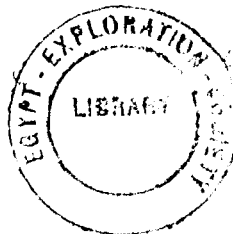


# WEPWAWET

Research Papers in Egyptology

Volume 2

Editors: Mark Collier and Mariam Kamish



produced at the Department of Egyptology  
University College London

DEPARTMENT OF  
EGYPTIAN ANTIQS.

18-10-94

## INTRODUCTION

Wepwawet : Research papers in egyptology is privately produced at the Department of Egyptology, University College London. Primarily, we intend Wepwawet as a forum for the work of researchers to post-doctoral level. Original contributions from undergraduates will, however, be considered. Since few PhD theses are published in English speaking countries, a substantial amount of original research is not easily available. Moreover, in the course of a research programme, there are always peripheral issues which deserve a separate treatment. The editors have prepared a set of guidelines for egyptologists of other universities who may be interested in writing for Wepwawet.

We have not dedicated Wepwawet exclusively to student contributions. We wish to thank Jac. Janssen, Gay Robins and Eric Uphill for contributing to this issue. In particular, we welcome replies to articles which appear in Wepwawet.

Wepwawet is produced on an Apple Macintosh microcomputer. Copy is produced on the laser writer at the University of London Institute of Archaeology computer facility and is printed by the Publications Department at UCL. The editors would like to thank the production staff of Wepwawet; all students connected with the Department, for their time and effort.

Mariam Kamish  
Mark Collier

### A NOTE ON THE PETRIE MUSEUM AND THE EDWARDS LIBRARY

The museum staff would like to remind readers of Wepwawet that the Petrie Museum will be closed from May 1st until further notice due to rebuilding. The Edwards Library will be closed from June 22nd to September 30th 1986. However, the books will be available on application.



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## VIOLENT IMAGES OF QUEENSHIP AND THE ROYAL CULT

### by Robert Morkot

In recent years attention has been focused on the role of Nefertiti, her possible association with Akhenaten as ruler and her undoubted importance from the very earliest years of the reign<sup>1</sup>. The columned hall from the Karnak temple with its scenes of Nefertiti performing religious rituals without the king is one of the most significant monuments attesting her position. The religious and social features apparent in the reign of Akhenaten are the result of developments in the ideology of Egyptian kingship in the 18th dynasty. There is nothing 'revolutionary' or 'heretical' about this period<sup>2</sup>: it is the culmination of trends, many of which can be traced back at least as far as the reign of Hatshepsut, and often to the old and middle kingdoms. So far there has been too little emphasis on the reigns of Tuthmose IV and Amenhotep III (and probably Tuthmose III and Amenhotep II) as precursors of the features seen so clearly during the reign of Akhenaten<sup>3</sup>.

The position held by Nefertiti can usefully be compared with that of Tiye in the previous reign and with that of her successors in the late 18th and 19th dynasties. In the past discussion of Tiye has concentrated too much on personal character judgements which are at best described as inappropriate<sup>4</sup>. Certain features of female royal iconography appear to have been introduced in the reign of Amenhotep III, and have been discussed by Gay Robins<sup>5</sup>. One of the most significant is the addition of the horns and solar disk of Hathor to the modius, vulture headdress and two falcon feathers. The queen is identified with Hathor in many different ways, and thus forms a counterpart to the king's role of Re'. Robins sees the increased number of divine iconographical attributes as an attempt both to emphasise the nature of the queenship and to remove the queen from the mortal sphere. Thus the role of the queen parallels that of the kingship at this time with its increased emphasis upon the many divine attributes of the ruler<sup>6</sup>. This remoteness can only have led to a greater increase in ritual surrounding the daily life of the king and formality in his contacts with his officials. Something of this has already been noted by B. Kemp in his discussion of the layout of Akhetaten, with its ceremonial road connecting the northern residence palace with the main temples and administrative district where the king celebrated the religious rituals and met with his officials and foreign embassies<sup>7</sup>.

Tiye's importance in many ways anticipates that of Nefertiti, but there are several features of her iconography and position which remain largely unrecognised by writers on this period. Tiye is the first *hmt nsw wrt* of the new kingdom to be frequently shown accompanying the king in reliefs and statuary. Of course, this does not mean that earlier queens did not accompany the king in temple rituals or court ceremonies, but it is from this time onwards that they are a regular feature in such scenes. More importantly, Tiye assumes some of the characteristics of kingship.

In the tomb of Kheruef Tiye sits with Amenhotep III under the canopy whilst Kheruef makes a presentation on the occasion of the third jubilee<sup>8</sup>. The queen wears the vulture headdress, modius with falcon plumes, and a fillet with two uraei, wearing the upper and lower Egyptian crowns. She carries the lily sceptre or fly whisk and an ankh, and wears the *wsb*- and *šbyw*-collars. Her throne is an adaptation of that often used by kings at this period, with lion legs and decorated side panels. However, instead of the lion's head bosses there is the head of the queen with modius<sup>9</sup>. The *sm3-t3wy* scene between the chair legs has female captives. On the side panel the queen assumes the form of a female sphinx with falcon markings wearing the modius and uraeus and shaded by the *šwt*-fan<sup>10</sup>. She tramples two female enemies, nubian and asiatic, underfoot. Behind, on a clump of lilies is a winged serpent with the white crown and the description 'trampling the foreign lands'. The text describes the queen as 'mistress of all lands, united with the king *H'-m-M3't*'. There is an almost exact parallel to this throne used by Amenhotep III in the tomb of Khaemhet, and a very similar example in the tomb of Anen<sup>11</sup>.

There is much of significance in this scene. Tiye is the first queen shown wearing the *sbyw*-collar, usually given as a part of the 'gold of honour', and as such associated with the *msktw*-, *iw' w*- and *mnfrt*-bracelets. There is clearly a significance attached to this jewellery which is more than pure reward, since from the reign of Amenhotep III the king himself wears it, as indeed, he does in this scene<sup>12</sup>. The *šbyw*-collar has been discovered in women's burials<sup>13</sup>, but, with two exceptions, known tomb scenes do not show the reward of women<sup>14</sup>. Wives of rewarded officials can, however, be shown wearing the collars.

Perhaps the most important feature of the scene is the representation of Tiye as a trampling sphinx. The female sphinx in statuary and relief occurs from the middle kingdom onwards<sup>15</sup>. It is usually couchant and wears the curled wig of Hathor. Tiye herself is shown as a female sphinx on other monuments. However, this is the first time that it is seen in action trampling enemies as the king's sphinx does. Also original is the depiction of female captives, who, although mentioned in texts and shown in processions are not seen trampled or slain by the king<sup>16</sup>. Later, Nefertiti's throne dais is decorated with female captives bound in the

traditional way. The queen is also shown as a trampling sphinx and like a king, smiting captives with the scimitar<sup>17</sup>.

Tiye is called *hnwt t3w nbw*, 'mistress of all lands' visually rendered by the trampling of the asiatic and nubian women and their binding to the throne. This title is also given to the queen in her temple at Sedeinga and is clearly connected with the action of subjugating foreign countries. It is also suggestive of the epithet *hnwt hmw nbw*, 'mistress of all women', given later to Nefertiti.

The description of the queen as 'united with the king *H'-m-M3't*' is itself unusual, and may be compared with similar epithets adopted by kings. Hatshepsut described herself as *hnmt lmn* in her nomen, and Amenhotep III erected a statue at Memphis called *Nb-M3't-R' hnm [t] Pth*<sup>18</sup>. The ritual of 'unification with the royal ka' has recently been studied and it is significant that it is with the king's Horus name, the one most closely connected with ka and divine aspect, that Tiye is united<sup>19</sup>. Unification with the ka or with a god implies the acquisition of divine power and association with that deity<sup>20</sup>. Presumably Tiye acquires royal divine power through this association. At Abu Simbel Nefertari is described as *hnmt-ity* 'united with the sovereign', when she accompanies Ramesses II in a scene of his smiting enemies.

Tiye again appears as a vanquisher of enemies in the tomb of Surer<sup>21</sup>. In this scene Amenhotep III is presented with the products of the workshops including a number of statues of himself and Tiye. One of these shows the queen wearing modius and double plumes, carrying the lily sceptre and standing upon a prostrate enemy. The figure is badly damaged and Davies has restored it in dotted lines so we must rely on the accuracy of his interpretation. However, the scene implies that such statues of Tiye did exist, in which case, her temple at Sedeinga would have been a likely location for them. A standing statue of Amenhotep III in a similar attitude is in the same scene, and one of Tuthmose III seated, his throne placed upon captives, is amongst the statues and temple furniture shown in the tomb of Rekhmire<sup>22</sup>. Part of a small faience statuette of this type preserves the feet of a king (?) trampling two captives<sup>23</sup>.

Nefertiti, sometimes accompanied by a princess, is shown standing behind Akhenaten in scenes of his smiting enemies<sup>24</sup>. The queen is thus involved in one of the important acts of kingship in a passive way. In one scene she appears to shake a sistrum or extend a *shm*-sceptre, which emphasises the ritual aspect of the event. Ankhesenamun and Nefertari also accompany their husbands in similar scenes, usually with one hand raised in a gesture of worship<sup>25</sup>.

However, Nefertiti also assumes the role of vanquisher of foreigners, and much attention has been paid to this. Like Tiye she takes the form of a trampling female sphinx and has female captives decorating the base of her throne, but unlike her she smites enemies with the scimitar. Nefertiti thus appears in most of the ritually violent attitudes of kingship<sup>26</sup>.

Related to these violent images of the queen are the scenes of Ankhesenamun handing arrows to Tutankhamun whilst he shoots birds and fish in the marshes. The scenes have been studied in detail by Alison Roberts, who suggests that the queen may be a manifestation of Sakhmet<sup>27</sup>.

These violent images illustrate both the divine aspect of the queen and the nature of the queenship itself in the later 18th dynasty. From the reign of Amenhotep III a duality in the ideology of rulership is apparent in which the female principal, if not equal, is given greater prominence. The goddess most closely connected with the queenship is Hathor<sup>28</sup>, and the religious syncretism of this period identifies the other goddesses important to the ideology of the kingship with her, most often in her form of the eye of Re<sup>29</sup>. The queen herself acquires elaborate titularies and epithets which include both temporal titles and hathorian elements describing her physical beauty and her role as the one who satisfies the heart of the king<sup>30</sup>. Tiye and her successors are called *nbt t3wy hnwt t Šm' w T3-mhw*, 'lady of the two lands, mistress of the south and north'<sup>31</sup>. Some queens are also *hk3t*, 'the [female] ruler', the female form of the commonest description of the king at this time.

Tiye's divinity is clearly shown in a scene on the back of one of the chairs of Sitamun in which the princess presents lotus flowers to her mother<sup>32</sup>. A second princess stands behind Tiye holding a *šwt*-fan decorated with a bouquet of lotus, papyrus and poppy flowers. Both princesses carry the *hw*-fan. These two types of fan are closely connected with divinity and kingship. They are carried in the processions of the king and sacred barques, and are used to shade divine statues and sphinxes<sup>33</sup>. The fans become a prominent feature of royal ceremonies in the reign of Akhenaten. A solar connotation for the scene is suggested by the placing of the figures in a boat above a frieze of papyrus. The cat under the queen's throne is a symbol of Mut and Hathor, as well as of Re', and the allusion may be both solar, and to the queen as mother.

The *šwt*-fan, usually associated with the divine king, is seen behind Tiye in other scenes<sup>34</sup>. Also more usually connected with kingship, but in the reign of Akhenaten apparently only with the royal women, was the *šwt-R'*, the 'sunshade' temple, a building in which the king or queen was somehow associated with the sun. Tiye's sunshade temple at Akhetaten was decorated with statues of herself, Akhenaten and *Nb-M3't-R*<sup>35</sup>.

The divine status accorded to the queen is most clearly demonstrated by the temple-town dedicated to her at Sedeinga in Nubia. The significance of this has usually been disregarded or only mentioned in passing by writers on this period. The town was called the 'fortress of Tiye' or 'residence of Tiye in T3-Sti', a name perpetuated into modern times as Adey<sup>36</sup>. Unfortunately little of the decoration was recorded by Lepsius and other early travellers and the recent excavations of Schiff Giorgini and Leclant remain largely unpublished. It is impossible to analyse the details of the cult, but it is clear that the queen was regarded as a counterpart of the king, a local patroness and closely identified with Hathor. The decoration of a doorway published by Lepsius associated the queen with the goddess in her several aspects, and one of the temple's Hathor-headed columns still stands.

The entablature from the doorway in the east room is divided into two registers, the lower of which has a central panel with the cartouche of Tiye and those of Nb- M3't-R' oriented to face it. The king's cartouches are surmounted by the disk and ostrich plumes, those of the queen by the horns, disk and falcon plumes. The panel is flanked by large uraei with solar disks and by two aegides of Hathor. The upper register also has two aegides of Hathor and two figures of the queen as a striding lioness wearing a crown similar to that later adopted by Nefertiti. The queen thus manifests herself in one of the violent aspects of the goddess, perhaps Tefnut<sup>37</sup>.

Sedeinga was a parallel foundation to Amenhotep III's own temple-town at Soleb, called after his Horus name H'-m-M3't. There he was worshipped in the form of his 'living image', a cult which celebrated the kingship and promoted the ruler as a lunar deity<sup>38</sup>. He was described as 'lord of Nubia' a title later used by the deified Ramesses II in his temples at Aksha, Amara and Abu Simbel. The cult at Sedeinga probably followed that of Soleb in promoting the queenship, and the relationship of the queen to the king expressed through her association with those goddesses important to the ideology of kingship: Hathor, Isis and Weret-Hekau.

What reasons there were for promoting such a cult of queenship at this time are difficult to ascertain. Clearly it is a complex issue and there were doubtless many contributory factors. Those based upon personality must be disregarded, since we can know nothing of them, however influential they may have been. G. Robins has suggested that the non-royal origins of the queens of the later 18th dynasty led to an emphasis on their cultic role as a counterpart of the king. Certainly, within the context of a divine kingship of the Egyptian type, with its stress on the position of the mother, it is necessary to emphasise the divine nature of a queen, royal or non-royal. At the same time, there may have been strong political motives which led to this ideological expression. However, our knowledge of the families of the queens of this period is insufficient for us to make comments on the extent to which they were the subject of political machinations on the part of factions of the nobility. The image of the nobility's relationship with the king projected by the monuments is one of loyalty, but there are suggestions that this may not have always been the case. How the king controlled the power of the nobility, and how and to what degree factions were able to control rulers is, at present, far from clear. It is therefore necessary to exercise caution when considering the influence of queens' families. C. Aldred<sup>38</sup> has suggested that far from being unimportant Tiye and Nefertari were members of an influential collateral branch of the royal house, and that it was through marriage with them that Amenhotep III and Ramesses II consolidated their claims to the throne. Mutemwia and Nefertiti are suggested to belong to the same family. The prominence of these queens would then derive from their political importance. Unfortunately Aldred's theory, tempting as some of his ideas are, is difficult to prove and based on much circumstantial evidence. The divinity of the queenship is more likely to have been a direct result of the emphasis upon the king as a divine ruler in the 18th dynasty. It is, therefore, worth considering more general trends in the 18th dynasty which contributed to the growth of the royal cults and the position of the royal family.

The economic and military expansion of Egypt in the early 18th dynasty wrought enormous changes in the administration and social structure. The bureaucracies of the military, civil, palace, temple and 'colonial' institutions were greatly increased. At the same time a more rigid professional structure began to appear, with a tendency to specialise within one of the institutions. This specialisation and the increased numbers of people involved led to an emphasis upon the hierarchies of the institutions. Within an expanding structure like this the power of the high officials is magnified and this in turn affects the position of the king. A king with a small attendant nobility (especially if a significant proportion comes from his own family) preserves his remoteness. A king confronted by a large and powerful nobility, with another large literate group holding an intermediate place between the nobles and mass of agrarian workers is in a very different situation. This structure requires assertion of the king's uniqueness as a member of both the mortal and divine worlds in order to maintain his position as the major power holder. The 18th dynasty shows this emphasis upon the kingship and the relationship of the king to his officials and the gods. The king is recognised as the source of rank, promotion and reward, life and health. The relationship is direct and explicit. By the end of the dynasty officials serve a similar role for their subordinates and dependents as the

king does for them<sup>39</sup>. The social structure is thereby reinforced. The king is the intermediary between gods and people, expressed most clearly through the cults of the colossal statues and the 'hearing ear'. The elevation of the queenship is a corollary of this emphasis upon the remoteness and divinity of the ruler.

There is no need to suggest, as some writers have, that the royal cults were 'tried out' in Nubia before their introduction into Egypt. There may have been strong economic and political reasons for using them as the foci of cities<sup>40</sup>. There were in Egypt cults of statues of the living king or his ka, probably from the time of Hatshepsut or Tuthmose III, if not earlier. The role of the king as an intermediary was expressed most clearly through these colossal statues which stood at the entrance or in the forecourts of temples, and through the cult of the 'hearing ear'. At Karnak Tuthmose III built such a chapel against the eastern outer wall of the Amun temple, although Hatshepsut may already have built, or intended, something similar since she erected two obelisks here<sup>41</sup>. The shrine itself, a massive block of alabaster, is decorated on the outside walls with reliefs showing the forms of Amun. Inside are carved two large seated statues of the king and Amun, with a relief showing the royal ka of *Mn-hpr-R* making offerings to them. This chapel stands at the west end of the 'upper court' of Karnak, which opened directly onto the city of Thebes. The intention, completed in the reign of Tuthmose IV, was to erect a single obelisk in the middle of the court, thereby identifying it as a solar court. This, the largest surviving obelisk, hewn for Tuthmose III and set up by his grandson, now stands in the Piazza San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome<sup>42</sup>. The upper part was originally plated with gold, and has scenes of the king kneeling before Amen-Re' and Amen-Atum, doubtless oriented to the rising and setting sun. The intermediary temple of Tuthmose III was, therefore, directly associated with, or even emphasised the solar aspect of Amun.

Ramesses II built his own 'hearing ear' temple on the axis, and to the east, of that of Tuthmose III, perhaps extending it beyond the precinct wall. It served the same function as his first court at Luxor, and, like Tuthmose III's temple had 'osiride' statues and scenes of jubilee.

The temple which Akhenaten built in the early years of his reign is on the same axis as the Amun temple and stands only a short distance to the east. Possibly, like the tuthmosid temple it was connected with the king's role as an intermediary, with the emphasis upon the jubilee rites and solar cult. The temple certainly contained large statues of the living king of the type found in the royal mortuary temples and the nubian temples of Ramesses II<sup>43</sup>.

In this light it is interesting to consider the role of Nefertiti as shown in the Karnak temple. A courtyard or pillared hall had scenes of the queen accompanied by a princess making offerings to the disk. Although Tiye had at least one temple dedicated to her, the little that is known of the decoration seems rather to portray the king, and the queen is seen through her relationship to him. However, in this temple Nefertiti has adopted the same role as a king, and there may be an emphasis upon her as an intermediary.

At Amarna the prayer formulae in the tombs usually invoke the disk, the king (often separately as *Nfr-hprw-R* and as Akhenaten) and the queen, through their ka's. In one instance queen Tiye is similarly invoked<sup>44</sup>. In the tomb of Panhesy<sup>45</sup> the prayer is that Nefertiti should make a laudation (*i3w*) of the king and grant an entrance to favour. The queen must therefore be acting as intermediary between the official and the king. That she is making a laudation is suggestive of an unequal relationship, but at the same time she is seen as within the same mortal/divine sphere as the king.

This dichotomy is also expressed in the scenes on the golden shrine from the tomb of Tutankhamun. In one panel on the doors Ankhesenamun adopts the attitude of adoration or glorification. She wears the 'nubian wig', as does the king, and a headdress consisting of the modius surmounted by five (ostrich?) feathers<sup>46</sup>. The same headdress, again with the nubian wig, is worn by the queen on another panel, in which she offers flowers to the king and shakes the sistrum<sup>47</sup>. An almost identical form, also with the nubian wig, has the modius decorated with uraei, and surmounted by an ointment cone with petal garland and four feathers: here the queen anoints the king<sup>48</sup>. This type of headdress is worn by heads of H<sup>h</sup>hor in friezes in some of the theban tombs from the late 18th dynasty onwards, surmounting both the curled and heavy wigs<sup>49</sup>. The headdress is also worn by court ladies of Akhetaten on a relief block from Hermopolis<sup>50</sup>. In some of these scenes Tutankhamun raises his hand in a gesture of greeting or acceptance, and in one the couple link their free hands. The offering of flowers is a sign of rejuvenation and is therefore to be linked with the presentation of *rnpt*-sceptres shown on the back of the shrine<sup>51</sup>. The decoration of these door panels is important since this is what first greeted the officiant. Of the six panels, one shows Ankhesenamun adoring or praising Tutankhamun, four show the presentation of flowers, once accompanied by the shaking of the sistrum and the remaining panel shows the queen escorting the king. The inside of the doors quite clearly indicates that it is the divine form of the king that is the object of worship<sup>52</sup>. The names of the king within cartouches are shown four times, in all cases resting upon the *nb*-sign. In the upper panels they are crowned with the disk and ostrich plumes, in the lower ones with the solar disk alone. They are flanked by uraei wearing the crowns of upper and lower Egypt (upper panels)



and solar disks (lower)<sup>53</sup>. The scenes show Ankhesenamun offering flowers and shaking the sistrum before the king. In one scene the king has a solar disk flanked by uraei over his head, another indicator that he is here appearing in his divine aspect<sup>54</sup>. In these scenes on the door panels (and, indeed, on other of the shrines' scenes) the queen acts towards the divine ruler in the same role as that adopted by a king to a god, or to his deified self. In this respect she does act as a priestess, but in the intermediary role of the priest-king. At the same time the texts and iconography identify her with Sakhmet, Hathor and the Weret-Hekau. She is not, therefore, an idealised wife, but an intermediary with, and counterpart of, the ruler.

