NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Les figurines funéraires égyptiennes. By Louis Speleers. Pp. 188, 46 plates and 5 sketches. Brussels: Sand (for the Fondation Universitaire de Belgique). 1923.

Monsieur Louis Speleers has the pen of a ready writer, and has now added another to the several works on the archaeology of Egypt and Western Asia that he has lately produced. M. Speleers has always been specially interested in sauabti-figures, and has studied them in many museums besides his own at Brussels, where his chief, M. Capart, has in the last few years created a national collection of Egyptian antiquities worthy of Belgium. His book is therefore valuable as the result of special study. It is not a detailed catalogue, naturally, of all the funerary figures in half-a-dozen of our chief museums, nor does M. Speleers, as he says, overload his work with all the inscriptions that belong to the sauabti that he does describe. He wishes his book to be readable, and not unwieldy. As it is not an official catalogue of all the objects of the kind in the museums concerned, this is no doubt the best course to pursue. Otherwise one would not be able to see the wood for the trees. An official catalogue, which must at times be unreadable by any but scientific researchers, is in quite a different case.

The present reviewer is himself specially interested in sauabti-figures as he is engaged on an official catalogue of those in the British Museum. Since the publication of Sir Ernest Budge’s Mummy, thirty years ago, Mr. Towry Whype’s article of 1896 in the P.S.E.A., and Prof. Newberry’s chapter in the report on Lord Northampton’s excavations in the Theban Necropolis, little that is very new has been written specially on sauabtis, though of course there is much information to be gleaned from the publications of archaeological excavations, such as our own of the Egypt Exploration Society, and those of Professors Petrie, Garstang, and Reisner, and their colleagues. M. Speleers sketches the history of the sauabti from the Middle Kingdom, when it first appeared, to the Thirtieth Dynasty, when to all intents and purposes it disappeared. He explains its confused origin in both the mumiform statuettes of the deceased and the wooden model figures of servants that were placed in the tomb. He treats of the text of the sixth Chapter of the Book of the Dead and its variants. He describes the chief types of the different periods and goes into the necessary detail with regard to the objects represented as carried by the sauabti, such as the hoes, the basket, and so forth. He illustrates his book with nearly fifty photographs of sauabtis from the collections at Brussels, Berlin, the Louvre, Leyden, Hildesheim, Gower Street, and Oxford. And in several summary sketches he indicates graphically the main differences in the detailed appurtenances of the sauabti at different periods.

As to the history of funerary figures, there is no doubt that they were still used in early Ptolemaic times, and even in Roman days we have the strange blue, green, and yellow glaze figure of “Soter, a sailor” (CΩΘΡΝΑΘΘΘ), which is probably a sauabti and certainly Roman, in the British Museum (No. 30769). Speleers does not mention this interesting object, the latest of its kind known. He does mention the mould for a sauabti-figure, B. M., No. 50667 (p. 18), but does not note that it is probably of Ptolemaic date. He mentions the extremely interesting fainence figure with the head of a Greek found at Saïs, and published by Maspero in Annales, 1902, which is certainly pre-Ptolemaic but after the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The Apis-headed figure at Brussels which he publishes (Pl. 40) is of about the same date—about fifth century B.C.—unless indeed it is early Ptolemaic. There is no doubt that Dr. Birch was wrong in saying (Alnwick Catalogue, p. 246) that “after the 36th dynasty they [the sauabti] appear to have been discontinued, as none of a later age have been discovered,” though in his note on p. 3 M. Speleers says “nos constatations confirment aussi l’opinion de ceux qui prétendent qu’après la XXVIe dynastie il n’y a plus de figurines (Comme S. Birch, Catalogue, etc., p. 246),” while on p. 63 he admits them until the Thirtieth; “après cette période, elles tombent en désuétude.”

The Middle Kingdom figures in our museums are of great interest. There is little doubt that most of them date towards the end of the period, and with some it is, as usual, hard to decide whether they should be classed as late Middle Kingdom or early Eighteenth Dynasty. Such an one is the sauabti of Rensenb, found by Peet at Abydos, of which there is an example in the British Museum (No. 49349), and another at Brussels, illustrated by Speleers on Pl. 8. As I have said in my Ancient History of the Near East, p. 24,
n. 1, this 8auabti, which is of Thirteenth Dynasty date, might but for the Middle Kingdom conceit of cutting off the legs of the animal-hieroglyphs in the inscription, to prevent them running away, be regarded as of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Such objects are a valuable weapon in the hand of those who, like myself, do not believe in Prof. Petrie's long chronology, but prefer that which is generally accepted. "One cannot suppose that Rensenh's 8auabti is five or six hundred years older than the Eighteenth Dynasty."

An interesting figure in the Ashmolean (Speleers, Pl. 9) is possibly of the Twelfth Dynasty. The British Museum possesses, besides No. 49349, at least five other Middle Kingdom stone 8au-abtes, Nos. 88662, 30037, 32556, 36435, and 49418, all exhibited in the Fifth Egyptian Room, case 138. Of these, two or three are probably of the Twelfth Dynasty, others Thirteenth-Seventeenth. Of early Eighteenth date we have those of Ipuucre (No. 32557), the priest Euwi (24390), Nos. 51818-19, and the magnificent statue of king Amosis I (32191), besides others. It is impossible to believe that more than two or three centuries separate them from the Twelfth Dynasty. M. Speleers' Pl. 21 is of this type. Of wooden figures there are several, notably that with the 8auabti inscription of Sembi, presented by Dr. Gardiner.

M. Speleers gives a satisfactory series of pictures of typical 8auabti of the fully developed Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty style, including Puyemre's (Pl. 14), but then his interest seems to tail off somewhat. We can find no mention, and no picture either, of the remarkable and curious alabaster 8auabtis of the Twentieth Dynasty, with their rude pebble shapes and their crude decoration in green wax-paint. M. Speleers has apparently forgotten all about them. Then the types of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty can hardly be said to be described at adequate length. Possibly they bored M. Speleers with their monotony. But they are often very fine things.

To my mind the author has not devoted anything like enough space to types and makes. The fine wooden 8auabtis of the Eighteenth Dynasty hardly appear. He mentions the bronze 8auabti (of the same date) as a great rarity, and instances the British Museum and other collections as possessing specimens, but does not mention the finest of all, probably the rarest and finest 8auabtis known, the great bronze figure exhibited by Lord Carmichael at the Burlington Club's show, in 1921, and described by Prof. Newberry and myself in the catalogue.

