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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Giza II and *Giza III*. By HERMANN JUNKER. Vienna and Leipzig, 1934 and 1938. *II*, vi+218 pp., 16 half-tone pls.; *III*, vi+256 pp., 14 pls., 4 coloured, 10 half-tone.

These two volumes carry on the reports of the campaigns of excavation at Giza conducted by the Viennese Academy under the leadership of Professor Junker, of which the first results were published in *Giza I*. Vol. II deals with the maṣtabas of the early Fifth Dynasty in the western cemetery. The earlier part of the book is devoted to archaeological discussions of various topics on which the excavations have shed further light, while the second part is concerned with describing the individual tombs, namely, those of Ensedsjerka, Meryēb, Kaninisut, and Seshathotpe. The general discussions fall into three main groups, of which the first is concerned with the architectural features of the tombs, the second with the methods of dating them, and the third with the funerary ritual.

The architectural section deals in turn with the superstructure of the tomb, the cult-chamber, the false door, the serdab, the scenes and inscriptions, and the burial-chamber. Of these, the third receives the fullest treatment. The false door strictly so called, which was intended to give the deceased egress from his tomb, is considered to be of Lower Egyptian origin, and is contrasted with the early tomb-stelae from Abydos, which apparently were primarily intended to mark the spot where the funerary offerings were to be made. The two notions soon converged, however, owing to the fact that in Lower Egypt offerings were naturally made at the spot where the deceased could come forth to receive them, and ere long the two types of monument became merged in the later form of false door which bore, not only the representation of the doorway, but also the name and titles of the deceased, and often the formula of offering. To the false door is added as early as the Second Dynasty the scene of the deceased seated at table, which has no connexion with the false door *qua* door, but is obviously relevant to the spot where offerings were made. This *Speisetischszene* is regarded as being possibly of Lower Egyptian origin, though the evidence is admittedly inconclusive. Regarding the sculptures and inscriptions of the tombs here described, these are concerned almost exclusively with the funerary ritual, the bringing of offerings, and so forth, and do not include those scenes of daily life which elsewhere are found in such profusion. The austere style of the sculpture and the lack of lively scenes is linked by Junker with the monumental but solemn artistic mood of the Fourth Dynasty, with its very sparing use of inscription and decoration. As regards the date of these tombs, the author places them in the early Fifth Dynasty, partly on the basis of their situation and structure, and partly on the evidence of the names and titles of the owners.

Not the least interesting portion of *Giza II* is that dealing with the funerary ritual. The first section deals with the *ḥtp di niswt* formula, which, incidentally, is still translated as 'der König sei gnädig und gebe' instead of 'a boon which the King grants'. Its history is traced from the beginnings down to the developed formulas of the later Old Kingdom, but the author entirely ignores Gardiner's detailed study (Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, 79 ff.), and his treatment suffers in consequence. Regarding the joint formula *ḥtp di niswt*, *ḥtp di Inpw* (or other god), Junker elaborates a view which apparently originated with Erman, to the effect that the references to king and god form a dichotomy, and not a combined heading to what follows. He thinks that *ḥtp di niswt* may have to be regarded as an abbreviation of the formula for food offerings, *ḥtp di Inpw* (&c.) being a separate formula desiring for the deceased a goodly burial, a happy entry into the other world, and so forth. The suggestion is ingenious, but not very convincing. Although it is true that in the single formulas the king is usually concerned with food-offerings and the gods with burial and future welfare, contrary instances are by no means unknown, and there is nothing in the combined formula either in the Old Kingdom or later to suggest that the Egyptians were conscious of any division therein of the functions of king and god; see, too, Gardiner's remarks, *op. cit.*, 88-9. On the other hand, the suggestion is rather that of co-operation between sovereign and deity.

