

THE JOURNAL OF
Egyptian
Archaeology

VOLUME 46
DECEMBER 1960

PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, W. 1


Price to non-members 70s. or \$10.00

THE JOURNAL OF
Egyptian Archaeology

VOLUME 46

PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, W. 1
1960

CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL FOREWORD	I
THE PHILADELPHIA-CAIRO STATUE OF OSORKON II Bernard V. Bothmer	3
THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE PHILADELPHIA-CAIRO STATUE OF OSORKON II Helen K. Jacquet-Gordon	12
MENEPTAH'S AID TO THE HITTITES G. A. Wainwright	24
A SELECTION OF TUTHMOSIDE OSTRACA FROM DĒR EL-BAĤRI W. C. Hayes	29
THE STATUETTE OF AN EGYPTIAN HARPER AND STRING-INSTRUMENTS IN EGYPTIAN STATUARY J. Leibovitch	53
THE TITLE  IN THE OLD KINGDOM H. Goedicke	60
PAPYRUS LYTGHOG: A FRAGMENT OF A LITERARY TEXT OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM FROM EL-LISHT W. K. Simpson	65
A CANONICAL MASTER-DRAWING IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM E. Iversen	71
A BLOCK OF AMENOPHIS IV FROM ATHRIBIS H. W. Fairman	80
SOME PRE-'AMĀRNAH SUN HYMNS H. M. Stewart	83
NOTES ON PTOLEMAIC CHRONOLOGY T. C. Skeat	91
BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1959) P. M. Fraser	95
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS: Was Osiris an ancient king subsequently deified?, by Sir Alan Gardiner, p. 104; A new fragment of the battlefield palette, by J. R. Harris, p. 104; The origin of black-topped red pottery, by A. J. Arkell, p. 105; The nature of the brick-work calculations in <i>Kah. Pap.</i> xxiii, 24-40, by W. K. Simpson, p. 106; The supposed Year 21 of Akhenaten, by H. W. Fairman, p. 108; Ptolemy son of Pelops, by T. B. Mitford, p. 109; A new Coptic month, by J. Drescher, p. 111.	
REVIEWS:	
SIEGFRIED SCHOTT, <i>Wall scenes from the Mortuary Chapel of the Mayor Paser at Medinet Habu</i>	Reviewed by C. H. S. Spaul 113
W. STEVENSON SMITH, <i>The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt</i>	C. H. S. Spaul 113
BERTHA PORTER AND R. L. B. MOSS, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. I. The Theban Necropolis. Part I, Private Tombs</i>	J. Černý 114
I. E. S. EDWARDS, <i>Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Fourth Series: Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom</i>	J. Černý 115
J. FORDE-JOHNSTON, <i>Neolithic Cultures in North Africa</i>	A. J. Arkell 116
W. C. HAYES, <i>The Scepter of Egypt. Part II</i>	T. G. H. James 118
R. ANTHES, <i>Mit Rahineh 1955</i>	T. G. H. James 119
K. C. SEELE, <i>The Tomb of Tjanefer at Thebes</i>	T. G. H. James 120

	PAGE
S. A. B. MERCER, <i>Earliest Intellectual Man's Idea of the Cosmos</i>	J. Gwyn Griffiths 122
R. O. FAULKNER, <i>An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours</i>	J. Gwyn Griffiths 123
BLANCH R. BROWN, <i>Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style</i>	R. A. Higgins 124
A. H. R. E. PAAP, <i>Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.</i>	E. G. Turner 125

