of largely archaeology-focused reports on several of the prominent animal mummification cults and traditions of ancient Egypt. The majority of the text is untouched from the 2005 edition, with only very minor changes to the editor's own chapters and the addition of a postscript of updates for 2015.

There is a clear divide between Ikram's animal mummy-focused chapters, for which she is a leading authority, and the chapters contributed by other Egyptologists whose specialty is not mummies. The exception to this is Zivie and Lichtenberg's chapter which, including the work of a mummy radiology specialist (Lichtenberg), does deal with more biological aspects. Otherwise, the third through eighth chapters emphasise the excavations and architecture of the sites rather than the mummies themselves. The result is a broader look at the context in which these remains are found, but detailed information on the mummies themselves is largely restricted to the first, second, and ninth chapters (and now the 2015 addendum).

In the opening chapter, Ikram introduces the typology of ancient Egyptian animal mummies, including the rarely considered food mummies produced as tomb offerings, and discusses the contested and changing historical and cultural contexts into which animal mummies were integrated. In the following chapter, Ikram discusses the technical aspects of animal mummification and the fascinating results from her own series of experimental animal mummies. The technical chapter received only the briefest of updates, including mention of more recent debate on the use of dry vs. dissolved natron in human and animal mummification. Also a section at the end of this chapter is headlined for updates on the state of the experimental mummies in 2014, but the text remains the identical to the 2005 version of the same state-of-the-mummies section.

The remaining sections focus largely on the archaeology of the mummification cults, the first three chapters dealing with work at Saqqara. Nicholson's chapter (3) takes a broad look at the varied animal cults at Saqqara discovered in the course of searching for the burial of the great Egyptian renaissance man, Imhotep. The results are interpreted in the context of an evolving connection

between Imhotep and both Egyptian and Greek gods (e.g. Thoth and Asclepius) from the 3rd Dynasty through Greco-Roman times. The chapter gives a sense of the scale and wide variety of the mummifications and the architecture required to house them, including the *in situ* appearance and orientation (subject to looting, naturally) of the mummies. Dodson's chapter (4) discusses the greater and lesser known bull cults, with particular emphasis on the Apis cult's Serapeum at Saqqara and the Bucheum at Armant. At some length, Dodson reconciles the chronology of these infrequently mummified animals to pharaonic reigns from the New Kingdom onward. Zivie and Lichtenberg's chapter (5) focusses on the cat mummies of the Bubasteion at Saqqara, and is notable for its greater focus on anatomical and radiological findings.

The next three chapters look outside of the animal cemeteries at Saqqara, and deal with work done at Tuna el-Gebel, Mendes, and the Faiyum. Kessler and Nur el-Din's chapter (6) looks at the ibises, baboons, and other animal mummies at Tuna el-Gebel, brought together as forms of Thoth and Osiris. They discuss the evolution of the cult, religious beliefs, and animal mummification at the site over the course of the Late to Greco-Roman periods. Although chemical results were pending at the time of the 2005 edition, no update has been made in this edition. Redford and Redford's chapter (7) deals with the theology, the cult, the necropolis, and the fish and ram mummies of Mendes. As the site is lacking the expected ram mummies themselves, lost to various destructive events at Mendes culminating in the destruction of the city by the Persians and later the rise of Christianity, the authors focus on the non-biological material remains and briefly discuss the fish mummies. Bresciani (8) finishes out the contributed chapters with a brief but focused treatment of crocodile mummies and their worship as representatives of the god Sobek in the Faiyum.

Ikram wraps up the 2005 edition with a chapter (9) on the curation, study, and conservation of animal mummies, with particular reference to the Supreme Council of Antiquities' and the Egyptian Museum's Animal Mummy Project. No apparent updates are included in this section, but it is proceeded by the Postscript to the 2015 Edition which does provide overview and references for many new avenues of animal mummy research. A wide array of new studies is listed, and there is mention of a debated new category of animal mummies, the "amuletic" mummy. The postscript also provides some high-level discussion of (and valuable citations for) the application of new technologies to the study of animal mummies since 2005, including radiography, radiocarbon dating, ancient DNA analyses, spectroscopy, and stable isotope analyses, along with brief discussion of their implications for the continued study of human and animal mummies and the chronology, economy, and health of ancient Egypt.

Overall, the book continues to be one of the most important resources dealing with the animal mummies of ancient Egypt, and the archaeological context it provides remains valuable. Given its intended focus on animal mummies, however, it would have benefitted from less specific description of the excavations and architecture. While important to the broader story of the animal mummies and their

cults, it often does little but detail corridor after corridor of limestone and sand fill. Such detail would have been better left in a field report rather than included at length in a book ostensibly focused on the mummies contained within that architecture, especially when the result is that the discussion of the animal mummies themselves in any given contributed chapter is often quite brief. In light of the much larger corpus of analytical work done specifically on animal mummies (as the postscript suggests) than was available in 2005, a fuller revision for the 2015 edition would have been preferred.

- Andrew Wade

Susanne Töpfer

Fragmente des sog. „Sothisrituals" von Oxyrhynchos aus Tebtunis

Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 40, The Carlsberg Papyri 12
Museum Tusculanum Press. 2015. VII-IX, 1-196, Tafeln 1-6a.

The review deals with the Editio Princeps of a Hieratic ritual text from the Roman era, found in the temple library of Tebtynis. The parts of the book can be summarized in the following way:

In the introduction a few preliminary notes are made. In its present state, the ritual consists of 29 fragments (pCarlsberg 206, pBerlin P. 23033a-f, pFlorenz PSI inv. I 112, pCtYBR inv. 4523), which are kept in different papyrus collections.

In Chapter 1 the description of the text sources is carried out. The allocation of the fragments to four columns is explained and graphically illustrated (4-6). The columns are framed by vertical lines, running up to the height of the first text-line (8). Only the Recto is covered by text, while the Verso remained uninscribed (8). The text is dated by palaeographical means to the 1st half of the 2nd c. AD (11-15). The space between the signs is larger than usual, which is also the case in pCarlsberg 406 + pBerlin P. 29023 (10-11). The verbal scheme is distinguished by the frequent use of imperative, future and subjunctive (18). The junction of substantivized relative pronoun and adverbial phrase occurs quite often (18). Endings of pseudoparticiples are mostly omitted, which is typical for Roman manuscripts (18). In the purification spells, going back to ancient traditions, the Old Egyptian demonstrative pronoun is employed (19).