A long section is devoted to a discussion of the identity of 'the great god' invoked in such expressions

as *imšḥ hr ntr ʿ* 'honoured with the great god' and the like. Gardiner and Sethe, commenting on this deity in *Letters to the Dead*, pp. 11–12, point out that although both Rē^c and Osiris have been considered by various authors as good candidates for the title, there is at least a possibility that in tomb-inscriptions, particularly those threatening violators of the tombs, this epithet may refer to the dead king. Junker, however, who goes into the question at greater length, is of opinion that 'the great god' was originally a universal sky-god named *Hrw* 'the distant one' whose role and name were taken over at a very early date by a falcon-god who as Horus thus became 'the great god' and was incarnate in the reigning king. It is true that he bases his view principally on Ptolemaic texts, but these late inscriptions do seem often to reflect the thoughts and dogmas of a far earlier period, and Junker's theory possesses some degree of plausibility. He admits that at a later date the title of 'great god' may have been transferred to Rē^c, and even, at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, to Osiris, but maintains that neither transference can have occurred early, since Osiris often, and in one inscription Rē^c as well, are named beside 'the great god' as separate entities. He also remarks that sun-worship in Egypt did not attain the rank of an official state religion until the Fifth Dynasty, and that this recognition preceded its entry into the funerary cult. As regards the relationship between 'the great god' and the king, Junker points out that the epithet *ntr ʿ* could be applied to both the living and the dead king, but nevertheless denies that the *ntr ʿ* of the early funerary formulas can be the king, on the ground that the deceased can be *imšḥw* with 'the great god' and the king (*nšwt*) in one and the same inscription. On this and other grounds he thus rejects the view that 'the great god' to whom appeal is made against tomb-violators can be the dead king. On this point, however, the habitual imprecision of Egyptian thought should be borne in mind. Even admitting that the epithet *ntr ʿ* belongs primarily to Horus as the universal sky-god, it should not be forgotten that this title, on Junker's own showing, could also be borne by the king, whether alive or dead. When an Egyptian appealed for justice to 'the great god', may he not have had at the back of his mind the notion that he was at the same time appealing to his divine sovereign, the natural fount of justice? Just as he looked to the living king to redress injury in earthly affairs, so he might well turn to the dead ruler to avenge his wrongs in ghostly matters, whether he regarded him as embodied in Horus or Osiris or simply as his departed lord.

The remaining discussions are concerned with the formula of 'travelling on the goodly roads whereon the blessed travel', with the festivals named in the funerary inscriptions, and with the ceremonies performed at the tomb. Here an attempt is made to deal with the functions of the priests who performed the rites, among them the *hry wqb*; the section on this officiant should be read in the light of the later article by Gardiner in *JEA* xxiv, 83 ff. Then follows an account of the funerary boat-journey as depicted in the tombs, and finally there is an important discussion of the offering-lists. Here a useful feature is the setting out of both the shorter and the longer lists in tables comparing the various versions. Junker places the change over to the longer list in the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty.

The rest of the book is devoted to the individual tombs, and is illustrated with architectural plans and diagrams and with line-drawings of the sculptures, supplemented by sixteen photographic plates at the end of the volume. Of the tombs here described, the most interesting architecturally is that of the princess Ensedjerka, which is not only exceptionally well preserved, but imitates the contemporary form of a nobleman's house with unusual fidelity. In the description of the maṣṣaba of Meryēb, a good point is made regarding the dating of Old Kingdom tombs from the names of localities compounded with royal names. It is shown that such place-names cannot be safely used for dating without confirmatory evidence; for example, a tomb having place-names compounded only with the name of Cheops does not necessarily date from his reign, but simply indicates that at some period in the history of the owner's family someone belonging thereto was endowed with land by that king. In the tomb of Kaninisut occurs the title $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$, a writing hitherto unknown before Saite times. Junker rightly equates it with the Old Kingdom title $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$, hitherto rendered 'controller of (the town) *Yskmt*', and demonstrates, on the evidence of *Pyr.* 33b, that the true translation is 'controller of the black jar', suggesting also that it may have some connexion with the cult of Ḥathor. Another interesting suggestion, made apropos of a title in the tomb of Seshathotpe, is that the Queen's title $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ 'companion of Horus', usually read as *tist Hr*, is really *ist Hr*. In discussing the title *hm-ntr Hnty-hm* 'priest of Khantkhem' on p. 191, the author remarks that he knows of no other mention of this god in the Old Kingdom. He must, however, have forgotten the Pyramid Texts, for *Hnty-hm* occurs in *Pyr.* 908e; 1723a; as *M-hnty-hm* in 419a and as Horus *Hnty-hm* in 810b.

