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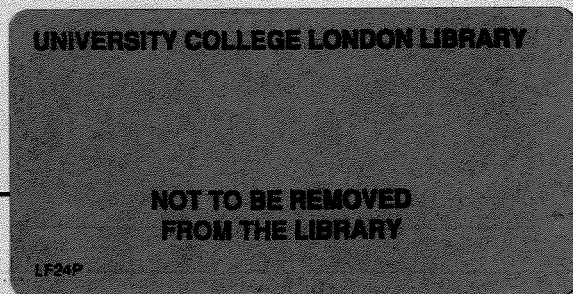
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c/o Department of Egyptology
University College London
Gower Street
London
WC1E 6BT
Great Britain

Editors:
Mark Collier
Mariam Kamish

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Second edition

In producing a reprint of *Wepwawet* 1 the editors have taken the opportunity to correct several typing errors and to align it with the format of *Wepwawet* 2 and 3. The editors would like to thank Bill Manley for his help in producing this edition.

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UC 31922
by Vivien Raisman

The limestone ostrakon in the Petrie Museum UC 31922 was formerly in the possession of Sir Robert Mond, who was at Sheikh 'abd el-Gurna in the early years of the twentieth century. On the back of this stele-shaped stone is pencilled 'Zai 23-b-1'. One of the tombs excavated by Mond was theban tomb 23¹, belonging to Tjay (*T3y*), royal scribe of the dispatches of the lord of the two lands, in the time of Merneptah. The hieratic is compatible with this date, but Peet may be correct in thinking that the hand could be dynasty XVIII². The record of Mond's work on this tomb was not published until 1976³. He noted several intrusive objects in the funeral pit. Amongst them was a 'small fragment of stele with unidentifiable inscription', which I believe to be the ostrakon illustrated here. The text does not mention Tjay by name, but it is likely that it does list his funeral equipment although some doubt must remain.

Translation

... of the things which are in the <i>T3yt</i>			
clothes (?), boxes	5	incense, box	1
wine (?), jars	7	sticks	2
? jars	1	ebony staff	1
fresh moringa oil, jars	1	staff with silver knob	1
honey, jars	10	ebony headrest	1
(candles ?)	10	bed	1
various oils, jars	11	chair	1
honey, jars	2	(offering ?) table	1
various alabaster vessels	9	stool	1
(basket ?)	1	folding stool	1
incense stands (?) (<i>[s]htpy</i> ?)	2	natron, jars	4
<i>nmst</i> and <i>hst</i> vases of copper	2	harp	1
		fruit basket	1

The heading '... of the things which are in the *T3yt*' suggests that this is a list of goods and furniture which were to be placed in the tomb. The *T3yt* (variant *T3yt*) was the cave of Sokar at Memphis, but here it refers to the tomb or a part of the tomb. None of the items were found in the tomb of Tjay itself, but we are fortunate to have the contents of the tomb of Kha⁴, theban tomb 8, which dates to the XVIIIth dynasty, and many tombs have scenes of funeral equipment, such as that of Ramose, theban tomb 55⁵. The funeral procession of Tjay is shown in his tomb, but it has not been published. It would be interesting to see how far it tallies with the ostrakon. Kha's funeral equipment includes most of the things listed on this ostrakon.

The first column comprises mainly consumables and vessels. Three different types of containers for liquids are named, *mny*, *snw* and *k3bw*, as well as the ritual *nmst* and *hst* vases. There are different kinds of boxes, *pds* and *fdt*. The ten (!) boxes of candles (?) were probably intended for all future festivals, some of which are shown in the tomb of Tjay (e.g. the new year festival at (8)*).

The personal belongings named in the second column are similar to Ramose's. They include four sticks, two of *wnt* (almond wood⁶), one of ebony and one with a silver knob. In Ramose's funeral procession, one of the servants is carrying a staff with a knob. The next item on the ostrakon is an ebony headrest, clearly very desirable as ebony was a prized wood. Ramose's headrest is shown perched on his bed and two headrests, one wrapped in cloth, are shown on the bed in the tomb of Kha (fig.105). The Petrie museum has a number of similar headrests. The furniture on the ostrakon comprises a bed, a chair, a table (perhaps rather an offering table), a stool and a folding stool and the procession of Ramose shows a bed, a chair and a stool, as well as a sandal box and scribe's equipment. Similar furniture was found in the tomb of Kha (pp.112-12).

The penultimate item is *bnt*, a harp. There were a number of different types of harp in use in Egypt and the smaller ones were called *bnt*. In tomb 23, at (26)*, is a scene with a lute player and another with girls playing tambourines at (3)*, but no harp. Other tombs show harpists and many harps are still extant⁷. It seems a fair assumption that Tjay liked music. If indeed this ostrakon does list his possessions, is it possible that Tjay himself was an amateur harpist?

* for numbers in brackets see reference 1.

Notes

1. Porter and Moss, *Topographical bibliography*, I (2), pt. 1 pp.38-41, Oxford, 1960.
2. Peet T. E., *Notebook 1*, p.155 (in the Griffith Institute).
3. Collins L., 'The private tombs of Thebes: excavations by Sir Robert Mond 1905 and 1906', *JEA* 62 (1976) p.34.
4. Schiaparelli E., *Relazione, II., La tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha*, Turin, 1927.
5. Davies N. de G., *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, pls.xxvi and xxvii, London, 1941.
6. Cerny J., *Hieratic inscriptions from the tomb of Tutankhamun*, p.5 (29-30), Oxford, 1965.
7. Hickmann H., *Instruments de musique* (cat. Caire), fig.70, pp.164-179 and pls., Cairo, 1949.

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

Nakhtmin, the supposed viceroy of Ay by Robert Morkot

The viceroys of Kush were amongst the most important officials of the late XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, with responsibility for a region extending from Hierakonpolis to the fourth cataract, but few have received the scholastic attention this position deserves. However, as with many other aspects of the Amarna period and the latter years of the XVIIIth dynasty, Nubia has attracted the speculation of some writers.

The only grounds for suggesting that there was a viceroy of Kush called Nakhtmin are the celebrated statue fragments now in the Cairo Museum¹. The statues have no inscriptional dating, but stylistically suggest the late XVIIIth dynasty, after Akhenaten. The remaining titles are;

'Hereditary prince and count, chancellor of the king of upper and lower Egypt,
sole companion, king's scribe, great overseer of the army, eyes of the king,
king's son ...'

As can be seen, the inscription breaks off at the crucial point and no traces of what followed are visible. Reisner in his fundamental study of the viceroys² rejected the official as a king's son of Kush. Aldred³ speculated that he was a king's son of his loins, in this case Ay's. Schulman, however, adopted the reading 'king's son of Kush'⁴ in two articles⁵ in which he expounds the extraordinary theory that after the death or retirement of Huy and after the death of Tutankhamun, Nakhtmin became the viceroy of Nubia. Horemheb, controlling the northern armies, murdered the hittite prince, Zannanza, and posed a threat to Egypt. A civil war ensued in which Nakhtmin was defeated and replaced as viceroy by Paser.