Chapter 2 contains the presentation of the text, which is reproduced in hieroglyphs, transcription and translation. Philological and content-related commentaries are added. Kol x+I - Kol x+II, 1-8 provide censing spells, to which the strongest parallel is the "Opening of the Mouth 59b" (33-36). Kol. x + II, 9 - Kol x + III, 13 contain libations addressed to various gods (Osiris, Horus, Harpokrates) (38). The recipients of the libations seem to have been grouped together in family

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constellations (61). Kol. x+III, 11 - Kol. x+IV preserve offering litanies prepared for various gods (Thoeris-Isis, Sothis, Horus, Thot) In the litanies, cult-topographical lists were sometimes incorporated (78-81). The structure of the litanies shows parallels with that of hymns and aretalogies for Isis (102).

In Chapter 3 a few general thoughts about the text are expressed. The beginning including the title and the end of the ritual are lost (118). The exact arrangement of 10 fragments must be considered uncertain (119). The toponym *pr-ḫfỉi.t* is identified as a ritual place, the oldest reference to which is attested in pWilbour/20th Dyn. (121). The etymology of the second part of the compound is clarified, which is fixed for the Ramesside period as "enemy" and Late Period as "wig, curl" (127). The *ḫfỉi.t* is perceived as a local personification of the curl, uraeus serpent and sun eye in the form of Thoeris-Isis-Hathor (127). This assumption seems to be speculative. The text is defined as a ritual for the town goddess Thoeris-Isis-Hathor of Oxyrhynchos after her fusion with Sothis (127). The Ptolemaic *pr-ḫfỉi.t* is understood as place of worship near the Osireion of Oxyrhynchos, where Osirian rites in connection with the Choiak-festival were celebrated (127/129). The pantheon of the *pr-ḫfỉi.t* is compared with the names on relief blocks from tomb No. 1 of Heret/Hati in the upper necropolis of Oxyrhynchos (132ff). The funerary aspect of Osiris as Khenty-Amentiu in Oxyrhynchos is valued highly (139). The triad of Koptos (Min, Isis/Thoeris, Horus/Harpokrates) takes an important position, the close link between Koptos and Oxyrhynchos being explained by the veneration of Seth at both sites (148/150). The view is advanced that the ritual was performed at the turn of the year, during the coming of the Nile inundation or heliacal rising of Sothis, with the aim to guarantee protection and regeneration of the king (152). The return of the Far Wandering Goddess plays a significant role, which is traced back to possible links with the "Myth of the Sun's Eye" (152).

The results are summed up in Chapter 4. The author deems it likely that the location of Oxyrhynchos at the Bahr Yussuf, a branch of the Nile, could favour an interpretation of the *pr-ḫfỉi.t* as a cultic origin of the Nile inundation (159).

The book is completed by bibliography (168-184), indices (185-196) and plates (1-6A).

The following remarks may prove helpful:

17: for the writing *śdi* for *śṯi* "odour" cf. J. Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I, Text*, CNI Publications 17, The Carlsberg Papyri 2 (Copenhagen, 1998), 211a; I. Guermeur, "Les papyrus hiératiques de Tebtynis: Un aperçu du matérial issu des fouilles 2008-2010," in N. Quenouille (ed.), *Von der Pharaonenzeit bis zur Spätantike, Kulturelle Vielfalt im Fayum, Akten der 5. Internationalen Fayum-Konferenz, 29. Mai bis 1. Juni, 2013, Leipzig* (Wiesbaden, 2015), 25

27: for *pḏ* "burn incense/incense pervades" cf. K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen, II. Der Dramatische Ramesseumpapyrus, Ein Spiel zur Thron-besteigung des Königs*, UGAÄ 10 (Hildesheim, 1964), 207; D. Kurth, *Edfou VII, Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu, Abteilung I, Übersetzungen, Band 2* (Wiesbaden, 2004), 339; N. Tacke, *Das Opferritual des*

ägyptischen Neuen Reiches, Band II: Übersetzung und Kommentar, OLA 222 (Leuven; Paris; Walpole/MA, 2013), 93

52: for the writing *ỉm.t* for *ỉmḥ.t* cf. B. Lüscher, *Totenbuch Spruch 149/150*, TBT 6 (Basel, 2010), 93 (pP31a)

60: for the formulation *pśḏ pśḏ.t* "Ennead shines" cf. N. Tacke, *Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches, Band II: Übersetzung und Kommentar*, OLA 222 (Leuven; Paris; Walpole/MA, 2013), 35; for the underlying word play cf. e.g. A. Rickert, *Gottheit und Gabe. Eine ökonomische Prozession im Soubassement des Opettempels von Karnak und ihre Parallele in Kôm Ombo*, SSR 4 (Wiesbaden, 2011), 202

73: for *ḥtii.t* "Thot is throat" cf. R. K. Ritner, "Gleanings from Magical Texts," *Enchoria* 14 (1986), 97

74: The association of *ḥnw.t* "mistress" and *nỉw.t* "town" is instead based on the change between *ḥ* and *ỉ*. For this phenomenon cf. St. Bojowald, "Zur Bedeutung von „ir(w)r(w)" in oKairo 25677, verso 32," *JSSEA* 39 (2012-13), 1-4

78: for the writing *t3* for *tp* cf. Fr. Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros, Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus*, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer), Neue Serie, XXVI. Folge (MPER XXVI) (Wien, 1996), 133

100: for the connection between Satet and Sothis cf. D. Valbelle, *Satis et Anoukis*, SDAIK 8 (Mainz, 1981), 128; 141-142

114: for the "Plant Determinative" after *ḫmś* "incense" cf. R. Hannig, "Beiträge zur Lexikographie I: Mögliche Phantomwörter im HL I," in: G. Takács (ed.), *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam W. Vycichl*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 39 (Leiden/Boston, 2004), 86

124: for the writing *ỉtḥ* for *ỉdḥ* cf. Chr. Leitz, *Die Gaumonographien in Edfu und ihre Papyrusvarianten, Ein überregionaler Kanon kultischen Wissens im spätzeitlichen Ägypten, Soubassementstudien III, Teil 1: Text*, SSR 9 (Wiesbaden, 2014), 330

125: The word *ỉ3r.t* "wig" certainly constitutes a lemma of its own, for which an etymological relation to *ỉ3r* "to plait" can be supposed. For this word cf. J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen, Textband*, SDAIK 3A (Mainz, 1976), 244; J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen, Anmerkungen und Indices*, SDAIK 3B (Mainz, 1976), 814

137: The reference to *dnś* "hippopotamus is heavy" seems to be more appropriate. For this meaning cf. D. Kurth, *Edfou VIII, Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu, Abteilung I, Übersetzungen Band 1* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 15/19/140/174

159: for *ʿnḳ* "faire refluer" cf. S. Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d´Esna, Aux derniers siècles du paganisme*, Esna V (Le Caire, 1962), 92 (gg)

The publication has made a compelling impression. The author extracts from the fragments as much information as possible. In some philological questions, however, one can even proceed a step further.