This emphasis upon the double role of the queen is apparent from the reign of Amenhotep III and the dedication to Tiye of a temple-town in Nubia has been discussed above. Statues were probably set up to her in temples throughout Egypt as they had been for earlier queens, but in addition she may have received worship in another temple dedicated to her as queen. The details of this temple and its cult, at Tahta in middle Egypt, are, at present unclear. In his 11th year Amenhotep III celebrated the 'opening of the basins' at Djaroukha in the same district<sup>55</sup>. This ceremony, and the gift to the Tiye of this land 'in her own town', is recorded on the 'lake' scarabs<sup>56</sup>. The issue of a scarab of this type suggests that the event was particularly important, and perhaps more than the donation to the queen of a new estate. Is it possible that the Djaroukha land, amounting to some 190 acres, was allotted to provide for her temple at Tahta?

The statue of Tiye standing upon enemies depicted in the tomb of Surer has already been noted. In the same scene there are five other statues of an unnamed queen, presumably also Tiye. Three are standing, with vulture headdress, modius, double plumes and heavy wig. They carry the lily sceptre and a lotus flower, and in front of each is an offering stand with *nms*-vessel and censer. Two seated figures have the same headdress and lily sceptre. A problem of identification occurs because the deified Ahmose-Nefertari is depicted in the same way from this time onwards<sup>57</sup>. It seems most likely, however, that the statues are of Tiye, and of the type that would have been set up in the temples of Sedeinga and Tahta, and also in the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Medinet Habu.

Tiye was included in the mortuary cult of Amenhotep III, and her statue continues to be depicted into the ramesseid period<sup>58</sup>. An estate bearing her name in the *pr 'lmn* continued into the reign of Ay, and perhaps longer. It is unclear whether this was part of the mortuary cult or was within the Karnak precinct<sup>59</sup>. Such estates providing the offerings for the cult and income for the priesthood could continue for a long period after the death of the founder, without being absorbed into the endowments of other cults. For example, an estate belonging to a statue cult of Nefertari, wife of Ramesses II is recorded at Aniba as still functioning in the reign of Ramesses VI<sup>60</sup>.

The importance accorded to queens from the later 18th dynasty continues into the 19th dynasty. Ramesses II's own particular developments of the divine aspects of kingship and its cult included his wives, particularly Nefertari. The double chapel attached to the Ramesseum, apparently for the cults of Mut-Tuya and Nefertari, and the latter queen's temple at Abu Simbel, demonstrate their importance. It is also perhaps significant that at some point in the late 18th, or at the beginning of the 19th dynasty, a new necropolis was established for queens and princes in which they, like the kings, had decorated tombs.

The queens from the time of Tiye onwards are promoted as 'unequal equals' to the king. They acquire more elaborate titularies and regalia, and even take over some features of iconography from the kingship itself. Tiye and Nefertiti are, in this respect, the most significant. The dominant feature of the position of the queen, both before and after the reign of Akhenaten, is her association with Hathor.

Although Tiye and Nefertiti are the only queens known to take the form of the trampling sphinx, an involvement in the violent aspect of kingship is allowed to some queens who are shown accompanying the king whilst he smites Egypt's enemies. Ankhesenamun and Nefertari have already been cited in this action. The earliest example known to the writer is the Konosso inscription of Tuthmose IV, in which queen Iaret, carrying the *hꜥ*-club, follows the king who, siezing a group of captives by the hair, brandishes his club over them<sup>61</sup>.

These violent images are not perpetuated. Striding female sphinxes adorn the barge of Nodjmet, when it is shown at the Opet festival, in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak. The cabins at the prow and stern of the barge are decorated with figures of the queen as a striding sphinx wearing a feather crown similar to that worn by Ankhesenamun in the golden shrine scenes<sup>62</sup>. Behind each sphinx stands a *šwt*-fan, with another placed behind the cabins. The sphinxes do not, however, trample enemies. The queen herself stands at the back of the barge, her arms raised in adoration of the goddess. The couchant female sphinx continued to be used in statuary until the late period<sup>63</sup>. Indeed, the god's wives of Amun, who were closely associated with Hathor and Tefnut, adopted, or inherited, many features of the iconography of queenship as established in the later 18th dynasty. They also celebrated coronations and jubilees. As precedents, Tiye and Nefertiti seem to share in the celebration of their husbands' jubilees, and Nefertari is shown being crowned by Hathor and Isis in the small temple at Abu Simbel<sup>64</sup>. However, it is only the



queens of Meroë who are shown smiting enemies after the manner of the king, and this action most probably derives from their own role within that society.

## NOTES

This paper originated with several seminars given by the writer at U.C.L. on the subjects of kingship and the royal cults, mainly from a nubian perspective. I would like to thank A. Roberts, L. Boddens-Hosang and M. Kamish for very constructive comments on various aspects of the subject. Particularly I would like to thank Gay Robins for the benefit I have received from her own work on the subject, and from most valuable discussions with her. I hope no ideas have been appropriated without due recognition.

1. Most recently in Redford, D.B., Akhenaten: The Heretic Pharaoh, Princeton, 1984; Samson, J., Nefer-titi and Cleopatra, London, 1985. However, the ideas of J. Samson and J.R. Harris have not yet found wide acceptance.
2. My major objection to these words is that they are loaded, and I think inapplicable to Egyptology. The only aspect of the 'amarna period' which might legitimately be called 'revolutionary' is its art which certainly does begin to develop along different lines. In religious and social terms, however, it is entirely inappropriate. Similarly, 'heretic' and 'heretical' are not merely loaded, but emotive, and prejudiced. *Heretical*, whilst strictly meaning 'unorthodox' actually has far too many connotations to be applicable to a religion like that of ancient Egypt. It may be relevant to discussion of Christianity, particularly in the early byzantine period, but we cannot apply it to a religion which does not have such an idea of its own. The religion of Akhenaten, at least how I interpret it, is the logical outcome of the development of the solar and royal cults as practised in the 18th dynasty.
3. I have omitted references to Hatshepsut when discussing the assumption of certain kingly attributes by the queens (e.g. sphinxes in action) because of her peculiar role as a female king. It may be, however, that the precedents she set were influential in the development of the iconography of queen-ship later in the dynasty. I have also avoided discussing the cults of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari and the degree of their influence on the cults of the living rulers, which, I suspect, is great: on these cults see Černý, J., BIFAO 27, 1927, p. 159-203; Gitton, M., L'épouse du dieu Ahmes-Nefertari, Paris, 1975. The influence of the iconography of Tiye upon the cult images of Ahmose-Nefertari is discussed by Aldred, C., 'Ahmose-Nofretari Again' in de Meulenaere, H. and Limme, L., eds., Artibus Aegypti, Brussels, 1983, p. 7-12.
4. e.g. Descroches-Noblecourt, C., Tutankhamen, London, 1964 and Hayes, W.C., The sceptre of Egypt II, Cambridge, Mass., 1959, p. 259.
5. see Robins, G., 'The royal family of the 18th Dynasty, 1: Queens' in this journal. On the political and economic power of the queens of the early 18th dynasty see Robins, G., 'The god's wife of Amun in the 18th dynasty', in Kuhrt, A. and Cameron, A., eds., Images of women in antiquity, London 1983, p. 65-78.
6. There are many studies of divine kingship e.g. Frankfort, H., Kingship and the gods, Chicago, 1948. Habachi, L., Features of the deification of Ramesses II, Gluckstadt, 1969. Hornung, E., Conceptions of god in ancient Egypt: The one and the many, trans. Baines, J.R., London, 1982, especially p. 135-42. On iconography see e.g. Giza-Podgóski, T., 'Royal plume dress of XVIII dynasty', MDAIK 40, 1984 p. 103-21. The most important recent contributions to the study of divine kingship and its iconography are Bell, L., 'Luxor temple and the cult of the royal Ka', JNES 44, 1985, p. 251-94 and Bell, L., 'Aspects of the cult of the deified Tutankhamun' in Mélanges G. Mokhtar, Cairo, 1985, vol 1, p. 9-59. This last work was received whilst proof-reading, its results have, however, been incorporated as far as possible.
7. Kemp, B.J., JEA 62, 1976, p. 81-99. The impression of a formal relationship is enforced by the tomb scenes of the 18th Dynasty, particularly those of the reign of Amenhotep III (e.g. Kheruef, Surcat and Khaemhet) and the layout of palaces such as Malkata. Within this context the idea of a 'relaxed atmosphere' at the court of Akhetaten is false. The function of the 'domestic' scenes as religious icons and substitutes for the traditional imagery of gods is discussed by Aldred, C., 'Tradition and revolution in the art of the XVIIIth dynasty' in Schmandt-Besserat, D., ed. Immortal Egypt, Malibu, 1978, p. 56-8.
8. The Epigraphic Survey, The tomb of Kheruef, OIP 102, Chicago, 1980, pl. 49; 52A: first published by Leibovitch, J., 'Une nouvelle représentation d'une sphinge de la reine Tiye', ASAE 42, 1943, p. 93-105.
9. This type of head is also found on one of the chairs of Sitamun, see Quibell, J.E., The tomb of Yuua and Thuiu, Cairo, 1908, pl. 38.
10. She is shown twice as a sphinx with falcon markings on a relief published by Borchardt, L., Der Portätkopf der Königin Teje, Leipzig, 1911, p. 22, abb. 30. A winged sphinx, probably Tiye, wearing the red crown, appears on a sealing from Malkata; see JNES 10, fig. 33, S 102. For the queen as a lioness at Sedeinga, and a sphinx of Tefnut, see below and n. 37. The sphinx with falcon markings

- is well illustrated in Davies, N. de G. and Gardiner, A. H., Tutankhamun's painted box, Oxford, 1962, pl. 5.
11. see LD III, Bl. 76b, 77c (Khaemhet); for Anen see Davies, N. de G., BMMA section II Nov. 1929, p. 35-49, fig. 3. Fragmentary panels of the same type were found in the tomb of Tuthmose IV, see Hayes op. cit., fig. 85.
  12. Also on statuary, where he usually carries the *h3*-sceptre and wears the *hpr3*-crown, e.g. C.G. 42084 and Berlin 17020 see Schäfer, H., ZÄS 70, 1934 p. 1-25. These statues, and probably the jewellery, are to be associated with the cult of the king. The jewellery is also worn by the figure of Amenhotep I worshipped in Theban tomb 181 (given the features of Amenhotep III) see Davies, N. de G., The tomb of two sculptors at Thebes, New York, 1925, pl. 10.  
Akhenaten almost never wears this jewellery, which is perhaps surprising for the reign when the reward scene is most commonly depicted. He is seen with it in the tomb of Ramose, where he is described as Amenhotep IV and portrayed in the 'classical' style. After the change in style (beginning with Ramose's reward scene, where he is still Amenhotep IV) his jewellery consists mainly of cartouches of the 'aten' as armlets, bracelets and pectorals. The *šbyw*-collar is worn by a (royal?) lady in scenes from talatat, see Roeder, G., Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis Hildesheim, 1969, taf. 185, PC 94; taf. 198, PC 185. The *šbyw*-collar is also included in the jewellery given by the king to his daughters e.g. Cairo stela JE 44865 see, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Bruxelles, Le règne du soleil, Akhnaton et Nefertiti, 1975, p. 70, no. 15. I intend to discuss the whole subject of the reward scenes and jewellery elsewhere. On gift-giving in Egypt the only study to date is Janssen, J. J., 'Gift-giving in ancient Egypt as an economic feature', JEA 68, 1982, p. 53-58.
  13. Petrie, W. M. F., Qurneh, London, 1909, pl. 29. Glazed examples were found in the burial of three wives of Tuthmose III.
  14. The exceptions are (1): Davies, N. de G., The rock tombs of el-Amarna VI, London 1908, pl. 29, where Ay and Tiy receive gifts from the window of appearances. However, Tiy is perhaps best regarded as included in her husband's reward-in the sub-scenes it is he alone who appears. (2): Davies, N. de G., The tomb of Neferhotep at Thebes I, New York, 1933, pl. 14-15. (Reign of Ay). Queen Tiy rewards Neferhotep's wife, Meryet-Re', from the window of appearances attached to the 'harim' of the palace. Meryet-Re' is accompanied by her own ladies and a royal steward. The scene is a parallel to that of the reward of Neferhotep himself by Ay and Tiy, (pl. 9).
  15. see e.g. Helck, H. W., MIQ 3, 1955, 1-10. A statue of a queen as a couchant sphinx with Hathor wig is shown with other royal statuary presented to Tuthmose III, see Davies, N. de G., The tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes, New York, 1943, pl. 37.
  16. e.g. Davies, Rekhmire, pl. 21; Davies, N. de G., Private tombs at Thebes IV, Oxford, 1963, pl. 22 (Ineni); Brack, A. and A., Das Grab des Haremhab, A. V. 35, Mainz, 1980, pl. 50.
  17. Throne base with captives, Redford op. cit. frontispiece, and Redford, D. B. and Winfield Smith, R., The Akhenaten temple project I, Warminster, 1976, pl. 27.2. Nefertiti as a trampling sphinx and smiting foes, ibid., pl. 23.2; Cooney, J. D., Amarna reliefs from Hermopolis in american collections, Brooklyn, 1965, p. 82-3.
  18. Petrie, W. M. F., Tarkhan and Memphis V, London, 1913, p. 33-35, pl. 79; Gardiner, A. H., Late egyptian miscellanies, Brussels, 1937, p. 89 (Pap. Sallier IV vs. 1, 8) where 'Ptah who is under his moringa tree of Nb-M3't-R' -uniting-himself- with-Ptah' is listed among the deities of Memphis.
  19. Bell JNES 44 op. cit.
  20. On the assimilation of one deity into another while each retains his/her own identity see Hornung, op. cit., p. 93-99.
  21. Säve-Söderbergh, T., Private tombs at Thebes I, Oxford, 1957, p. 39, pl. 36.
  22. Davies, Rekhmire, pl. 37.
  23. Allard Pierson Museum, Egypt eender en anders, Den Haag, 1984, p. 73-4, no. 137.  
A statue of Ramesses VI leading a Libyan foe, ilus. in Aldred, C., Egyptian art, London, 1980, p. 199, fig. 164, is perhaps a comparable type in stone.
  24. Cooney, Amarna reliefs, p. 81, no. 50. Redford and Smith, Akhenaten temple project 1, pl. 23.3.
  25. Ankhesenamun, see the gold foil fragment from KV 58 illustrated in Desroches-Noblecourt, Tutankhamen, p. 202, fig. 12; and Nefertari in Desroches-Noblecourt, C. and Kuentz, C., Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel II, Cairo, 1968, pl. 33-36.
  26. To date there is no known scene of her (or for that matter Akhenaten) shooting from a chariot, although in tombs at Amarna she is shown driving her own chariot, sometimes with bow-case attached. An interesting sketch of ramesside date shows a queen (or possibly a goddess, although the dress is that usually worn by queens) riding into battle in a chariot firing arrows from her bow and confronting a chariot-borne male opponent. The drawing is difficult to interpret and may perhaps be taken at face value. Alternatively it may be an illustration of either a legend or popular story (with or

- without historical foundation), or be a parody of a traditional kingly motif (the style is not, however, satirical). This ostrakon was discovered in KV 9 and is now in Cairo, CG 25125, see Daressy, G., Qs-traca, Cairo, 1901; Peck, W.H. and Ross, J.G., Drawings from ancient Egypt, London, 1978, no. 90.
27. On the ivory box, Desroches-Noblecourt, Tutankhamen, p. 271, fig. 176 and on the golden shrine pl. 9a and detail pl. 51, see also n. 46 below. These scenes have been discussed in detail by Alison Roberts in her doctoral thesis Cult objects of Hathor. I am very grateful to her for discussing them with me, but do not want to pre-empt her publication of her conclusions.
  28. Clearly Nefertiti is not appearing in the role of Hathor—indeed she discards some of the hathorian symbolism. The emphasis in this reign must, therefore, be on the role of the queen as a counterpart of the king. In this case the identification of Akhenaten and Nefertiti with Shu and Tefnut (at least in the early part of the reign) displays an equality which is missing from the complex mother-wife-daughter relationship of the king with Hathor.
  29. So Mut, whose cult was extensively promoted by Amenhotep III is equated with Sakhmet and the eye of Re'. (She is called Mut-Hathor in the Ptah temple of Tuthmose III at Karnak.) Mut is also the mother of the king when he appears as the 'son of Amun'. Other mothers of the king are Hathor (when the king is Re' and Horus, and as 'son of Re'); Isis (as Horus and as Min-Horus-Kamutef who also appears as Amun-Re'-Kamutef); and Sakhmet (as 'son of Ptah'). The goddesses Tefnut and Maat, both eye of Re' are closely connected with Hathor and the king. The Weret-Hekau would also seem to fit into this syncretic scheme.
  30. M. Giffon discusses queens' epithets and titularies in BIFAO 78, 1978, p. 389-403.
  31. *nbt t3wy* is both a parallel of the king's *nb t3wy* and an epithet of Hathor.
  32. Quibell, op. cit., pl. 36.
  33. On the *šwt*- or *bht*-fan see now the many references in Bell, Mél. Mokhtar, p. 33-3 and notes 51-91. On the *hw*-fan see ibid. p. 36-37 and notes 140-158.
  34. e.g. Kheruef (above) when a sphinx; on a carnelian plaque now MMA 26.7.1340 one fan is held behind both Tiye and Amenhotep III, who are sitting in the jubilee carrying chair, for refs. see n. 37.
  35. see R. Stadelmann, MDAIK 25, p. 15-78; Fairman, H.W. in Pendlebury, J.D.S. et al. The city of Akhenaten III, vol. 1, London, 1951, p. 201-208 and Davies, el-Amarna III, 1905, p. 19-25, appendix A, pl. 8-12.
  36. On the name see Griffith, F.L.I., Meroitic inscriptions II, London, 1912, p. 8. Most of the available material on the site is gathered in PM VII, pp. 166-167. A plan and view can be found in LD I, Bl. 115 (plan) Bl. 114 (view). A brief description of the temple, and work carried out is given by M. Schiff Giorgini in Kush 13, 1965, p. 112-115, pl. 30 (Hathor capital) and Kush 15, 1967-68, p. 266-67.
  37. LD III, Bl. 82i (entablature). Tefnut, or, probably, the queen as Tefnut appears on a brown sard plaque MMA 26.7.1342 as a winged sphinx with human arms supporting the cartouche of *Nb -M3't -R'*, and wearing a tall crown with foliage. see A.H. Gardiner in JEA 3, 1916, p. 73-5, pl. 11 and W.C. Hayes, BMMA 6, 1947-8, p. 272-9.
  38. Aldred, Akhenaten, and in CAH II, pt. 2, p. 81.
  39. Statues of officials also served as intermediaries, and from the mid-18th dynasty there is an increasing number of stelae set up by subordinates to high officials, with prayers for the ka.
  40. The advantages of a temple-based economy as the foundation of the administration of Nubia are discussed by Kemp, B.J. 'Temple and town in ancient Egypt' in Ucko, P.J., Tringham, R. and Dimbleby, G.W., eds., Man, settlement and urbanism, London, 1972, p. 657-80, on p. 667: see also his article 'Fortified towns in Nubia' in the same volume, pp. 651-656: also the comments of P.J. Frandsen 'Egyptian imperialism' in Larsen, M.T. ed. Power and propaganda (=Mesopotamia 7), Copenhagen, 1979, p. 167-190, especially p. 169-174. The subject is further discussed in Kemp, B.J., 'Imperialism and empire in new kingdom Egypt' in Garnsey, P.D.A. and Whittaker, C.R., eds., Imperialism in the ancient world, Cambridge, 1978, p. 7-57 (Nubia, p. 21-43.)
  41. PM II, p. 208-218 (M and N); Varille, A., ASAE 50, 1950, p. 137-172.
  42. see Barguet, P. ASAE 50, 1950, p. 269-280 on the obelisk, and Desroches-Noblecourt, C. ibid., p. 257-67, on the temple in the late 18th dynasty.
  43. for osiride statues and the statues of the living king, see C. Leblanc in BIFAO 80, 1980, p. 69-90 and BIFAO 82, 1982, p. 295-311.
  44. Davies el-Amarna III, p. 18, pl. 19 in the tomb of her steward Huy.
  45. Davies el-Amarna II, p. 31, pl. 9.
  46. Eaton-Krauss, M. and Graefe, E., The small golden shrine from the tomb of Tutankhamun, Oxford, 1985, and n. 27 above. All scenes are numbered according to the system in that volume. The authors suggest that this scene (AR 1, p. 30-1, pl. 8) shows the king 'as the omnipotent sovereign, accepting the homage of a subject' and suggest (p. 31 n. 150) that the wearing of identical wigs by the king and queen is in deliberate contradiction to the gesture. However, the headress of the queen is not

discussed. The door-panel scenes are discussed by A. Roberts in greater detail than they are here. Our conclusions, independently reached, may, or may not, be the same.