M. Speleers is most interested in the tools and other appurtenances of the 8auabti-figure. In his analysis of these he has done most useful work, and has pointed out new facts, such as the representation of the brick-mould in addition to the baskets, vases, etc. (p. 49, Pls. 23, 24). The dead man might therefore be expected to make bricks in the next world: a very menial occupation; but no doubt it was wisest to be prepared for unpleasant contingencies! The author's sketches 4 and 5 are valuable as collecting the various types of the sacks, bags, pots, yokes, etc. of the 8auabtis, and sketch 3 emphasizes the differences between "la houe et le hoyau"; but we cannot admire sketches 1 and 2, which had better have been re-drawn by a more practised hand. In the "get up" of the figures he does not seem to notice, judging by his description ("leur barbe [de dieu ou de momie] est indiquee par quelques traits obliques et paralleles," which are not accounted for), that the beard was plaited. The god’s beard, turned up at the end, does not appear on the 8auabtis till the Sait period. M. Speleers speaks always of the "fianct," whereas it seems very probable that the object so called is when in the hands of an Osrian in reality the ladanieum, as Prof Newberry maintains. But in later times it was undoubtedly confused with the task-master’s whip as a sign of authority.

That brings us to the matter of the "surveillants." Mr. Quibell showed in 1896 at the Ramesseum, as M. Speleers states, that one in ten of an average box full of 8auabtis is a reis, wears the apron of the living, and carries a whip. A woman’s 8auabti had of course female reises! (Pl. 20). At the same time it is not to be supposed that every 8auabti in the costume of the living is to be regarded as a reis. It became the fashion after the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty to represent men and women of place and worth in their gala costume worn in life, a fashion that persisted till the Twenty-Second Dynasty, and occurs, but very rarely, under the Twenty-Fifth and early Twenty-Sixth (Brit. Mus. 323932). Then it disappears, as M. Speleers says; but it is not correct to say that it was absolutely unknown under the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.

M. Speleers mentions Reisner’s remarkable royal 8auabti from the Sudan, and so is commendably up-to-date.

The word 8auabti M. Speleers thinks meant originally “corvéable,” or practically “laboureur,” rather than “answerer" or any other of the equivalents proposed for it, and connects it with a word in the Dahshur decree of the Sixth Dynasty, published by Bonhard, Zeitschr. f. d. Spr., xii, 5, which he reads 8auabti, and translates “corvéable,” though it is highly unlikely that at that time 8auabti would appear
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without would be de rigueur, and the word must be . His view therefore can hardly be maintained. Certainly it looks as if it were in later days, when the word became sauabtis, generally regarded as connected with wdB, and as meaning “answerer” or “representative.” Speleers gives analyses of the various versions of the sixth Chapter of the Book of the Dead, from the earliest to the latest forms. The list of variants on p. 105 is useful.

The author is not always quite careful enough in his citations. On p. 7, n. 2, I cannot identify the reference to Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., vol. vii, p. 54: there is nothing on that page about sauabtis. On p. 10, n. 1, the first volume of the Egypt Exploration Fund’s publication, The Eleventh Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari is referred to as “NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari, t. i, pl. 9, 11; E. E. F. 1907.” The date identifies the book, otherwise NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari, t. i, would refer to the first volume of the great book on Hatshepsut’s temple and the excavations of 1803-8. The later book should have been quoted as NAVILLE, HALL, and AYRTON, Deir el-Bahari, Xlth Dyn., t. That is the usual and proper way of referring to it, as the title-page shows, and the mention of the subordinate authors would have been gracious, since it was they who wrote the chapter describing the find that M. Speleers is referring to, and one of them (Ayrton), who was in charge of the excavation of the tombs, was the actual finder. Then Professor Newberry’s book on Rekemir and called (p. 27, n. 1) “NEWBERRY, Life of Rekhamet.” Prof. Newberry wrote and printed “Rekhamet,” and M. Speleers has imported his own spelling into Newberry’s title, which is unusual procedure. The reference on p. 62, n. 2, to the Annals, t. iii, 1902, p. 190, should be p. 186. Possibly there are other instances of wrong references that I have not noted. What is the meaning of the strange reference (p. 74, n. 1) “Brit. Mus. No. 6692 (Set B, pl. 16),” and “Brit. Mus. Set 35, pl. 2?” What is “Set.”? On the same page Prof. Elliot Smith’s name is spelt wrongly; and on p. 14, n. 3, a dukelom is posthumously conferred on the late Lord Carvarvon. We are certain that Professor Garstang never used the faddish American form Catalog (p. 7).

There are a few misprints such as “Dješerwi” (8 for s) on Pl. 4; “Hycksos” (p. 28); “Simubhe” (p. 89, n.); “Nahrungsmitteln” (sic p. 163), and a queer mix-up on p. 15, n. 2, “D’après LORET, Rec. tr. t. v, p. 72, les fellahs se servent encore des mêmes outils appelés en arabe ‘couffes’ et ‘hoyan.’” The italics are mine.

We wish too that writers in French would abandon the use of that strange invention, the word “kleft” (p. 32), and with this final vuel our criticisms of detail end. M. Speleers has written a book that contains matter of great value: I can only wish that he had told us more, and had given us more such interesting variations of the usual themes as that delightful little “Scribe Écorçeur” at Brussels, who is so busy writing down the number, 403, of his fellow-sauabtis (Pl. 1). M. Speleers shows reason to suppose that the number in the average sauabti-box was (in later times, at any rate) 365, one for each day of the year (cf. ERMAN, Zeitschr. f. dgs. Spr., xiv, p. 131), often plus 30 sides, the scribe, and the head-reis (?). The two last seem to have been something of a luxury, and it was not everybody who had even 401 sauabtis, or even the more modest 365, at any rate until Saite times, when, as is indicated by the enormous numbers of sauabtis of individual persons that have been found, the proper number was relentlessly provided by the undertaker.

They are quaint little people, the sauabti-folk, and a lover of Egyptian things could do worse than confine himself to collecting them. But if he does, he must look out for good and interesting specimens, and eschew the cheap and common Saite multitude.

H. R. HALL

Assyrian Medical Texts (Cuneiform). By R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., F.S.A. Oxford University Press. 1923. Pp. vii+107. Assyrian Medical Texts (Translations). By R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., F.S.A. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine. London; John Bale, Sons and Danielsson Ltd. 1924. Pp. 34.