LIST OF PLATES

Plate I.	Head of King Osorkon II	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Plate II.	Head of Osorkon II. Right profile	<i>facing p. 4</i>
Plate III.	Head of Osorkon II. Three-quarter view	<i>facing p. 5</i>
Plate IV.	Head of Osorkon II. Seen from above	<i>facing p. 6</i>
Plate V	Head of Osorkon II. Plaster cast	<i>facing p. 7</i>
Plate VI.	Statue of Osorkon II. 1. Without head; 2. With cast of head in position	<i>facing p. 10</i>
Plates VII–VIII.	Statue of Osorkon II. The stela	<i>between pp. 16 and 17</i>
Plates IX and IX A.	Tuthmoside ostraca from Dēr el-Baḥri	<i>between pp. 30 and 31</i>
Plates X and X A.	Tuthmoside ostraca from Dēr el-Baḥri	<i>between pp. 32 and 33</i>
Plates XI and XI A.	Tuthmoside ostraca from Dēr el-Baḥri	<i>between pp. 38 and 39</i>
Plates XII and XII A.	Tuthmoside ostraca from Dēr el-Baḥri	<i>between pp. 42 and 43</i>
Plates XIII and XIII A.	Tuthmoside ostraca from Dēr el-Baḥri	<i>between pp. 46 and 47</i>
Plate XIV.	Statuettes of Harpers	<i>facing p. 53</i>
Plates XV and XV A.	Papyrus Lythgoe	<i>between pp. 66 and 67</i>
Plate XVI.	British Museum drawing-board 5601	<i>facing p. 71</i>

oldest example known to me is in a graffito in the Wadi Maghara from the time of Djedkarē-Isesi¹ where, however, the name of the official is destroyed. All other occurrences of the title *imy-r* ⲉ belong to the Sixth Dynasty and later. The following are known to me:

Pepi I:		<i>Ggi</i>	Cairo 71/72; 1455
<i>Iy</i> . . .	<i>Urk.</i> I, 209, 2 = Weigall, <i>Documents of Lower Nubia</i> , pl. 30	Pepi II and later:	
<i>Iḏy</i>	<i>Urk.</i> I, 209, 4 = <i>ibid.</i> , pls. 56; 58, 28	<i>Nyḳꜥnh</i>	<i>Urk.</i> I, 113, 10 = Gardiner-Peet-Černý, <i>op. cit.</i> pl. IX, 17
<i>Hwꜥs</i>	<i>Urk.</i> I, 208, 17 = <i>ibid.</i> , pl. 29	<i>Mryrꜥnh</i>	<i>Urk.</i> I, 113, 9 = <i>ibid.</i>
<i>Nyḳꜥnh</i>	<i>Urk.</i> I, 92, 6 = Gardiner-Peet-Černý, <i>Inscriptions of Sinai</i> , pl. VIII, 16	<i>Hḳꜥib</i>	<i>Urk.</i> I, 131, 16-17
<i>Sndm</i>	<i>Urk.</i> I, 92, 7 = <i>ibid.</i>	<i>Sꜥbni</i>	<i>Ann. Serv.</i> 15, 4
<i>MnwꜥmrꜥnhMryrꜥ</i>	Goyon, <i>Nouvelles Inscriptions du Wadi Hammamat</i> , p. 53, no. 19	<i>Hwi</i>	<i>ibid.</i> 7
<i>Twꜥw</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	<i>Mḥw</i>	<i>ibid.</i> 3
<i>Nfrꜥrꜥpt</i>	<i>ibid.</i> p. 55, no. 21	<i>Wꜥꜥw</i>	de Morgan, <i>Fouilles à Dahchour</i> , 15, fig. 34
<i>Ndmib</i>	<i>ibid.</i> ²	<i>ꜥbbi</i>	Cairo 1406
<i>Twꜥw</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	<i>Hwꜥwi</i>	Brit. Mus. 199
<i>Thy</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	<i>ꜥny</i>	Brit. Mus. 1480
<i>Hwꜥnhꜥr</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	<i>ꜥnhꜥt</i> (?)	<i>Urk.</i> I, 134, 14
<i>Sndmib</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	<i>ꜥnhꜥtifi</i>	Vandier, <i>Mo'alla</i> , 19
<i>ꜥꜥfw</i>	<i>ibid.</i> p. 60, no. 26	<i>Sꜥbi</i>	Weigall, <i>op. cit.</i> pl. LVIII
<i>Hwꜥwi</i>	<i>ibid.</i> p. 61, no. 27	<i>Ikib</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Rdyn(i ?)</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	<i>Ttꜥnh</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Twꜥw</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	<i>Iri</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
Merenrꜥ:		<i>Hꜥpi</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Hrhꜥwf</i>	<i>Urk.</i> I, 120, 14	<i>Sꜥb . . .</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
		<i>ꜥꜥw</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
		<i>Hn . . . nt</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
		<i>Tꜥw</i>	P. Berlin 9010 (ZÄS 61, 71)
		<i>Wsr</i>	<i>ibid.</i>