47. AR 5, pl. 8.
48. DR 1, pl. 18.
49. Davies, Two ramesside tombs, pl. 18; Davies and Gardiner, Seven private tombs, pl. 7. Figures of Bes and Taweret wear a similar headdress see Quibell, Yuua and Thuiu, pl. 31 (reign of Amenhotep III).
50. Roeder Amarna-Reliefs, Taf. 73, 474 VII.
51. DR 2, pl. 19: Bell, JNES 44, p. 281-2, discusses the offering of flowers.
52. pl. 9
53. Wildung OLZ 68, p. 555. From the reign of Tuthmose III onwards the cartouche of the king, crowned with solar disk and/or feathers and placed on the *nb*-sign, is often found as an object of veneration, particularly on lintels from houses of officials. In the reign of Amenhotep III the queen's cartouche also appears, with the tall plumes, and sometimes the horns and solar disk.
54. Also in CR 1, 2, pl. 16; see Wildung OLZ 68, 552.
55. As has already been recognised (e.g. Aldred Akhenaten, p. 45). Tahta and Djaroukha are in the region of Akhmim, where Tiye's parents held religious offices. A stela, probably 21st dynasty records a prophet of *Imn-Tyy*, Pisebkhanu, see Griffith, F. Ll., in Randall-MacIver, D. and Mace, A. C., El Amrah and Abydos, London, 1902, p. 94, pl. 31. See also Nims, C. F., JEA 38, 1952, p. 42-3; Gardiner, A. H., Ancient Egyptian onomastica, Oxford 1947, vol. II, p. 49, no. 360A.
56. Blankenberg-van Delden, The large commemorative scarabs of Amenhotep III, p. 134-45; Yoyotte, J., 'Le bassin de Djaroukha', Kémi 15, 1959, p. 23-33.
57. Sève-Söderbergh, op. cit., pl. 36. Aldred, in Antibus Aegypti see n. 1.
58. On the cult of Amenhotep III in the 19th and 20th dynasties see Haeny, G. ed., Untersuchungen im Totentempel Amenophis 'III', Wiesbaden, 1981; the comments of E. Graefe in his review JEA 71, 1985, p. 202; Stela B.M. 834 (temp. Tutankhamun/Ay); Hall, H. R., Hieroglyphic texts... in the British Museum VII, London 1925, pl. 21; Vandier d'Abbadie, J., 'Deux tombes ramessides a Gournet-Mourrai', MIFAO 87, Cairo, 1954, pl. 10, 19.
59. Statue of an official called Ay, reign of Ay, Brooklyn 66.174.1 see Bothmer, B. V., in Brooklyn Museum Journal 8, 1966-67, p. 84-89; Sauneron, S., Kémi 18, 1968, p. 66-78. The title he holds is *imy-r pr Imn m pr Tyy m pr Imn*. The domain of Karnak is suggested by Ay's other titles of second prophet of Amun and chief prophet of Mut. The official's mother, Mutemnub, was sister of one of these queens, although it is uncertain which one.
60. In the tomb of Pennut at Aniba, see Helck, W., Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches, Wiesbaden, (295)-(297).
61. see LD III, B1.69e. The *hꜥ*-club is carried by earlier *hmt nsw wrt* e.g. Hatshepsut, see Habachi, L., JNES 16, 1957, p. 94, fig. 3.
62. The Epigraphic Survey, The temple of Khonsu I, OIP 100, Chicago, 1979, pl. 22. It may be significant that the figure of Nodjmet in this scene, and those of Nefertiti both, as a sphinx and smiting, are all on the cabins of barges.
63. with the Hathor wig, see e.g. Aldred, C., Egyptian art, fig. 181.
64. see Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, pl. 98-101. This scene perhaps had a precedent in the reign of Amenhotep III, although none is yet known. This particular aspect of queenship is worthy of further investigation.

# THE ROLE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY IN THE 18th DYNASTY UP TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF AMENHOTPE III: 1. Queens. by Gay Robins

It is necessary to begin by defining the term 'queen' as used here. Kings were clearly polygynous and it is a question whether all their wives should be called 'queen' or not. King's wives were in general called *hmt nsw*, but the ones of whom we know most are those who use the fuller title of *hmt nsw wrt*, (king's principal wife), although they may also be referred to as *hmt nsw*, because it is these women who are best attested and are shown accompanying the king in temple scenes and on royal stelae. Women who use only the simple title *hmt nsw* are poorly attested and do not appear in such scenes, but only on funerary objects and some private monuments without the insignia and titles associated with the *hmt nsw wrt*. This suggests that the status of the *hmt nsw wrt* is different from the plain *hmt nsw*; in order to mark this distinction the *hmt nsw wrt* only should be called queen.

In addition to the *hmt nsw wrt*, each king of the 18th dynasty is associated with a *mwt nsw* (king's mother). Since the number of kings and *mwt nsw* corresponds at this time, the title was clearly used only by the king's real mother and not given as honorary title to other women. The *mwt nsw* is shown in temples and on other monuments in similar types of scenes and with the same titles and insignia as the *hmt nsw wrt*, and indeed often uses the title *hmt nsw wrt*. Therefore, the *mwt nsw* should also be called queen. The *mwt nsw* may have been the *hmt nsw wrt* of the previous king or she may have been only a *hmt nsw* who happened to give birth to the heir: this makes no difference to her position in her son's reign. Further, a study of the material shows that there is no difference in the titles and insignia of the *hmt nsw wrt* and the *mwt nsw* nor in those of queens of royal and non-royal birth.

It is not fully understood how the king made his choice of marriage partners. There is no doubt that a number of kings had *hmt nsw wrt* who were their sisters or half-sisters, but others had principal wives of non-royal birth, and about their selection we have no information. Possibly they were from powerful official families who hoped to consolidate their position by having a female relative named as *hmt nsw wrt*.

It is important to examine the types of material where queens are attested, since the nature of the material governs what we may expect it to tell us. Documents which might give information about the lives, characters and influence of queens are almost entirely lacking; there are no private letters or diaries written by these women or referring to them and nothing which directly describes the individual personality of a queen. The material almost all derives from temples, royal and private stelae, private tombs, funerary objects, statuary and a few small objects like scarabs and pieces of jewellery. The texts and representations are concerned not with individuals but with the official view of queenship, just as the same types of monument reveal only the ideal view of kingship and not the individual king.

The queen most frequently appears in scenes in temples or on royal stelae following the king who performs a ritual action, most often offering to a deity, but sometimes smiting enemies, entering a temple, performing a foundation ceremony and, in the reign of Amenhotpe III, at the sed festival. Such scenes very rarely appear on private or non-monumental material; the few examples all date to the reign of Amenhotpe III<sup>1</sup>. Since the presence of the king in temple scenes does not refer to specific occasions, the presence of the queen is unlikely to record a particular event either. However, it demonstrates that she could be depicted in a ritual context, which may reflect a ritual role actually played by her. Normally the queen is passive in these scenes, but she may offer to the deity<sup>2</sup> or shake a sistrum<sup>3</sup>. It is therefore possible that the queen actually took part in some rituals, when the king performed them in the temple himself, which was presumably rarely. However, it is clear from the small number of occasions where the queen's figure is shown that her presence would not normally be recorded in temple decoration.

The queen may also appear by herself in certain contexts. In temple scenes this occurs mainly in the birth cycles relating to Ahmose<sup>4</sup> and Mutemwiya<sup>5</sup>, while Ahmose Nefretary is shown officiating as *hmt ntf*<sup>6</sup>. The queen rarely offers alone to a deity but two examples, one in a private tomb<sup>7</sup> and one on a private stela<sup>8</sup>, show her offering to the Hathor cow. Possibly this form of Hathor, common on the private stelae of the New Kingdom, was not so subject to rules of decorum as anthropomorphic figures of the goddess.

The birth scenes are of a different character from other temple scenes; they purport to represent a specific occasion, that is, the conception of the king, although their only reality lies on a mythological level. Further, the queen achieves a direct contact with the gods, without the intermediary of the king, rarely found elsewhere. The whole cycle has to be retrospective in application, since a woman can only become *mwt nsw* after her son has come to the throne. Although only two examples of the birth cycle survive from the 18th dynasty, the myth almost certainly applied to all kings of royal birth in our period. Therefore, each *mwt nsw* would have been on one occasion the earthly consort of Amun, which may be one reason for her importance. It must be stressed that this aspect of the *mwt nsw* is not connected with the office of *hmt ntf*.



nt 'Imn, although the latter also implies a role as consort of Amun, presumably for ritual purposes in the cult of the god, unrelated to the myth of the king's birth.

Few of the scenes on private material correspond to those on royal monuments. The most important group showing the king and queen consists of kiosk scenes, which show a private individual before the king and queen in a kiosk. These in turn are a sub-section of a much larger group found mainly in private tombs in which the king appears without the queen<sup>9</sup>. Some kiosk scenes record specific occasions, which may even be dated, such as the appointment of the tomb owner presenting 'gifts' (almost certainly the products of royal or temple workshops) or foreign 'tribute'. These latter are rarely dated, but certain officials were probably responsible for presenting the products of workshops or 'tribute' for the king's review at specific times; since it was not possible to record each individual occasion, the scenes represent in a general way this aspect of the man's office.

Even if many kiosk scenes do not, therefore, represent specific occasions, there is no reason to doubt that it was the custom for the king to give audience from the kiosk and that the scenes record the prestige gained by the official from having contact with the king. The scenes also include symbolic elements as demonstrated by the occasional presence of Hathor or Maat beside the king; in reality, the place of the goddess may have been occupied by the queen.

Compared with the total number of kiosk scenes those including a queen are a tiny proportion. If we assume that one of the purposes of this type of scene is to show in iconographic form the relationship between the king and his official, it was probably a personal choice on the part of the tomb owner to include the queen in order to display a close connection with her too. For instance, queen Teye is shown in tombs belonging to the 'overseer of the king's harim'<sup>10</sup>, 'the steward of the *hmt nsw wrt*'<sup>11</sup> and the 'second priest of Amun', Anen<sup>12</sup>, whom we know from another source to have been her brother.

Thus the majority of scenes in which a queen appears have a ritual context. In temple scenes, the king is interacting with and to some extent part of the divine world, and this must be true also of the queen when she appears with him. In kiosk scenes on private material, the enthroned king takes the central role. On the one hand, the scene represents the relationship between an official and an individually named king in what may have been a real event, but since the form of iconography used also symbolises pictorially the divine office of kingship, it is no surprise to find the king sometimes accompanied by a goddess, either Hathor or Maat, both daughters of Re. When the queen appears in these scenes, she was surely to some extent identified with the role of the accompanying goddess, and in one scene in TT 192 a text refers to queen Teye with the words 'like Maat following Re she is in the following of your majesty'.

When we come to look at the most important items of insignia of the queen, we find that many of them have been taken over from the divine sphere, and that to a certain extent they serve to distance the queen from the human world. The most characteristic items of insignia associated with the queen are the double feathers, the vulture headdress, the uraeus and the double uraeus.

The origin of the queen's double falcon feathers is unclear. The straight double falcon feathers are well known as a characteristic mark of certain gods, particularly Horus, Min and Amon-Re. They are obviously appropriate to Horus as a falcon god, and the Pyramid Texts suggest that the double feathers of Min may refer to his aspect as a celestial god relating to Horus<sup>13</sup>. Since one of Amun's iconographic forms is the ithyphallic form of Min, it is probable that Amun's use of the feathers derived from his association with Min. In 18th dynasty sun hymns, the double feathers are also mentioned in connection with Re, and are sometimes identified with the eyes of Re. Thus the double feathers worn by gods appear to relate to a celestial aspect and in the 18th dynasty also to acquire a specifically solar identification.

The double falcon feathers are not primarily associated with goddesses; it is the curved ostrich feathers that are worn by Hathor. However, both the double falcon feathers and the double ostrich feathers are found as the determinative of *šwtj*, which suggests that the two types of double feathers had the same name. It is therefore uncertain how far the forms were kept distinct in writing. Iconographically, however, the two were not confused; Hathor and other goddesses are not shown with the falcon feathers (apart from Isis in the temple of Sety I at Abydos) nor queens with the ostrich feathers.

Why the queen should take over feathers traditionally associated with male deities and what significance they had when they were first introduced in the 13th dynasty is unclear, but by the 18th dynasty, texts make their solar connection quite plain<sup>14</sup>. The introduction of the cow horns and sundisk to be worn with the double feathers in the reign of Amenhotpe III stresses their solar link<sup>15</sup>. The connection of the horns and disk with Hathor may have led to the double feathers being identified with the ostrich feathers of Hathor, especially as we have seen that they had a common name, even though they are rarely confused iconographically. The overriding solar reference of the double feathers and horns is made clear by their continued use in the Amarna period<sup>16</sup>, because only items with such a reference could have fitted with the Aton theology.

By contrast we find that the associations of the vulture headdress were unacceptable during the Amarna

period, when it was no longer worn. The headdress is first attested in the old kingdom, becoming the mark of the vulture goddess Nekhbet and, by extension, of her partner Wadjet when they were shown in human form. It also became part of the queen's insignia, and she was possibly identified in some form with these goddesses. Later, the headdress was taken over by other goddesses, especially Isis, and in the 18th dynasty it was also particularly associated with Amun's consort Mut. The queen's use of the vulture headdress therefore identifies her to some extent with goddesses in general, and in particular with the two goddesses of upper and lower Egypt, Mut and Isis.

The uraeus had been worn by queens since the reign of Pepi II at the latest. It has wide associations, one of the most basic being with Wadjet, from whom it was taken over by other goddesses. The chief wearer of the uraeus, however, is the king whose single characteristic mark it is. The use of the uraeus by the queen may be partly due to her association with the king and thus be a mark of her 'royalty', that is, removal from the human sphere. Also in the New Kingdom, the uraeus hieroglyph is the normal taxogram for a goddess, so there may also be a more general reference to female deities. More specifically, of course, the uraeus carried associations with Re and Hathor as the eye of Re or Horus<sup>17</sup>. The decoration of the queen's uraeus with sundisk and horns from the reign of Amenhotpe III<sup>18</sup> stresses the solar connection.

In the 18th dynasty queens also wear the double uraeus<sup>19</sup>. There is evidence that the combination refers to Wadjet and Nekhbet<sup>20</sup> and thus to upper and lower Egypt, so that their frequent decoration with the red and white crowns<sup>21</sup> is a logical extension. A convenient way of referring to the two goddesses was by the dual form *w3djtj*, which was written with two cobras, thus assimilating the vulture to the uraeus<sup>22</sup>. In addition, the double uraeus also had a solar connection, since the combination, like the double feathers, was also seen as representing the eyes of Re or Horus<sup>23</sup>. The continued use of the double uraeus during the Amarna period<sup>24</sup> suggests that the solar association was strong enough to override the connection with Nekhbet and Wadjet. The two snakes soon ceased to be decorated with the crowns of upper and lower Egypt; instead the horns and sundisk are often found<sup>25</sup>.

In the majority of scenes, the arms of the queen hang by her side with the hands empty. Sometimes, however, she carries one or more items. Among these are the ankh and the sistrum. The use of the ankh by the queen is well enough attested from the 6th dynasty although it is not common; it is more usually held by deities and kings. It is very rarely held by private people, who often instead carry a sistrum by its loop, the similar shape probably alluding to the ankh. Basically, the ankh would seem to be an attribute of the gods, which is then taken over by the king and queen, and which serves to place the bearer outside the human sphere<sup>26</sup>. The queen often holds the ankh where there is some identification or association with a deity<sup>27</sup>, where she is shown in relationship to private people<sup>28</sup> and so is in a superior role, or in cult<sup>29</sup> and funerary contexts<sup>30</sup>, a dead queen probably being more 'divine' than a living one. Teye carries an ankh on a number of scarabs where her figure is probably an elaborate determinative for the queen's name<sup>31</sup>. This suggests that the use of an ankh was an attribute of queenship. We may conclude that the ankh was often used in contexts where the queen was distanced from humanity.

Neither the loop nor the *raos* sistrum is commonly carried by queens of this period, but in the cases known, we find that it can be held at the side of the body by the loop like an ankh<sup>32</sup> or horizontally like a sceptre<sup>33</sup>. In the reign of Amenhotpe III, Teye is shown several times shaking a sistrum<sup>34</sup>, although this only becomes common with Neferiti and the queens of the 19th dynasty. Also in the Amarna period, it is usual to find the princesses shaking a sistrum and, earlier, daughters of Amenhotpe III are shown using the instrument in sed festival scenes<sup>35</sup>. In the story of Sinuhe, there is a description of royal women employing these instruments<sup>36</sup>, and it is surprising that there are so few representations of queens and princesses playing them before the Amarna period. The sistrum is above all associated with Hathor; not only is it shaken by officiants to pacify her, but she shakes it to pacify Re.

Foremost in ancient Egyptian thought were the concepts of fertility, renewal and rebirth leading to immortality. In the divine sphere, the sun must impregnate the sky goddess Nut every night to be reborn from her next day. This image of a god who begets himself on his mother becomes for the Egyptians a way of expressing the concept of immortality, personified as Kamutef, 'the bull of his mother'<sup>37</sup>. Amun, who is given the epithet 'bull of his mother' is called 'he who begets his father', while his consort Mut is 'the daughter and mother who made her sire'<sup>38</sup>. Min, who is identified as the son of Osiris and Isis, and thus is a form of Horus, is called Min 'who impregnates his mother' while in the myth of Horus, Horus violates his mother Isis. It is likely that the king in his divine form, especially as Horus, could be identified with Kamutef. Thus, just as the renewal of a god is achieved by his union with his consort who is also his mother, so the king hopes to achieve rebirth by identification with Kamutef. But according to this, there should be identity between wife and mother, so it is not surprising to find that the *mwt nsw* and *hmt nsw wrt* are shown on the monuments in a similar fashion and that they appear to fill the same role.

Thus, alongside the never-ending cycle in which Horus succeeds Osiris in the kingship, the king also



looks for rebirth by identification with Kamutef whose divine consort is both wife and mother; this latter role is split between the *mwt nsw* and *hmt nsw wrt*. Ideally, every *hmt nsw wrt* should in her turn become *mwt nsw*. In practice, of course, this does not happen. This may be one reason why *mwt nsw* who were not originally *hmt nsw wrt* were given the latter title in the reigns of their sons.

The divine nature of the queenship is demonstrated by the items of insignia worn and by the implicit identification with goddesses in various contexts, first of all Wadjet and Nekhbet, then Isis and Mut, Maat and Hathor. A number of votive menit counterpoises dedicated to Hathor have been found inscribed with the names of royal women, suggesting a special connection with Hathor<sup>39</sup>. In the kiosk scenes, Hathor or Maat, both daughters of Re, may be shown in the same position as that in which the queen appears. A figure of Teye is found on a menit counterpoise where one would normally expect a figure of Hathor or Isis<sup>40</sup>. The solar aspect of much of the queen's insignia has close connections with Hathor.

It is quite clear from what has been said that the office of queen, like that of king, is rooted in mythology and the divine world and although its holder is human she must to some extent be removed from the mortal sphere. Thus there will be tension between the divine attributes of the office and the humanity of the individual queen. Because of the nature of surviving records, the picture transmitted to us is mostly of the former, that is, of 'queenship', and tells us little of the human element. Brief glimpses at the end of the Old Kingdom<sup>41</sup>, the beginning of the 12th dynasty<sup>42</sup> and in the reign of Ramesses III<sup>43</sup> show us the possibility of dissension within the palace involving the royal women and their children, which may well have marked intrigues concerning the succession. Behind the scenes there may always have been the danger of power struggles within the harim. These may also have been connected with the fortunes of officials. There was probably much manoeuvring to get female relatives into the harim and above all named as *hmt nsw wrt* or failing that to have a son acknowledged as heir.

I am drawing here on the instructive example of China during the Western Han (206 BC - AD 844). Like the Egyptian king, the Emperor stood at the head of the government which was run by a bureaucracy staffed by men who had received a formal education. Officials were promoted by the Emperor within the system to the highest offices. However, in the struggle amongst the various educated families, whose members were thus eligible for office, to achieve and consolidate power there was no surer way than to have a close relative proclaimed empress, although to have a sister or daughter as a favourite concubine could also be quite efficacious. The family of an empress and its clients were usually able to monopolise the best offices, but if the empress died or was disgraced, the downfall of her relatives usually followed swiftly as their enemies lost no time in demolishing them, while the faction of the new empress rose to power. In fact, an innocent empress ran the risk of being falsely denounced for ill conduct simply to cause the destruction of her family. Often the emperor, for all his supreme position, seems quite incapable of controlling these machinations, and there is one case where an official was even able to destroy the crown prince.

In Egypt, we know little about the relationship of secondary wives and queens of non-royal birth with officials. Even their parentage is rarely recorded: one *hmt nsw wrt* was the daughter of a *mn<sup>c</sup>t wrt sdt nt*<sup>45</sup> and one the daughter of a *dw3t nt*<sup>46</sup>. The only queen of whom both parents are known is Teye<sup>47</sup>. It is important to note that in the tomb of Yuya and Tuyu we learn that the second priest of Amun, Anen, is the son of Tuyu<sup>48</sup>, and therefore must be the brother or at least half-brother of Teye. Anen has left a number of monuments of his own, but on none of them does he mention this relationship with the queen, which implies that there may have been a reticence on the part of officials in laying claim to a relationship with a queen. In reality, it is possible that the male relations of queens of non-royal birth expected to exploit this relationship in terms of influence with the king and in some cases investiture in high office. A king born of a woman of non-royal birth and having a *hmt nsw wrt* also of non-royal origins may even have found the interests of his maternal relations coming into conflict with the family of his principal wife.