A large proportion of the cuneiform texts extant are concerned with the treatment of the sick; and these texts provide a store of information about the religious beliefs, superstitions and scientific knowledge of the Babylonians and Assyrians similar to that contained in works dealing with funerary ritual in the case of Egypt. Mr. Campbell Thompson, who has already published almost all the plant and drug lists, and the incantations for sick men, in the British Museum, has now published 660 tablets (exclusive
of those adequately published by Küchler) which for the most part contain prescriptions for various specific diseases. This exhausts the material in the British Museum for all practical purposes. His translations of these texts have already begun to appear, and are of such importance for the study of ancient civilisation that the attention of Egyptologists should be immediately drawn to material which must, in many respects, resemble the medical papyri. Mr. Thompson's pioneer work on these texts will remain our principal authority on the cuneiform side for many years.

The Babylonians themselves claimed, as Mr. Thompson points out, that the practice of medicine as found in these tablets was known before the Flood, and this claim is borne out by the evidence of conservative practice which van Oesele long ago pointed out as the characteristic of medicine in all ages. Doctors still used bronze knives in the seventh century B.C.; useless elements were still included in prescriptions with useful drugs, abracadabra figured as largely in the treatment of skin troubles as poulticing and purging. Furthermore, several priests had to be consulted in the treatment of any case. The incantation priest on his way to the sick man's house had to note any natural omens, and consult the "seer" as to their nature; his observation of the sick man's symptoms was prefaced by omens drawn from the accident of his position. In this way the great work "When an incantation priest goes to a sick man's house" began. Then came the observation of the sick man's symptoms which commenced with the head, and proceeded carefully through every member of the body down to the feet, even including the veins of the eyelid. From these observations the nature of the disease was diagnosed. In many cases the disease is named; quite as often, the conclusion is that it is "the hand" of some god, or even of the king. The distinctions drawn in this matter between the gods are not at present quite clear, but from the texts already published, by Boissier, Thompson, Holma and in C.T., xxxvii, it is certain that a very careful terminology for various illnesses was in use, more especially in the case of fevers and skin complaints. The nature of the sickness having been decided, the incantation priest busied himself with reciting the formulae, and performing the rituals prescribed, some of which are known to Thompson, Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia. Meanwhile presumably the doctor poured up the concoctions which have remained a crux interpretum for many years. These potions are arranged under various heads: some are prescribed when a certain member of the body is sick; others are for a whole class of diseases, such as skin diseases; others are for sickness of a more general description, such as that arising "if a man is bewitched."

The texts have been copied by an expert hand, and the copies have been reproduced most successfully. The book is a pleasure to handle and read; and if a few errors have crept in among so much material they are so trivial as to be easily corrected. Thus in K 3687, Obv. 12, read gaggadu imqut (RU. RU-ut); Obv. 23, the sign for "blood" is omitted before "in his mouth"; Obv. 26-7 are a duplication of the same line. K 2723, Obv. 11, the last sign is certainly "hand(s)"); Obv. 40-1 the last sign is "eyes (2)," not AR; Obv. 67 the second sign is surely SA, cf. line 65.

The translations of these texts given by Thompson in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine are intelligible and readable, a pleasant change from the ungrammatical nonsense which sometimes masquerades as translation of cuneiform texts. The chief feature is the scientific method adopted by the translator of naming those plants which he has identified exactly or approximately, so that even before his "Assyrian Herbal" is published some conception of his method and results may be formed. The plant-lists have obviously been used to assign various plants to their "family"; the use of the drug obtained from the plant has then helped to identify the plant, more especially where parallels could be found in other medical literature, such as Bude, Syriac Book of Medicine. These identifications will enrich lexicography, not only in the Semitic languages. The connection of mandrake with the plant namtarru, and the derivations of πατρινάκη and αὐρήδες from Assyrian terms will raise in an acute form a discussion from which much of interest will result, namely the problem of how far Greek medicine was immediately derived from, and how far it was independent of, the older practice of the East.

A few suggestions may be offered as a tribute of interest in the work. The word generally translated "temples," but once "forehead," cannot have this meaning since the temples cannot "go together" (107, 3, 65), and is probably not to be read putu (see 107, 3, 61), but nakapot (Z. Ass. xxxiv, 92) "eyebrow," including the upper eyelid, to judge from 20, § 5. There is good evidence that (abnu) ši-um-ši (abnu) šiš, diorite, see Weissbach, Babylonische Mineralien, 7, and Grant, Business Documents, no. 53, 3. For the phrase translated "spread on a skin" perhaps "wrap in a skin" would be preferable, from ederu "to enclose." The forms II. 2 and III. 2 of abalu are translated variously by Thompson, but both seem to mean "add." The word gulgullu cannot mean "excrement" in view of K 2852, 11, 10; Thompson's
previous rendering "skull" is actually favoured by K 2332, 7, where a stork is boiled, and its gulgul mixed in a potion. The boiling is obviously to remove superfluous flesh from the skull. bararu and palamu said of the eyes are synonyms of nakaru, A.J.S.L., xxxviii, 194; cf. C.T., xvi, 34, 217, the devils "spy about like a hunting dog." The explanation of No. 14 is that sick men in certain cases had to repair to the "place" (oracle rather than "temple") of Shamash to complete their cure, cf. M.V.A.G., 1918, i, 25 ff.; "seeing fair things" refers to the inspection of the liver for omens. The explanation of LIŠ as "needles" in so far as it depends on ispurati is unconvincing; this word seems to mean "bent, complicated," cf. Z. Ass., xxxi, 41, and Jensen, Kultische Texte, 9*-10*.

Should not No. 19, 11 be read šid urkarini māšī, "crushed root of box"? In No. 26, the root katamu whether used as noun or verb surely means "shut," in reference to the eyes. Thus col. I, 6, "If a man's eyes are sick and are shut" corresponding to line 8, "If a man's eyes are sick and for many days will not open." See also col. II, 37, "[if] shutting hurts his eyes." In the same text, col. I, 22, read "sheep's milk" for "cow's milk." In col. II, 31 ulkatamī may be from šīnā, in which case the text describes the suffusion of the eye with blood owing to an abrasion of the lid to which unguent has been applied. Col. III, 2 karštu must, with its variants erišī and uappli, mean a "woman in labour." For haratu-erešū cf. R.A., xix, 97; and for meaning cf. Creation I. 84. In the ritual with the cord, III, 7, perhaps it would be better to translate "thou shalt touch" rather than "thou shalt bind" (lapatu not rakaas, cf. col. IV, 29). In IV, 31 read "the wind which hath blown on the eye of a man," see Kühler, Medizin, 90, 119. The passage col. IV, 52 I would render "thou makset to spring up the standing crop...reaping, binding, binding, ear, ear...[Shamash reaped] Sin garnered, Shamash when he reaped, Sin when he garnered...." For habaru as "crop" ("seed-corn" is impossible) see Thureau-Dangin, 8th Campagne, 229. For kašu III, 1 of ašu, used as an independent form, said of removing kernels from husks, compare šašu said of a stoned date, M.V.A.G., 1913, 2, 40. In No. 27, line 6, read "a raven's egg."