Certain conclusions can be drawn from a study of these occurrences. The oldest example of the title *imy-r* ⲉ appears to date to the end of the Fifth Dynasty, while the title *hrp* ⲉ is known only from earlier times. This indicates either that *hrp* ⲉ was the old form which at the end of the Fifth Dynasty was changed to *imy-r* ⲉ or that the latter, a new creation, replaced the older *hrp* ⲉ. Among the examples listed above, we can distinguish three groups of different provenance:

(1) The individuals belonging to the largest group are mentioned in inscriptions found outside Egypt, in Sinai as well as in Lower Nubia all in graffiti reporting expeditions. These occurrences of the title in texts found in foreign territory form one of the main reasons for the assumption that the word ⲉ means 'dragoman' both by itself and

¹ Gardiner-Peet-Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, I, pl. vii, no. 13 = *Urk.* I, 56.

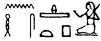
² The only instance in the Old Kingdom with the full spelling .

in the titles incorporating it. In such circumstances, however, the presence of an 'overseer of the dragomans or interpreters' involves great difficulties. The particular services rendered by an interpreter make it improbable that more than one would be appointed for an expedition; yet the mention of an 'overseer' presupposes a number of lesser officials under his charge.

To assume, on the other hand, that the *imy-r* ϵ was the head of an administrative institution, such as a 'bureau for foreign languages', seems also highly unlikely. In the inscription of Tomâs no fewer than eight *imy-r* ϵ are mentioned together, which demonstrates that this title cannot signify the leader of an administrative institution. If the latter were the case, then the successive listing of a number of contemporary title-holders would be unlikely. The *imy-r* ϵ seems rather to have been a commander of a certain class of people, as is indicated by the title  'overseer of all ϵ -people of the Southern land'.¹ Gardiner conclusively pointed out that  is equivalent to Greek *βάρβαρος* 'foreigner'; the *imy-r* ϵ , therefore, is the 'overseer of foreigners'.

(2) In the second largest group *imy-r* ϵ occurs as a title of the nobles of Elephantine. This place occupied a specific role in the Egyptian administration inasmuch as by its geographical position it was the outpost of Egypt towards the South; activity, both military and economic, against Nubia lay in the hands of officials residing there.²

(3) Three examples come from the Memphite region. One is from Sakkārah,³ the other two from Dahshur, one being in the decree of Pepi I for the pyramids of Snofru.

To find an 'overseer of foreigners' near the residence of the Royal Court seems strange. However, in the Dahshur decree⁴ the *imy-r* ϵ is listed among the addressees concerned with the royal order. Later in the same document  'pacified Nubians' are mentioned⁵ and it seems evident that they are to be connected with the official quoted in the address. This connexion is made even more obvious by the addition to the title *imy-r* ϵ of the qualifying words *nyw Mdꜥ Ysm Yrtt*. . . . These words specify him as 'overseer of the foreigners of *Mdꜥ, Ysm, Yrtt* . . .'. The 'pacified Nubians' can be recognized in this royal document as some kind of military formation among others in charge of the collection of taxes.