This theory depends to a large extent on the identification of Ankhesenamun as the queen recorded in the hittite annals who pleaded that a prince be sent to become her husband. There is no evidence to date this incident to the months immediately following the death of Tutankhamun and Nefertiti has also been proposed as the author⁶. This uncertainty must cast doubt upon the supposed machinations of Horemheb.

That Paser served both Ay and Horemheb is shown unequivocally by the viceroy's nubian monuments. The speos he had cut at Gebel el Shems shows Ay adoring various deities and Paser with the king's cartouches. A lintel block from Aniba published by Steindorff⁷ shows the viceroy with one arm raised in adoration of the cartouches of Horemheb which rest on the symbol of unification and are crowned with disk and feathers.

The date of Paser's appointment is admittedly not known, but the evidence is strongly against Schulman's theories. It is possible, though by no means certain, that Paser was the son of the viceroy Huy. He is associated on a statue with the lady Tamwadjsy who was the wife of Huy and he was eventually succeeded by his own son Amenemopet, all of which is suggestive of a certain continuity in the administration. Indeed, contrary to Schulman's arguments, Horemheb's retaining Paser, the appointee of Ay, must cast doubt on the supposed enmity between these two men.

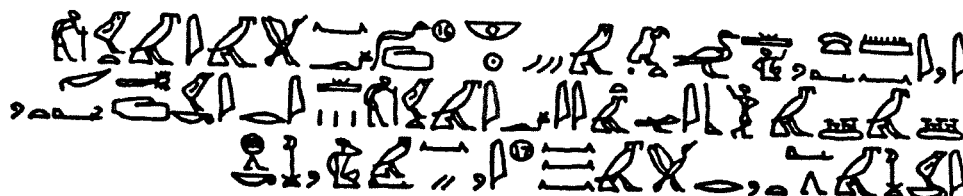
Notes

1. Smith W.S. and Simpson W.K., *The art and architecture of ancient Egypt*, Harmondsworth, 1981, p.269, nos.264 and 265. Borchardt L., *Statuen und Statuetten* III, Berlin, 1930, p.87, no.770.
2. Reisner G., 'The viceroys of Ethiopia' and 'The viceroys of Ethiopia (continued)', *JEA* 6 (1920) pp.28-55, 73-83.
3. Aldred C., *Akhenaten, pharaoh of Egypt*, London, 1968, p.92.
4. Schulman is followed by Schaden and Aling in their studies of the period.
5. Schulman A., 'Some remarks on the military background of the amarna period', *JARCE* 3 (1964) p.124ff. Schulman A., 'The Berlin Trauerrelief (no.12411) and some officials of Tut'ankhamun and Ay', *JARCE* 4 (1965) p.61ff.
6. Whilst raising many difficult questions, this solution would allow a more plausible time span for the diplomatic missions known, rather than the period of mummification advocated by those who regard Ankhesenamun as the correspondent (e.g. Aldred C., *op. cit.* p.184; Desroches-Noblecourt C., *Tutankhamun*, London, 1963, p.275-6).
7. Steindorff W., *Aniba* II, Gluckstadt, 1937, pl.12, no.45.

Papyrus BM 10052 3,17

by Mark Collier

In this brief note I would like to make a few remarks on the analysis of the 'apodosis' or 'result-clause' of the conditional sentence in P BM 10052 3,16-17, presented in Černý/Groll (1978) p.557 (ex.1594). For convenience I provide a transcription (following Peet (1930) pl.27, l.16-17) and standard translation;



And Amenkhau son of Mutemheb said to him, 'The doddering old man, his old age is bad. If you were killed and thrown into the water, who would search for you?'

Č/G p.557 quotes this 'apodosis' (as ex.1594) under heading 61.6.1 'A participial statement introduced by *m*', with the comment 'in the following example the pronominal suffix *.k* is an error for *tw.k*.'

This interpretation is presumably based on the regular predication of wh-question words, (i.e. words such as 'who', 'what') in Egyptian (cf. e.g. GEG paras.495-503, Polotsky (1940) pp.242, 244). Middle Egyptian regularly predicates *m* 'who' in the participial statement *in + m + participle*. Č/G p.557 ex.1593 quotes a certain occurrence of *nym* in a late Egyptian participial statement (O DM. 582, 5)¹;

1) *m nym i.dī n.k p3 '3*.

Who gave you the donkey?

However, the Č/G interpretation is not without its difficulties. Primarily, the presence of *iw* before a participial statement in an 'apodosis' of a conditional sentence needs explaining and Č/G offers no remark on this. If we accept that the 'apodosis' of a conditional sentence with *ir* is a main clause², then this *iw* would seem to be the *iw* of the future or the *iw* of the continuative³. Future *iw* + participial statement would be a surprising combination since the pattern *in A i.irw.f stp* provides the future equivalent of the participial statement (Č/G pp.528, 530) and would be a unique example (to my knowledge). Equally, as far as I am aware, a combination of the continuative *iw* + participial statement has not been found⁴.

The interpretation of Č/G, then, accords well with the regular behaviour of wh-question words in Egyptian, but requires the emendation of *.k* to *tw.k*, the insertion of *m* in first position and leaves the *iw* unexplained (in terms of our present understanding of late Egyptian). I would like, therefore, to suggest an alternative explanation - that *nym* occupies the subject position in a *iw.f stp* pattern⁵.

This analysis requires that wh-question words may appear in non-predicate positions in late Egyptian and indeed examples are forthcoming:

2) Wen. 2,66: *s3'.tw ih iy, iw.i dy h3'.tw*.

Until what comes, will I be here abandoned?..... subject.

3) LRL 1,10: *y(3) ih tw.i (hr) dit in.tw n.tn p3y hmny n s't*.

Indeed, why have I been sending you these letters?.....preposed adverb?

4) LRL 15,7: *hr ir p3y.k dd, 'm ir nn m h3bw n.i (.tn)', ir wnw ih hprw r.n, iw.k 'h'.tw*.

Further, as for your saying, 'Don't neglect writing to me about your condition', what could happen to us while you are alive?..... despite the difficulties of the second clause in the *ir*-construction (Wente (1967) p.36m outlines the options rather well), it is reasonably clear that *ih* is the subject.

However, I have not been able to find *nym* in a certain non-predicate position. *Nym* is not very common in the surviving late Egyptian material, whilst *ih* is. Also the non-predicative strategy is by far the rarer mode of wh-question formation in late Egyptian, so it is quite possible that this lack of an example is merely due to the paucity of material on *nym*. I adopt this stance here, though I am aware that this is the weakest link in my argument.