It only remains to express the hope that these translations may finally embrace all the material included in the volume of texts, and that Mr. Thompson's labours may shortly lead to a similar treatment of the Egyptian material.

Sidney Smith.

Hammurabi's Gesetze, Band vi. By P. Koschaker and A. Ungnad. Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1923.

The new volume of this great work consists of translations with legal explanations of most of the Babylonian legal documents of the period 2300-1800 B.C. which have been published since 1914. Dr. Ungnad has now published translations of nearly 9000 texts in this work. The painstaking labour of many years has been fully justified, for students of comparative law on the Continent, with Ungnad's work at their disposal, are devoting themselves to a minute study of the old Babylonian legal system in increasing numbers. Dr. Koschaker, who may be considered the head of this school in Germany since Kohler's decease, has now undertaken the explanation of points of legal procedure in these texts, and his task has been ably executed. Abandoning the method of summing up important deductions in a general manner, he has preferred to add notes to Ungnad's translations, and the change in method is clearly an improvement. It is much to be hoped that the intensive study of old Babylonian laws and legal procedure will arouse interest in the subject in England. The material remains of Babylonian civilisation are so very scanty that the subject seems to lack interest; the present volume should show how much remains to be investigated, especially in regard to the similarities of ancient law to, and dissimilarities from, the practice of Roman jurisconsults. It is also to be hoped that attention will soon be paid to the very large amount of material of the Neobabylonian period, which has of late been much neglected.

Sidney Smith.

Fontes Historiae Religionis Persicae. By C. Clemen. Bonn, 1920. 116 pp.

Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacæ. By Th. Hoffner. Parts 1-11, 1922-3. 271 pp.

This well-planned series aims at presenting in a cheap and serviceable form the Greek and Latin literary sources for the history of various religions, and is under the editorship of C. Clemen, who himself leads off with the Persian religion in the first fasciculus. The authors included, conveniently arranged in chronological sequence, are amply representative, the best editions are utilized, and a brief, but for the purpose sufficient, critical apparatus is appended. For students of the religion of ancient Egypt, in
particular, Dr. Hopfner's careful compilation should, when completed, prove very useful. The two parts so far issued bring him down to Plutarch only, and he would perhaps have been better advised in the case of works so extensive and so easy of access as Herodotus, Book II, Diodorus, Book I, and Plutarch, De Is. et Osir., to limit the citations to references instead of printing them at length, by which means the two parts might have been reduced to one. Part III is to reach Porphyry, and at least one further part will be required. A comprehensive index (absent in Fasc. I) will, it is satisfactory to learn, conclude the work.

A. S. Hunt.

Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie. Von FRANZ DORNSEIFF, Privatdocent an der Universität Basel. (Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Weltsystems und der Griechischen Wissenschaft herausgegeben von FRANZ BOLL. Heft VII.) Teubner: Leipzig, 1922. Pp. 177.

Man and woman are prone to speculate with numbers whether at Monte Carlo or the Great Pyramid, and whether with the chronology of Bishop Ussher or the lists of the Stock Exchange; and superstition in some form or other generally creeps into the speculation. When, as in the case of Greek writing, numbers are expressed by letters of the alphabet, divine names and epithets are brought into the game and developments are fast and furious. Moreover in an age when the knowledge of reading and writing was confined to a few, the magic power of letters was felt more strongly by the unlettered multitude and was exploited and probably believed in by the lettered class. Did not the number of the Greek vowels agree with that of the planets and of the days of the week? and did not the number of the letters of the alphabet allow exactly two for each month? These and a thousand other facts were no mere coincidences; they had a mystical meaning and belonged to the constitution of the universe; consequently the supreme gift of power was obviously the reward of the wizard who really understood them.

In the cold-blooded manner of the unbelieving yet enthusiastic student, Dornseiff pursues the intricate diversions of mysticism and magic in the employment of the alphabet and has produced a valuable monograph. Palaeographers and epigraphists meet with these things almost everywhere from the Roman period onward. A well-known puzzle is XMΓ in Christian inscriptions from Syria, Egypt and Nubia: it can be interpreted in many ways—on the one hand as representing the initials of Ξραστός Μαχαλ Γαβραλ and other expressions, on the other as a numerical substitute 643 for words or phrases of which the letters added together produce the same numeral (e.g. ἄγας 6 Θεός). Dornseiff has overlooked a parallel group XIΘ 689 which is not uncommonly found in Nubia (GRIFFITH, Nubian Texts of the Christian Period, p. 42; Rec. de Trav., xxxvii, 52) and still awaits interpretation.

F. Ll. GRIFFITH.

Harvard African Studies, Volume IV. An English-Nubian Comparative Dictionary, by G. W. Murray. Oxford University Press, 1923. xiv and 196 pp.

Amongst the Berberines of Lower Nubia there are three well-marked dialects, all of which are pretty well known, thanks especially to the labours of Lepsius, Reinisch, Almkvist and Zetterstoen. They form by far the greater bulk of this Dictionary. There are also fragments of Christian Nubian from a thousand to seven hundred years old at least, little if at all contaminated with Arabic which at the present day provides 30 per cent. of the Berberine vocabulary. Mr. Murray has at various times lived and worked for the Egyptian Survey Department among these people in Lower Nubia, has gleaned through all printed materials (including obscure vocabularies of earlier travellers which had very little authority), and has tested the correctness of the results as well as added to them upon the spot. This procedure gives to his combined vocabulary a special authenticity.

Outside the Nile Valley, in the hills of Darfur and Kordofan there are village-groups each speaking a different language, and some of these languages are essentially Nubian; serious investigation of them has lately begun, and Mr. Murray has included the known words in his alphabetical arrangement. A discussion of Nubian phonology and a slight sketch of the grammar precede the vocabulary.

Further his desert wanderings have brought the author into contact, not only with Arabs but also with Bisharin and Hadendoa peoples speaking Hamitic tongues: this may explain why he is so much interested in the kin of certain Nubian words, perhaps borrowed or lent, in other scarcely-related groups of languages in north-east Africa. One column in his dictionary is devoted to comparisons with words in such languages, many of them new and convincing. Mr. Murray moreover has his own views on the
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history and classification of the Sudan and Nilotic languages, subjects on which no two people acquainted with the available evidence as yet think alike. Considering our position in the Sudan and the importance of the Nubian tribes, this English work should have a welcome in the British Empire, and we are grateful to the American institution which undertook the risk of its publication, utilizing for it the special founts and printing skill of the Oxford University Press.