The *Nhsy htp* have been recognized long since as mercenary troops, used to reinforce the Egyptian army.⁶ The Dahshur decree makes it clear that the *imy-r* ϵ was the leader of a military formation consisting of such people. It is not surprising therefore to find the *imy-r* ϵ listed in Weni's account of the army he commanded.⁷ For this reason also it becomes understandable that most of the occurrences of the title are found outside the Egyptian frontiers, in places where expeditions were made. Expeditions of either a military or a reconnaissance nature in search of important and precious goods required

¹ Weigall, op. cit. pl. lviii bottom, no. 9.

² Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, 200, assumes that 'die dort stationierten Karawanenführer die Macht im Gau erhalten und somit zu "Gaufürsten" werden'.

³ Cf. Fischer, *JAOs* 74, 29 ff.

⁴ *Urk.* I, 209, 16.

⁵ *Urk.* I, 211, 3. 10. Borchardt (*ZÄS* 42, 7) had already expressed the opinion that the *Nhsy htp* are to be connected with the Nubian countries mentioned in the address. Cf. also the connexion between the *imy-r* ϵ and the *Nhsy w nyw hꜥswt iptn* in Weni's account of the army, *Urk.* I, 102, 5. 8.

⁶ Cf. Komorzinski, *AAA* 1, 46.

⁷ *Urk.* I, 102, 5.

the presence of soldiers. The bearing of the title by the governors of Elephantine resulted from their general military commission to screen the southern frontier of Egypt against Nubia. By taking *imy-r* ϵ as 'overseer of foreign (mercenary) troops' it becomes clear why we know the names only of 'overseers' of the ϵ , but never of a simple $\overline{\text{A}}$.

To complete the evidence of titles incorporating ϵ , we must note one instance of $\text{H} \overline{\text{A}}^1$ and two of $\text{H} \overline{\text{A}}^2$.

A word has to be said here about the occurrence of $\overline{\text{A}}$ in the funerary temple of Sahurē ϵ where it is found in the texts accompanying scenes representing foreign ships.³ Sethe in his commentary⁴ suggested the translation 'shipmate' (*Maat*) for which he offers no explanation. There can be no doubt that the word ϵ here is identical with the one in the title *imy-r* ϵ where it means—as is shown above—'foreigner'. A careful examination of the scenes shows the following results: The group $\overline{\text{A}}$ is placed above persons who differ in their appearance from the rest of the crew which is clearly depicted as Asiatic. The persons labelled $\overline{\text{A}}$ perform a particular kind of gesture different from that of the Asiatic people. They have one arm lifted up in adoration while the other is placed on the head of an Asiatic standing in front of them. The number of persons represented thus performing this particular kind of gesture exceeds many times the number of cases where $\overline{\text{A}}$ is written. In one ship, for instance, there are no less than six persons of this kind; in others, less well preserved, even more. Their appearance in such great numbers makes it difficult to consider them as 'interpreters'. It seems to me more likely that $\overline{\text{A}}$ was used here in an attempt to specify certain persons as 'foreigners' where it was not obvious from their appearance.

To sum up, we can begin by accepting the translation 'foreigner' for $\overline{\text{A}}$, deduced from $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\beta\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma$ by Gardiner. The word is known almost exclusively from compound titles, of which *hrp* ϵ and *imy-r* ϵ are the only really important ones; the older *hrp* ϵ was replaced at the end of the Fifth Dynasty by *imy-r* ϵ . The latter title occurs mainly in places outside the Egyptian borders in connexion with expeditions, or on the southern frontier where it is a regular dignity of the administrators of Elephantine.

There is no indication that this title means 'interpreter' or 'dragoman'. The officials who were called *imy-r* ϵ were the commanders of mercenary troops whose existence in the Old Kingdom is well attested from other sources.

¹ Gardiner-Peet-Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, I, pl. x, no. 18.

² *Nykrnh*, Gardiner-Peet-Černý, op. cit., pl. vii, no. 13 = *Urk.* I, 56 (time of Asosis); *Ihwf*, Gardiner-Peet-Černý, op. cit., pl. ix, no. 17 = *Urk.* I, 113, 16 (time of Pepi II).

³ Borchardt-Sethe, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahurē ϵ* , II, pl. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.