If we move on to consider the analysis of the *iw.f stp*, the same two options for the nature of the *iw* are open to us, that is to say *iw.f stp* represents the so-called 'third future', *iw.f r stp*, or the 'non-initial main sentence', *iw.f hr stp*. It seems unlikely that *nym* would behave like a suffix pronoun, so the form would seem to be *iw.f hr stp*⁶. The *iw.f hr stp* pattern is attested in the 'apodosis' of a conditional sentence with *ir* (HO pl.45,3) which, *pace* Frandsen (1974) para.33, n.1, is hardly to be taken as corrupt (cf. P Berlin 10463 for a *iw.f hr stp* 'apodosis' in a well written letter of the time of Amenophis II).

It is the bane of Egyptian language studies that when the source material is scarce we are unlikely to be able to 'prove' a particular point to any satisfactory degree. However, if we accept the principle that we should

to interpret a text as it stands, unless there are compelling reasons to indicate an error on the part of the scribe, I would suggest that the analysis presented here of P BM 10052 3,17 as *iw.f (hr) wh(3).k*⁷ has much to recommend it.

Notes

1. This example strongly indicates that *nym* had lost its original meaning of *in + m*. Here the new first element *m* (<? *in*) is used before *nym* which contains the old first element *in*. For other clear cases of *nym* treated as one word, in non-*in* environments cf. Wen. 1,56 and LRL 36,12.
2. Cf. the list in Č/G p.567. My thesis work to date seems to agree with this.
3. For the purposes of this note, I assume the tri-partite division of the syntax and functions of *iw* presented in Č/G p.420-22 without criticism.
4. Where the *iw* can be defined as continuative in accordance with Č/G p.421. All the examples of *iw* + participial statement known to me can be (and are best) analysed as circumstantial *iw* + participial statement.
5. Similarly Satzinger (1976) p.77 with note 5 tentatively [Though his analysis as 'Vermutlich "Präsens I" mit freiem *iw* (Parenthese)' seems unnecessary. Cf. *ibid* p.227 on this *iw* which, for Satzinger, is neither the future, 'narrative' (*sic* - Satzinger 'narrativ') nor circumstantial *iw*. - MAC 1987]
6. The 'third future' would presumably have *iri nym r wh3.k*, cf. Gardiner (1930).
7. This analysis requires no emendation other than the insertion of the preposition *hr*. This preposition is regularly omitted in this pattern throughout P BM 10052 and indeed most other late twentieth dynasty documents.

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Addendum

Since writing this short note, I have come upon the following example which seems particularly pertinent to the discussion above;

5) P Turin 2021 3,10: *ir p3 iry.f, iry nym (r) my im.f*

As for what he has done/will do, who will dispute with him?
 (published in Černý J. and Peet T.E. (1927), 'A marriage settlement of the twentieth dynasty'. *JEA* 13, p.30-39).

This is a clear example of *nym* in a non-predicative position (subject) in a 'third future' construction. Thus, my reservations on generalising from the grammatical function possibilities of *ih* to *nym* seem to be overcome. Equally, the occurrence of *iry* before *nym* (as would be expected before the noun subject of a 'third future' construction) strengthens my analysis of *iw nym wh(3).k* as a *iw.f hr stp* rather than *iw.f r stp*. With this confirmation of the possibility of *nym* occurring in a non-predicative position (in particular the subject position) I think my argument is considerably strengthened.

The etiquette of Ptahhotep

by Andrew Dunne

The allusions to etiquette in the Instruction to Ptahhotep provide one way to examine the society which forms the background to this most senior of Egyptian wisdom writings. The work ascribes itself to Ptahhotep, vizier in the fifth dynasty court of Isesi, but the possibility of pseudoepigraphic composition remains. It is addressed to the son of the vizier, but this is more a standard formula - 'Listen, oh son, to your father's instruction' - than anything else. The scenarios found in the text provide for a range of circumstances wider than any one person would experience. However, it remains impossible to establish exactly who would have read or known the text. A greater number of surviving copies would encourage the assumption that it was used in scribal schools.

With regard to etiquette, the instruction takes a very simple approach. The son, or instructed, should show respect to those above and deal with those lower down fairly and patiently. The aim is simple: to impress one's superiors with one's conduct and with one's effectiveness and efficient relationship with one's inferiors. This will gain promotion within the court and respect from one's contemporaries. There is also warning, for the reverse is true: negligence or any improper behaviour will result in demotion and a loss of status. The son will advance according to his merit and must never forget this.

The question must be posed: to what extent is the society in this instruction a reflection of the Egyptian society contemporary with its composition? Despite its lack of specific details, various points can be drawn which support the view that it was.

The first concerns the purpose of the instruction. Ostensibly, it shows the way upward for the instructed, but why should such a piece be composed? This question offers ground for endless speculation, but two extremes may be considered. The instruction may be what it purports to be, a guide for advancement within the court. By contrast, it may be an elaborate fabrication, designed to stem any tendency among lower court ranks to upset stability through strident attempts at self promotion.

The truth must lie between. The first possibility can be neither proved nor disproved. The second, however, cannot be right, for with its carrot and stick exposed as such, the instruction would lose its credibility; if the social order outlined really existed, then there would be no need for such a composition.

The society described is both well-established and intricate: an existing society rather than an ideal borne in the author's mind. The instruction has neither the organisation of subjects, nor indeed the breadth of consideration necessary for a discourse on such an ideal. The author is familiar with the society and is not driven to justify any part of it. He has great confidence in it and does not consider any alternative, indeed he gives no hint that he is aware of any alternative.

The question of idealisation arises in another form: that the whole work may be a later composition, looking back on a past age of stability, all-embracing *m3't*. However, this view has its problems, for given such an idealisation on the part, say, of the middle kingdom, would one not be compelled to explore the role of the monarchy, conspicuously absent from Ptahhotep? If on the other hand, the work was a genuine old kingdom composition, its ordered view of society would help explain its survival as a literary composition, for there can be no denying that later periods were anxious to preserve order as inherited from antiquity.

The absence of king and near absence of gods might be considered odd in a reflection of old kingdom society. On the other hand, how far could the omission seriously be taken to indicate a non-monarchical bent? Monarchy existed in Egypt and a text extolling order, as this one does, is hardly likely to advocate anything else. The reason for this omission is harder to establish. The instructed is not going to become king, or a god for that matter, and kings and gods are not going to descend in rank. They have no real place in Ptahhotep's argument. Besides, any remoteness of gods or king would remove them from consideration, for the instructed must impress his immediate superiors, those with whom he comes into contact. Or again, Ptahhotep's vague references to superiors may well include those at the top.

If the instruction does indeed remain true to contemporary Egyptian society, then other features may be observed, helping to create a clearer impression of that society. The question of inheritance is uncertain, but may be examined. It is nowhere stated that the son will inherit the vizierate, or by implication that any son follows his father into office. Rather, it is necessary for one to gain promotion by hard work and respect for one's betters. However, the instructed will be known as the son of his father and he will be judged according to the standards of his father. It could, therefore, be argued that the son of a high official had an advantage through being in the eye of those high up and a display of good character would then be more likely to achieve promotion. It would, however, be premature to draw any firm conclusion on this matter.