- Stefan Bojowald

Alexa Rickert and Bettina Ventker, eds.

Altägyptische Enzyklopädien, Die Soubassements in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit, Soubassementstudien I

Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 7
Harrassowitz Verlag. 2014. Volume 1: v-ix, 1-537; Volume 2: v-ix, 539-1082, Colour Tables I-XVIII, Plates I-XXXIV.

This review focusses on the proceedings of the conference "Altägyptische Enzyklopädien: Die Soubassements in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit," organised at the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften in 2012. The content of the two-volume opus can be summarized as follows:

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The contribution of D. Kurth gives a first introduction to the soubassement decoration. The main characteristic are processions of different types, often led by king and queen (9). Veneration and provision of the local god by gods of other parts of the country are of crucial importance (10). Soubassement texts could involve litanies and mythological compositions (11). Soubassements topics could be influenced by the function of surrounding temple rooms (11). Soubassements are often associated with earth and soil (12).

The contribution of J. Fr. Quack reports about Papyrus Tanis 118 (= Bodleian Manuscript Egyptian A 5-8 P) found in 1884 during the Petrie excavations at Tanis, in the burnt ruins of house Nr. 35. The fire may have destroyed the building during the bukolic revolution of year 174 AD (18). The papyrus was preserved due to its carbonization in the humid delta soil. The multi-columed manuscript is covered only on the recto with text (19). The medium Demotic language in hieroglyphic script is used (20). The sections are devoted to patterns of decorations, drawings of pattern, ritual types and speeches of gods (20-21).

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The contribution of D. von Recklinghausen familiarizes the reader with "monographs" in Greco-Roman temples. This text type is compared with cult-

topographical tractates on papyri, e.g. pJumilhac, Book of the Fayyum, Delta papyrus (29). Its origin can be traced back to a naos fragment from the time of Nectanebos II, while the earliest temple version is evidenced in Behbeit el-Hagar under Ptolemy II (31). Monographs occur from Ptolemaic to Roman times, most of the examples being located in Kom Ombo, Esna, and Athribis (31). The favoured location is on gates and gateways (32). Monographs could be linked with *śnḏ-n-*hymns," stressing religious items of the place and temple god, respectively (32). Along with the sanctuary, the offering hall is a key location for monographs (33).

The contribution of A. von Lieven surveys mythological and theological information in soubassements of Greco-Roman temples. Mythological allusions could be incorporated into inscriptions of offering bearers (52-53), processions of nome gods (53-54), monographs for important local cult centers (54), complex narrative myths (54-55), and hymns (55-56). The tempel at Kom Ombo is classified as having one of the richest programs of soubassement types (56).

The contribution of Chr. Leitz sheds light upon geographical soubasssement texts, chiefly inscribed on outer side walls of naoi or inner sides of doorways. The nomes are represented by a personification, canal (*mr*), fertile land (*w*), or wetland (*pḥ*) (69). The figures are divided between series for Upper and Lower Egypt (69). Geographical processions can be broken down into one-piece or multi-piece processions of nomes and their gods (70). Parallels in the inscriptions of different tempels point to a common text source (71). Names and capitals of the nomes in the offering formula should symbolize the whole country (73). Mythological allusions could arise in those formulas (74).

72: for *ḳrf*(*.t*) = *ʿrf* "bundle" cf. W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte*, Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter VIII (Berlin, 1962), 19/20; W. Schenkel, *LingAeg* 3 (1993), 143

80: for *tȝḥ* "sediment of canals" cf. E. Edel, *ZÄS* 102 (1975), 36

92: for the defective writing *r* of the preposition *ḫr* cf. J. Heise, *Erinnern und Gedenken, Aspekte der biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, OBO 226 (Fribourg/Göttingen, 2007), 280

The contribution of D. von Recklinghausen deals with "additional nomes" in the soubassements of Athribis, Dendera, Tôd, Edfu, Kom Ombo, and Elephantine, decorated between Ptolemy VIII and Vespasian (128). The personifications of these additional nomes stride in nome processions and nome god processions, after their canonical counterparts (128-130). The processions are engraved on the long sides of sanctuaries or outer temple walls (131). – Roman examples yield the completest versions (133). The number of the nomes rises up to sixty Upper/Lower Egyptian cities and villages (133). Theological aspects of local cult centers are emphasized (142).

The contribution of J. Tattko analyses examples for *mr*-canal, *ww*-region, and *pḥw*-region in geographical processions, documented since the reign of Ptolemy I. References for the 22 Upper and 20 Lower Egyptian nomes are registered and bibliographically supported (156-204). Additional nomes of Lower Egypt (204-206), *pḥw*-regions of additional nomes at Athribis (206-207), and *ww*/*pḥw*-regions

of additional nomes on the Tanis Geographical Papyrus (207-209) are discussed separately. The *pḥw*-regions of the New Kingdom and at Kom Ombo are compared with each other (209-213).

The contribution of Cl. Traunecker explores the soubassement decoration on the inner side of the first gate at Koptos, probably erected under Ptolemy XII while being decorated under Caligula (226). The processions are composed of 9 Upper Egyptian and 10 Lower Egyptian nomes, the scheme alternating between male and female personifications (226-227). The text columns strongly refer to local theology (227).

The contribution of L. Medini examines the "Great Geographical Text" on the exterior wall of the sanctuary at Edfu. The order of the nomes there is partly identical with that in the handbooks of Tanis and Tebtunis (254). The "Great Geographical Text" assigns to certain nomes the same Osiris relics as the "Deltapapyrus" (256ff).

256: for *mnhp* + Phallus cf. J. Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 61 (1962), 141

The contribution of D. Budde studies the soubassement decoration in the sanctuary of the Edfu mammisi, dating to Ptolemy VIII. The east wall is occupied with fathering, birth, deployment, and acceptance of the divine heir (269). The arrangement of figures and choice of hieroglyphs favour a numerology (271). In the soubassement of the west wall serpents feature prominently, which is explained by their protective function (278).