F. Ll. Griffith.

*Introduction à l’étude des hiéroglyphes*, avec un portrait de Champollion, by H. Sottas, directeur d’études à l’école pratique des Hautes Études, et E. Drioton, professeur à l’Institut Catholique de Paris. 3 planches et 5 figures. Paris: Geuthner, 1922.

This is really a manual of ancient Egyptian writing, comprising an elaborate discussion of its nature and varieties, a survey of the evidence of classical authors in regard to it, and of the early attempts at decipherment from that of the learned Jesuit Kircher in the seventeenth century onwards, and a narrative of Champollion’s final solution of the problem. Forty-two pages are occupied by a very full list of hieroglyphic signs with their phonetic, word-sign and determinative values (retaining however the customary printed forms which are often very unintelligible and debased). Finally there are illustrative extracts from texts in hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic. Bibliographies accompany each section.

F. Ll. Griffith.

*Light from Ancient Letters: Private Correspondence in the Non-Literary Papyri of Oxyrhynchus of the first four Centuries, and its Bearing on New Testament Language and Thought*. By HENRY G. MEECHAM. George Allen and Unwin, London, 1923. Pp. 180. Price 7/6 net.

The most obvious criticism of this volume is that the author has unduly narrowed the field of research. He limits his survey to the private letters of the first four centuries from Oxyrhynchus—or rather to those published in the series of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, which are by no means all the papyri found at Behnesheh. The temporal limitation is, for the author’s purpose, justifiable enough, and the restriction to private letters is at least intelligible; but the virtual exclusion of documents from other sites than Oxyrhynchus is quite arbitrary and can hardly be defended. Are we to suppose that the people of Oxyrhynchus were nearer in spirit to the New Testament writers than the inhabitants of other places in Egypt? Doubtless the reason for this restriction is convenience, for Grenfell and Hunt’s editions, with their unusually accurate texts, their admirable translations, and commentary at once adequate and compact, are models of everything a papyrus publication should be; but in serious research mere convenience must not be allowed to rule.

I have dwelt on this point, because the restriction of the ground is symptomatic of the book as a whole, which, despite its undeniable merits, has a somewhat amateurish air; the knowledge it reveals seems to be *ad hoc* knowledge, and one feels an absence of background. Symptomatic of this is the timidity with which the author cites authorities even for statements which are the merest commonplaces of the subject, as when he tells us (p. 26) that “Moulton dates the papyri from 311 B.C. to the seventh century A.D.,” or invokes Naville via Coben as witness for the Thmusi papyri (why refer to these carbonized and often illegible papyri at all rather than, for example, to the rich finds at Soqnopaei Nesus, Tebtunis, or other Fayum sites?). The absence of background is felt, for instance, in his rather naïve remarks about family affection on p. 130 or in his statement (p. 154) that the numerous allusions to seals and sealing in the papyri “apparently refer to a very common practice in the ancient East.”

Yet it must not be supposed that the book is without merit. On the contrary, granted the limitations I have indicated, the author has done his work well, and his volume, conveniently arranged, interestingly written, and displaying a critical spirit and common sense, will be very useful to those who, without the leisure or the inclination to carry their researches very far, desire to have in a handy form an introduction to the subject of the relations between the New Testament and the Hellenistic world revealed in the Greek papyri. Should a second edition be called for, it is to be hoped that the author will enlarge his “terms of reference” and make the work more completely representative of the papyrus material as a whole. As a contribution to such a revision a few remarks on points of detail may be offered here.

The author discusses on pp. 40–5 the classification of letters. He rejects Witkowski’s classification by the standard of the writer’s education as too subjective, and a chronological arrangement on the ground of
the frequent uncertainty of dating, in favour of one by contents or substance. Each method has its advantages and defects, and there is no strong objection to the author's; but it must be pointed out that it is not less uncertain than the others, since letters often embrace more than one subject, and from the purely linguistic point of view either Witkowskii's or the chronological classification seems preferable.

On p. 48 the author's discussion of λοιπών should be enlarged by including the meaning "therefore" not infrequently found in later texts. P. 58: παραπομπή, "the visit of a royal personage": "or of his deputy" (e.g. the Roman prefect) should be added. P. 81: "A -ν could be added apparently without any difference to pronunciation." This is a very dubious assertion, especially where the ν is followed, as in this case, by a vowel. Surely the explanation is merely that ἔν was confused with Ἰ. Uncertainty in the use of moods, and irregularities in the conjugation of εἰμι are characteristic of late Greek. P. 104: Ἑδρος is a curious form for εἰδρός; is it a misprint? P. 133: ἄπασ ἤ is apparently taken as "about 3 p.m."; but immediately afterwards ἄπασ ἤ appears as "8 p.m." Of course the two phrases are on a par, and there is no warrant for such renderings as 9 o'clock, 8 o'clock, or 7 o'clock. P. 135 f.: Reference might here be made to PREISIGKE's Die Gotteskraft der frühchristlichen Zeit. I cannot accept the main thesis of that work, but there is probably an element of truth in it, and Preisigke's evidence should at least be considered.

P. 140: "The practice of women picking up foundlings...and earning money by nursing them." There was no such practice. P. Oxy, 37 refers to a man picking up a foundling and paying a woman to nurse it. P. 142: The author has confused census returns (WILCKEN's Steuervorarbeiten-Deklarationen) with property returns (Mobilien-Deklarationen). P. 148: Rather misleadingly worded. Ἀνάπασ was of course the established cult-title of Ptolemy I; it was not necessary to cite Deissmann's authority for this, and it must not be inferred, as the author's words may suggest, that it was a regular title for all the Ptolemies.

P. 156: It is surely superficial to refer to this shipwreck as an illustration of the Hellenistic background of the New Testament. St. Paul was shipwrecked, it is true, but what of that? Are we to infer that shipwreck was an established social custom, which no self-respecting ancient would neglect?

Two larger points to conclude. On p. 144 the author is hardly justified in passing over so cavalierly the very real belief in immortality among the pagans. A belief in resurrection was the central point of the Osiris (Sarapis) cult, the most popular of the Egyptian cults in later times. And the phrase "may Osiris give thee the cold water" so frequent in epitaphs, even the word ἐβρύξα, should serve to indicate that a belief in survival beyond the tomb was far commoner than Christians of to-day are apt to suppose.