Ptahhotep's confidence in this society has been mentioned as has his seeming unfamiliarity with any other. This and the continual emphasis on preserving order and stability through etiquette in its widest application leads to the question of the durability of the society. Here, it is easy to fall into the common trap of seeing Egyptian culture as three glorious millennia of uninterrupted *m3't*. Rather, however, the dynastic period was a

series of rises and falls, of attempts to restore unity alternating with collapses of central authority and greater local autonomy. If composed during the reign of Isesi, the instruction falls midway through a half millenia of apparent stability, which would explain its confidence in 'the system' and in the hierarchy of patronage which works through the advocated etiquette.

History does not exist for this period to any great or coordinated extent, but the size of the administrative structure of the old kingdom may have contributed to its stability. The court structure described by Ptahhotep seems small enough for its members to have known one another. Therefore, personal influence would have been of prime importance. This is illustrated in the epilogue and in the argument maxims. By contrast, later periods were plagued by the impersonality of enlarged administration and geographical extent.

Ptahhotep does reflect a very real society and the advice concerning etiquette demonstrates this. He is a pragmatist, advising the reader on those matters which bear upon his necessary conduct. The system has proved itself through its working, so the son is advised to act with it, if he has his own interests at heart. The lack of specific reference to any offices or their holders allows for a relevance for all, wherever on the pyramid they may be. The rules for all are the same: respect your betters and you will prosper. It is easy to be cynical about this, but when all is said and done, there need be no reason to doubt the authenticity of this society in which etiquette plays such a central part.

**Archaic decorative stones vessels:
with specific reference to fragments from the Petrie collection
by Sarah Buckingham**

Early in the first dynasty stone began to be worked in Egypt with the consummate skill which was thereafter to be a characteristic feature of the culture of the country. It was during the archaic period that manufacture of stone vessels was at its most prolific and best. Sites of the period have produced an unusual category of objects: the decorative vessels. The generally bad and fragmentary state of preservation often conceals their original forms, but where forms are discernible, they are often imitative, modelled for example on leaves or basketwork. Closely related to the problem of form is that of use: was shape a purely decorative feature or of some significance to function? Decorative vessels also form part of a broader area of past contention, namely the identity of the close-textured grey stone of which they are made.

The problem of material has centered upon a suitable definition, or even name, for the rock which has been variously described as slate, greywacke, schist or even in the remoter past, basalt, granite, or serpentine. It is at least certain that the rock was known to the Egyptians as *bhn* and that it was quarried in the Wadi-Hammamat region¹. Scientific analysis of specimens of decorative vessel fragments from Abydos, now in the Petrie Museum, has provided the following definition for the material: detrital sedimentary rocks ranging in particle size from the coarser grades of siltstone to finegrained sandstone and associated volcanic and volcanic clastic rocks. All of these have undergone low grade regional metamorphism ranging in its effects from almost imperceptible to poorly developed but visibly sub-slaty cleavage.

This definition differs from those of Petrie and Shiah² in that it includes rocks for which the results of metamorphic activity are visible in slate-like foliation. Such features are actually visible in several fragments from the Petrie collection. Although they vary in type, the rocks were probably formed in the same environment and thus closely associated. The majority, the sedimentary rocks, may be correctly described as greywackes. The volcanic and volcanic clastic rocks are usually easily recognisable by their light grey colour and less fine texture.

Both rock types, for cutting in thin section analysis, proved to be hard, but not sufficiently so as to have caused any great problem in working. The minimal degree of foliation furthermore, means that no special precautions against flaking need have been taken in the manufacture of the decorative vessels. It must, however, be noted that wherever any cleavage is visible, it does appear to have been taken into account, as the most extensive plane of the vessel is parallel with the cleavage plane.

The design of decorative vessels would have produced peculiar problems of manufacture³. While the unusual shapes and lack of rotational symmetry would often allow only partial hollowing with cylinder drills and crank borers, the finely worked details would entail the use of specialised tools, flint points, for example, for incised decorations. Conventional polishing with abrasive powder under hand-held stones was here employed with the greatest skill and delicacy to produce fine relief decorations such as leaf veins and fastenings of basketwork.

The decorative vessels have survived much battered and fragmented by the activities of plunderers ancient and modern. Any categorisation and description must perforce, be done on the basis of features of the fragments rather than those of the possible forms of the whole vessels. From examination of fragments from the Petrie collection, several categories may be deduced: vessels based on plant forms, usually leaf shaped; those based on basketry, usually in the shape of squarish, flat baskets; vessels with inner divisions into compartments, some of which may have had lids; and what appear to have been networks of channels, troughs and spouts, intended presumably, to carry liquids. Some categories can be defined only by decorative features: for instance, raised bands, knotted to give the appearance of pleated cloth. Fragments may be distinguished also of a conical, fluted vessel; a five armed vessel, starfish-like in plan and a curved, lobed vessel of indeterminate form.

From the wide range of designs employed, it would appear that the vessels had a wide range of usages. While the containers were probably quite ordinary. It is to be remembered that these vessels were put to use in the royal court and thus were part of a conspicuous display of opulence. Flecks of gold leaf on some of the fragments are the remains of full or partial gilding. Along with metal vessels, they were used in the place of more humble receptacles, which they sometimes imitate in form.

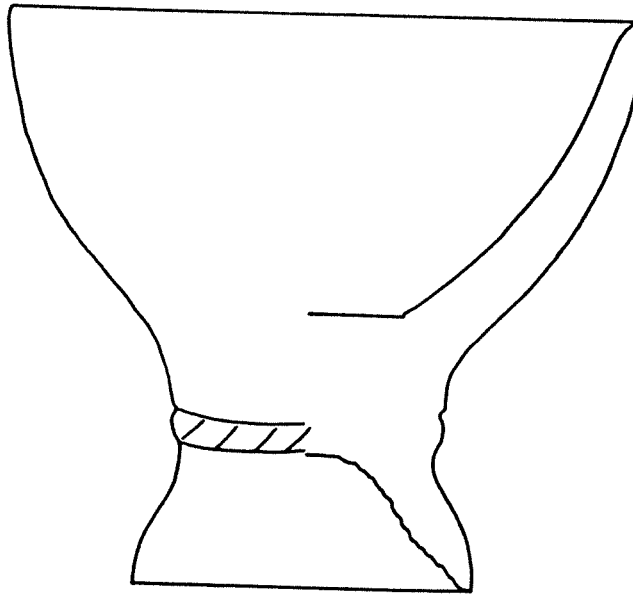
Using a few examples of whole vessels, a variety of possible practical uses may be imagined. The vessels in which the *'nh* and *k3* signs are combined must have had some amuletic or ritual significance, as must an example from the Ashmolean collection, a round bowl with a handle in the shape of a bound bovine leg. One example of the basket-shaped dishes, now in the Cairo museum, is inscribed twice on the rim with the *nbw* and may have been some kind of trinket box. Some perhaps, contained food and drink: the leaf shaped examples for instance, or the stone goblet from the Petrie collection⁴.