The contribution of H. Kockelmann treats the lists of foreign people in the soubassements at Kom Ombo, Komir, Esna and Xois, datable between the time of Ptolemy XII and Antoninus Pius. The Greco-Roman lists are shorter than their precursors from the New Kingdom (302). The earlier tradition of combining the lists with triumphal scenes showing the king smiting enemies is continued (303). The Greco-Roman lists enumerate sixty foreign names, mainly of northern provenance (305). The lists are enlarged by new toponyms, reflecting geopolitical changes in the world order of this time (305).

The contribution of A. Rickert is dedicated to the only two known processions of Nubian places at Philae. The older example was installed under Ptolemy II in the soubassement of the eastern half of room I of the naos (321). The younger example stems from the time of Ptolemy VI and embellishes the walls of the western gateway on the first pylon in front of the temple. The names could belong to sites important on cultic and economic levels (322).

The contribution of St. Baumann puts the main emphasis on processions with personifications of mine regions at Edfu, Athribis, Dendera, and Philae, datable between Ptolemy VI and Caligula. The type is assigned to geographical processions (329). The toponyms stretch from Nubia in the south to Cyprus in the north (329). The texts combine information about origin and usage of the minerals (329). The only older example is located in the Luxor temple/Ramesses II, being, with 30 personifications, the longest list of this kind (331).

The second contribution by A. Rickert advances to economic processions, attested from the end of the 4th c. BC to the 2nd c. AD. Personifications are fitted out

with natural substances, processed articles, or abstract entities such as "life" or "music" (337). Formation in pairs assumes an extra importance (339). The distribution of "resort gods" does not show traces of a recurring pattern (340). The processions seem to be linked with the cult of Osiris and the dead (342). The back wall of the naos or inner walls of rooms in front of the sanctuary are preferred as location (341-342).

A second contribution by J. Tattko takes a critical look at hydrological processions, having rows both for Upper and Lower Egypt. The personifications, distinguished by typical heraldic plants, could convey the Nile inundation as a special gift (362). Type I of the processions is built up only of personifications of the Nile inundation, mostly discovered in rooms of the naos (363). Type II of the procession is supplemented by field goddesses, journeying along doorways, outer temple walls, and pronaoi (365). The total number may be up to 50 personifications, highlighting different aspects of the Nile inundation (366).

371: for *wbś* "water rises" cf. B. Backes, *Das altägyptische „Zweiwegebuch", Studien zu den Sargtext-Sprüchen 1029-1130* (Wiesbaden, 2005), 94 n. 258; I. Munro, *Das Totenbuch des Nacht-Amun aus der Ramessidenzeit (pBerlin P. 3002)*, HAT 4 (Wiesbaden, 1997), 21

373: for *wśf* "water is sluggish" cf. H. W. Fischer – Elfert, Literarische Ostraka der Ramessidenzeit in Übersetzung, KÄT (Wiesbaden, 1986), 32/54

374: for *wr.t* "body part" cf. J. Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I, Text*, The Carlsberg Papyri 2, CNI 17 (Copenhagen, 1998), 78e

The contribution of B. Ventker dwells on Kas/Hemusut in the soubassements at Dendara, Edfu Meamud, Schanhur, Opet, Tôd, Philae, and Kalabscha, dating between Ptolemy VIII and Trajan. The Ka/Hemesut bring necessary goods to the divine beneficiary (456/457). The first combination of Kas and Hemesut is attested in the Pyramid Texts (458).The scenes are mostly depicted on outer walls of naoi, pronaoi, or pylons (442). The total number of all 14 Ka/Hemusut is only reached on the naos at Edfu (442). The text structure of the inscriptions follows a basic pattern (446). The Kas in the processions bear the same names as the "14 Kas of Ra" of the New Kingdom (453).

The contribution of F. Coppens tackles processions with linen and oil in the "chamber of linen" at Dendera and Philae. At Dendara, the procession with linen spreads out over the northern half of the room, delivering four types of clothes (466). The position may indicate an association with the delta and city of Sais as a main production center of linen (467). The procession with oil marches up in the southern half, showing three closed-mouth oil vessels (467). The position could allude to the southern provenance of unguents (467). The offering bearers are shaped as personifications of the Nile inundation, therefore representing a hydrological procession (468). The "feast of linen" and "night of the child in his nest" in the inscriptions hint at rituals during the epagomenal days (474). In Philae, two processions with 14 offering bearers appear, granting different types of linen (476).

A second contribution by Chr. Leitz is concerned with aromatic substances in soubassements, preserved only at Edfu and Arthibis. In Edfu, room Z of the "laboratory" depicts two processions with 9 and 10 offering bearers (484). The texts impart knowledge about types, origin, and production of the substances (485-489). In Athribis, the "Punt chamber" (Room F 6) musters a procession with offering bearers, the texts instructing about precious woods and resins (501). The procession in the inner sanctuary D of the same temple consists of at least 60 offering bearers, the texts conveying information about the classes of the aromata (513).

504: for *bšš* "pellet" cf. H. Sternberg-El Hotabi, "Das Ostrakon Glasgow D.1925.91," in: L. Gestermann/H. Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Per aspera ad astra. Wolfgang Schenkel zum neunundfünfzigsten Geburtstag* (Kassel, 1995), 173

505: The word *t3.t* "spittle" (?) may be connected with *t3.t* "secretion of toads"; for this word see A. von Lieven, *ZÄS* 131 (2004), 164 n. 25

509: for *šrḥ* "red coloured wood" cf. G. Fecht, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 105 n. 1

513: for *gśfn* "resin/mineral" cf. W. Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin, 1. Band*, HdO, Erste Abteilung, Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, Sechsunddreißigster Band (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 1999), 509; for the meaning "tin" cf. R. Fuchs, LÄ VI, 1405 s. v. Zink

The contribution of O. E. Kaper deals with "seasons" in the soubassements, found from the Middle Kingdom to Roman times. The seasons can be integrated in geographical/economic processions (517). The seasons are modeled as male or female fecundity figures. The correct calendrical order is complied with only in Kom Ombo and Dendera (521). The first known depiction of seasons as fecundity figures derives from the solar temple of Niussere at Abu Gurob/5th dynasty (522).