It might however be argued that in Teye's case, her father, whose career lay in the army, does not seem to have held particularly high rank; he was *jdwn n hm.f m t-nt-htj* and *jmj-r3 ssmwt*<sup>49</sup>. Apart from his fame as father of the queen, he does not appear prominently on the monuments and presumably did not achieve high administrative office. The commemorative scarabs of Amenhotpe III make it clear that Teye was already *hmt nsw wrt* at the beginning of his reign, so that if we are right in thinking that the king came to the throne when still a boy, the marriage can scarcely have been of his choice. How then was Teye picked for the position? Aldred suggests that Teye was related to the *mwt nsw* Mutemwiya<sup>50</sup> so that the marriage would have then reaffirmed the link between her family and the throne. Or one might speculate somewhat differently, that Teye was a compromise candidate from a relatively obscure family put up by rival factions, neither of whom were strong enough to force acceptance of their own candidate. At this point, we have taken right off into the realms of conjecture, and the reasons behind the marriage are unlikely ever to be known, simply because these are not the sort of things that the Egyptians ever recorded. However, one can be fairly sure that the selection of a *hmt nsw wrt* was an important event, and it seems to me virtually

certain that a lot of manoeuvring and manipulation would have gone on behind the scenes before the choice was made. One practical advantage of brother-sister marriage would in fact have been that it avoided encouraging the ambitions of official families.

To conclude, since the monuments record only what fits the world view, the picture they give relates to the concept of queenship in ancient Egypt rather than to individual queens. If we reject speculation, we are therefore forced to acknowledge that we are unlikely ever to find out much about the personal careers of these women and the part they may have played in dynastic history.

#### NOTES

1. e.g. TT 192.
2. e.g. Robichon et al. Karnak-Nord 4, pl.51.
3. LD 3, 72.
4. Naville Deir el-Bahari 2, pl.47-53.
5. Brunner Die Geburt des Gottkönigs, pls. 1-15.
6. Gitton L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Nefertary, frontispiece.
7. TT 15.
8. Wildung in Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum, 258 fig.1 ).
9. see Ali Radwan Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs.
10. TT 47.
11. TT 192.
12. TT 120.
13. e.g. PT 1948.
14. e.g. Stewart JEA 46, 1960, 89 1.3-4.
15. e.g. TT 192.
16. e.g. Martin Royal Tomb 1, pl.54.
17. Schafik Allam Beiträge zum Hathorkult, 120-122.
18. e.g. TT 192.
19. e.g. CG 42072.
20. Griffiths JEA 47, 117-8.
21. e.g. TT 47, 192.
22. Wiesmann ZÄS 62, 1926, 66-7.
23. Erman Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen, 12-13.
24. e.g. ATP 1. pls.10,20.
25. e.g. Redford JARCE 13, 1976, pl.11.
26. Fischer ZÄS 100, 1974, 16-18, 26.
27. e.g. BM statue of Mutemwiya seated in a boat suggesting an identification with Mut.
28. e.g. kiosk scenes, TT 120, 192; on a stela held by a private statue, CG 42121.
29. e.g. representation of a statue of Sitiesh, Mysliwiec Eighteenth Dynasty, pl.22 no.2.
30. e.g. coffin of Ahmose Nofretary, CG 61003.
31. e.g. Hall Scarabs, 1723, 1923.
32. e.g. TT 93.
33. e.g. München Gl. WAF 28.
34. e.g. Young Hieroglyphics, 57; LD 3, 72.
35. e.g. Hayes BMMA 6, 1947-8, 272.
36. Sinuhe B 268-9.
37. Jacobsohn in LÄ 3, 308; id. Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs; Frankfurt Kingship and the Gods.
38. ibid., 177.
39. e.g. Hayes Scepter 2, 46; Petrie Researches in Sinai, pls. 148, 150.
40. Borchardt Porträtkopf, 22 fig.33.
41. Gardiner Egypt of the Pharaohs, 95; Kanawati CdÉ 56, 1981, 203-17.
42. Lichtheim Ancient Egyptian Literature 1, 136-8; Sinuhe R 5-27.
43. de Buck JEA 23, 1937, 152-64.
44. see M. Loewe Crisis and Conflict in Han China.
45. Mariette Abydos 2, pl. 53b.
46. Robins GM 56, 1982, 82-3.
47. e.g. the 'marriage' scarab.
48. CG 51005.
49. see Schulman Military Rank, 34-5, 46-7.
50. Akhenaten, 1968, 88.

# A NOTE ON THE SYNTAX OF *HPR* and OMITTED IMPERSONAL SUBJECTS IN LATE EGYPTIAN by Mark Collier

In the egyptological literature there has been some mention of a peculiar property of the verb *HPR* in the conjunctive - that it takes an 'omitted impersonal subject' and a sentence-complement (rather than a clause-complement introduced by *iw*), e.g.:

(1)PBM 10403 3,5-6: *mtw.ø hprw [n3 rmt (hr) irt šwty n hmt]s*<sup>1</sup>

: And it happened (that) the men were trading copper<sup>2</sup>.

In considering this property, I shall restrict myself to non-literary late egyptian, for familiar methodological reasons (cf Černý/Groll (1978) p.III f). Furthermore, I have opted to present my material in a theoretically 'neutral' format ('neutral' to Egyptologists, that is), since it is unreasonable to expect the non-initiate to penetrate (and critically assess) the opacity of the presuppositions and terminology (the smokescreen of a subject) of Linguistics without considerable supporting introduction.

Let us turn to the problem and examine some recent comments in the literature. The use of *HPR* with an 'omitted impersonal subject' (henceforth OIS) and S-complement in the conjunctive has been noted in most grammar works. The examples that I am aware of are:

(2)LRL 56,1-2: *mtw.ø hprw [i.irw p3 mw k r.s(t), iw.s(t) wd.tw]s*

: And it will happen (that) it is after it is planted that the water will enter it.

(3)Mayer A 6,13: *mtw.ø hprw [i.ir.(i) šm im r šdt ht]s*

: And it happened (that) it was to cut wood that I went there.

(4)PBM 10403 3,5-6: *hr hprw.i hms.k(wi) hkr.tw hr n3 nh(t), mtw.ø hprw [n3 rmt (hr) irt šwty n hmt]s*

: Further, I happened to be sitting hungry under the trees, and it happened (that) the men were trading copper<sup>3</sup>.

(5)Wen. 2,58: *mtw.ø hprw, ir m-s3 ky h3w, [mtw w' i(w)pwt y iy ....]s*

:And it may happen, after some time, (that) an envoy will come....

- though there is perhaps some doubt whether the conjunctiveshould be taken as the complement of *HPR*

(6)P Nevill vs5: *mtw.ø hpr [bw irw hrw.k pr (r)-bwn(r)]s*

: And it happens (that) your voice does not come out.(XIX Dynasty)

With this paradigm, we can avoid the difficulties that Frandsen seemed to have with this construction:

'... the phrase *mtw hpr*, which seems to have a that-form (more precisely: the that-form together with its nexus) as its subject.'(Frandsen (1974) p.165)

I know of no examples where a full bare 'second tense' sentence (that is to say a 'that-form' plus its 'adverbial-predicate') has a nuclear grammatical function (i.e. subject, predicator, object) within another sentence (and indeed this is ruled out in principle in Polotsky's formulation of the nature of 'second tenses'). For a sentence to enter into a typical 'noun' function like subject, it must be 'converted' into the 'noun-clause' of traditional grammar. However, just as the 'first present' in (4) and the *bw ir(w).f sdm* negative in (6) are simply category S, so are the 'second tenses' in (2) and (3)<sup>4</sup>!

However, Frandsen does recognise the difficulty of his analysis:

'Since, however, this phrase [*mtw.ø hpr* - MAC] may contract relationship with a 'real' first present, the question must for the time being remain open.'(ibid p.165)

If we turn to other comments in the recent literature, Groll seems to be embarking on a similar course:

'It seems that .... the Emphatic formation *i.iri.f stp.f* + Adverbial functions as a noun.' (Groll (1970) p.245)

However, on p246, she reaches the conclusion:

'Thus, since the group *mtw.ø hpr* and its following verb-forms are not syntactically interdependent, it is perhaps reasonable to classify *mtw.ø hpr* as the equivalent of a co-ordinating conjunction which can precede Sentence conjugation Patterns.' (ibid p. 246)

We may also note Satzinger(1976) p.31:

'*Mte hpr* ist Konjunktiv ohne Subjekt. Darauf folgt sonst asyndetisch eine selbständige Konstruktion.'

-which is in accord with our initial classification above.

Finally, the Černý/Groll grammar is, as usual, simply descriptive, listing *mtw.ø hpr* as a use of the conjunctive (Č/G p.444), and (re-iterating Groll's earlier comments noted above) under heading 26.22:

'The *i.iri.f stp.f* + adv. formation after verbal formations which are equivalent to conjunctions.'

However, in this listing, the Černý/Groll grammar recognises that the phenomenon of OIS and S-complement with *HPR* is not restricted to the conjunctive, noting:

(7) Mayer A 6,7: *iw.ø (hr) hprw [i.irw.(i) iy 9 3bd n hrw n th3 ....]s*

: And it happened (that) it was after 9 months of violating .... that I returned.

yet this seems not to have entered into the (admittedly limited) discussion of *mtw.ø hpr*<sup>5</sup>. So, it would seem that the property of OIS and S-complement for *HPR* is not tied intrinsically to the conjunctive formation, or to a relationship between the conjunctive and *HPR*, but is a lexical property of *HPR* itself.

Once freed from this link, we can view the following sentence in this light:

(8) HO L,2,3: *ir pt(r).i m dd di.k hprw.ø [wn m-di.i]s, iw.i r ir n.k w' mn(t) n smt*

: If I see that you have caused that it happen (that) I am in possession, I will offer a jug of *smt*-drink for you.

with no need for Satzinger's emendation (*g*) *wn m-di.i* (Satzinger (1976) p.48)<sup>6</sup>. Satzinger has fallen into the trap of emending this sentence to conform to the standard complementation pattern of *HPR* -that *HPR* 'normally' takes an 'adverb' type complement. However, as we have seen, *HPR* can be ascribed (at least) two complementation patterns on descriptive grounds:

(9) *HPR* [Adv], with referential subjects.

(10) *HPR* [S], with impersonal subjects.

We shall refine this schema later, but it will suffice to guide us through our initial discussion.

With this in mind, I think that we can analyse P Salt 124 vs1,5 in a similar manner:

(11) P Salt 124 vs1,5: *mtw.f hpr [i.iri.f sm hr-d3d3-n n3 inb(w)]s*

: And it happened (that) it was on top of the walls that he went<sup>7</sup>.

The complement of *HPR* is clearly the 'second tense' S-complement that we have seen above ((2),(3) and (7)). I suggest that this indicates that *f* is to be taken as 'impersonal it'<sup>8</sup> rather than referential 'he' (for Paneb) as Groll (1970) p.245<sup>9</sup> takes it and possibly Černý also (Černý (1929) p.246- though Černý's paraphrase 'And he went to the top of the walls' is unclear on this matter). Note that in Late Egyptian the gender of 'general things' is masculine, cf. the definite article *p3* with nominalised relative clauses.

This suggests that we have a strategy of overt versus non-overt impersonal pronouns, with a (statistical) preference for non-overt impersonal pronouns (the OIS). If we consult the grammars, we find that there is a general phenomenon of pronoun omission, since referential pronouns can occasionally be omitted, though it is not the preferred option<sup>10</sup>.

An impersonal pronoun has no (particular) reference- compare english 'it' in 'It is raining'- and has no 'role' to play in semantic interpretation. Rather, it is a syntactic place-holder and so, if the language has the option of overt versus non-overt pronouns, we might expect it to be omitted regularly (as the preferred option). english for example does not have this option (as a property of its grammar) and so 'it' is mandatorily overt.

Other pronouns are generally referential and play a 'role' in semantic interpretation. So, we might expect that they may only be omitted when the context is (considered to be) too obvious for any confusion (of number, gender or person) to arise. Hence, omission is not likely to be the preferred option.

Since this matter is not central to our concerns here, I shall not pursue this issue beyond these general remarks- I wish only to indicate the basic strategy.

I have been dealing, of course, with non-literary Late Egyptian in this note. However, I would like to take this opportunity to examine the start of the story of Apophis and Sekenenre:

(12) LES 85,4-6: *hprw.ø swt [wn.in t3 n Kmt m i3dt]s, iw nn nb 'w.s (m) nsw (n) h3w*

: *hprw.ø, istw r.f ir nsw Sknn-R', [sw m h3(3) 'w.s. n niwt rst]s*

: As-a-contrast it happened (that) the land of Egypt was in misery, there being no lord (in his) time.

: It happened, now as for king Sekenenre', (that) he was ruler of the southern city.

It will be noted that I have followed Gardiner's sentence divisions (and his suggested emendations in his notes (Gardiner (1932) p.85a)), unlike Wente in Simpson ed. (1973) p.78 (to judge by his translation and notes).

In the first sentence, we certainly seem to have an OIS and S-complement. Satzinger (1976) p.306 fn1 to 2.7.1 comments:

'Wenn in der Einleitung der Apophis-Geschichte *wn.in.f* + adverbialer Ausdruck vorkommt, so ist dies als einer der in den 'Stories' nicht ganz seltenen Mittelägyptizismen zu werten.'

As far as I am aware, there are no examples of *HPR* with a *sgm.in.f* complement in middle egyptian. This is not altogether surprising since *HPR* (to my knowledge at least) takes Polotsky's 'adverbial'-clause in the

pattern with OIS in middle egyptian<sup>11</sup>, while the *sgm.in.f* cannot be used as a dependent clause (it might be glossed with the term 'non-initial main-clause' as applied to late egyptian, cf Č/G p.452). However, this restriction does not hold for late egyptian, where a 'main-clause' is required in this construction. Hence, this sentence can be analysed within a late egyptian like format.

The second sentence is to be analysed on similar lines and hence exhibits parallelism with the first. Here I take *iswt r.f ir nsw Šknn-R'* to be a 'parenthetic theme'<sup>12</sup> to the S-complement of *HPR*. Two difficult sentences thus find a rather simple solution.

It is well-known that the property of OIS is not restricted to *HPR*, and is used particularly with the 'past' passive *sgm.f* (cf GEG para422, Č/Gp244<sup>13</sup>), e.g.:

- (13) Abbott 7,12: *gmy.ø d3 m p3 d(d)t.w.f nb*  
: It was found false, what they had said.

where *d3* is a stative. *m p3 d(d)t.w.f nb* is a 'tail' or 'right-dislocation' element at the periphery of the clause (a typical 'adverb' position) and hence is marked with the semantically 'empty' preposition *m*<sup>14</sup> - it is not the syntactic subject. Rather, it functions to elaborate or 'fill out' the information conveyed by the *ø* subject with which it is coreferential and hence, through coreference, *ø* acquires a reference.

The property of OIS is not then solely determined by the nature of *HPR* (cf my remarks on the omission of pronouns above). Nor should we expect OIS to be irrevocably linked with S-complements (though the reverse may not be so), and indeed there are examples of *HPR* plus *ø* without a S-complement:

- (14) HO LVI,3,4-5: *mtw.i dit hprw.ø r-š3' šmw m 3bd 4 šmw* .....  
: (If) I cause that it become up to the harvest in month 4 of summer.

- (15) ODM 58,3-4: *i.di.i hpr.ø r-š3' 10, iw di. [i] p3y wrsw n A*  
: It is with I having given this headrest to A that I will cause that it become up to 10 (days).  
(i.e. I will provide the headrest within 10 days).

Both these examples have a temporal prepositional phrase complement. However, in view of similar uses in the mathematical texts, e.g.:

- (16) P Rhind 62: *hpr.hr.ø m 4*  
: It will make 4.

I do not attach any particular importance to this. However, it is significant, I think, that the usual use of temporal phrases with *HPR* is of the type:

- (17) PBM 10052 6,1: *hr ir hrw hprw, iw A (hr) iy*  
: Further, when day came, A returned.

with the temporal noun phrase occupying the subject function.

Before I attempt to analyse this phenomenon further, I should consider a possible counter-example to the analysis presented here:

- (18) RAD 56,5-6: *hprw.ø iw mn m n3 šnwt r h't.f, iw.i (r) di(t) n.tn p3 gmw.i*  
: (If) it happens that there is nothing in the granaries, I will give to you what I can find.

By our account so far, it would seem that the complement of *HPR* should be taken as [S]. Certain options seem to me to be open:

Firstly, on analogy with (14) and (15), we might take *ø* to be 'time' in general, with the *iw*-clause as an attendant circumstance and hence in complementary distribution with the prepositional phrase complements in (14) and (15), rather than (to pre-empt my discussion below) coreferential with *ø*. That is to say with the *iw*-constituent as an 'adverbial'-clause rather than a simple sentence, with a translation something like: '(If) it (a time) comes about, with there being nothing in the granaries ....'.

Secondly, we might attempt to analyse the *iw*-constituent as [S]. Perhaps, then, we might have here a 'future' form of the *mn*-negative existential sentence (cf. 'future' *iw* + non-verbal adverbial sentence as recognised by Černý- Černý (1945) p.35)<sup>15</sup>.

Thirdly, of course, we could simply take it as a counter-example<sup>16</sup>.

Since we are dealing with just one example, I do not think that we can resolve this difficulty at present (though, within the framework of late egyptian, I prefer the first option), and I propose to pursue my analysis presented here.

Unfortunately, the study of complementation in egyptian has been rather neglected in grammar work to date<sup>17</sup> (presumably because there is a sufficient correspondence to the complementation patterns of european languages to facilitate translation). This determines that the discussion I shall present below is necessarily tentative. Furthermore, in accordance with my introductory remarks, I shall present only an informal account.

Let us first investigate the basic lexical entry for *HPR*, which we might represent standardly:

- (19) *HPR*<sub>v</sub> [ ], ( Adv)

This gives information on the form class of the lexical item itself, and the items which may occur with it in a sentence. The syntactic requirement for a subject is not expressed since this is a general (non-lexically

determined) 'rule' of grammar.

I have listed the 'adverbial' complement as an optional adjunct, on the basis of (17). However, in most contexts an 'adverbial' complement is required, e.g.:

(20) Abbott 6,22-3: *hr wnn.f (hr) hpr m 'mhty, iw A (hr) hd*

: Further, when he became in the northern district, A went north.

It is possible that there is something in the 'meaning' of *HPR* which tends to prefer an adjunct (the 'selectional restrictions' of *HPR*). We might see in this the type of relationship which results in the so-called 'auxiliary' uses of *HPR*, where (presumably) the following complement is mandatory and communicatively more significant, e.g.:

(21) Wen. 2,67: *iw p3 wr (hr) hprw (hr) rmw*

: And the prince became crying.

To see the sort of issues that are involved here, let us compare the English verb HAPPEN:

(22) The earthquake happened.

is a well-formed sentence. However,:

(23) John happened.

is not. The reason, I think, lies in that HAPPEN has a rather oblique connection with perceived situations. The sentence:

(24) John gave the book to Mary.

describes a situation (simplistically, the words refer to constituents of the situation). However, HAPPEN is used to indicate the occurrence of a situation<sup>18</sup>, and does not refer to a constituent of that situation. With 'the earthquake' it is intuitively acceptable to state its occurrence, because an earthquake is not simply a 'thing' but rather an 'event' or 'situation'. I shall refer to such nouns as 'noun-events'<sup>19</sup>. Of course, time phrases such as 'day' or 'summer' are major examples of this class of words.

'John', however, refers to 'things' (a 'name') not to situations and so a sentence such as (23) is ill-formed. Rather, we seem to require a situation for 'John' to occur in:

(25) John happened to give the book to Mary.

(26) It happened that John gave the book to Mary.

The perspective of (26) is to state the occurrence of an overall situation. In (25) the perspective is rather different. Here we are not stating the occurrence of a situation, but rather the occurrence of an item in a situation.

If we consider these further, we may have, in a rather contorted fashion:

(27) That John gave the book to Mary happened (just as he had predicated).

but not:

(28) \* John to give the book to Mary happened.

and if we question (25) and (26) we might have:

(29) Who happened to give the book to Mary?

(30) What happened?

This helps us to see that 'it' and 'that John gave the book to Mary' are coreferential. To indicate this, I will introduce an indexing convention<sup>20</sup>:

(31) It<sub>i</sub> happened [that John gave the book to Mary]<sub>i</sub>

Coreferential-Indexing

In (25), however, the indexing is of a different fashion. 'John' is not identified (or coreferential) with the whole constituent 'to give the book to Mary', rather, he is interpreted as the person 'giving the book to Mary'. For this indexing process I will adopt the (meta)-term 'control'.

There are a number of verbs in English which share the distributional pattern exhibited in (25) and (26), e.g.:

(32) John seemed to give the book to Mary.

(33) It seemed that John gave the book to Mary.

(34) John was found to have given the book to Mary.

(35) It was found that John had given the book to Mary.

Since the noun 'John' occurs as the syntactic subject in the main-clause in (25), (32) and (34), but as the syntactic subject of the embedded-clause in (26), (33) and (35), this distributional relationship has become known by the (meta)-term 'raising' in the linguistic literature.

In Late Egyptian we have a similar distributional pattern for *HPR*<sup>21</sup>:

Firstly, *HPR* exhibits pattern (22) (i.e. it has no following complement) only with 'noun-event' subjects, e.g. a time expression:

(36)=(17): *hr ir hrw hprw, iw A (hr) iy*

: Further, when day came about, A came.

(37) RAD 73,7: *hr ir smw hprw, iw.w (hr) in 40 n it-m-it im.f*



: Further when summer came, they brought 40 sacks of barley from it.

(38)Wen. 2,70-71: *iw dw(3)w (hr) hprw, iw.f (hr) dit 'š.tw....*

: And morning came, and he caused that one call out ....