Decorative vessels present problems of possible design and techniques of manufacture, but prove illuminating on wider issues. They reflect some of the significant conditions in Egypt, subsequent to unification and the establishment of some form of centralised authority. There was greater exploitation of metal, mineral

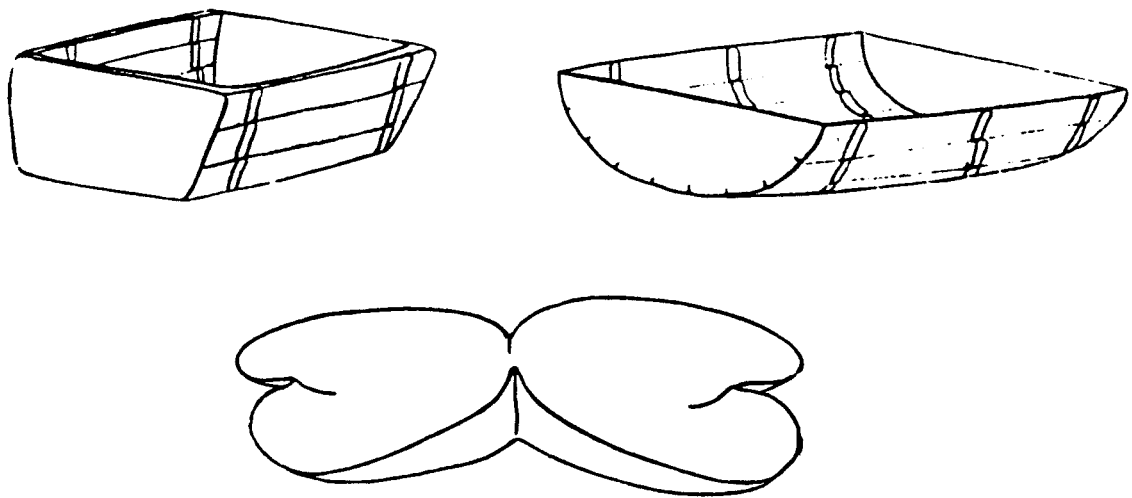
and some deposits by organised expeditions, while court sponsorship of artisans was encouraging and supporting innovation and high standards of production.

Notes

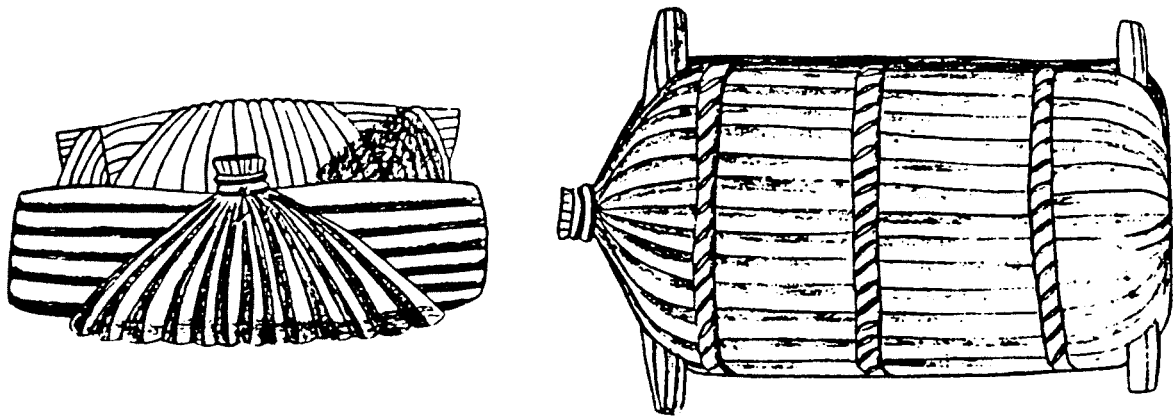
1. See Lucas A. and Rowe A., 'The ancient egyptian bekhen stone', *ASAE* 38 (1938) p.130-1. Couyet J. and Montet P., *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, Cairo, 1912.
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4. el- Khouli A., *op. cit.*, pl.160, no.5605-6, p.733-4. pl.141, no.5640, p.744. pl.141, no.5651, p.745. Emery W.B., *Archaic Egypt*, penguin, 1972, pl.38A and 39A.



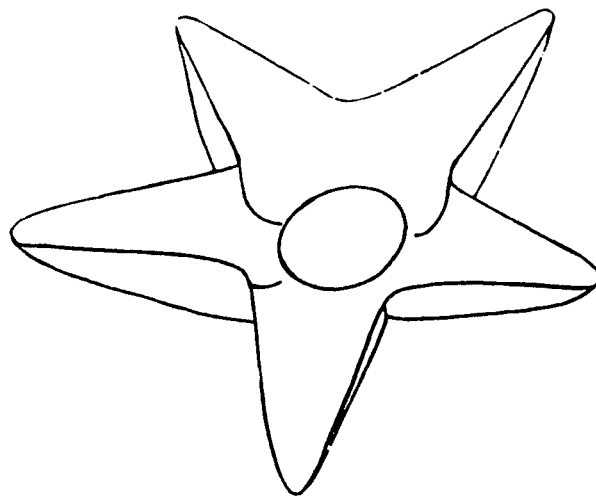
1. An unpublished archaic stone vase in the Petrie Museum.



2. Projected reconstructions from unpublished fragments from Abydos and Saqqara in the Petrie Museum.



3. From archaic vessels found at Abydos and Saqqara.



4. Projected reconstructions from unpublished fragments from Abydos and Saqqara in the Petrie Museum.

Foreigners at Memphis in the middle of the eighteenth dynasty by Mariam Kamish

Thutmose III, it is generally said, imported phoenician shipwrights¹. The notion apparently is based upon a lingering mistrust of egyptian seamanship, supported by anachronistic assumptions about the phoenicians and a perhaps unconsidered view of the military situation of the time. It does, however, demonstrate the necessity of accounting for the asiatic names attested for dynasty XVIII Memphis.

Säve-Söderbergh, Landström and others have detailed much of the history of egyptian shipping. Wooden boats were probably built as early as the predynastic period² and reliefs and models document the evolution of the egyptian craft from the papyrus raft through its papyriform wooden successors and the modifications³ for the sea-going ships which from old kingdom times sailed north to Asia and south by the red sea to Punt⁴.