A third contribution by A. Rickert considers the festival calendars of soubassements at Kom Ombo and Karnak, mainly carved in the time of Ptolemy VI. Calendars could either be restricted to mere enumeration of data or supply information about cultic acts (532). The data is sometimes inserted in narrative phrases (532). The example at Kom Ombo is situated in the north half of the middle hall (Room C), which occurs together with food offerings (534). In Karnak, calendars can be found on the northern side of the first gate, which is connected with the cult of the festival (534).

Volume II

The second contribution by H. Kockelmann investigates the hymnic speech in soubassement-texts, ranging from the first half of the 3rd c. BC to the 2nd c. AD (539). The hymns are most commonly recorded on doors and entrances (542), although they can also be embedded in adoration scenes or recitations of the king (542). The vast majority is executed in nominal phrases, with anaphoric elements at the beginning of the lines (546).

The contribution of Sv. Nagel turns to the description of the newmoon/*bḥd.t*-feast in the inner soubassements of the pylons at Edfu. The main part of the feast consists of barque processions with the visit of Hathor and Horus (+ other gods)

from Edfu to *bḥd.t* – a necropolis of ancestor gods (608 – 609). The activities began with the celebration of Osirian rites (616). The dispatch of four birds served to propagate the firmly established kingship of Horus (622). The 15-day feast cycle is subdivided into two single events, being reminiscent of harvest festivals (640). Enemy extinction rituals play an important role (642 – 643).

652: for the defective writing *pś* for *pśḏ* cf. G. Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris, Deuxième Partie, Les Textes* (Cairo, 1923), 25 (52, 7)

The second contribution by B. Ventker concerns priestly processions in soubassements at Edfu and Dendera. The priests mainly figure carrying barques and standards (689). The procession at Dendera is split into an Upper and Lower Egyptian half, being counted as special form among geographical processions (693). The processions on the walls of the staircase are understood as a special form of soubassement decoration (698ff). The series could be comprised of 50 persons, the sequence indicating the relative order of precedence of rank within the hierarchy (710).

The contribution of D. Klotz compares regionally specific sacerdotal titles of the Late Period, recorded in soubassement texts and on private monuments. The study relies heavily on "official lists" at Edfu, Dendera, and Tebtunis Some titles seem to have been invented in dynasties 25-26 (721).

744: for *ḫ3p* "to wrap *iwtw*-decay" cf. D. A. Werning, *Das Höhlenbuch, Textkritische Edition und Textgrammatik, Teil II. Textkritische Edition und Übersetzung*, GOF IV. Reihe: Ägypten 48 (Wiesbaden, 2011), 379

781: The connection between *śpś* "to dance" and *pśi* "to heat" is highly speculative!

The contribution of E. Jambon scrutinizes the soubassement of the inner enclosure wall at Edfu, decorated between 116 and 80 BC. The north wall is laid out in a symmetrical fashion, with 35 offering bearers each in the west and the east (794). The west wall stands out by having the longest stretch of decoration (794). The east wall is inscribed with the myth of Hor (796). The east wall also features the "nine bows," partly named in the old manner (808ff.). The working hypothesis is proposed that the decoration of Late Period temples owns a "canon comme processus plutôt que comme resultat," a "canonisation, que ne chercherait pas à aboutir mais au contraire trouverait son sous dans la perpétuelle extension de ses limits" (813).

The contribution of D. Mendel is dedicated to the soubassements of the columns at Athribis. The twenty-six columns of the outer colonnade L 1 – 3 are designed according to a uniform scheme (821). The soubassement of column Y 19 renders Isis in the papyrus swamp, suckling a falcon while being flanked by two serpents (822/823). The scene constitutes the central part of the "gods of Chemmis," also known from the mammisis at Dendera, Edfu, Philae (823). In Athribis, the "gods of Chemmis" continue in the soubassements of the next 6 columns after Y 19 (827).

The contribution of Fr. Labrique provides philological comments on soubassement texts of the propylon of Chons. The southern face is inscribed with

śnḏ-ḥr-hymns, introducing Chons as judge, master of destiny, creator of language, moon, master of time and owner of messengers (842). The inner face is covered with fecundity figures, genies of inundation, and field goddesses (841), the accompanying texts having parallels on the inner side of the pylons at Edfu (849).

The contribution of R. Preys concerns the soubassements of the gate of the second pylon of the Amon temple/Karnak, the decoration of which can be assigned to the reign of Ptolemy IV/VIII. The texts are arranged in columns, combining material of the bandeaux of the gates of other Late Period temples (863/864). The creative power of Amon and the supremacy of Thebes are praised (865-866).

The contribution of Ph. Collombert delves into the soubassements of temples from the New Kingdom. The personifications known from later times already exist in the New Kingdom, portrayed however not in soubassements, but in lists at the bottom of the wall (966). The geographical procession in Mit Rahineh/Ramesses II is the first example with a fully developed textual program (971). The "justification théologique" is verified at this site for the first time (971).

The contribution of L. Coulon locks critically at soubassements of the monuments of god's wives, constructed in the Late Period at Thebes. The processions are characterized as geographical/economic ones, including fecundity figures, inundation genies, and field goddesses (980-981). The processions are partly connected with Osirian theology (983). The nome of Thebes could be embodied by a female personification (987-989).

The contribution of P. Dils pertains to the noninscribed soubassement decoration of Greco-Roman temples. Ornamental motifs could be reiterated in horizontal bands (880). Bases of walls are most often adorned by vegetable motifs from swamp landscapes (882ff). Figural motifs could be added, e. g. *ḥw.t-bnw*-motif, *dw3-rḫỉỉ.t*-motif, *sm3-t3.wỉ*-motif (897ff). The ornaments could amount to readable phrases, often dubbed by the term "cryptography" (913). The alternative "emblem" is suggested for the later expression (913).

The second contribution by Ph. Collombert draws attention to the *pḥ.w*-regions in lists of the New Kingdom and their afterlife. In the New Kingdom five examples are known, the order of the *pḥ.w* diverging from that of the Late Period (993-994). The lists are usually fixed on the north wall of the monuments, explained by the connection of the *pḥ.w* with the delta (994/ 996). The late lists seem to be systematized in Saite or pre-Saite times (997).

The contribution of A. H. Pries searches for similarities between onomastic lists and Greco-Roman temple inscriptions. The most paramount parallels emerge in geographical and cult-topographical texts (1004). The details about the "nine bows" in monumental inscriptions at Edfu and on pTanis/pTebtynis partly correspond to each other (1006). The notes about nomes in the word lists reappear in the Edfu corpus, as well (1010).