- or with the referent of a 'noun-event', e.g. an 'understood' subject:

(39)Abbott 4,10: *gd.w p3w hpr*

: They told what had happened.

e.g. a simple pronoun:

(40)Mayer A 9,14: *hr ir p3 gd.w, imi hprw.f*

: Further, as for what they said, cause that it come about.

Though, of course, this is not to say that *HPR* with a 'noun-event' subject cannot take an adverbial complement if appropriate:

(41)PBM 10403 1,6-7: *imi in.tw A, gd.f n.tn p3 hprw nb m-di p3y pr-n-st3 ....*

: Have one bring A, so that he may tell you what happened  
to this portable chest .....

When a 'noun-thing' (or its referent) occurs as the syntactic subject, it must have an accompanying situation to occur in (provided by the adverbial complement of *HPR*):

(42)=(21): *iw p3 wr (hr) hprw (hr) mmw*

: And the prince became crying.

and hence we have the so-called 'auxiliary' usage of *HPR* most recently discussed in Kruchten(1982)<sup>22</sup>.

More importantly for our concerns, we have the 'raising' paradigm exhibited in (25) and (26) splendidly revealed in:

(43)PBM 10403 3,5-6: *hr hprw.i hms.k(wi), hkr.tw hr n3 nh(t)*

: Further, I happened to be sitting hungry under the trees.

(44)PBM 10403 3,6: *mtw.ø hprw n3 rmt (hr) int šwtly n hmt*

: And it happened (that) the men were trading copper.

where (43) has the perspective of stating the occurrence (or installation, cf. footnote 22) of *.i* in a situation, whereas (44) has the perspective of stating the occurrence of an overall situation. In (43) we have 'control' indexing and in (44) we have 'coreferential' indexing. Hence *HPR* + *ø* + S-complement is integrated into the uses of *HPR*.

Let us return to (14) and (15) and compare them with (17) (I repeat (14) and (17) for the reader's convenience:)

(45)=(14): *mtw.i dit hprw.ø r-š3' šmw m 3bd 4 šmw ....*

: (If) I cause that it become up to the harvest in month 4 of summer ....

(46)=(17): *hr ir hrw hprw, iw A (hr) iy*

: Further, when day came about, A came.

In (17) the time phrase directly undertakes the 'occurring' as the subject. However, in (14) and (15), the specified time phrase does not undertake the 'occurring', rather it is assigned a 'direction' (in relation to the 'occurring') by *r-š3'* (occurring up to the harvest in month 4), a meaning which the verb itself cannot supply (hence the need for the preposition). *ø* occurs as the required syntactic subject (perhaps with the connotation of time in general), *ø* and *r-š3'* are clearly not coreferential in this case and hence *ø* acquires no particular reference.

(14) and (15), then, seem to stand mid-way between our two descriptive complementation patterns (9) and (10) and provide a valuable clue as to the nature of OIS and S-complement for *HPR*. It seems that this property is a product of two separate (but interacting) matters, the strategy of OIS and coreferential indexing. (14) and (15) suggest that semantically 'full' adverbs cannot be coreferentially indexed with the impersonal subject: simplistically it is somewhat the function of prepositions, for example, to provide information otherwise unrepresented in a sentence. This is particularly well shown in the (10)-pattern 'auxiliary' use of *HPR* where the subject and the adverbial complement are clearly not coreferentially indexed.

In english, it is the 'that'-clause which enters into coreferential indexing. However, late egyptian has no available 'that'-clause<sup>23</sup>, and since a *iw*-clause cannot be coreferential with *.ø* or impersonal *.f*, this leaves [S] as the only synchronic option. This, we might say, constitutes the 'reason' for the form-class of the S-complement.

We have gone some way to providing an integrated description (of several aspects) of the syntactic behaviour of *HPR* in late egyptian, and in particular of the (apparently) peculiar property of taking an OIS and S-complement. Though I have focused our attention on a rather small point of late egyptian grammar, I hope to have suggested to grammarians (in practical rather than theoretical terms) the need to pay attention to the complementation properties of lexical items.



## NOTES

1. I should comment on the method of transliteration that I shall use. As has become something of a practice in work on Egyptian grammar, I shall use  $\emptyset$  as a symbol for a 'phonetically-zero word'. However, I intend this as a convenience for myself and the reader, rather than as a comment on the status of such zero-symbols in grammatical description.
2. For the purposes of this note, my translations are meant to reflect something of the syntactic pattern of the late Egyptian sentence, rather than to be idiomatic. In particular, I shall always indicate the presence of *HPR* by an appropriate form of an English verb such as HAPPEN or BECOME etc, though as noted long ago by Alan Gardiner the 'auxiliary' use of *HPR* often 'marks the emergence of a new event, the occurrence of something fresh and notable' (Capart et al (1936) p.175). For recent comments on the nuances of *HPR* and in particular its relationship with the 'auxiliary' uses of '*H*', *HMSI* and *SDR* see Kruchten (1982) *passim*.
3. Kruchten (1982) p.73-4 quotes this example under the heading of 'Les Constructions hybrides' that is to say he takes both *HPR* and *HMSI* to be 'auxiliaries' in this example, where they constitute a 'tournure pléonastique'. I am not completely satisfied with this analysis- I see no reason in principle why *HMSI* cannot have its 'primary' meaning of 'sit' here, especially in view of the locative adjunct *hr h3 nh(t)*. Does Kruchten suggest that all examples of *HMSI* with a following verb complement must constitute an 'auxiliary' use of *HMSI*?
4. In a similar vein, compare the statement in Č/G p.377 that in:  
(FN1)PLEo-Am 4,8: *n-sw p3 17 n it3w gmy iw i.ir.w t3wt m n3 mr-h'y n t3 imnt niwt*  
: He belonged to the 17 thieves who were found to have been robbing in the tombs of the west of Thebes.  
'the emphatic formation cannot serve as the subject of a preceding passive verb form unless it is preceded by the circumstantial *iw*.' (Č/G p.377)  
Whether *gmy* is a passive participle (as I think it is simplest to take it) or an OIS use of the past passive *sdm.f* (cf Č/G p.244), the *iw* + S is clearly just a normal 'adverbial' adjunct of *gmy*. The function of *iw* (to use Č/G's terminology) is to convert an initial main-clause into a non-initial subordinate clause (cf Č/G p.422), or rather an 'adverbial' non-initial subordinate clause. I am aware of no (other) examples of a *iw*-clause functioning in the nuclear grammatical function of subject (or object for that matter).
5. I can find no reference for this example in the text references of Groll (1970), Frandsen (1974) or Satzinger (1976).
6. 'e' is Satzinger's transcription of *Qe*. It was my dissatisfaction with Satzinger's analysis of this sentence (which I had noted as part of my thesis work on *ir*-constructions in old, middle and late Egyptian) which led me to study the complementation properties of *HPR*.
7. I have taken *hr-d3d3-n n3 inb(w)* as the 'adverbial predicate' of the 'second tense'. Groll (1970) p.245 prefers to take the following *iw.f hr sdm* as the 'adverbial predicate'- nothing of importance hangs upon this choice here.
8. I draw considerable confidence in this analysis from the following example from the Miscellanies:  
(FN2)LEM 73,11-12: *iw.f hr hprw [i.ir.f snh3 n.i (r) 'wtm m hwt-ntr R ]s*  
: And it happened (that) it was in the temple of R that he registered me in this document.  
Satzinger notes this example with the comment:  
'*iw.f hr hpr* ist hier impersonal und entspricht der subjekt-losten Konjunktiv-Konstruktion *mte hpr* (....), doch bedarf des Narrativ im Gegensatz zum Konjunktiv eines formellen Subjekts *f*.' (Satzinger (1976) p.242)  
In the light of Mayer A 6,7 this would not seem to hold. Rather, we have an example of the overt versus non-overt strategy for pronouns which I shall discuss in the text.
9. I have a suspicion that Groll's other example (ibid p.245) is to be taken:  
(FN3)PSalt 124 vs 1,4: *sh3 r p3y.f hpr, i.ir.f, (hr) knkn n3 rmt-ist m sm3yt n grh m-dwn*  
: Charge concerning his becoming regularly beating the workmen at a night-party which he did.  
with *i.ir.f* as a relative form modifying the infinitive, Compare:  
(FN4)PSalt 124 vs 1,6: *sh3 r p3 ir, i.ir.f, 'nh-n-nb .w.s.*  
: Charge concerning the making an oath which he did.  
this type of formation is common in the Turin Indictment Papyrus, where we find:  
(FN5)RAD 77,5-6: *sh3 r p3 hpr, i.ir p3y w'b, (hr) tttt iymw A*  
: Charge concerning the becoming quarrelling with A which this priest did.  
and compare:

(FN6)RAD 77.9: *sb3 r p3 swd. i. ir. w. 20 n iħw n p3y w'b*

: Charge concerning the delivering 20 cattle to this priest which they did.

It seems that we have here the standard 'auxiliary' use of *HPR*, and that Groll's examples do not form a single paradigm (PSalt 124 vs1.5 and LRL 56.1-2 exhibit complementation pattern (10) whereas PSalt124 vs1.4 exhibits pattern (9)).

10. Gardiner's grammar is the most accessible grammar work for this phenomenon. See particularly GEG para486 where Gardiner expresses the view (referring to omitted subjects):

'In these instances the omission is due either to the subject being too clear to need expression, or else to its being vague and a matter of indifference.'

While this is in broad agreement with my brief discussion in the text, I would not characterise OIS as 'vague and a matter of indifference'. Other references are GEG paras. 123,128,141,145 and 506.

The late egyptian grammars are less accessible in that they do not overtly record this phenomenon (though of Groll's 'one-membral' nominal and adjectival sentence patterns Č/Gp.524,548,549 and551). The following may be examples of omitted referential pronouns:

(FN7)HO XLV,1,7: *iw.f (ħr) in n.i p3y ky. ħr bn nfr ø iwn3*

: and he brought me another donkey. Further, it was no good. (quoted Č/G p.551)

(FN8)LRL 48,16-49,1: *š ħ3t n A, iw.k ħj. iw r-đđ rmt ø iw bn '3.f m-di.f iwn3*

: Be a pilot for A. You know that he is a man who has no experience. (after Č/G p.524)

11. The distribution of *HPR* +  $\emptyset$  + 'adverbial'-clause in middle egyptian can be made compatible with our analysis of the late egyptian equivalents outlined here. However, this necessitates abandoning Polotsky's 'transposition' system, a move which is, I think, required on independent grounds. Since this obviously involves considerable discussion, I have decided to omit the middle egyptian examples here, though I hope to be able to pursue this line of inquiry at a later date.

12. On the capacity of *ir* -themes to be used parenthetically, cf (5). I leave discussion of this and other properties of *ir* -constituents for my thesis.

13. Č/G p.244-5 notes Abbott 4,10 as an example of a passive *sgm.ø*:

(FN9)Abbott 4,10: *mħ.ø im.w*

: They were seized.

which seems to me to be a 'past' active *sgm.ø*, not a passive.

14. For the use of *m* to allow 'nouns' to perform typically 'adverb' functions, cf. Gardiner's 'm of predication' (GEGparas38,84,96), and the use in 'second tenses' to 'convert' 'noun'-objects into 'adverb'-predicates discussed in Silverman (1980).

15. Some slight evidence for this might be seen in:

(FN10)OBerlin 10627,9-10: *ir p3 nty iw mn m-di.f ġđw ...*

: As for the one who has (? will have) no boys....

where only the future *iw* is supposed to follow *nty* (cf Č/G p.420). However, I do not feel confident enough of our understanding of the late egyptian tense/aspect system to accept or reject this interpretation. Of course Č/G's explanation (Č/G p.402) with *nty iw* as a phonetic writing comparable to coptic  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  is perfectly plausible, though it rests on as tenuous a basis.

16. Actually this does not exhaust the options. For instance, we might attempt to compare this example with the regular demotic formation *iw.f ħpr* + circumstantial clause.

17. Note, though, that it was the mandatory presence of 'adverbial' phrases after the *sgm.n.f*s of verbs of motion (though not after their statives) which Polotsky used to postulate a 'that-form' *sgm.n.f* for these verbs (Polotsky (1965) p.10-13).

18. Occasionally with the nuance of 'chance' in english, cf. (25).

19. Rather than 'nominalised-events' which implies a productive word-formation process, deriving 'noun-events' from other items. Note that a 'noun-event' need not necessarily be capable of a suitable paraphrase by a whole sentence (the 'standard' mode of representing situations), for example what would a suitable paraphrase for 'day' or 'weather' be?

20. Co-indexing is a term I shall use for the convenience of myself and the reader to cover a range of phenomena often treated separately (at least for descriptive concerns) in linguistics (cf. my remarks on 'coreference' and 'control').

21. *HPR* is the only certain example known to me of a verb which exhibits the distribution reflected in(25) and (26) in late egyptian. I wonder, though, if the use of *gm* as the 'particle' 'perchance' noted by Caminos (1954) p.58 is not somehow to be described in this way. Other 'auxiliaries' like 'H', *HMSI* and *SDR* seem only to occur with complementation pattern (25) (cf. Kruchten (1982)).

22. Kruchten, in line with previous accounts, assigns the meaning of 's'installer' to *HPR* (or rather, 's'installer' is an appropriate translation). He also considers the effect of different situation types (state and event) for *HPR* and its complements on this meaning, a matter which I shall not take up here,

rather I refer the reader to Kruchten's work.

23. The 'that-clause' in 'second tenses' (and the *m A i.irw.f sdm* pattern) is not free to enter into relationships in other sentences. Note with verbs like *RH*, late egyptian has to resort to using *r-ḡd* to introduce the equivalent of an english 'that-clause' (cf. (FN8)). This offers suggestive material for further research into complementation.

Note also that a clause cannot enter directly into the subject function in non-'second tenses' in late egyptian, hence *ø* must be used as a syntactic place holder, which by co-indexing allows the S-complement to be interpreted as if it were the subject itself.

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# THE YAM JAM AND FLORENCE STELE 2540 by Mark Bush


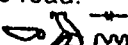






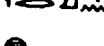
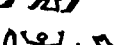
This article concerns the broken stele of Sesostri's general, Montuhotep<sup>1</sup>, found at Buhen and now resting in Florence, and its bearing on the location of Yam.

The stele was seen and drawn intact in the north temple at Buhen by Banks and de Ricci in 1815-16<sup>2</sup>. Thereafter it was broken and damaged. The upper portion was excavated by Rosellini and Champollion in 1829, the lower by Lyons in 1893. The two portions were re-united in Florence, where Breasted was able to photograph and copy them in 1899<sup>3</sup>.

It is the scene on the upper portion which concerns us here (see Fig. 1). After a victorious campaign into the Nubian lands south of Buhen, the god Montu is presenting Sesostri I with 'nh, dd and w3s symbols, and leading a number of bound captives who each surmount an oval enclosure wall with the names of a town or region written inside. There has been some confusion as to the number of regions originally listed, since not all of the names are preserved. The earliest drawing, by de Ricci (see Fig. 2), the only copyist to see the stele intact, clearly shows 10 regions. Four ropes trailing from the god's hand lead to four ovals disposed vertically at the god's rear. The lowermost oval is attached to a horizontal row of six further ovals which extend in front of it, below the feet of Montu and Sesostri. The order in which this list of regions should be read has also attracted some confusion, or else thought unimportant. Before considering why the correct order is significant, we should attempt to unravel the confusion in the literature over the number of regions, their readings and their relative positions.


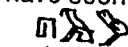

When Champollion excavated the upper fragment, he could see and read only five names clearly. One more could be partially read, and traces of two more oval/captive figures could be seen. This gave a total of eight regions<sup>4</sup>; although Champollion refers to de Ricci's earlier drawing, he apparently had not yet seen this or he would have known that ten regions were originally given. The five preserved names were read by Champollion as Šmyk, Hs3i, Š3't and lhrkyn from the bottom row, and K3s from the upper group. The partially preserved name on the bottom row he transcribed as 3...3, but preferred to leave untransliterated.

At a later date, apparently having seen de Ricci's drawing, Champollion gave a list of ten regions, his readings of the missing names being very similar to those copied by de Ricci<sup>5</sup>. Moreover, Champollion here offers his opinion on the order in which the names should be read:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1)  Prww    | 2)  K3s    |
| 3)  Y....   | 4)  Šmyk   |
| 5)  Hs3i    | 6)  Š3't   |
| 7)  lhrkyn  | 8)  W3w    |
| 9)  Hmr.... | 10)  lhm3w |





With the exception of the first two regions, which Champollion unaccountably transposed, the above order will be adopted hereafter for convenience as a means of referring to the name-groups. It also appears to be the most logical order in which to read the list. The upper group of three regions are read first, which all subsequent editors have agreed upon. The lower group of seven names are then read from left to right, reading into the faces of the bound captives and hieroglyphs in normal fashion, as opposed to reading all ten names in clockwise rotation, which certain commentators have favoured.



Breasted, realising that K3s should be the first name on the list, corrected it to this position, claiming that the mistake had been made on the de Ricci drawing which he had seen<sup>6</sup>. Smith's reproduction of this drawing clearly shows that this was not the case, and the mistake must have been Champollion's. Breasted obviously follows Champollion's transcriptions for the names of numbers 2), 3), 8), 9) and 10)<sup>7</sup>. However, he notes that the readings of nos. 8 and 9 are doubtful, and in fact transliterates no. 10 as lhm3w<sup>8</sup>.

Unfortunately, in attempting to correct Kush to the initial position, Breasted makes his own error in unnecessarily transposing regions 2) and 3) - i.e. Prww and Y.... This only adds to the suspicion that Breasted cannot have seen the de Ricci drawing, which clearly gives the order of the first three names as  K3s,  H3w (for Prww),  Y3 (for Y....).

As de Ricci was the only one actually to see names 2) and 3) intact, we should place more reliance not only on his sequence, but also on his transcription of the group-writings, (viz. H3w be preferred to Prww).

Breasted furthermore appears to have been the first to read the list in clockwise rotation<sup>9</sup>, adding to the confusion in the literature surrounding the interpretation of this stele.

Bosticco, in a more recent publication of the Florence stele<sup>10</sup>, has largely followed Champollion in the correct sequence for the list of regions. For some reason, however, he has read 11 names instead of 10. Nos. 1), 4), 5), 6) and 7) are all still preserved. His readings for nos. 9 and 10 follow Champollion's; for the obscured no. 8 he reads  Wmb3; nos. 2) and 3) he has transposed in keeping with Breasted's error, reading his no. 2) as Y.... and his no. 3) as  Hwm (as opposed to  or  ) the extra name given by Bosticco occurs between nos. 3) and 4), and is read as 'Nbw (?)'. He attributes this extra name and its reading to another commentary by Champollion, and an unpublished copy of the stele by Migliarini<sup>11</sup>.

On the superior evidence of the de Ricci drawing, the existence of an 11th name must be rejected. Smith has recently promoted the value of the de Ricci drawing and the readings which can be recovered from it<sup>12</sup>. In his opinion, de Ricci's 'H3w' represents the middle kingdom orthography of a foreign name better than Breasted's 'Prww' and Champollion's/Bosticco's 'Hwm'. Similarly for no. 8), de Ricci's 'S3w' is better than 'W3w' or 'Wmb3', although the bird-signs survive only indistinctly. Most importantly for our purposes, de Ricci's version of no. 10) is  Im3/I3m as opposed to Champollion's/Bosticco's  Im3/I3m. If de Ricci's version be preferred, then as Smith has stated, 'there can no longer be reasonable doubt that this name does indeed represent the Im3/I3m of the late old kingdom inscriptions'.

Smith unfortunately followed this statement by reading the names in clockwise rotation as Breasted did. This resulted in Yam appearing fourth in the list, rather than tenth if Champollion's more logical order be followed.

The correct position of Yam in this list becomes very significant if one accepts Posener's theory<sup>13</sup> that such toponym lists were written in geographic order of appearance after leaving Egypt's border- in this case, from north to south. Posener in fact comments on the list of names in the Florence stele, but only those which still survive<sup>14</sup>. These he has taken in Champollion's order ending the list at no. 7) of course. No. 6) on the list is S3't, known to be the island of Sai, and in fact the only toponym on the list whose location is precisely known.

It follows then, that if Yam were fourth it should be located somewhere between the second cataract and Sai. If, as is more likely, Yam were tenth, it should have been found to the south of Sai, perhaps even beyond the third cataract in the Dongola region. The most recent surveys of Kerma, at the northern end of the Dongola region have established that this site was occupied by a group belonging to Gratien's 'Kerma Ancien' culture<sup>15</sup>, contemporary with the late old kingdom. The extent of this particular occupation has not been thoroughly surveyed; however, in general terms, tribes belonging to this culture-group are thought to have been semi-nomadic in character<sup>16</sup>.

The Kerma region is, in fact, where the consensus of scholarly opinion has, for some years now, preferred to locate Yam<sup>17</sup>, seeing it as an old kingdom prototype of the nubian kingdom which flourished at Kerma during the middle kingdom and the second intermediate period. If, as above, greater credibility is assigned to the de Ricci drawing, Florence stele 2540 may be used to support this view.