This makes improbable the argument that Thutmose III only built ships for Asia after he had taken asiatic ships as booty in the fifth campaign in his year 29⁵. It seems clear from the ship determinative of his *wꜥꜥꜣꜣ*, 'set forth', for year 30⁶ that he did sail to Asia in the next year for his sixth campaign. This was surely, however, because he had now secured asiatic ports. It was therefore that he was able to bring his 's'-wood away in ships, whether built on the spot by his army as seems likely from their names⁷, or requisitioned at the ports.

Theories about foreign craftsmen for the mid-dynasty XVIII shipyards are presumably based upon the fact that the egyptians were now engaged - if not for the first time - in what was for the day large scale military competition in the Levant. Several well-known facts, however, make the point irrelevant to shipping.

The fame of phoenician shipcraft, in so far as the record is preserved, begins several hundred years after the campaigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. In the absence of any evidence, the term phoenician for this date may itself be anachronistic and the assumption that the forebears of the phoenicians were great sailors is at least suspect⁸.

Furthermore, the fighting in Asia was not done from shipboard, nor were military manoeuvres of any kind executed on the water⁹, so the military advantage or disadvantage of ship-design must be out of the question. Ships were vital to egyptian interests because the 20-odd day march¹⁰ up into Syria and back, particularly the Sinai leg, must have wasted much of an ancient army's fighting strength and been expensive of the short season available for campaigning.

Papyrus BM 10056, published by Glanville, is written in a mid-dynasty XVIII hand¹¹. It records the receipts of 's'-wood at the shipyards of *Prw-nfr*, the port of Memphis¹², for the purpose of building *skty*, *kftyw* and *msty* ships. 21 workmen are named, exclusive of scribes and visiting officials. 6 are called chief workmen. A chief workman called *Tyty* is mentioned 10 times, a few others 4 and 5 times, and many twice¹³. Indeed, where the two asiatic names do occur, they account, in comparison with some of their colleagues, for very little wood. This is not an impressive foreign presence and it is unlikely that at this date and in this context, we have foreigners working under egyptian names.

Hatshepsut's diatribe against the hyksos from the *speos artemidos* inscription¹⁴ might be thought to illustrate a general illwill towards asiatics. As references to asiatics from early dynasty XVIII and closer to the events show no resentment for the hyksos period¹⁵, the fierceness of the *speos artemidos* text is perhaps chiefly a formal expression of the new or renewed aggressive policy in Asia.

There were certainly many more foreigners at dynasty XVIII Memphis than the two shipwrights of BM 10056. We know that there was a measurable diplomatic traffic. P Leningrad 1116A verso of Amenhotep II's year 18 records grain drawn by all sorts of people, including officials in charge of a visit by the king, the temple of Ba'al or possibly Seth and messengers from a number of asiatic cities¹⁶. By the time of Akhenaten, we know of a man with an asiatic name¹⁷ who served in the priesthoods of Amun, Ba'al and Astarte, together.

One wonders how there came to be temples of Ba'al and Astarte at *Prw-nfr*¹⁸. We do not know that the hyksos came as far as Memphis. If they did, their temples may have survived them. Equally, the temples may have been new in thutmosid times. In either case, the fact that the only known priest of Ba'al or Astarte at Memphis has an asiatic name casts doubt on the theory¹⁹ that asiatic cults were represented at Memphis because the egyptians had adopted them from the port from which they sailed to Asia.

Some of the resident foreigners undoubtedly were traders or the representatives of trading interests. The temples of Ba'al and Astarte may have served as magazines and de-facto consulates, headquarters for asiatics at Memphis. It is in the contexts of trade, temples and diplomacy that we find foreigners and as they are in scant supply at the shipyards where we should not expect them, it does not appear that they built the ships which took the egyptians to Asia.

Notes

1. *CAH II*, pt.1, p.454. For a different approach to the issues discussed here see Säve-Söderbergh, T. *The navy of the eighteenth egyptian dynasty*, Uppsala, 1946, pp.43 ff., pp.53-54 etc. Säve-Söderbergh was not aware in 1946 of facts which D. Redford ('The coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II', *JEA* 51, 1965, pp.107 ff.) has since used to show that Pap. BM 10056 and Pap. Hermitage 1116 A and 1116B belong to the reign of Amenhotep II rather than Thutmose III. We do have representations of syrian shipping from the period of the papyri from the tomb of Kenamun at Thebes (Davies, N. de G., *The tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, N.Y., 1930. and Davies, N. de G. and Faulkner, R. O., 'A syrian trading venture to Egypt', *JEA* 33, 1947, pl.8), which Säve-Söderbergh discusses in another context (*op. cit.*, p.56) and shows to be very different from contemporary egyptian ships of the same purpose, heavy carriage at sea.
2. Landström, B. *Ships of the pharaohs*, London, 1970, pp.20 ff.
3. Landström, B. *op. cit.*, pp.43 ff.
4. For the earliest references: Snefru; *Urk.* I, p.236, l.12. Sahure; Borchardt, L., *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'a3hu-Re*, Leipzig, 1913, vol. 2, pp.133 ff.
5. Again, on different lines, *CAH II*, pt.1, p.454, and Säve -Söderbergh, T., *op. cit.* pp.34-35.
6. *Urk.* IV, p.689, l.5.
7. Säve-Söderbergh T., *op. cit.* , p.43ff.
8. As it is difficult to distinguish among aiatic names in texts of the period, the general term asiatic seems more appropriate here.
9. *The annals*.
10. See *CAH II*, pt.1, p.445-6.
11. Glanville S.R.K., 'Records of a royal dockyard of the time of Thutmose III: Papyrus British Museum 10056', pt. 1, *ZÄS* 66 (1931), p.105ff. See also note 1. above.
12. *Prw-nfr* is nowadays assumed to have been the port of Memphis, but I mean to set forth the arguments for it, to show that they are convincing and to demonstrate where at Memphis *Prw-nfr* is likely to have been.
13. Pap. BM 10056 vs, column 4, line 3; vs., col.8, line 11; rto., col.16, line 2.
14. *P.M.* IV, p.163f. Gardiner A.H., 'Davies's copy of the great Speos Artimidos inscription.', *JEA* 32 (1946) p.43ff.
15. Von Stadelmann R., 'Ein Beitrag zum Brief des Hyksos Apophis', *MDAIK* 20 (1965), p.43ff.
16. Golenischeff W., *Les papyrus hiératiques*, St. Petersburg, 1913, Pap. Hermitage 1116A verso, l.2; l.67; l.183ff. See also note 1. above.
17. *Srb-lhn*, *PM* III (2), 717.
18. For Ba'al; Pap. Hermitage 1116A, l.42, see note 16., above. For Astarte; Daressy G., 'Inscriptions des carrieres de Tourah et Masarah', *ASAE* 11 (1909) p.18, stele no.2.
19. Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.*, p.37.

A consideration of the possible causes and manner of destruction of the Sadd el Kafara dam

by Fred Benham

This ancient dam, discovered by Professor Georg Schweinfurth in 1885, has been attributed by him and other authorities to the third or fourth dynasties. The dam was probably built to provide a water supply for workers in the alabaster quarries nearby. Alabaster was in considerable demand for vases, statues, wall facings etc.