A third contribution by Chr. Leitz subjects Egyptian encyclopaedic texts to a closer study, several examples of which are singled out. The spectrum contains the ornithological section in pTebt, astronomic section in pTebt, nome monographs in pTebt II/III and Edfu, Brooklyn Snake Papyrus, botanic section in pEbers 47/15-

48/3, economic/hydrological/geographical processions, processions of mine regions, and festival calendars (1029 – 1033). The "Netherworld Books" of the New Kingdom are pointed out as further examples for the encyclopaedic genre (1037ff).

- Stefan Bojowald

Wolfram Grajetzki
Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom: The Archaeology of Female Burials

University of Pennsylvania Press. 2014. 254 pages.

Cemeteries, single tombs, and the general development of tomb structure as well as its decoration program over the course of pharaonic civilization are well published. Additionally, many publications deal with the inscribed material found in burials. In contrast, detailed comparative overviews of uninscribed funerary items are rare.[1] As a result, Wolfram Grajetzki's publication of female burials dating to the late Middle Kingdom is a welcome addition to the body of Egyptological literature. It is true that especially the jewellery discovered in these tombs is described and referenced in different publications, but an analysis of all uninscribed material found in these burials, along with an attempt to socially differentiate the sepulchres on the basis of these items, was lacking. With regard to the latter, the author pays special attention to burial goods that were specifically fabricated for the burial (funerary industry) and those which had already been used during the lifetime of the tomb owner and had later been included into the burial as funerary items.

The book is divided into an introduction followed by five chapters and an appendix. A chronology of ancient Egypt as well as a list of the discussed tombs and the respective excavation reports complement the publication.

The introduction (pages 1-15) presents the purpose of the book, and additionally includes a brief summary of the history of the Middle Kingdom and the cemeteries dating to that period. It also includes short subchapters on different groups of funerary items, in which aspects of burial customs attested from other ancient and modern societies are mentioned for comparison.

The first chapter (pages 17-93) builds the core of the book and discusses the most representative examples of Court Type Burials, i.e. the interments of female members of the royal family. Each burial is described in detail with regard to the tomb structure, the human remains, and funerary items found therein and their

[1] One of the few other existing examples was written by the same author: W. Grajetzki, *Burial Customs in Ancient Egypt: Life in Death for Rich and Poor* (London: Duckworth, 2003).

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[1] One of the few other existing examples was written by the same author: W. Grajetzki, *Burial Customs in Ancient Egypt: Life in Death for Rich and Poor* (London: Duckworth, 2003).

original placement. Especially noteworthy are the author's attempts to reconstruct pieces of jewellery when only a collection of beads or other parts of objects are preserved. The meticulous description is supplemented by numerous black and white pictures illustrating single pieces of the burial equipment, as well as tomb plans and maps of the different sites. A discussion of the identification of the tomb owner is added as well. The study includes the burials of Senebtisi in el-Lisht and Sathathoriunet (possibly a daughter of Senwosret II) in el-Lahun, as well as the interments of Ita (daughter of Amenemhet II), Khenmet, Nubhetepti-Khered, Sathathor (possibly a daughter of Senwosret III), Mereret (possibly a daughter of Senwosret III) in Dahshur, and Neferuptah (daughter of Amenemhet III) in el-Hawara.

The second chapter (pages 94-113) is entitled "Other Burials of Women" and discusses "the most important undisturbed tombs of other women, not buried in court type style" (page 94). The aim of the chapter is to highlight the differences with regard to the burial equipment between the two types of burials. While the burial equipment of the female royal family members mainly belongs to the category of funerary industry, i.e. it was specifically made for the burial, internments of other females mainly include objects that had already been used in daily life. Additionally, in the later case the burial equipment is often restricted to the coffin, pottery, and some pieces of jewellery. Grajetzki introduces the tombs of Hetepet, tombs 129 and 206 from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, as well as Satip's tomb in Dahshur. In addition, he describes selected burials from Harageh, Riqqeh, Beni Hassan, Matmar, Rifeh, Abydos, Hu, Kubanieh North, and Buhen. Based on the importance of Harageh during the late Middle Kingdom, when the site functioned as the cemetery of the population connected to the pyramid town in el-Lahun, and due to the detailed publication of the site, the author differentiates those burials into three groups: the court type burials, a second group characterized by funerary items that are in the tradition of the early Middle Kingdom and include items of the funerary industry, and a third group with burial equipment exclusively consisting of items that have already been used during the life of the tomb owner.

The third chapter (pages 114-134) deals with the different items of jewellery, such as hair ornaments, necklaces, pendants, armlets and anklets, as well as collars and pectorals. The comparison of the different pieces with their representations on statuary and reliefs as well as on the so-called fertility figurines is not only commendable, but also leads to some interesting conclusions: items mainly of the funerary industry, with which the mummy was decorated (e.g. broad collars, armlets and anklets) are illustrated on statues, reliefs, and stelae and might have been worn during life only on special occasions. These objects are found in court type and type 2 burials. In contrast, jewellery that was deposited in specific boxes in the tomb and that had been worn during life resembles the adornments of fertility figurines. These items were discovered in all burial types. In general, "the main difference between royal and private jewelry is the quality of the personal adornments and the materials used" (page 133). In order to complement the study of the diverse jewellery objects, the author discusses the materials out of which jewellery was made and its colours.

Unfortunately, he only mentions the preference of the ancient Egyptians for bright and light colours. It would have been informative to add a small paragraph on the symbolism of materials and colours in ancient Egypt, which could have provided additional valuable information concerning the religious meaning of specific items.[2]

The fourth chapter (pages 135-179) presents the development of burial customs during the different time periods of ancient Egyptian civilization, with a focus on female burials. The late Middle Kingdom, the subject of the book, is covered in more detail, and burials of men are added for comparison. Grajetzki argues that differences in burial equipment between the ruling class and the broader population underscore a divergent concept of the afterlife. He supports this hypothesis by stating that certain objects found in court type burials of the late Middle Kingdom, such as staves and royal insignia, are connected to a ritual that took place in the course of the mummification process and that is connected to the hour vigil of Osiris, therefore identifying the deceased with that deity (labelled as osirification; esp. pages 150-152). Thus, he concludes that the identification with Osiris was the most important aspect of court type and type 2 burials, whereas the maintenance of the social identity, expressed through jewellery and cosmetic boxes, was the main feature of the tombs belonging to the broader population. The chapter ends with the presentation of a few burials from rich women belonging to other ancient cultures. It might be a preference of the reviewer, but the chapter might have been more helpful to the reader if it had been added after the introduction, in order to provide background information on the detailed discussion to follow of the different female burials dating to the late Middle Kingdom.