Again, on p. 153 the author certainly misrepresents the mystery-cults when he implies that they did not proclaim "redemption from sin." Their purification was often ceremonial purification only, but it is impossible to study the evidence fairly without seeing that to some at least of their votaries there was a good deal more in them than that. Christianity is not served by ignoring the merits of the pagan cults. Only prejudice will deny that its victory was a case of the "survival of the fittest": but at least we may say of some of those cults that in their later forms they were not unworthy rivals to it.

Most of the author's conclusions are however sensible and well-considered, as, for example, his remarks on Hebrew influence (p. 88), his estimate of the nature of St. Paul's letters (pp. 97-102), and his final chapter. Altogether the book, though by no means above criticism, may be commended as a useful and competent summary of the subject.

H. I. Bell.

Institut Papyrologique de l'Université de Lille: Papyrus Grecs. Publiés sous la direction de PIERRE JOUGUET avec la collaboration de PAUL COLLART et JEAN LESQUIER. Tome premier, fasc. III. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1923. Pp. 135-261.

No less than fifteen years have elapsed since the second fascicule of this work appeared, years some of them of such agony and unrest as the world has but seldom experienced. The present fascicule was already at press when the war broke out in 1914, and that calamity, with its aftermath of economic unsettlement, was responsible for the long delay. In the interval one of the editors, to whom we owe a large portion of this part, has alas! been taken from us.

This fascicule contains no text quite so noteworthy as the estimate of work with a plan contained in Part 1 nor anything of such general interest as the fragment of a code in Part 11, but the average of value is at least as high as in either of the previous parts. It begins with a valuable series of accounts (Euergetes) relating to cleruchic tenures, forming fragments of a single roll. These texts are difficult and

1 Cf., e.g., the evidence noted by A. D. Nock, Class. Rev., xxxviii, 58-9.
imperfect but of real importance for the study of the cleruchies, and they are furnished with a most interesting commentary. They contain several conversions of various crops into the equivalent value of wheat. (I may mention that these are supplemented by many similar conversions in two lengthy unpublished accounts from the Zeno archive now in the British Museum.) To the note on 37, 13 (p. 177; on ἁγρός) should now be added a reference to Westermann’s The “Dry Land” in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, in Class. Phil., xvi (1922), 21–36. In 38 ff we have an interesting example of that mixture of crops apparently common at the period, flax and barley (λυκάρβη)—an instructive illustration of the value which even a small scrap of papyrus may have.

This series is followed by an equally valuable one consisting of orders for loans in kind to cleruchic holders. These raise many interesting and some perplexing questions, and the commentary of the editors makes very important contributions to the subjects discussed. On p. 218 their note on έμπορίες should be modified in view of Westermann’s almost certainly correct explanation of the word in Journal, ix (1923), 80 ff.

The remaining texts are of less note, but include several by no means without interest, for example a valuable account (59) of payments for the beer-tax and an interesting letter (53) concerning a reversal of an administrative decision.

It goes without saying that the editorial work is of high quality. The length of the “additions et corrections” at the end is chiefly due to the time which has elapsed since the early part of the fascicule was printed.

H. I. Bell.

The Tomb of Puyemré at Thebes. By Norman de Garis Davies. New York, 1923.

The Metropolitan Museum of New York has produced another fine work, a pair of magnificent volumes of the Tytus foundation, in memory of the late Robb de Peyster Tytus. Those of us who remember the late Mr Tytus, and saw him at work on, for instance, the Theban palace of Amenophis III at El-Malakat, will be very content indeed that the memory of so enthusiastic and generous a patron of Egyptian archaeology should be commemorated in so entirely worthy a manner, owing to the pious care of his mother. Nothing would please Tytus more than to see the work of others, his successors in the Theban field, published in this splendid style. But the volumes of course are almost too magnificent in their get-up. They are show books, and frankly it would seem more appropriate to publish in this luxury-work like that of English books in this gorgeous manner, and there need no more be said except to express appreciation. The paper is real paper, that will last for ever, so that this record of an Egyptian tomb will survive the volumes of course are almost too magnificent in their get-up. They are show books, and frankly it would seem more appropriate to publish in this luxury-work like that of English books in this gorgeous manner, and there need no more be said except to express appreciation. The paper is real paper, that will last for ever, so that this record of an Egyptian tomb will survive the

The “Dry Land” in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, in Class. Phil., xvi (1922), 21–36.

The “Dry Land” in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, in Class. Phil., xvi (1922), 21–36.
The name Puyemré is that which we usually spell Puámra, Puimré, or Puyemre. Mr. Davies transliterates unusually at times; notably he uses š for श, I have myself used š for श, which is usually represented by z. Of course z is a very poor representative of the Egyptian sound, which was presumably rather š. If we do not use š in popular transcription, we should use z rather than š. The French j is z; but in English one cannot use the French j, while the English j is almost as inefficient a representation of the sound as plain z. And in any case j has the fatal defect of being at once mispronounced not only by every German, Dutchman, and Scandinavian, but by all Slavs as well, and in their own way by the Spaniards. If I have thought got over the difficulty, as it cannot be mispronounced by the Teutons, whose š is a harsh consonant, the transcription favoured by Sir Ernest Budge, which however has the defect of representing one sign by as many as three. We cannot admit Mr. Davies's plain j any more than the French dj; if we are to try at all to obtain a transliteration that is generally intelligible by and conveys roughly the same sounds to the minds of all. One does not want đ, which is as cumbrous to us as т, why not use the Slav š? But the Germans, the Slavs (and the Esperantists) must themselves abandon their equally aggressive đ for ʒ, and be content to adopt the đ which is understood by all the rest of the world as well as by themselves. They can rest assured that đ in the sense of ʒ will never be adopted here in transliteration, popular or scientific. And as ʒ means just the same to them as it does to us, they might just as well adopt it and have done with it in Esperanto as well as in Egyptian transliteration.

Mr. Davies will pardon this digression, which he has brought on himself by his writing the ancient name of Deir el-bahr in a way which a German would pronounce "Feier-gosru," whereas "Feier-gosru" would not have been so far from the truth.

I note that Mr. Davies, à propos of Puyemré's representations of foreigners, accepts Mr. Wainwright's shifting of Keftiu from Crete to Cilicia, which I cannot wholly do, in view of the Minoan evidence. As I have often said, it seems to me that Mr. Wainwright was possibly justified in extending Keftiu to Cilicia, and Menkheperre's tomb was too, and as Puyemré's foreigner with the characteristic Minoan long hair (Frontispiece) was too. The fact that another Minoan-seeking man on Plato XXXI carries a North-Syrian vase is to my mind merely a proof of how the Egyptians confusedly assigned to their vases come from but Crete? or Keftiu's Keftians and Chiefs of the Isles?