Giza III is the last report on these excavations which has been issued. The scene of work is still the western cemetery, but here the tombs described are the maṣṭabas of the later Fifth Dynasty, of which the greater number belonged to the members of two families, those of Kaninisut and Seshemnūfer respectively. As in the previous volume, the description of the actual tombs is preceded by discussions of more general questions.

In dealing with the chronological position of these tombs, the author points out how the political conditions of Egypt are reflected in the cemetery. Whereas in the early Fourth Dynasty the maṣṭabas of Gīzah seem to have been confined to members of the royal family, gradually the privilege of burial there was extended to high officials not of royal blood, until by the middle of the Fifth Dynasty we find family groups of the tombs of such functionaries covering several generations. Offices, too, have become hereditary, and Junker remarks that four generations of the family of Senedjemyēb held the office of controller of public works, while the Seshemnūfers were royal secretaries; other instances are also quoted. One reason why many of these officials were still buried at Gīzah when the royal necropolis was transferred elsewhere was apparently that they preferred to have their tombs alongside those of their ancestors, thus simplifying the maintenance of funerary offerings; the same batch of gifts could readily be transferred from tomb to tomb when they all lay close together. This leads the author to a discussion of $\downarrow \text{J} \Rightarrow \text{J}$ *wdb-rd* (see also *JEA* xxiv, 88), which means 'reversion' of food-offerings from temple to tomb and from tomb to tomb; an isolated variant shows the second element *rd* spelt out in full. He also explains the terms $\downarrow \text{A}$ and $\text{J} \text{A}$ as referring to relatives or subordinates who were given a share in the funerary cult of the tomb-owner. In the late Old Kingdom there occur at Gīzah the tombs of priests who administered the cults of the kings and others who were buried there.

The next section is devoted to a general discussion of the architectural layout and the decoration of the tombs. Here a very useful feature is a summary account of the positions and subjects of the sculptured scenes in no fewer than sixty-one maṣṭabas and rock-cut tombs at Gīzah, which offers valuable material for comparison. The above-mentioned occurrence of family groups of tombs is of importance in that it is possible to observe the development of architecture and decoration within a given group during several generations, the general tendency being towards greater elaboration. Thus within the Seshemnūfer group, which extends into the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, the earliest tomb of the series contained but a single cult-chamber showing only priests, servants, and offering-bearers, with an undecorated store-room in addition; the latest tomb possessed a pillared gateway flanked with small obelisks and statues of the owner, while within are several decorated rooms bearing lively scenes of sport and industry, and only in the innermost offering-chamber do we meet the solemn procession to the tomb. Junker shows that the appearance of scenes of daily life in the tombs of the Fifth Dynasty is but a revival of an earlier custom already observed in the early tombs of Meydūm, but which was temporarily abandoned during the Fourth Dynasty for a style which in its purest form eschewed all manner of mural decoration.

As in *Giza II*, the author now turns from architectural matters to discuss questions connected with the funerary cult. An interesting account of the place-names represented in the procession of offering-bearers (*Dorfvertreter*) and of their significance leads to a discussion of the administration of property devoted to the service of the tomb and the officials concerned with this duty; here considerable space is devoted to a consideration of the title *hkꜣ-hwt*, which had a double significance, (a) as 'bailiff' in charge of the field-work of an estate, translated by Junker as *Gutshofmeister* and compared with the *hōli* of a modern Egyptian estate, and (b) as the title of a subordinate official of the nome-administration, responsible for a given parcel of Crown land. His superior was the *hkꜣ-hwt-rꜣt*, who may be either the controller of Crown lands throughout a nome, i.e. the nomarch himself, or else the administrator of a large estate, usually of the *wakf* of a deceased royalty. In Junker's view the 'bailiff's' duties were concerned solely with the actual farming, the clerical side of the administration being wholly distinct.