#### NOTES

1. Porter-Moss, Top. bib. VII, p130-1.
2. Bankes Manuscripts xii, c.6., reproduced in Smith, H.S., The fortress of Buhen. the inscriptions, London 1976, p.39-41, pl.69.
3. Breasted, J.H., 'The Wadi Halfa stela of Senwosret I', PSBA 23, 1901, p.230-5.
4. Champollion, J., Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie I, Paris, 1844, p.34-5.
5. Champollion, J., Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie II, Paris, 1844, p.692-3.
6. Breasted, op. cit. p.231, footnote.
7. ibid. pl.3.
8. BAR I, p.510 and note a.
9. ibid.
10. Bosticco, S., Le stele egiziane dall'antico al nuovo regno, Museo Archeologico di Firenze I, Florence 1959, p.31-3, pl.29a and b.
11. Champollion, J., Dictionnaire égyptien, p.275-8; Migliarini, Cat. ms. II, n.2540, (Museo Egizio di Firenze), neither of which works were available to me.
12. Smith, op. cit. p.39-40.
13. Posener, G., 'Pour une localisation du pays Koush au Moyen Empire', Kush 6, 1958, p.59-60.
14. ibid. p.60.
15. Gratien, B., Les cultures Kerma: Essai de classification, Lille, 1978, p.22-39.
16. ibid. p.159.
17. Säve-Söderburgh, T., Ägypten und Nubien, Lund, 1941, p.17f.  
Edel, E., in Firchow, O., ed., Ägyptologische Studien, Berlin, 1955.  
Trigger, B., History and settlement in lower Nubia, Yale, 1965, p.81-3.

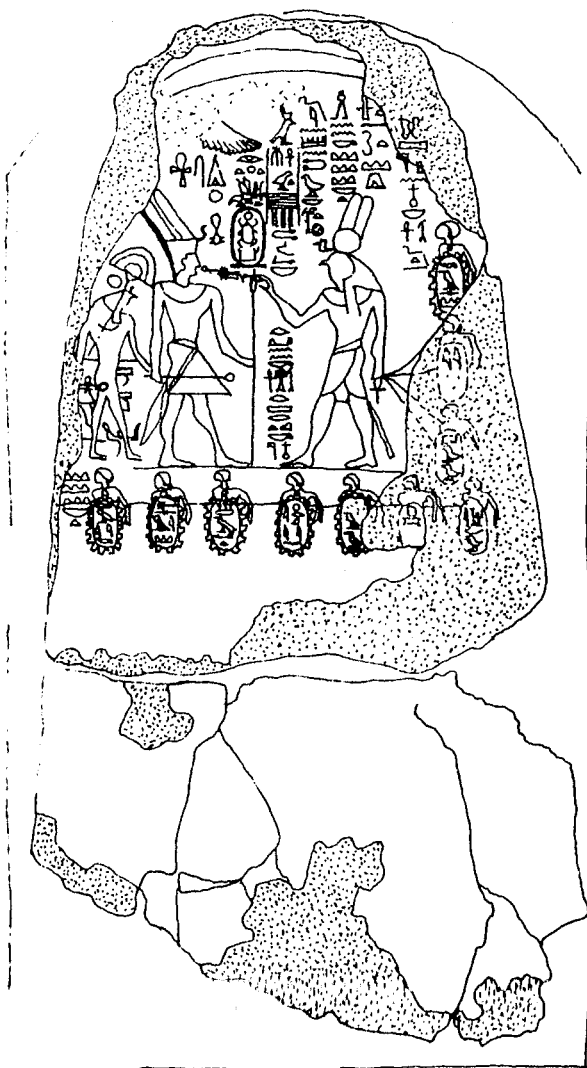


fig. 1

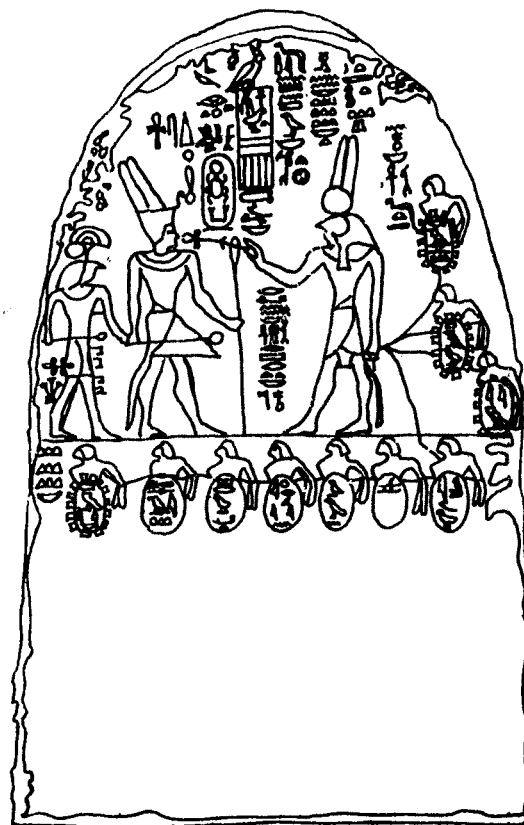
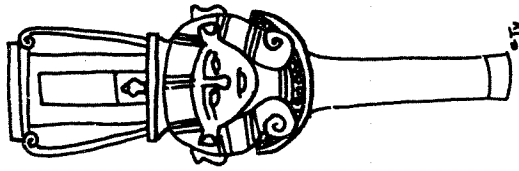


fig. 2



# THE ORIGIN, EVOLUTION AND FUNCTION OF THE *shm*, KNOWN AS THE NAOS-SISTRUM PRELIMINARY RESEARCHES by Christian Tutundjian de Vartavan



Ancient Egyptian sistra are of two main types: the arched sistrum and the sistrum in the form of a naos, or shrine. Arched sistra have always been regarded as musical instruments<sup>1</sup>, but naos-sistra were only classified in this category when H. Hickman observed traces of wear around the holes through which the bars slid. Many Egyptologists had previously considered the naos-sistrum to be a votive instrument, though its origin remained obscure. It is the aim of the author to provide an explanation for these problems.

I shall begin with an examination of the Egyptian name for the naos-sistrum. Ch. Ziegler<sup>2</sup> tells us that the ancient name of the naos-sistrum was *shm* (to be pronounced sekhem). Gardiner<sup>3</sup> provides what may be an older writing *shm*, and says that it is a very late variant of *shm*. In this context, we may wonder what the relationship was between the *shm*-scepter which determined the earlier form and the *shm*-sistrum, the determinative in the later writing and believed to be a musical instrument. A new determinative for a word can only have borne a close association to the object to which the word referred, as indeed the old determinative must originally have done.

The language and the mode of writing of a nation are the reflection of its thinking. The first follow the convulsions and evolution of the latter. Therefore, the orthography itself may offer a part of the answer. Page 251 of the Wörterbuch of A. Erman and H. Grapow<sup>4</sup> gives as determinatives for the word 'shm'-sistrum *shm*, *shm*, and *shm*, but also *shm* and *shm*. There is a temptation to infer the series:



Whether or not this stylistic typology was in reality entirely sequential, it seems possible to see an evolution among these objects<sup>5</sup>. If we can consider the *shm*-sceptre as a potential ancestor of the naos-*shm* sistrum, it may be preferable to orientate our study towards the *shm*-sceptre itself. If the objects are in some way related, they ought to present common features of use and function.

Originally, the sistrum, whatever its function, was exclusively reserved for the cult of Hathor. We have, dedicated to Hathor of Dendera, four stelae from 6th-7th dynasties and the 1st intermediate period. These stelae are of great interest. Two of them<sup>6</sup> show a priestess of Hathor holding what clearly represents a *shm*-sceptre. (See figures 1 and 2.) The others<sup>7</sup> show a priestess of Hathor holding a *shm*-sceptre of which the superior part above the papyrus umbel already shows the later naos form, identical to that of the famous alabaster sistrum offered by Teti to Hathor<sup>8</sup> (See fig. 3, 4, 5.).

Here, a new problem arises: why is a priestess of Hathor represented holding a *shm*-sceptre on a votive stela? What was the function of this object in the Hathorian cult of the time? Hayes tells us that the word *shm* is another name of the 'aba'-sceptre, sceptre of authority, carried by people in the administration or by high officials. He also tells us that the 'aba' was particularly associated with the presentation of offerings and that it was often carried by the officiant during the ceremony.


If the *shm*<sup>9</sup> had the same use as the 'aba', we may imagine that the priestess asserted her religious authority by carrying the sceptre and that it bestowed upon her the right of performing offerings to the goddess. Later, because it was regularly associated with the practice of offering, the *shm* itself was offered during the ceremonies by which the priestess hoped to obtain the continued favours of Hathor.


Thus, the *shm*-sceptre which had been an object of general use, developed iconographic features proper to the Hathorian cult. The major transformation was the addition of bars and rods to recall a much appreciated quality of the goddess, her aspect as goddess of music. N. de Garis Davies was already clear about that in the '20's<sup>10</sup>.

'Its use as a musical instrument followed the natural association of the goddess of joy with the dance and merry-making, and the sistrum is a clever adaptation of the wand (the *shm*<sup>11</sup>) to this employment, not an adornment of a musical instrument with reminiscence of the goddess.'

The musical attribute remained secondary in the *shm*-sistrum, though it became the most important feature



of the arched-sistrum, presumed to have appeared in the new kingdom, which is called *sšst* in Egyptian because of its rattling noise. It seems that the name *sšst*, or possibly the object itself, became so popular during the late period that it replaced the older name , *shm* and consequently became a general term for both of the objects from which the word 'sistrum' derives. Therefore, 'sistrum' in fact, relates only to the arched-sistrum. The *shm*-wand and the *naos-shm* clearly are varieties of a single object, but not a 'sistrum'. The term *naos-sistrum* is a misnomer.

N. de Garis Davies noticed that texts from several tombs of the 18th dynasty mentioned three sacred objects of Hathor, later transferred to the cult of Amun, the *menat* (*mnit*), the *sekhem*-wand (*shm*)  and the *seshest* (*sšst*). They also appeared in the story of Sinouhe: 'their menats, their wands and their sistras' (translation of N. de Garis Davies). It is interesting that the *mnit* was once believed to be a musical instrument. It is now generally recognised as a votive and magical instrument for the cult of Hathor<sup>12</sup>. The relation between the *mnit* and the *naos-shm* is most clearly illustrated by a bas-relief in the south crypt, no. 1 of the Dendara temple. This symbolic representation, imaginative rather than descriptive, shows four *naos-shmw* tied between the broad collar of the *mnit* and the four strings leading to the counterweight (fig. 6).

This may invite us to wonder what other evidence we have to suggest that the *naos-shm* was a votive instrument. It should be noticed that there is no reference in the texts of our four stelae (see above) to the priestess as a 'musician of Hathor', *šm'jt Hwt-Hr*, as on most similar bas-reliefs later. The *hṭp di nsw* offering formula on the alabaster sistrum of king Teti<sup>13</sup> also supports the assumption. Many reliefs<sup>14</sup> show *naos-shmw* which have no space within the *naos* for rods and bars, but instead have a uraeus. These are the examples which led Luise Klebs<sup>15</sup> to suggest that the *naos-shm* was a votive object.

We have however, only one example of the 'full' *naos-shmw*, as we may call it. Hickmann, who could not give any explanation for this object, concluded that it may have belonged to a statue. In fact, this object is of the same dimensions, shape and material as many other faience *shmw* of the catalogue<sup>16</sup>. Petrie may have published another<sup>17</sup>, but I have not found any reference to it in the text. Statues presenting a *naos-shm* are also an indication of its votive function and they should not be neglected. The famous statue of the steward *Sn-n-mwt* shows him offering a votive *shm* to *Mwt*<sup>18</sup>. The statue of the scribe *'lwny* carrying a *naos-shm* is a better example<sup>19</sup>. These statues probably were meant to serve as a permanent record of the offering ceremony and the offerer, as much as a representation of the object offered. The *hṭp di nsw* formula which they bear, supports this theory, as do the inscriptions on various other statues<sup>20</sup>.

However, the definitive evidence in classifying the *shm* as a votive instrument is found elsewhere. The examination of a *shm* in schistose steatite<sup>21</sup> in the Petrie Museum collection called my attention to objects found in the temple of Serabit in Sinai and published by Petrie<sup>22</sup>. Seven of the eleven heads of Hathor, which belonged to *shmw* and which are published on plate 151, had a cornice instead of a *naos*. This cornice is rectangular in most cases, sometimes striated vertically and sometimes flared. There are no breaks or fittings which might indicate that they were arched-sistra. No. 11 and no. 15 indicate that the objects had a handle. The only objects to which they are related are the *shmw* listed as 'model sistrum handles' in the catalogue of the British Museum<sup>23</sup>. These objects are not 'model sistrum handles', but another variant of the *shm*. Their only function was votive. These cornice-*shmw* were found in the sanctuary and portico<sup>24</sup> of the temple with several hundred offerings, including glazed ware vases, bowls, cups, *menats*, plaques, bracelets and animal figures. The offering deposit extended outside the sanctuary some feet to the north. The objects, all broken, formed a layer two or three inches thick. Petrie<sup>25</sup> adds that this vast quantity of offerings had probably accumulated over several centuries.

This evidence is convincing, but there is more. Another type of object found with the cornice-*shmw* and the offerings is even more eloquent in proving that the true function of the *naos-shm* was votive. Plates 1522-3 show some 'votive tablets of glazed ware'<sup>26</sup> on which are drawn either cornice-*shmw*<sup>27</sup>, like those mentioned above, or *naos-shmw*. One real *shm-naos* also was found with the offerings. Moreover, another type of plaque<sup>28</sup> has the very shape of the *shm*. Petrie says that there were forty of these plaques among the offerings. They assuredly were substitutes for the real *shmw*. Plaques will have been cheaper and easier to manufacture, as the temple is in Sinai. This would explain their great number in comparison with the real objects (see above). As this publication is not quoted by any of the specialists, one may wonder whether the *shmw* and the votive *shm*-plaques have not been ignored since 1906<sup>29</sup>.

## NOTES

1. Unfortunately.
2. Ziegler, C., *Catalogue des instruments de musique égyptiens*, Paris, 1979, p. 31.
3. Gardiner, A., *Egyptian grammar*, Oxford, 1979, p. 509, sign S42.
4. Erman, A. and Grapow, H., *Wort.*, vol. VI, Leipzig, 1930, p. 251.

5. Is determ. no. 4, (Wb. IV, p.251-252), in which the naos bears no details and the horns do not touch the naos (see Desroches Noblecourt C., Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel, Cairo, 1968, pl.120. Chassinat, E., Le temple de Dendara V, Cairo, 1947, pl.420. Gardiner, A., The inscriptions of Sinai I, London, 1952, pl.82.) the same object as represented by the determ. fully detailed (see Wb. III p.486.)?
6. Univ. Mus. Philadelphia No. 29-66-616 and No. 29-66-797. See also Fisher, H.G., 'The cult and name of the goddess Bat', JARCE 7, 1962-3. How much is Bat involved in the evolution of the *shym*?
7. Petrie, W.M.F., Denderah, London, 1900, pl.8b, 10. Another stela of the 12th dynasty may show a *shym* with bars: see Gardiner, op. cit., pl. XXV.
8. Hayes, W., The scepter of Egypt I, New York, 1953, p.125.
9. The *shym* is often shown with a short handle, while the 'aba has a long one.
10. Davies, N. de Garis, JE 7, London, 1920, p.70.
11. Davies, N. de Garis, op. cit., p.71: However, he never established the relation.
12. Hayes, op. cit., II, p.45.
13. Hayes, op. cit., I, p.125.
14. Chassinat, E., Le temple de Dendara VI, Cairo, 1965.
15. See for an extensive list: Klebs, L., 'Die verschiedenen Formen des Sistrums', ZAS, Leipzig, 1929, p.60-63.
16. Hickman, H., Instruments de musique, Cairo, 1949, no. 69331, pl.69.
17. Petrie, W.M.F., Kahun. Gurob and Hawara, London, 1890, no.30, pl.18.
18. Hayes, op. cit., p.107, fig 57.
19. Borchardt, L., Statuen und Statuetten von Konigen und Privatleuten, Berlin, 1930, p.62-3, no.728, pl.135.
20. Borchardt, op. cit., p.126, no.862, pl.155; p.145, no.901, pl.156.
21. In the Petrie Museum: no.35346.
22. Petrie, W.M.F., Researches in Sinai, London, 1906, p.146-149, pl.151-3.
23. Anderson, R.D., Musical instruments, B.M. Catalogue, London, 1973, p.62-64, fig. 118-120. It is possible that the model sistrum no. 93.41098, fig.118 is part of a large offering bowl as shown on a bas-relief of the temple of Seti I at Abydos: Gardiner, A.H., The temple of King Seti I st in Abydos, EES, Chicago, 1935. p.11, bottom right, though certainly not the three 'sistre a mortaise' published in the Louvre cat: Ziegler, op. cit., p.49, which are parts of handles of mirrors. See Petrie, W.M.F., Objects of daily use, London, 1937, p.30, pl.28.
24. Petrie, dixit, Researches in Sinai, London, 1906, p.138.
25. Petrie, ibid, p.147.
26. Petrie, ibid, pl.153, no.1, 2, 4, 5: *shymw* with cornice, no.3.
27. Petrie, ibid, pl.15, no.9, 10.
28. Petrie, ibid, pl.148.
29. Not even in the Lexicon.

I would like to thank Ms. Rosalind Hall, Julia Harvey, Robert Morkot, Mariam Kamish and Renuka Madai for their precious help.

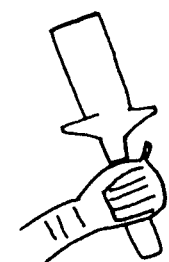


fig.1 *shmw.*



fig.2 *shmw.*

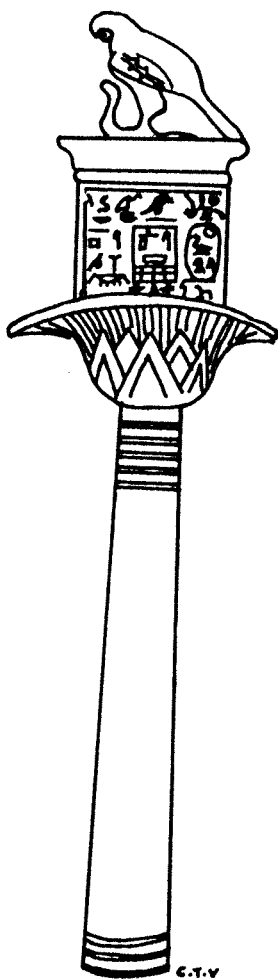
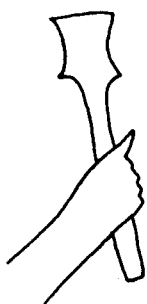


fig.3 *shm* of king Teti.

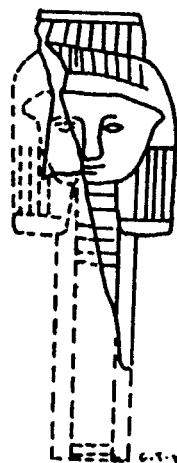


fig.4 *naos-shm* and *cornice-shm*.

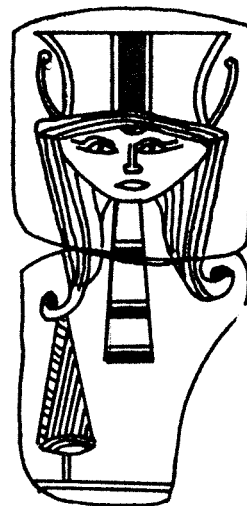
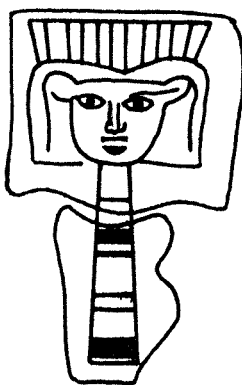


fig.5 *naos-shm* and *cornice-shm* plaques.

## A NOTABLE LADY by Jac. Janssen

For R.

Egyptologists in their studies are, perhaps, less moved by the major issues of their day than are scholars in other fields of historical study, but they do not live entirely in ivory towers. This is, for instance, proved by the recent exhibition in Germany and Belgium devoted to 'women in the time of the pharaohs'. Even(?) feminism appears to have made some impact on our science. The following remarks contain an addition to our knowledge of this subject which, so far as I know, has not yet appeared anywhere in the pertinent literature.

Pap. Geneva D 191<sup>1</sup> bears a letter by a lady called Henuttawi to the scribe of the necropolis, Esamenope, very probably her husband. It is her answer to a previous (lost) letter in which Esamenope had ordered her to supervise the receipt of grain transported to Thebes in two ships. The first one was reported to be bringing 162 1/2 sacks of emmer. When it arrived, she writes, the vizier had it measured, probably when it was unloaded, but the lady discovered that the *oipe* -measure that was used was one *hin* too large, 41 *hin* instead of 40. She was told that 1463/4 sacks had arrived - later slightly inaccurately rounded off to 150 sacks in the usual Egyptian manner<sup>2</sup> - but the lady, not content with the whole business, writes that she intends to investigate further into the matter. After all, even 150 sacks is not the 162 1/2 which Esamenope had written to have dispatched.

Meanwhile, the second ship, which Esamenope had reported was carrying 80 sacks, arrived, but Henuttawi found that it contained only 72 1/2 sacks. The crew declared that they had taken 51/2 sacks, perhaps as their wages (and an additional *baksheesh* ?) but that clearly was too much. She seems not to have dared to give the men a good talking-to - they may have appeared too rough for that - and she left the matter for her husband to settle when he returned.

So far the matter is fairly clear, although some details remain obscure<sup>3</sup>. However, what never seems to have been remarked on, at least in print, is that Henuttawi here acts as the representative of her husband in an official function.

A scribe of the necropolis received a monthly ration of 51/2 sacks of emmer for bread, as part of his 'wages'. This had been the ration for centuries. Since it meant daily bread the quantity was neither increased nor decreased when grain prices fluctuated. For a fairly large household of around twelve to fifteen persons including some servants, this was a sufficient bread ration. Thus, a scribe of the necropolis received 66 sacks yearly. Theoretically it was paid to him in monthly portions, but in practice usually in two or more installments during the month. That in some periods the government paid less or not at all for some time does not concern us here. What is important is that there is no record of the grain due for a whole year ever having been delivered at once. The necropolis workmen had no room for storing so large a quantity.