Mr. Davies has some interesting appendices; notably one on the Temples of Thebes, a comparison of contemporary lists of temples with that given by Puyemré. Those who are interested in religious ceremonies will no doubt meet in his pages much that will arrest their attention. The proof-reading of the book would seem to be above reproach. It is a worthy fellow to The Tomb of Nakht.

H. R. HALL.

De Egyptische Voorstellingen betreffende den Oorheuvel, by ADRIAAN DE BUCK. Proefschrift ter verrijking van den graad van Doctor in de Godgeleerdheid aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden. 1922.

One of the most interesting creation-myths of the world, one that exists in the mythologies of many nations, is that which explains the first emergence of dry land from the primeval waste of waters, in the form of a hill. This "Oorheuvel," as Mr. de Buck calls it in Dutch (in German "Urhügel"); we, having lost the convenient prefix "ur" if we ever had it, can only translate the term clumsily by some such phrase as "primeval hill" or "mount," if it is translatable at all, is often regarded as the centre of the universe, the "navel of the world," διφάλαξ γύς, and conventionally as its highest point, though it is obviously not nothing of the kind. The world-navel however ought to be its summit, and is so "officially." As a matter of fact it may be a low island, like Delos, a rock as at Delphi, or a citadel like that of Jerusalem. In all cases it is a specially holy place, an abode of divinity from most ancient times. Delos, surrounded by the Cyclades, was the holy isle that had arisen from the waves, Delphi the centre of
Greece, Jerusalem the citadel that seemed to be the crown and summit of the Judean hills. And all were early cult-centres. The idea of the ὀμφαλός γῆς as at Delphi has been specially studied by Roscher in the Abhandlungen of the philosophical class of the Saxon Academy, 1913 and 1915, and at Jerusalem and elsewhere in the Semitic world by Wensinck, The Ideas of the Western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth, in the Verhandelingen of the Dutch Academy at Amsterdam, 1916. The ideas of the Jains, Brahmans, and Buddhists with regard to the central mountain of the earth (Mount Meru) have been treated in connection with the Greek conceptions of the ὀμφαλός by Roscher. Other writers have also dealt with the subject.

Mr. de Buck has taken as the subject of his doctorate-thesis the search for a similar idea in Ancient Egypt. He has not been unsuccessful, although the available data are scanty and by no means so clear as among the Greeks and Semites. The profane might say that one can find anything one likes in Egyptian religious texts if one looks long enough, or at least that one can make anything one likes of anything in them. This would be an exaggerated view. The interminable cosmogonical and theological texts contain of course any number of confused and contradictory statements, but hard sifting (if it is considered worth the trouble) will usually result in the critic being able (or believing himself able) to put forward a theory of what the normal Egyptian view was on this or that point of belief. Mr. de Buck considers that he has been able to winnow out certain beliefs of the Egyptian concerning the ὀμφαλός, and his view has much probability in its favour. He finds an "oerheuvel" in the myths of both Heliopolis and Hermopolis, as well as at Thebes. The yearly recurrence of the inundation and its subsidence naturally gave rise to the conception of the first creation of land as a mound rising from the waters of Nun. The mound on which each great holy place was built was naturally regarded by its priests and inhabitants as the real original "oerheuvel," the ἤφυ or "high place," the ἢφυ or "riser," whereon the gods first appeared after the end of the reign of "Chaos and Old Night." The sign ἢφυ does not represent the rising sun, but, as is clear from the way in which it is printed in coloured texts and from its oldest forms, is a round hill from behind which the sun's rays stream upwards: it represents the first stream of sunlight rising at dawn beyond the mountain of the horizon, the hill of the earth, ᾲποτέρω... ἀπόσπασμα, "the mound...that raises its head from out the water of Ῥέθ..." The word ἢφυ meaning "mound" derives its meaning from the verb "to appear," and the ideograph of "appearing" and so of the king "appearing on the throne" (eventually coming to mean "crown" or "diadem") was originally the picture of the "oerheuvel," the ἢφυ of earth on which Ῥέθ originally appeared: ἢφυ ἠκροτητήσε. "I purify myself on that 'Riser' of land on which Ῥέθ purified himself." (Pyr. Texts, 542). And Pepy is himself as god the isle that rises in the midst of the sea, ἠφύ ποιεῖν ἀπὸ ὀμφαλότητι, ἔπειτα Ῥέθ ὁ ὀμφαλός ἀπὸ τοῦ θαλάσσου (Od., 1, 50), ᾶποτέρω... ἀπόσπασμα ἐστίν ἔπειτα: he is the centre of the world.

At Heliopolis we find the word ἢφυ strongly localised as the name of the holy navel-hill. In Pyr. Texts 1652 we find Atum Kheprer invoked as ἢφυ ἤφυ ἠκροτήτησεν ἔπειτα, "thou hast raised thyself like the Height," and in the Book of the Dead he is ἢφυ ἠκροτήτησεν ἄνωθεν ἄνωθεν, "lord of the High Place." This high place to which one ascended by steps Mr. de Buck identifies as the place known as "The High Sand," ἢφυ, to which king Pi'ankhi repaired to make his offerings when he entered Heliopolis to see his father Rā in the sacred Benben-chamber and thus legitimize himself in the North as rightful pharaoh. It is significant that he went to "the High Sand" after he had bathed in the Nile, representing the Stream of Nun from which the "oerheuvel" had risen ἢφυ ἠκροτήτησεν. Mr. de Buck considers that this high-place was the original ἄνωθεν, the mound with its obelisk on it, from which the Fifth Dynasty sun-shrines at Abusir were copied. After he had made the offering on the hill Pi'ankhi ascended the great stairway and entered the Benben-chamber.
The importance of the High Place at Heliopolis is obvious, but it is not so easy to identify it as an ὀρθόναῦσις γῆ or even as a simple “oerheuvel” with no suggestion of a central navel unless, with Mr. de Buck, we assume that almost every holy place was in general belief an “oerheuvel,” that the holy place was also a high place upon which Re' first appeared, and where the king took his seat upon his throne, as at Heliopolis. In Babylonia the ziggurat, which was designedly an imitation of a mountain, is considered by Dombart to have been also the seat of the sun-god. On the cylinder seals we often see the god climbing the steps of his ziggurat.

At Hermopolis we find more definite idea of an “oerheuvel”; Re' when he began to appear as king was upon the ἤθ of Hermopolis, This mound is also described as the “Isle of Flame,” in the Pyramid Texts , which reminds us of the μαμάσ island behind which rose the flame of the sun-god’s rising. The 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead refers to the Hermopolitan belief: see Grafow, in Urkunden, v.