The dam in the Wadi Garawi may well have been the first and only dam ever constructed to contain water in a desert wadi and its design reflects the great vitality and intelligence of the Egyptians at such an early stage of their civilisation.

I believe that the architect was aware that his dam would have to contain 'flash flood' water and realised that it would have to be immensely strong. He decided that the dam wall would be adequate to resist the pressures involved and therefore arranged to build two walls, each 108 metres long and 12 metres high, separated by a distance of 36 metres and to fill the intervening space with rocks, rubble and other debris collected from the surrounding hillsides.

He selected a site which was apparently quite suitable for his purposes, i.e. a fairly narrow part of the wadi, to keep his walls as short as possible. This space was flanked by rock walls sloping outwards at approximately forty degrees and joined by a solid rock bed of similar stone, so that there would be no possibility of water penetration under or around the ends of his walls.

It would appear that the builder had only a limited time in which to construct the dam and he certainly had only a restricted amount of solid block masonry at his disposal, because only the front face of the upstream dam wall was faced with roughly dressed limestone blocks. The remainder of the wall and the whole of the outer wall was constructed from rubble masonry, while the area between the two walls was filled with anything available, i.e. stones from the bed of the wadi and rocks and stones collected from the hillsides. No mortar appears to have been used anywhere in the construction of the dam and this causes me some misgivings regarding the ability of the upstream dam to hold back water, even water in a static condition, because there was almost certain to be leakage through the interstices between stone blocks. It may be that the architect thought that his dam would hold so much water that he could afford ignore leakage and that the next flood would replenish any losses.

The area is hilly, abounding with mounds with gullies between. The surface is covered with small rock debris and stones. When rain falls, which is rather infrequently, only a small amount is absorbed by the surface. The remainder runs off in the various gullies. Rocks, stones and other debris tend to roll towards the centre of a wadi or gully where it is deepest.

Murray states that experience with the dam shows that once water overflows the top of the dam, the earth material is soon washed away. For this dam, which is of masonry which locks together more solidly than earth, much more than mere overspillage would be required to destroy it. Only a great and continuous rush of water could start destruction and this would have required a violent and continuous rainstorm.

The gullies would have filled rapidly and the water rushed down each to join that from others at a lower level, the process being repeated until a great mass of water integrated at each junction brought with it rocks, stones and debris picked up in transit whose kinetic energy was expended against the dam. The effect would have been similar to that of several batteries of guns, arranged in increasing levels of elevation, firing continuously at the upstream wall, with the debris so produced immediately washed away. The speed of the torrent in the wadi was now probably in excess of fifty miles per hour. It reached the first wall and in an incredibly short time filled the wadi and overflowed the dam. The greatest destructive forces would have been exerted in the middle of the length of the wall. The bulk of the rocky missiles would have been concentrated in that area, both by gravity and by a greater speed of water than would obtain near the wadi walls. It is probable that the disintegration of the wall would have commenced at the top, because the missiles would break the top undressed blocks first, both by impact and by abrasion.

There is no doubt that a greater flood would overflow the top of the wall, the height of overflow depending, of course, on the rate of flow of the flood. The water approaching the upstream dam may be considered as being in two layers, i.e. that of the mass from the wadi bed to the top of the dam and that mass constituting the overflow. When the lower mass reached the dam, it was forced to take a violent change of direction from approximately horizontal to an upward direction following the dam face at approximately fifty degrees. It had now to travel the sloping face of the dam in the same interval of time as the water in the upper layer had to traverse the horizontal length of the dam face. The length of the inclined face of the dam from wadi floor to the top of the dam is greater by a factor of the secant of the angle of the wall (fifty degrees). This factor is approximately 1.5, so the speed of the lower layer of water had to increase by fifty percent.

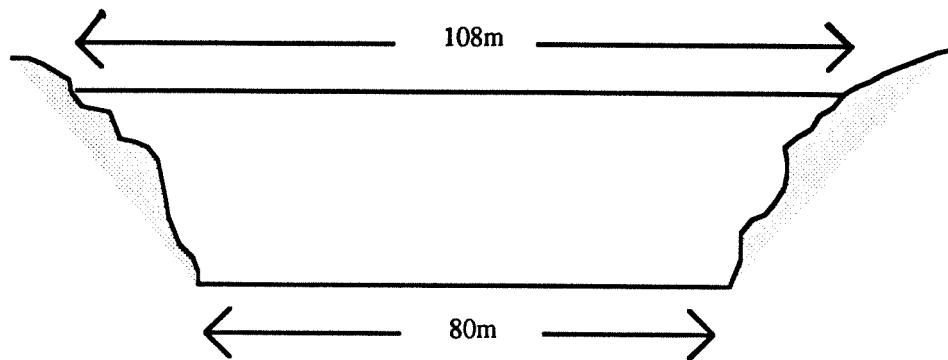
Now we have two masses of water meeting at the top of the dam, one travelling upwards, inclined at fifty degrees, and the other travelling horizontally. The resultant angle of travel of the combined masses of water can

only be guessed, but it may be assumed that the water sprayed horizontally and upwards at thirty degrees to the horizontal.

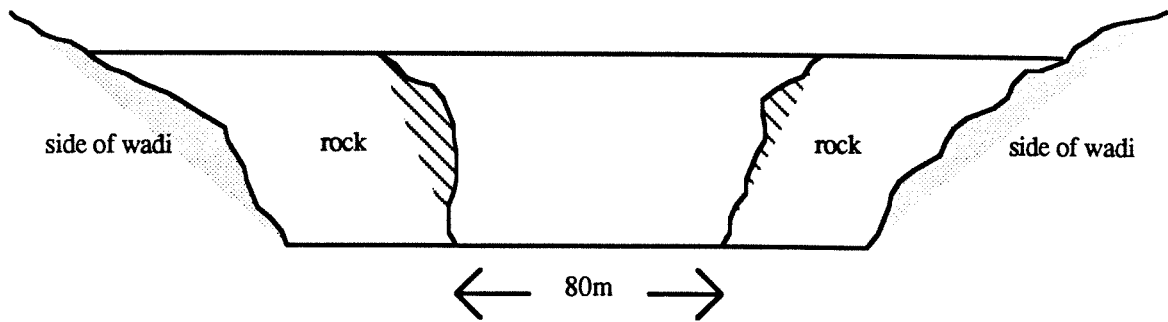
Under the conditions which would obtain during such a great flood as I have envisaged, instead of the second dam wall and the intervening rubble infill protecting and supporting the first dam wall, as no doubt the architect had intended, I consider that the debris from the first wall, with the water borne missiles from the wadi bed, tore away the rubble infill from between the walls and all combined to destroy the second wall. The final effect was a giant slot sawn through both walls and the rubble infill.