Following on this section comes a valuable account of the rites of offering to the deceased; these are divided into seventeen distinct ritual acts, which are clearly illustrated in p. 105; incidentally it is demonstrated that L° in the purificatory rites never means 'drop' of water but always 'pellet' of natron. Finally there is a discussion of the *ka* which in the nature of things cannot but lead to contradictory results; the *ka* can be in the other world to receive the deceased who goes to his *ka*; it can accompany him when he goes with his *ka*, they abide together in the Beyond, yet it resides in the tomb where the dead man lies,

and receives the offerings of his descendants. Hence both the tomb itself and a special part thereof, the statue-chamber, can be called *ḥwt-ka* 'Mansion of the *ka*', while the same term can be applied to the landed endowments of the tomb.

The second part of the book is devoted to an account of eight separate tombs, and is illustrated with plans and line-drawings, as well as with fourteen photographic plates, of which the first four reproduce in colour the sculptures in the tomb of Seshemnūfer III. One has the impression, however, that the line-drawings of the sculptures in this third volume are not quite up to the usual standard, and do not fully represent the quality of the originals. We cannot but regret, also, the reversion to the old Theinhardt hieroglyphic type after using Gardiner's fount in *Giza II*, though even there an occasional Theinhardt sort is to be found, making a mixture which is a little disconcerting. Nevertheless, such surface blemishes do not detract from the general excellence of these admirable and well-indexed books, which are indeed essential to the student; if here and there we have ventured on a few criticisms, that is but evidence that the works under review have fulfilled the important function of provoking discussion.

R. O. FAULKNER

Vom Bilde zum Buchstaben. Die Entstehung der Schrift (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, Bd. XII). By KURT SETHE, edited by HERMANN KEES. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, 1939. vi+84 pp., 2 half-tone pls.

In this work, Sethe's last and posthumous contribution to the invaluable series of *Untersuchungen* which he founded in 1896, the author develops his views on two kindred topics to the understanding of which he has contributed on other occasions, namely, the development of writing and the origin of the alphabet. Beginning with attempts at communication by means of a single pictorial composition (*Bilderwendung*), examples of which are quoted from various sources, chiefly North America and Mexico, he shows how this gradually gives rise to an ideographic script (*Bilderschrift*) in which not actual events, but objects and ideas, are represented by picture-signs which do not change their form with their context, this being the primitive basis of—*inter alia*—the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Chinese scripts.

The next stage is the development of a phonetic script, as the manifold signs of ideographic writing become associated in the mind with the sound rather than with the meaning of the words they represent. As a typical example we may take one quoted also by the author: the ideogram \diamond for Egyptian *ḥr* 'face' is first used as a phonogram for the homophonous preposition *ḥr* 'upon' and its derivatives, and then is used simply as a sign for the consecutive consonants *ḥ+r* in the writing of any word where they occur in that order, without any regard to syllabic division. That at least was the course of events in the case of the purely consonantal script of Egypt, which depended upon the principle of the rebus for the development of phonetic signs from the original ideograms. In Babylonian, however, events took a rather different course, since that language developed a syllabic script in which each sign represented not a consonant or group of consonants, as in Egyptian, but a syllable composed of consonant(s)+vowel, or possibly only a single vowel. Sethe's view is that the Babylonian signs obtained their phonetic value from the first syllable of the word represented by the original ideogram, thus employing the method of acrophony, but in a footnote (p. 28, n. 4) the editor quotes a comment by Prof. von Soden to the effect that Sethe is in error here, since the Babylonian syllabic signs take their value from the monosyllabic *Sumerian* words which they originally represented. According to Sethe, the Chinese syllabary developed from this monosyllabic tongue in a manner similar to that postulated for cuneiform by von Soden, while a few Mexican instances suggest that this people was on the road to an acrophonic syllabary when their culture and script were destroyed by the Spanish conquest.

Of the various primary modes of writing invented in ancient times, only three have had any influence on the subsequent developments of that art, namely, those of Babylon, China, and Egypt. From the cuneiform script of Babylon the Persians chose 41 signs to form a syllabary of their own, while Japanese writing is a similar artificial adaptation of Chinese; such adaptations Sethe describes as 'secondary syllabaries'. To anticipate a little, he claims that from the Egyptian hieroglyphs the Phoenician alphabet was ultimately derived, and that this was the parent of all known alphabets with the exception of the Semitic dialect spoken at Ras Shamra, which employed an alphabet written with selected cuneiform signs on clay