When we compare the yearly income of 66 sacks for a scribe, never paid at one time, with the 150 + 80 = 230 sacks which the two ships conveyed, it is evident that their cargo cannot have been intended for the private household of Esamenope and Henuttawi. It certainly was meant to be stored in the granary from which the gang of the necropolis workmen were supplied<sup>4</sup>. This recalls the record known as the Turin taxation papyrus<sup>5</sup>, according to which Esamenope's colleague Dhutmose collected grain at various places south of Thebes and sent it to the city. This papyrus is a few years older than our letter (it dates from year 12 of Ramesses XI), but the general situation is the same: a scribe of the necropolis is travelling around to collect food for the workmen. It is of importance to us here to note that in recto 2,10 of the Turin tax. pap., the grain is said to have been 'received by', and in recto 3,6 'delivered to' Esamenope and Henuttawi together. At recto 4,8 it is 'delivered to', and at 5,3 'received by' Henuttawi alone.

From this account papyrus and from the late ramesseid letter we can conclude that Henuttawi took her husband's place when he was away, even in his official functions, a conspicuous position for a woman. It was a general rule in ancient Egypt that women could not be appointed to an office, with very few functions excepted, such as chantress of Amun, i.e. a member of the choir and so without real influence, or god's wife of Amun, by necessity a woman, though whether the position carried political influence in the New Kingdom is not certain. The majority of state functions were closed to them. Self-evidently, women of strong character have been boss in many households, but what we find in the case of Henuttawi seems to be a middle position. Officially it was her husband who was scribe of the necropolis but in practice she took over his duties when he was away and acted with him when he was present. Moreover, this was openly accepted by society. Dhutmose records in an official document that he sent grain to be received by husband and wife together.

Of course Henuttawi's case may be an exception. Usually officials when absent were represented by their adult sons. Perhaps the couple had no sons or had no sons capable of these duties. Whether there are other instances of a woman acting for her husband in his official capacity, at any rate at the level of lower functionaries, I do not know. From the late rameside letters it appears that the widow of Hrihor, Nadjme, continued to play an influential role as 'grande dame' at Thebes<sup>6</sup>, but she belonged to the top circles of society.

I cannot state with certainty that Henuttawi's position was unique. More research into the matter is needed. Her case, however, once again points to the relatively free position of women in pharaonic Egypt.

### NOTES

1. Černý J., Late rameside letters, Brussels, 1939, p. 57-60.
2. The difference cannot be explained from the use of an oversized grain measure, for that would only give  $1/40 \times 1/4 \times 160 = 1$  sack more, as the measure contained 1 *hin* =  $1/40$  *oipe* too many and 1 *oipe* =  $1/4$  sack.
3. Particularly why 146  $3/4$  or 150 sacks were measured, not 162  $1/2$  sacks. Was the difference also taken by the crew as wages?
4. In this period probably situated within the temple complex of Medinet Habu.
5. Gardiner, Rameside administrative documents, Oxford, 1948, p. 35-54.
6. Papyrus Berlin, 10489 = LRL, 54.



# PROBLEMS OF TOPONYMY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MEMPHIS AND *PRW-NFR* by Mariam Kamish

Ancient place names or toponyms, like modern ones, were often of vague and shifting reference and two toponyms might have a district or part of a district in common. Our modern terms provide for districts within boroughs and boroughs within counties. Half a city may be in one county and the other half in the next. A river may have two names or different names along consecutive stretches of its course. In the most common memphite example, *Mn-nfr*<sup>1</sup>, might refer to the city of Memphis, the memphite nome or, originally, to the district of Memphis in the vicinity of the pyramid of Pepi I which was called *Mn-nfr Ppi* and from which the name spread. The statement then, in an ancient text, that a district or temple was at Memphis is ambiguous. The ordinary complexities of usage, clear enough to those who live among them, but difficult to decipher, can obscure the reference of even a well-attested toponym.

I propose in this note to illustrate the problems of memphite toponymy in particular, and of the methodology of egyptian toponymy generally, through an analysis of the evidence for *Prw-nfr*, an important memphite district during the second half of the new kingdom. Toponym problems ordinarily arise in two contexts: in the interpretation of their significance in texts and in attempting to recognise the regions on the ground which are known from texts. *Prw-nfr* had a port, or rather - to avoid the unwanted connotations which attend, in egyptological work, the use of analagous terms in the place of definitions - it had a place to which and from which ships went and at which ships were built, as will be discussed below. The variety of the available evidence suggests that *Prw-nfr* must have been of some size and for the period during which it retained its status in shipping, we can be certain that it must have been important. More often, it is difficult to gauge the size or importance of a district, a temple or an estate. The name may be evocative, as *Prw-nfr* 'a beautiful going forth' is, but it is not likely to give us information about the location or the constituents of a region.

We have no direct evidence from texts or from archaeological remains of where *Prw-nfr* stood. We therefore can only make inferences from what texts tell us about its character as a district and from context, that is, by noting any temples, estates or other toponyms which are associated with it. The method is not without disadvantages, as it requires one to construct a model, a notion of what *Prw-nfr* was like, on the assumption that we know everything significant about it. One has to bear in mind that this may turn out to be of little use or even to be misleading. This is, after all, not an exercise in town planning; it is an attempt to locate a district in the absence of direct evidence. We do not know whether *Prw-nfr* was founded or was chosen to serve its several purposes. One may, furthermore, be reckoning without vital information. One deduces, however, given the known features, the most logical location for the district. The greater the number of elements which concur in the calculation, the more confident of it one can be. In the absence of comparative studies, which we lack for Egypt, it is important to realise that there may be a distinction between the apparently most logical and the most likely or most usual situation for a port or a temple.

The first step in studying a toponym is to consult the standard works of reference. Brugsch quotes an overseer of granaries of *Prw-nfr*<sup>2</sup>. Gauthier in his *Dictionnaire* was uncertain about *Prw-nfr* and guessed with Daressy that it might have been on the asian side of the delta<sup>3</sup>. There is no reference in Gardiner's *Onomastica*<sup>4</sup>. Montet's *Géographie* only mentions in passing 'Amon-Re', the great ram of Per-nefer<sup>5</sup>. Helck's entry in the *Lexikon* describes *Prw-nfr* as a port of Memphis<sup>6</sup>. He chiefly is concerned with the character of the area. For some of his inferences the available evidence is slender. Helck suggests that Baal and Astarte of *Prw-nfr* may have been the deities known to Herodotus as Proteus and the foreign Aphrodite. This is dubious as *Prw-nfr* is last mentioned in the surviving record in the middle of the reign of Ramesses II<sup>7</sup>. The description of *Prw-nfr* as 'a favourite residence of Amenhotep II who grew up here' may be overstated, but there clearly were gardens at *Prw-nfr* in which the king was shown at leisure.

The evidence for an estate of Amenhotep II at *Prw-nfr* comes from the tomb of *Kn-'Imn* at Thebes<sup>8</sup>. In the outer hall, Amenhotep II is shown on the lap of his nurse, *Kn-'Imn's* mother. The text reads in part, 'Be strong of heart, seeing merry-making, music, dance and song, rejoicing with gladness in heart, seeing his majesty in the garden of *Prw-nfr*, *šm ib m3 3bj nfr hsi hbt šm'w ḥ'i ršwt m ib m33 ḥm.f m ḥntj-š n Prw-nfr* and '...spending a good day binding on a garland in your orchard, a lotus to your nose, king Amenhotep', *irt hrw nfr ts w3ḥw m 't nt ḥt.k, sšn r fnd.k, ('Imn-ḥtp)]*.

For the purposes of a theory for the location of *Prw-nfr*, it may be significant that Amenhotep II, in the egyptian idiom, 'made good days' there. Ideally, in the heat of Egypt one wants to be up-wind of the smells of a village or city, where there is, of course, less noise, as well. At Cairo, the city has been moving northwards since its foundation, as the wealthy have periodically moved to the new northern edge of the

city. There are also wealthy suburbs at the far south of Cairo, where there once were villages and country residences. Knowing no reasons, however, for a similar phenomenon at Memphis, it can be said that prevailing winds from the north might logically suggest a site for a royal residence at the north of the city, which is, then, where we might expect to find its district of *Pw-nfr*.

*Kn'-lmm* also records his appointment by Amenhotep II to the chief stewardship of the royal estate of *Pw-nfr*, *imj-r pr wr nsw n Pw-nfr*. This appears to have entailed more than stewardship of the residence itself, as a seal or brand with the name of *Pw-nfr* appears in a scene of the revenue of the fields and herds<sup>9</sup>. The title refers specifically to *Pw-nfr*, rather than simply to an estate of the king, so one would expect the estate in question to have been at *Pw-nfr*. If it was, *Pw-nfr* is not likely to have been in the area of central Memphis.

A final feature of *Kn'-lmm*'s biography is relevant here. The discovery of a large number of fine Osiris figures with the titles of *Kn'-lmm* near a burial shaft at Zawiyet abu Mossalam<sup>10</sup> suggests that *Kn'-lmm* may have had a cenotaph near Memphis. Amenhotep II apparently was born at Memphis<sup>11</sup>. If he also grew up there, as *Kn'-lmm*'s garden scene suggests, then *Kn'-lmm*, whose mother must have been close to the king in his childhood, may have been of Memphite family, though he is buried, as his king is, at Thebes. There is, in any case, precedent for a cenotaph for an official in the region in which he was active<sup>12</sup>. The site at Zawiyet abu Mossalam, five miles south of Giza, is far enough from the main Saqqara necropolis to invite question. The obvious hypothesis is that it may have lain in the area of *Pw-nfr*, the region of Memphis with which *Kn'-lmm* was connected<sup>13</sup>.

Shipyards figure in the record of *Pw-nfr*. Pap.B.M. 10056<sup>14</sup> records wood allotted in year 33 of the reign of Amenhotep II<sup>15</sup> for the building of ships at *Pw-nfr*. A large work force of craftsmen and chief craftsmen is attested<sup>16</sup>. A scene from *Kn'-lmm*'s tomb shows ships in the background, as *Kn'-lmm* inspects cattle. Now, a shipyard produces a good deal of waste. It inevitably fouls the water badly<sup>17</sup>. This would, ideally, dictate a position downstream of the city, which again points to a site for the model *Pw-nfr* at the north of Memphis. The matter of the shipyard's dirty water is not in conflict with the cleaner air for the 'suburb' postulated above. The shipyards and port must have occupied the riverfront. The royal residence at *Pw-nfr* would have been away to the west, no doubt fed by a canal, perhaps from the west or south.

*Pw-nfr* also had temples to foreign gods and it was one of the places at which provision was made for foreign envoys<sup>18</sup>. Why foreign gods were provided with temples at Memphis is a separate question. One possibility, certainly, is that the foreigners who lived there built them<sup>19</sup>. Messengers from the Levant and beyond in the new kingdom apparently stayed at Memphis, unless or until they were called to Thebes<sup>20</sup>. The purpose in keeping them at Memphis was to contain them, it might best have been served if the district in which they were entertained was below, i.e., once again north of, the city. This would have set them down, as they arrived from the north, at Memphis, but not within it or at its southern, 'egyptian' side. Finally, when Amenhotep II, as he says on his Karnak stele, returned from *Rtnw*, he 'went forth from *Pw-nfr* to Memphis, proceeding contented with the plunder he had brought from the foreign land of *Rtnw*, *prt hm.f m Pw-nfr hr wd3 m htp r Mn-nfr hr p3 h3k in.n.f hr h3st Rtnw*<sup>21</sup>. This used to be taken to imply that *Pw-nfr* was somewhere in the delta on the route to Syria, because the text seemed to suggest that there had been a journey from *Pw-nfr* to Memphis<sup>22</sup>. It is now generally accepted that *Pw-nfr* was at Memphis<sup>23</sup>, but as the evidence for this has not, so far as I know, been discussed in print, it may be as well briefly to rehearse it here.

The name *Pw-nfr* appears on the Memphis<sup>24</sup> and Karnak<sup>25</sup> stelae of Amenhotep II; on a block of Amenhotep II from Bubastis<sup>26</sup>; on monuments of *Kn'-lmm* from Zawiyet abu Mossalam, five miles south of Giza, and from Thebes<sup>27</sup>; on monuments of *S3-rbj-hn* from Saqqara<sup>28</sup>, on a block of *Mj-sjmt* from Saqqara<sup>29</sup>; on the stele of *Mj* from Saqqara<sup>30</sup>; on an unpublished ostrakon in Brussels<sup>31</sup>, in the administrative papyri, Pap.BM 10056<sup>32</sup> and Pap.Leningrad 1116A verso<sup>33</sup>; and in the model letter of Pap.Sallier IV verso on the wonders of Memphis<sup>34</sup>.

The block found at Bubastis had been reused and it is known that Ramesses II took stone for reuse all the way from Memphis to Avaris. The Theban monuments of *Kn'-lmm* are, as we have seen, paralleled by a second set at Memphis. The remainder and majority of the occurrences of the name are from a memphite context. The Pap.Sallier IV verso mention would itself be decisive if it were not that it is oddly spelt as *Pri-nfr*. It appears in the midst of a list of temples at Memphis as 'the great ram of Amun of *Pri-nfr*', *rhj wr n lmm Pri-nfr*. As (i) a cult of Amun of *Pw-nfr* is attested by the Memphis Amenhotep II stele, the Amenhotep II block from Bubastis and the titles of *S3-rbj-hn*, *Mj* and *Mj-sjmt*, and as (ii) the name *Pw-nfr* is spelt quite variously through the 18th dynasty<sup>35</sup>, the Pap.Sallier IV verso occurrence should probably be accepted as a reference to the *Pw-nfr* of the older texts. With their support, it can be taken to secure a memphite reference for the name<sup>36</sup>.

Returning to the Amenhotep II passage, it seems clear that if, as he appears to say he did, Amenhotep II took stone for reuse all the way from Memphis to Avaris, the Theban monuments of *Kn'-lmm* are, as we have seen, paralleled by a second set at Memphis. The remainder and majority of the occurrences of the name are from a memphite context. The Pap.Sallier IV verso mention would itself be decisive if it were not that it is oddly spelt as *Pri-nfr*. It appears in the midst of a list of temples at Memphis as 'the great ram of Amun of *Pri-nfr*', *rhj wr n lmm Pri-nfr*. As (i) a cult of Amun of *Pw-nfr* is attested by the Memphis Amenhotep II stele, the Amenhotep II block from Bubastis and the titles of *S3-rbj-hn*, *Mj* and *Mj-sjmt*, and as (ii) the name *Pw-nfr* is spelt quite variously through the 18th dynasty<sup>35</sup>, the Pap.Sallier IV verso occurrence should probably be accepted as a reference to the *Pw-nfr* of the older texts. With their support, it can be taken to secure a memphite reference for the name<sup>36</sup>.

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made a triumphal progress into Memphis from *Pw-nfr* with his booty from *Rtnw*, he would not ideally have sailed through Memphis first on his way to port. *Pw-nfr*, therefore, if it conforms to expectation, is unlikely to have been at the south of Memphis as has been suggested in the egyptological literature whenever the question has arisen<sup>37</sup>.

The text could be interpreted to mean that Amenhotep II landed at central Memphis itself and made a parade from the river through the city. Most probably, the riverside at Memphis had along its length landing stages serving temples, storehouses and other complexes. There will, then, have been plenty of choice of harbour for Amenhotep's return. He says that he went first to *Pw-nfr* and the port at *Pw-nfr* will have had to be large enough to accommodate many ships, though egyptian ships were of relatively modest size. This, the considerations of convenience discussed above and the more substantial evidence of the archaeological record make a central location for *Pw-nfr* very unlikely. The place where the fleet was kept will, furthermore, have had value for defence. This constitutes another and considerable reason for the ideal *Pw-nfr* to have belonged to the northern, 'asian' side of Memphis.

The physical constitution of a Nile port is, of course, relevant here. From late period descriptions and from observation in modern times, we know that islands form in the river at Memphis and later join the bank<sup>38</sup>. A stretch of bank protected by a temporary island may have provided a good port site in Amenhotep II's time. We do not yet know the condition of the river bank at Memphis in the middle of the 18th dynasty. It can only be said that purely physical factors might have dictated the choice of *Pw-nfr* for a port. It is necessary, then, to be circumspect in deriving a hypothesis for its location from what remains, for the present, incomplete evidence.

It can, given these reservations, be said that *Pw-nfr* is likely to have been in the north of Memphis. The difficulty is that given our present knowledge of Memphite topography, it would be wrong to assume that this was immediately more descriptive than the more general declaration that *Pw-nfr* was at Memphis. As we do not know where the centre of Memphis was at any time in its history, we do not know where its northerly part was. Memphis is so well documented that we have the uncomfortable luxury of knowing many more places from the texts than we can yet account for in the field. In this case though, there are archaeological clues, as well.

The present ruin field at Memphis is 3 km from north to south and an irregular km and 1/2 from east to west. Memphis in the new kingdom will have covered a considerably larger area. Major settlement at Memphis in pharaonic times moved roughly from the north to the south of the area which includes the present ruin field. In the old kingdom, settlement may in part have been determined by the requirements of contemporary pyramid works which moved from Saqqara to Zawiyet al-Aryan, to Mejdum, Dahshur, etc. H.S. Smith believes that kings may have built their palaces in the vicinity of their pyramid complexes. If so, the pyramid cities may have been important satellites of Memphis. With the Nile as a highway, administration and supply need not have been inconvenienced by a diffuse or shifting organisation for the city.

Within the present ruin field, there is a descending gradient from the new kingdom through late period remains in the north at Kom Temam to the roman remains on Kom Sabakhah to the south. Until adequate soundings have been taken in all areas of the site, it will not be possible to be certain that some of the divergence is not due to variation in pre-settlement land levels. Height variation in the floodplain, however, is usually to be explained by occupation as the yearly floods levelled most unprotected areas. Textual evidence suggests that the actual south of Memphis was to a late date less populated than the north. An administrative papyrus from Memphis dated to the reign of Seti I lists 's - wood to be collected in the southern quarter, the resting place of the house of Amon-Re', *t3 q3t hwt n 3 nfr m t3 iwjt n 3m' p3 hnw n p3 pr n 'lmm-r'*<sup>39</sup>.

It is tempting, in the light of this apparent concordance of textual and physical evidence, to guess that the ruin field as it remains to us may lie at the centre of the area occupied by ancient Memphis. The presence of the enclosure of the great Ptah temple at the centre of the ruin field encourages an impression that it should. The most widely published assumption, however, judges otherwise. It is based upon the name of the Ptah temple itself, 'Ptah south of his wall', *Pth rsj inb.f*. This has been understood to mean 'Ptah whose temple lies south of the walls of his city, Memphis'<sup>40</sup>. As the remains of the Ptah enclosure on Kom Fakhry certainly are those of the great Ptah temple, it has generally been assumed that they lie at the south of the site of ancient Memphis, or at the south of the city wall as it was situated in the old kingdom or perhaps, the archaic period. In fact, this is the one element for which an agreement of known memphite toponymy and topography has been taken to be quite certain.

'Ptah south of his wall' is first attested from the 5th dynasty in the tomb of *Pr-sn* at Saqqara and on the Palermo stone<sup>41</sup> and is very common thereafter. Pap. Harris, however, gives *Pth rsj 'Inb-hd*, that is, 'Ptah south of the white wall' determined by a city sign<sup>42</sup>. 'His wall' *inb.f* is replaced by 'white wall' *'Inb-hd*. 'White walls', *'Inbw-hd*, is, of course, one of the chief names of the city of Memphis. The occurrence of this variant

might be taken to show that Memphis was intended by the term 'wall' in the ordinary form of the temple name, 'Ptah south of his wall'. The Pap.Harris variant, however, apparently appears only here, while there are countless references to 'Ptah south of his wall'. As the papyrus is of ramesseide date, this may be an example of the ramesseide tendency to impose sense upon archaisms in language and thinking which were no longer understood. There are instances of this in religious texts and in the glossed medical texts<sup>43</sup>. We cannot assume that the great Ptah temple actually was at the south of the city in the ramesseide period. We know from the archaeological record that it was not<sup>44</sup>. This then, can only be a ramesseide guess and a ramesseide guess is likely to be scarcely better informed than a modern one. Therefore, the unduplicated variant in Pap. Harris probably is not significant.

Clearly, to have assumed that the significance of the name 'Ptah south of his wall' was obvious has been overly optimistic. Even if the usual explanation could be considered sound, its usefulness would be limited by the relatively strong evidence that the city was expanding to the south by the end of the old kingdom. It has been pointed out, however, that if Memphis was walled at an early date, one should not have expected an important temple to stand outside the city walls<sup>45</sup>. Early temples may have been defensible, but if Memphis was fortified at that date, why should a temple not have taken advantage of that protection?

'Ptah south of his wall' might refer to walls of a district under the particular patronage of Ptah. Ancient city districts may sometimes have been walled, as medieval districts were. The name might even point to a memory that Ptah originally belonged to a district or village which later became part of the larger city. On the other hand, the Ptah temple may have lain within the city walls and the epithet nevertheless have referred to them. If Ptah was an important god at Memphis from an early date, the city wall may have been called his wall, if only in the vicinity of his temple. It is possible, then, that the Ptah temple lay just inside, i.e. south of, the *north* wall of the early city.