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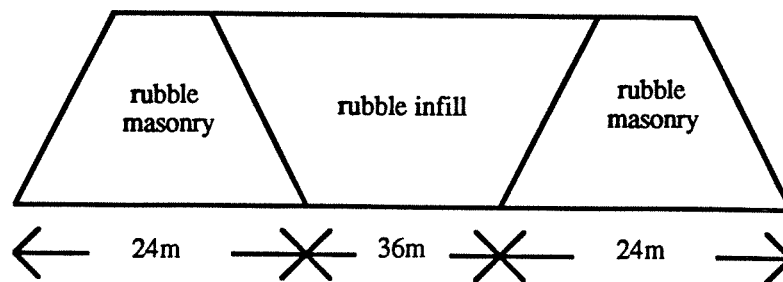
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 Murray G.W., 'A note on the Sadd el Kafara: the ancient dam in the Wadi Garawi', *BdE* 28 (1945-6) p.33ff.
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Cross-section through dam and wadi before destruction, showing dimensions in metres.



Cross-section through dam and wadi after destruction.



Cross-section along dam at right-angles to length of wadi.

Brief communications

Inter-regional variability in egyptian predynastic lithic assemblages

by Diane Holmes

While differences between the lithic assemblages of north and south Egypt have been apparent for a long time, re-evaluation of old collections and studies of recently excavated lithic assemblages are revealing more local differences. In the past, emphasis was placed on the elaborate lithic forms from cemeteries rather than on implements from settlements. Recent work however, has shown that predynastic tool assemblages are dominated by relatively ordinary flake and blade tools. Although the predynastic of upper Egypt was once described as though it was a single homogeneous entity, the lithic artifacts at least, are showing that this is not entirely true. Blade tools, common at Badari for example, are rare at Nagada where flake tools predominate, and assemblages from Hierakonpolis, though sharing certain traits with Nagada, are still distinct.

Despite such regional differences, there are still some trends linking the assemblages. Blades increase in frequency through time and certain elaborate tool forms are known from north to south along the Nile Valley in Egypt.

The birthday of pharaoh

by Liesbeth Boddens-Hosang

The story in the Book of Genesis about Joseph in Egypt is probably well known to most of us. Genesis chapter 40 states that on Pharaoh's birthday there was a festival. On that day, the chief cup-bearer and chief-baker, who had been imprisoned with Joseph, were brought before Pharaoh (verse 20). When one looks at the passage closely, it reads;

וַיְהִי בַיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי יוֹם הַלְדָּת אֶת-פַּרְעֹה

wa-yehi ba-yom ha-shelishi yom hulledeth eth-par'oh

Hulledeth הִלְדָּת is the 'hophal', i.e. causative infinitive of the root 'to bear'. In this case, it certainly means that the festivities took place on 'the day of being begotten'.

The only possible egyptian parallel known is evidence of a year named after the birth of the king in the reign of Khasekhemui of the second dynasty. However, this is not at all clear (cf. Sethe *JEA* 1 p.223-4), though there were celebrations in honour of the monarch's patron deity (*Lexicon* II).

As no similar festivals took place among the hebrew peoples, however, and no such other celebration appears in the Hebrew Bible, the Genesis reference is obviously not a scribal interpretation or error. The passage may, then, record a genuine egyptian festival.

The egyptian laundry

by Rosalind Hall and Jac. Janssen

From our study of the ancient egyptian laundry service, we have discovered that the ancient egyptians washed their underclothes much more frequently than their outer garments. The most common garments mentioned in the laundry lists are (triangular) loincloths (*sdw*) and kilts (*d3iw*), followed by underpants (*hmk*) and sleeves (*ish(3)*). The galabiyeh (*mss*) and cloak (*d3y*) occur much less frequently. It is also interesting that, as with our present day laundry lists, those in ancient Egypt followed a fixed order which places these most common garments at the head of the list in the order cited above. Other items handled by the professional laundrymen included table cloths (*ifd*), kerchiefs (*idg*), handkerchiefs (*sd n drt*), bands (*pr*), rags (*is*), and even sanitary towels (*sdw (n) ph = mrw ph* lit. 'bands of the behind(s)')!

Dr. Gertrude Caton-Thompson and miss Olga Tufnell.
The end of a great archaeological tradition
by H.S. Smith

Miss Olga Tufnell, honorary research associate of the Department of Egyptology at University College London, died on 11th April at the age of eighty. Dr. Gertrude Caton-Thompson, fellow of the college, died on 18th April at the age of ninety-seven.

Miss Tufnell started her archaeological career under Petrie in Palestine, having studied with him at UCL. In 1932 she moved on to work with James Starkey, another student of Petrie, on the famous biblical city of Lachish. Starkey was tragically murdered in Palestine in 1938 and it fell to miss Tufnell to close down the excavations and to publish them, to which she devoted more than twenty years of her life. She was a faithful servant of the Palestine Exploration Fund and in 1965 organised the splendid exhibition 'The World of the Bible' at the Victoria and Albert Museum. But she never deserted egyptology and spent her last years in a monumental two-volume typological work on scarabs with Professor William Ward of the American University of Beirut, with the intention of solving some of the problems of the chronological relations of bronze-age Palestine with dynastic Egypt. She was a fearless scholar of the highest integrity and personal modesty, loved and respected by all.

Dr. Caton-Thompson only took up archaeology under Petrie in 1921 at the age of thirty-three, but in 1924 formed a lasting reputation by her work with Guy Brunton at Qua which produced *The badarian civilisation*. Entirely on her own initiative she found and excavated single-handed the settlement at North Spur, Hemmamiya, still our only stratified key to the sequence of the Nagada cultures of Uper Egypt. Thence she set out with a geologist, miss E.W. Gardner, to survey and excavate the shores and desert fringes of the Fayum lake, including a pioneer attempt to relate archaeological stratigraphy to the geological history of the lake itself. By 1929 she was digging for the British Association at Zimbabwe and showed that the famous monument truly belonged to an indigenous african culture of the medieval period, not to some legendary oriental invaders of antiquity. But the desert called her; in 1930-32, she undertook the first scientific excavation in Khargeh oasis, discovering microlithic and other saharan cultures of great importance and the same call later took her, with the faithful miss Gardner and miss Freya Stark, to the wilds of central Arabia in the Hadhramaut, where she excavated the Moon-temple and tombs of Hureidha - once again, the pioneer excavation in Arabia. After the Second World War, she did not dig again but travelled widely and with Sir Mortimer Wheeler was largely responsible by her enthusiasm for the foundation of the British Institute of the History and Archaeology of East Africa. She never held an academic post and her personality was quiet, modest and private. But she was absolutely intrepid and indomitable in the quest of the scientific truths that fascinated her and intellectually incisive and unbiased in their demonstration. She will surely rank as one of the great pioneer african prehistorians.

The lives of these two brave and learned women, who carried on in such different ways without public support the tradition of their master, are an inspiring example to us all.

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