In the final, fifth chapter (pages 180-188), called "The King and the Women Buried Around Him," the author puts forward a theory concerning the reason why only burials of females are placed around the royal pyramids dating to the Old and Middle Kingdoms. He refers to the prominent position of women in the decoration program of Ukhhotep IV's tomb in Meir, to the importance of Hathor as mother of Horus and consequently of the living king, and to the appearance of the royal children, depicted as females, in reliefs illustrating the Sed festival. The royal children are sometimes holding sistra, which connects them to Hathor, and they can be depicted sitting on a carrying chair, which is called *reput* in ancient Egyptian. The same term is also the name of a goddess representing fertility. Consequently, Grajetzky postulates that the burials of the king's daughters around the royal sepulchre were intended to guarantee the king's own rebirth.

The appendix (pages 189-194) includes a list of royal women dating to the 12th dynasty and of their attestations, followed by the chronology of ancient Egypt (pages 195-197) and a list of the tombs mentioned in the book and their associated excavation reports (pages 225-227). The latter two parts are separated from each other by the notes to the different chapters (pages 199-223). The bibliography (pages

[2] Cf. for example S. Aufrère, *L'univers mineral dans la pensée égyptienne* (Cairo: IFAO, 1991) and R.H. Wilkinson, *Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 82-125.

229-248), the index (pages 249-254), and acknowledgements (page 255) build the end of the publication.

The strength of the work lies especially in the meticulous analysis of the site reports and the resulting detailed presentation of every single item in the burial equipment of each tomb previously discussed, along with its original location within the sepulchre. This is all graphically supplemented by a good number of photographs of burial items, drawings of tomb plans, and site maps. Helpful for everyone interested in further research on the topic is also the bibliography on every tomb mentioned throughout the book, which is to be found at the very end.

From a scholar's point of view, more detailed information and a more thorough analysis with regard to certain topics would have sometimes been desirable. The author mentions the differences between the burial equipment of higher social classes and the broader population, which he states might result from different ideas about the afterlife. He also claims that items of the funerary industry, i.e. objects solely fabricated for the burial, changed over time and might likewise reflect modifications in the notion of the afterlife or in rituals performed at the funeral or on the mummy (pages 135-136). Following these statements, Grajetzki describes the development of burial customs during the different time periods. A brief discussion on the changes of the concept of the afterlife would have well complemented the treatise on the burial customs. Although the inscribed burial items are not the main focus of the book, more detailed information on the religious texts occurring on some objects would have been useful. Grajetzki only sometimes identifies the specific text corpus and exact spell found on a particular object, often simply indicating that an object is inscribed, without further specification with regard to the text corpus or spell (see e.g. pages 144, 146). The same applies to the description of queen Kama's tomb. The author refers to the religious scenes on the walls (page 169), but he does not elaborate on exactly what kind of scenes are depicted, so that the reader has to consult the referenced work in order to get further information on the decoration program. However, the lack of detailed information might not be directly attributable to the author, but might rather be a result of the fact that the book is intended to be accessible to scholars and laymen alike.

In sum, Grajetzki's publication provides a notable overview of the burial customs of the late Middle Kingdom with regard to female burials and the differences between the diverse burial types. It should be used as a starting point by anyone who wishes to pursue further research on the topic.

- Christina Geisen

Donald Malcolm Reid

Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums & the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser

The American University in Cairo Press. 2015. 491+xxii pp.

Timing is everything. Howard Carter discovered the tomb of Tutankhamun in November 1922 less than three weeks after the head of the Egyptian Antiquities Service announced a change in policy toward the division of finds with foreign expeditions. Previously, foreign expeditions received half of what they found, but henceforth all discoveries were the property of Egypt, and awards were at the discretion of the government. Thanks to this accident of timing, the entire contents of Tutankhamun's tomb are in the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities in Cairo. Control of the site itself soon became an issue. Egypt had just attained quasi-independence after an uprising against continued British rule, nationalists had appropriated the Pharaonic past as part of their heritage, and a popularly elected government had little patience with Carter's autocratic ways. In *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt*, Donald Reid shows how the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun and the controversies it generated reflected the changing political and ideological landscape of early twentieth-century Egypt.

Contesting Antiquity is a sequel to the author's *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeolgies, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (2002), and carries forward three of its themes in particular: Euro-American domination of Egyptology and archaeology and the struggle of Egyptians to acquire training and secure positions in those fields; nationalist competition between Europeans over sites and positions; and evolving Egyptian identification with the Pharaonic past – "Pharaonism." Reid is concerned to restore Egyptians to the history of Egyptology and classical and Islamic archaeology. In *Whose Pharaohs?* the task was relatively simple due to the handful of Egyptians involved, but the present volume notes sequential cohorts of Egyptian scholars and discusses the careers of several of the most prominent of them. To tell that story it is necessary to present, in addition, the institutional history of four museums – the antiquities museum (1858/1902), the Arab (now Islamic) Art Museum (1880/1902), the Greco-Roman Museum (1892), and the Coptic Museum (1908), as well as the Egyptology program at the Egyptian University (1924, now the Faculty of Archeology of Cairo University). Moreover, this institutional history necessitates a detailed accounting of the careers of a number of European and American explorers and scholars, whose biographies are an intrinsic part of the whole.

These multiple tasks are performed in three sections: four opening chapters on Egyptology and Pharaonism to 1930; the next four chapters on tourism and Islamic, Coptic, and Greco-Roman archaeologies and the museums devoted to them; and a final four that return to Egyptology and Pharaonism from 1930 to the 1952

Revolution. There is something here for everyone – the social history of tourism; the entwining of Coptic communal politics with the study of Coptic antiquity and the museum's founding; and Pharaonism as expressed in art, architecture, and ideology, in addition to the institutional and professional histories of the four archaeologies. However, the volume is also unwieldy, and some important issues tend to get lost in the mass of detail. For example, the decision of the Antiquities Service not to award a half share of finds discouraged the wealthy amateurs like Lord Carnarvon, Howard Carter's patron, from funding Egyptological exploration. There was a transition to professional, institutionally organized work, but it is not clear what difference that made in the quality or direction of Egyptology. Reid does not discuss the knowledge produced by the study of these four areas of Egyptian antiquity – that was not his purpose, but it leaves open the question of whether developments in those academic fields had any influence on modern Egyptian identity, Pharaonic and otherwise.