I suggest these varied readings of the temple name not because I imagine that the question can be settled from the evidence available at present, but in order to demonstrate that it cannot be. We need some certainties in the topography of Memphis to anchor the mass of textual and archaeological information which we are accumulating. To date, not even our few generally accepted assumptions can be considered reliable.

Rigorous analysis of the sparse evidence for toponyms and the problems of inferences derived from models may suggest that toponymy has little to offer. It may appear that only field work, random field work if necessary, can help to make sense of the catalogue of ancient egyptian place names and to unravel the ancient registers of administrative districts or the descriptions of festival processions. I suspect that the apparent difficulties of a toponym project might in great part be eliminated through a more comprehensive approach than usually is undertaken.

The most promising strategy would appear to be to gather as much information as possible about all recognisable memphite toponyms in order to gauge, through comparison of textual contexts, their references to one another. Memphis is well represented in texts of all periods. It also offers excellent opportunities for excavation. New building works, however, and new cultivation in the ruin field threaten to overtake the archaeological survey. If a history of city organisation at Memphis is to be attempted, the field work must be supported by as thorough as possible an investigation of already available material.

## NOTES

1. See Gardiner, A., Ancient egyptian onomastica, II, Oxford, 1974, §394, but the history of use of the toponym will require new research.
2. CG 34050. Brugsch, H., Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte, Leipzig, 1879, p.221. Lacau, P., Stèles du nouvel empire, Cairo, 1909, p.86-90, pl.30.
3. Gauthier, H., Dictionnaire des noms géographiques, Cairo, 1925, II, p.53, p.143; VI, p.141, ff. At VI, p.141, ff., Gauthier lists occurrences of the toponym and current views and ends by agreeing with Daressy, Bul.soc.roy.géog.d'Ég., 16, p.225-6, 233.
4. Gardiner, op.cit., Memphis and delta section, II, §393, A, ff.
5. Montet, P., Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne, Paris, 1957, p.35.
6. Helck, W., 'Perunefer', in Helck, W. and Otto, E., Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden, 1975, p.990.
7. *Prw-nfr* is very well attested for the 18th dynasty. For the Ramesses II occurrence, see Gardiner, A., Late egyptian miscellanies, Bruxelles, 1937, p.xviii. *Prw-nfr* may have ceased to be a port in the late new kingdom and may therefore have lost its identity as a district. For the question of riverbed shifts at this latitude, see David Jeffreys' excellent new book, which is also very valuable for all matters of the history of Memphis, ancient, medieval and modern, for its detailed plans and record of land use and past excavations and for its description of the current condition of the site. Jeffreys, D.G., The survey

- of Memphis, London, 1985, p. 48ff. In a work of The survey's scope, one cannot take on the reference of individual ancient toponyms, as is attempted here. This in large part remains to be done.
8. Davies, N. de G., The tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes, N.Y., 1930, II, pl. 9A, 10A, 11A.
  9. Davies, op.cit., pl. 18. For *Kn-'Imn*'s eighty-seven titles, p. 10-16.
  10. Davies, op.cit., I, p. 10. Boulos, T., 'Digging at Zawiyet abu Mossalam', ASAE 19, 1920, p. 145-8. Daressy, G., 'Les statuettes funéraires trouvées à Zawiyet abou Messalam', ASAE 19, 1920, p. 149-52.
  11. Petrie, F., Scarabs and cylinder seals with names, London, 1917, p. 26., pl. 30, no. 18.7.1. The only evidence that he grew up at Memphis is the scene, Davies, op.cit., pl. 9. *Kn-'Imn*'s titles include 'foster-brother of the king', *sn n mn'j n nb t3wj*, presumably because his mother was wet-nurse to the future king.
  12. For cenotaphs of contemporary officials, Davies, op.cit., p. 10, note 2.
  13. Davies was concerned not with where *Prw-nfr* was, but with why *Kn-'Imn*'s Osiris figures were found at Zawiyet abu Mossalam. In this context, he says 'the site where these relics of him were found may mark the actual estate and adjacent desert where he inspected the cattle and hunted game in the intervals of business'. Davies, op.cit., p. 10.
  14. Glanville, S.R.K., 'Records of a royal dockyard of the time of Thutmose III: papyrus B.M. 10056, pt. 1', ZÄ 66, 1931, p. 105-21.
  15. Redford, D., 'The coregency of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II', JEA 5, 1965, p. 109.
  16. Glanville, op.cit.
  17. This was pointed out to me in conversation some time ago by Prof. Smith.
  18. Foreign names and gods: PM iii 2, 717; Golenischeff, op.cit., 1116A, vs., l. 42; and the Memphis stele of Amenhotep II, Helck, W., Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, Berlin, 1955, heft 17, p. 1300. For foreign envoys: Pap. Len. 1116A, vs., line 68, ff.
  19. See Kamish, M., 'Foreigners at *Prw-nfr* in dynasty 18', Wepwawet 1, 1985, p. 19-21.
  20. See Vallogia, M., Recherche sur les 'messagers' (wpwtw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes, Geneva, 1976.
  21. Helck, op.cit., no. 375B, 1315, 11.
  22. Daressy, op.cit. and Spiegelberg, W., 'La ville de *Prw-nfr* dans le delta', RdÉ 1, p. 215-6.
  23. Helck, Lexikon, p. 990. To Helck's statement should be added, 'in the second half of the new kingdom': see note 7, above.
  24. Helck, Urk., 1300, 7.
  25. Helck, op.cit., 1315, 11.
  26. Naville, Bubastis, London, 1891, p. 30-1.
  27. Davies, op.cit.
  28. PM, op.cit.
  29. Quibell, J.E. and Hayter, A.G.K., Teti pyramid, north side, Cairo, 1927, p. 37.
  30. Lacau, op.cit.
  31. Spiegelberg, op.cit.
  32. Glanville, op.cit.
  33. Golenischeff, op.cit., lines 42, 55.
  34. Gardiner, LEM, vs. 1, 5-6, p. 89.
  35. This will be evident from the texts listed.
  36. The arrangement of the temple names in the letter does not have any apparent geographical significance which might be helpful in the attempt to discover where at Memphis *Prw-nfr* lay. Many of the toponyms, however, remain unresearched.
  37. Jeffreys, op.cit., p. 48.
  38. Jeffreys, op.cit., p. 51, ff.
  39. Spiegelberg, W., Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I, Strassburg, 1896, Pap. Bib. Nat. 209, recto, col. II, pl. 9. Because *Prw-nfr* is known to have had a cult of Amun, this has been taken as evidence that *Prw-nfrw* as in the south of Memphis. The estate need not have been near its temple, of course, but if it was, it is likely to have belonged to the temple of Amun of *Hnt-nfr*, which most likely was in the south of Memphis, as I intend to illustrate in my thesis on Cults of the god Amun at Memphis.
  40. Holmberg, M.J., The god Ptah, Lund, 1946, p. 205, ff.
  41. Mariette, A., Les mastabas de l'ancien empire, Paris, 1884-5, p. 300. Schäfer, Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen, Berlin, 1890, p. 41.
  42. Erichsen, W., Pap. Harris I, Bruxelles, 1933, pl. 50, 4.
  43. e.g. Breasted, J.H., The Edwin Smith surgical papyrus, Chicago, 1930, p. 19, etc. etc.
  44. Jeffreys, op.cit., p. 19, ff.
  45. Holmberg, op.cit. It should be added here that Neith of Memphis is called 'Neith north of her wall'.

## THE DEATH OF AKHENATEN'S SECOND DAUGHTER

### by F.J.E. Boddens-Hosang

The royal tomb of Akhenaten, situated in a remote ravine in the hills behind el-'Amarna, contains a set of rooms, alpha to gamma, which were the burial chambers of Akhenaten's second daughter, Meketaten. When exactly she was buried there is unknown; however, as she is present at the presentation of foreign tribute in year 12, it must have been sometime after that date<sup>1</sup>.

In room gamma, Meketaten, identified by the inscription, stands under a light canopy, fully dressed and with a conical unguent lump on her head. Meketaten's parents and three sisters, followed by mourners, stand sorrowing. A second scene in the same room shows the deceased princess on her funerary bier. Two sisters and her parents stand weeping. The customary mourners are represented, among whom is a woman who is suckling a baby held in her arms, followed by two sunshade-bearers. The sunshade held over the child's head indicates its high rank; however, any identification remains uncertain.

Room alpha contains a scene showing the king and queen weeping over the corpse of a daughter. The scene is badly damaged, so the identification of the deceased princess is uncertain. However, as the room was adapted for a royal burial, the princess may represent Merytaten<sup>2</sup>. Here again, among the mourners, is the nurse with the infant in her arms<sup>3</sup>. Various fragments of a sarcophagus with the probable remains of Meketaten's name have also been found in the royal tomb<sup>4</sup>.

In the tomb of Huya, three scenes portray the visit to 'Amarna of Queen Tiye and her daughter, Baketaten. These scenes are not dated, however as they are located near those of the presentation of foreign tribute which are dated, the king's regnal year 12 has been suggested<sup>5</sup>. In two of these scenes, Akhenaten and Nefertiti are shown with two daughters<sup>6</sup>. At the 'evening entertainment', one of the princesses is obviously 'Ankhesenpaaten, for enough of the inscription remains to read her name. The name of the second female is lost. Davies identifies her as Meketaten<sup>7</sup>. However, in an earlier publication, Lepsius claimed that she was Merytaten, which would seem more likely, as she was the eldest princess and hence probably would have been present<sup>8</sup>. In the second scene, two daughters of Akhenaten again are shown. One is Merytaten, as can be read in the adjoining inscription. Here as well the name of the other princess is lost. Davies argues that as she is shown on a smaller scale, she must be Neferneferuaten<sup>9</sup>, an argument difficult to follow as the figure could very well have represented 'Ankhesenpaaten.

These two scenes apparently represent occasions closely related in time. In one the princesses shown are 'Ankhesenpaaten and, perhaps, Merytaten. The other shows Merytaten and, possibly, 'Ankhesenpaaten. Admittedly, there is little ground for identifying the second princess here, except through comparison with the other scene, but her absence may be evidence that Meketaten had died soon after the presentation of tribute in year 12. Needless to say, this is mere speculation based on insecure foundations, however attractive it may seem.

### NOTES

1. Aldred, C., Akhnaten and Nefertiti, New York, 1937, 25; id. Akhenaten, pharaoh of Egypt: A new study, London, 1960, p. 93ff. Martin, G. T., The royal tomb at El-Amarna I, London, 1974, p. 104-5.
2. Martin, G. T., 'Expedition to the royal tomb of Akhenaten', ILN 6998, September 1981, p. 66-67.
3. Bouriant, U., Legrain, G., Jéquier, G. Monuments pour servir à l'étude du culte d'Aton en Égypte, I, Cairo, 1903, pl. 6-12.
4. Martin, The royal tomb, p. 28-29.
5. Aldred, C., Akhenaten, pharaoh of Egypt; id., CAH3 II.2, Cambridge, 1980; Glanville, S.R.K., Great ones of ancient Egypt, London, 1929, 131-2; Maspero, G., Tomb of Tiye, London, 1924, p. 81-116; Pendlebury, J.D.S., Tell-el Amarna, London, 1935, p. 12, 20, 47, 81; Wilson, J.A., The culture of ancient Egypt, Chicago, 1951, p. 231-3.
6. Davies, N de G., The rock tombs of El-Amarna III, London, 1905, pl. 4, 6.
7. Davies, op. cit., p. 7.
8. Lepsius, C. R., Denkmäler, Text ii, Leipzig, 1904, p. 139.
9. Davies, op. cit., p. 4.

## THE MENTUHOTEP VALLEY TEMPLE

by E. P. Uphill

The vast funerary complex of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep may still yield surprises if the archaeological reports of the Metropolitan Museum are examined. Little has yet been said of the valley temple and the eastern end of the causeway, although Arnold has suggested that mounds marked by Lepsius at Kom el Fessad<sup>1</sup> situated at over 200m east of the late Ramesside temple at the lower end of Thutmose III's temple causeway may indicate its site.

There are, however, some important pieces of evidence which may shed light on this problem and also give an entirely unsuspected answer, one that is more consistent with known Eleventh Dynasty building practice. It consists of a plan published by Winlock<sup>2</sup> and a section reconstruction in a preliminary report by Lansing<sup>3</sup>, which when combined cover the whole of the enormous area that lies at the lower end of the causeways of Mentuhotep and Thutmose III, later to be occupied by the gigantic projected temple of Ramesses IV.

It is clear from Winlock's remarks that he was greatly impressed by the scale of this cutting through which the Mentuhotep causeway descended to the valley at its lower end. Neither he nor Lansing could, however, give any explanation it seems for the width, which is much greater than necessary for taking the actual causeway. The two Middle Kingdom tombs may have had something to do with it if they were Eleventh rather than Twelfth Dynasty date. That to the south, number 840, is actually at a considerably higher level than the present cutting, which may of course have been enlarged in the Ramesside period.

The plan and section here<sup>4</sup> shows that the combined width of the causeways of Mentuhotep and Thutmose is about 80m. The width of the former is 37m across its inner stone walls and 46m across its outer brick ones, while the depth of the north tomb court appears to be about 15-16m or the same distance as the south tomb facade is south of Mentuhotep's outer causeway wall. Hence the total width of the cutting in the Middle Kingdom would have been 46m + 30-31m or 76m 50, ie. 145 cubits. The length of the cutting is double this, estimated as the length of the Ramesside temple measured from the east side of its hypostyle hall to its pylon front which is about 125m, added to the width of the north tomb facade restored with eight pillars and thus around 31m broad, a total of 157m or 300 cubits, see plan.

Now the great 'Saff' tombs of the Antefs which are formed from huge rock cuttings or artificial valleys are a most revealing parallel. As re-allocated by Arnold there are three running in a south-north line. The southern, the Saff el Dawaba of Sehertau is not only the earliest but also the largest, measuring about 300m + long by 54-65m broad (600 x 125 cubits). The vast quantity of excavated material is stacked at the sides of the cutting in two immense barrow-like mounds which rise to about 6.50m. high. Allowing an average height of 5-6m. for the cutting this gives a total mass of material reaching from 100,000 - 120,000m<sup>3</sup>, constituting an even higher figure of material<sup>5</sup> than was contained in a smaller pyramid such as that of Userkaf which is barely 75,000m<sup>3</sup>.

The middle tomb, the Saff el Kisasi of Wahankh measures 241,50m long by 57,50m - 68m broad, and has an average depth again of 4-6m. In the huge court thus formed was placed a brick funerary chapel. The northern tomb, the Saff el Baqar of Nakht *nb tp nfr* was originally over 100m long by 79m broad (150 cubits) maximum.

It can be seen from these figures that there was a tendency, as time passed, for the cuttings to be made wider and shorter. Hence the Mentuhotep cutting fits the later period very well. The Lansing restoration section suggests a depth of from 6-8 metres at the west end of the cutting, while the gradient of the causeway, viz. 1 in 40 would, if continued into the cutting, put the floor level at 4m. lower on the valley side. The figure of 8m depth throughout thus would give an area of about 12,060m<sup>2</sup>. The cubic mass of rock removed may therefore have been of the order of 96,484m<sup>3</sup>, or a total very similar to that suggested for the Antef tomb. This may again be compared with the approximately 120,00m<sup>3</sup> of the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht.

To sum up, it seems that Nebhepetre may have at first intended to build a gigantic saff tomb like his Theban ancestors, but that on reuniting Egypt, and with the vast resources then available, he began the great Deir el Bahari layout, using his original cutting as an entry area and perhaps placing a stone valley temple in it as the Antefs had done with their brick chapels. The Kom el Fessad remains may thus mark the site of Thutmose III's valley temple.

### NOTES

1. Arnold D., 'Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari 1', AV 8, Mainz 1974; 2, AV 11, Mainz, 1974; 3, AV 23, Mainz, 1981; 'The temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari', MMA Egyptian expedition



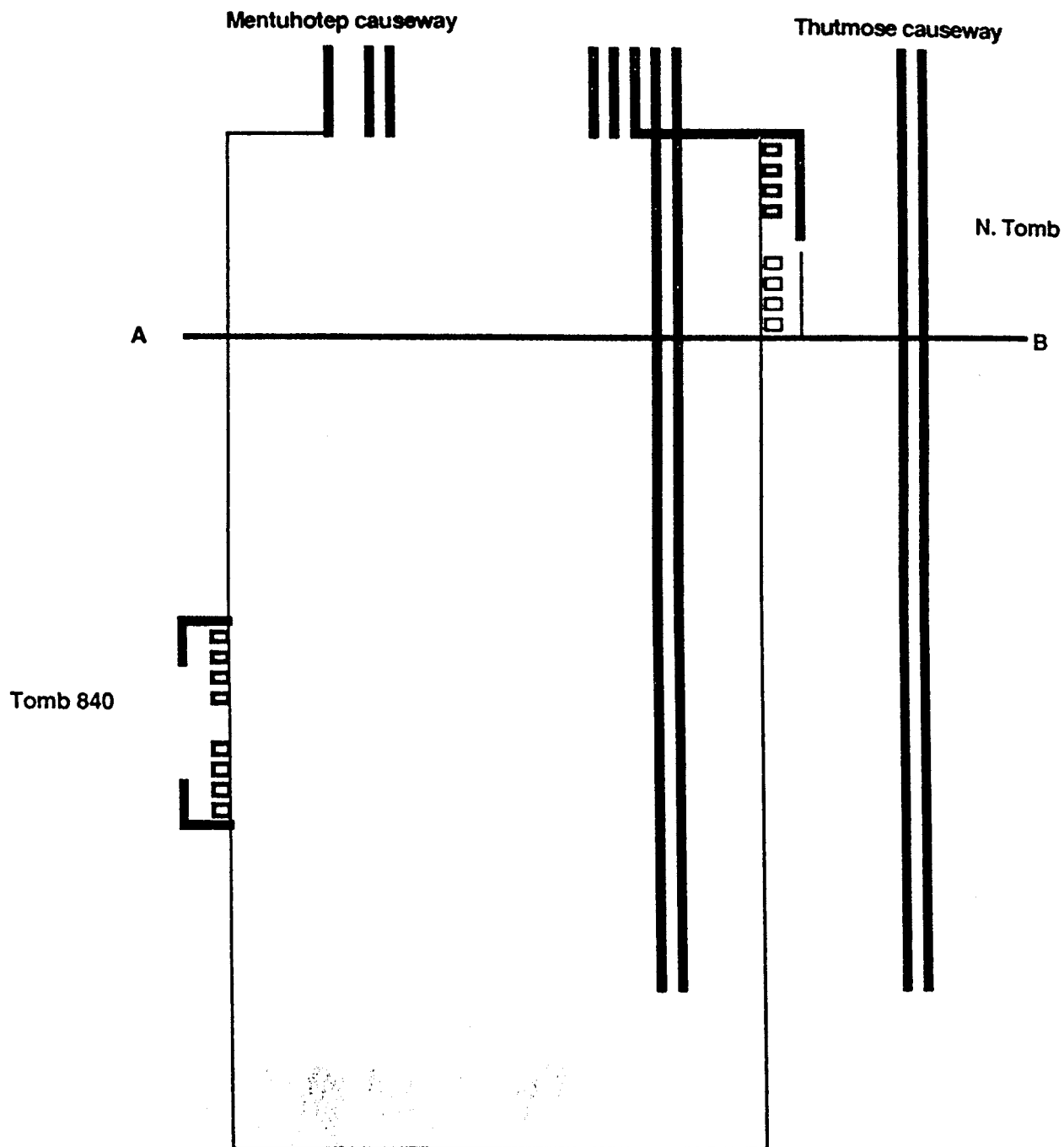
xxi, N.Y., 1979. LD 1.73.

2. Excavations Deir el Bahari, 7, fig. 1.

3. BMMA 1934-5, fig. 7.

4. See hypothetical plan of these combined with line A-B marking the join of the two sectors.

5. Arnold's estimate appears to be much higher i.e. 400,000m<sup>3</sup> and possibly represents the aggregate of all three cuttings.



0 25 50 m

suggested saff of Mentuhotep



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DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTOLOGY, UCL.  
Seminar Schedule 1985-6  
Organisers: Marlam Kamish  
: Robert Morkot**

**1985**

- Oct. 15: Robert Morkot..... The egyptian control of upper Nubia in the 18th dynasty.  
Oct. 22: Julia Harvey..... The organisation of the egyptian army.  
Oct. 29: Marlam Kamish..... Memphis topography.  
Nov. 5 : Prof. Jac. Janssen..... Remarks on the late ramesseide letters.  
Nov. 12: Mark Collier..... Playing the game; on structure and meaning in egyptian.  
Nov. 19: Mark Bush..... The strategic significance of egyptian fortresses in Nubia during the middle kingdom.  
Nov. 26: Frances Welsh..... Evolution in the dead centre.  
Dec. 3: Gay Robins..... The role of the royal family in the 18th dynasty up to the reign of Amenhotpe III.

**1986**

- Jan. 14: Christian Tutundjian.... The 'archaic' pyramids of the middle kingdom.  
Jan. 28: Mark Collier..... The status of ancient egyptian as a human language.  
Feb. 18: Ana Tavares..... Alleged mesopotamian influence in archaic Egypt.  
Feb. 25: Richard Jaeschke..... Methods of conservation.  
Mar. 4 : Liesbeth Boddens..... Relations between Egypt and the Levant during the new kingdom.  
-Hsang  
Mar. 11: Group seminar..... The formation of the egyptian state.  
Mar. 18: Prof. H.S. Smith..... Apis' mother and his mummy.  
Apr. 24: Rowena Webb..... Etiquette and iconography in egyptian banqueting scenes.  
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May 13: Robert Morkot..... The living image of Nebmare at Soleb.  
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