Notwithstanding these complaints, this book is a major accomplishment and I would recommend it to all those interested in Egyptian antiquity as well as modern Egypt. It will enrich the experience of anyone who visits an Egyptian exhibition, museum, or site.

- Kenneth M. Cuno

Salima Ikram
Death and Burial in Ancient Egypt
The American University in Cairo Press. 2015. 241 pages.

In Dr. Salima Ikram's *Death and Burial in Ancient Egypt*, the rather ambitious topic of funerary practices is tackled by covering various aspects of ancient Egyptian mortuary culture. Egyptology has relied primarily on cemetery remains due both in part to good preservation and the fact that the ancient Egyptians were careful and rigorous in ensuring a plentiful afterlife for the deceased. In turn, researchers have used these funerary remnants to delve into Egyptian conceptions of life, death, and the afterlife.

The book is divided into seven chapters with each focusing on one particular aspect of mortuary rites. The two initial chapters serve to provide readers with a basic understanding of the historical and religious context that is necessary to understand the rest of the book. Chapter 1 offers a brief chronology of Egyptian history in order to give readers basic background information on the culture's historical development. Chapter 2 primarily focuses on religious beliefs and the afterlife. Here, Dr. Ikram introduces the reader to the most important funerary deities and their myths, the various concepts of death and the underworld, as well as how these concepts are communicated and interpreted by scholars.

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In Dr. Salima Ikram's *Death and Burial in Ancient Egypt*, the rather ambitious topic of funerary practices is tackled by covering various aspects of ancient Egyptian mortuary culture. Egyptology has relied primarily on cemetery remains due both in part to good preservation and the fact that the ancient Egyptians were careful and rigorous in ensuring a plentiful afterlife for the deceased. In turn, researchers have used these funerary remnants to delve into Egyptian conceptions of life, death, and the afterlife.

The book is divided into seven chapters with each focusing on one particular aspect of mortuary rites. The two initial chapters serve to provide readers with a basic understanding of the historical and religious context that is necessary to understand the rest of the book. Chapter 1 offers a brief chronology of Egyptian history in order to give readers basic background information on the culture's historical development. Chapter 2 primarily focuses on religious beliefs and the afterlife. Here, Dr. Ikram introduces the reader to the most important funerary deities and their myths, the various concepts of death and the underworld, as well as how these concepts are communicated and interpreted by scholars.

The next two chapters focus on the process of mummification, a significant aspect of funerary culture in ancient Egypt and a topic on which Dr. Ikram is an expert. Chapter 3 summarizes the process as it relates to humans. Dr. Ikram explores various aspects of mummification including how it was done, who performed the process, as well as how researchers access that information now. Since mummification evolved over time, Dr. Ikram gives a brief chronological summary of some of these major changes. Chapter 4 focuses on animal mummies, a topic worthy of its own discussion. In this chapter, Dr. Ikram looks at the different types of animal mummies that were used in ancient Egypt: pets, victual, sacred, and votive.

In Chapter 5, Dr. Ikram describes the funerary provisions of the burial. She focuses on the most commonly included grave goods such as jewelry, food offerings, canopic equipment and shabti figurines. The topic of coffins plays a rather important role, as the type and style were never static in Egyptian history. Due to this, Dr. Ikram takes great care in acknowledging and summarizing the historical development of coffins in terms of both function and style.

Chapter 6 focuses on the "house of eternity," or the tomb itself. The tomb functioned as an important aspect of the mortuary ritual as it not only housed the body and its grave goods, but also protected the body from looting and served both as a meeting place for family members and visitors to the tomb and as a permanent reminder of the deceased individual. As such, the existence of a tomb was predicated on several components including its location, construction, and decoration. The construction of the tomb also involved various individuals such as the person commissioning the tomb, their family members, the artisans to decorate the tomb, and the builders to construct the monument. Dr. Ikram does a thorough job of exploring all of the various components that are involved with housing the dead for both royal and non-royal persons.

The final chapter focuses on the funeral itself and the relationship between the living and the dead. Dr. Ikram addresses the importance of the tomb beyond death itself and how the deceased played a significant and everlasting role in the realm of the living. She also makes important note of the various ways that the living interfered with the remnants of the dead in ways both respectful, as in offerings, and desecrating, as in looting and theft. This topic is particularly poignant since studies focusing solely on tomb architecture and decoration can obscure the role that the dead play after they have been buried. However, Dr. Ikram emphasizes the fact that, for the Egyptians, the deceased always played an important role in the world of the living. Likewise, by addressing the topic of theft and usurpation she equally acknowledges how the living disturb the world of the dead.

Dr. Ikram's book is thorough, albeit brief, in its description of each section. The structure of the book is straightforward and simple to follow. She makes a valiant attempt at exploring various aspects of the rituals. Her research is up-to-date, including new research suggesting that mummification may have started earlier than previously believed. The book is an excellent introduction to cemetery culture for a general audience, although those who are looking for more specific information may

not find much value in its contents. There are other sources such as Ikram and Dodson's *The Tomb in Ancient Egypt* and Dodson and Ikram's *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt* that provide much more specific information regarding these two aspects of the mortuary ritual, which are only briefly touched upon here. Otherwise, *Death and Burial in Ancient Egypt* is a valuable introduction to the funerary realm.

A major shortcoming in Dr. Ikram's book, which is not necessarily the fault of the author, is an over-reliance on elite or royal remains. It is unlikely that many of the topics explored in the book could be extended to include non-elite burial customs, yet Dr. Ikram makes no mention of non-elite remains at all when there are extant cemeteries for non-elite persons. Traditionally, it has been a glaring omission in the study of ancient Egypt, as much of what we know about ancient Egyptian history concerns materials made by elite individuals for other elite individuals. It would have been a good opportunity here to explore how non-elite peoples were able to obtain an afterlife with much more limited means.

Overall, Salima Ikram's *Death and Burial in Ancient Egypt* accomplishes the task of summarizing a rather large topic in a clear and succinct way that gives the reader a glimpse into a very complex aspect of Egyptian society. Egyptian mortuary rituals are both varied and dynamic and consist of aspects beyond merely their religious beliefs. Temporal changes in beliefs, function and style, regional differences, and personal choice all play a part in producing funerary rites. It would be difficult to visit all of those aspects in such a short book. However, Dr. Ikram is able to address some of these issues in a way that might prompt readers to explore more about the myriad of ideas present in the funerary cult.

- Janet Khuu