At Thebes we find Karnak described on one of Hatshepsut’s obelisks as the noble Mound of the First Time,” or as we should say, “of the earliest ages,” “of the beginning of things”: “de eerwaarde heuvel van het oerbegin.” Karnak was then distinctly an “oerheuvel.” Other texts convey the same idea: Thebes is “the Mound (ῆθ) placed in Nun at the beginning,” and this mound was the central point where creation began ; see Sethe, Thebanische Tempelinschriften, passim).

Following Lefebure, Mr. de Buck points out the oft ignored importance of the god Tanen or Tatenen (Tithnos) as an earth-god and so the colleague of Qeb, with whom he is sometimes implicitly identified, as he is constantly and openly with Ptah as Ptah-Tanen. With the Nubian Dedum, the original of the Tithnos of the Greeks, he had nothing to do. The spelling of the name of the god with the symbol ἐκκάτω was no doubt a comparatively ancient hieroglyphic pun, so to speak, in view of his function as the god of the earth (Ὄ): it could also be spelt ἐκκάτω or ἐκκάτω. Sethe supposes that the syllabic spelling as points to a foreign origin, and that he was the god of Sinai (where he often occurs in inscriptions: Gardiner-Peet, Inscri. of Sinai, i, No. 53) and presided over metal working: hence his identification with Ptah-Hephaistos the smith. This may well be, but Ptah himself, “the Opener,” is probably of Semitic origin, and like him, Tanen may have been introduced into the Egyptian pantheon in very early days. He is often referred to as the most ancient of gods. Ptah-Tanen is the god who formed the “oerheuvel” into dry land after it emerged from the waters: “thou hast formed the land.....when thou wast in thy activity as Tatenen, in thy manifestation as the uniter of both lands.....thou hast drawn it (the land) from out the waters of Nun.”

Mr. de Buck concludes his study with a section on the “oerheuvel” in connection with the royal ascension of the throne and the Sed festival, which is interesting.

I have endeavoured above to give the outline of Mr. de Buck’s thesis in my own words and with a few added remarks. The general comment that I should be inclined to make is that while he has conclusively shown the existence of the “oerheuvel” idea in Egypt, this does not altogether correspond to what the Greeks meant by the ὀρθόναῦσις γῆ. There is no strictly analogous idea of a world “navel,” no navel, properly speaking, with its connection with the underworld and its life-giving properties connected with the function of the navel-cord, in Egypt: no “navel” word is used. The nearest approach is when Pepy as a god is invoked as himself the central island of the earth, rising from the sea. The idea of the sacred first land is there, certainly.

Mr. de Buck’s work is interesting, and he has well utilized his various authorities, both ancient and modern.

H. R. Hall.
Mr. Henri Asselberg kindly sends us copies of three popular articles written by him for the Dutch religious paper De Katholiek on the subject of Amenophis IV, Akhenaten. We wish that Dutch writers would not use the unscholarly method of writing the Greek φ as f: after all, φ was not originally f, but ϕ, as is shown by the fact that the Romans wrote Philippus and not Filippus, and it is not clever to try to abolish history, whether the offender is Lord Grimthorpe, or Sir Isaac Pitman, or Mr. Asselberg. After this initial grumble on a point of detail, which is really of little importance (although protest is called for), we can say that Mr. Asselberg has written a very acceptable popular account of Akhenaten which should interest Dutch readers. The author makes no pretence to first-hand research on the subject, and he naturally follows popularly accepted views of the more sensational kind with regard to that weird "individual" (which he certainly was!) Akhenaten. He is occasionally somewhat old-fashioned as to his authorities, quoting Lieblein, for instance, as of equal authority with modern writers. But in other cases he is quite up to date, and we notice with pleasure that he refers with interest and goodwill to our excavations at El-'Amarnah and their publication in this Journal although he considers that the work of the Germans was "jammerlijk onderbroken" there by the world-war. We may take exception to "jammerlijk": our excavators can do the work quite as well as the Germans, although we may regret that the Germans were unable to go on with it. By the way, when Mr. Asselberg says, referring to the fate of the El-'Amarnah tablets: "het meerendeel dezer tafeltjes bevindt zich thans in Berlijn terwijl de overige hoofdzakelijk terecht kwamen in de musea van Cairo en Londen," he really exalts the horn of Berlin to a greater height than it deserves. Berlin has it is true the majority of the tablets, but to say that "most of the rest found their way to Cairo and London" gives an erroneous impression, as if the Cairo collection were more important than that in London, and both were very far inferior to that of Berlin. That of Cairo is, as it is also inferior to that in London. The facts are that Berlin possesses 194 tablets, the British Museum 86, and Cairo 50.

So much for the "Spijkerschrift." We note one or two debateable statements, such as that "Egypte is 't onbetwist oudste cultuurland," which would please our "diffusionista"; but in view of Sumerian and even pre-Sumerian possibilities from Babylonia this should not be said without a query and preferably without the "onbetwist." And it is strange to see the late Mr. Theodore Davis described as an "Engelschman"! The energetic explorer of the Tombs of the Kings would hardly have tolerated being connected with Newport, Mon., rather than with Newport, R.I.! However, this is not the sort of blemish that will mean anything to Mr. Asselberg's Dutch audience, whom we take to be chiefly Roman priests and ecclesiastically-minded laymen. The religious side of Akhenaten naturally interests Mr. Asselberg and him most, and he has written for them an informing though of course not original series of articles, in which he has used his authorities for Akhenaten's religion as well as can be expected. We are glad to add these articles to the collection of 'Amarnah-literature in the library of the Egypt Exploration Society.

H. R. HALL.

Botti, Giuseppe. Frammenti di un testo storico in onore di Tuthmosi III. (Rendiconti R. Accad. Naz. dei Lincei, Classe sci. morali ecc., xxxi, 348 ff.) Rome, 1923.

" " Frammenti di registri di stato civile della XXa Dinastia. Ibid., 391 ff.

" " Il culto divino dei Faraoni. (Mem. R. Acc. Linc., Cl. sc. mor. ecc., xvii, 141 ff.) Rome, 1933.

Dr. Botti has for some time past been working on the famous papyri of the Turin Museum. He has continued Schiaparelli's work of reassembling the numberless fragments to which fate and the ignorance of past decades have allowed some of these papyri to be reduced, and he has already reconstituted some interesting and important documents. Thus some fragments written during the Nineteenth Dynasty contain a copy of a description of a military exploit of Tuthmosis III, carrying back by more than a hundred years the literary form hitherto known to us only from the so-called Poem of Pentawer. Another group of fragments gives a list of householders and their families. As the verso of these fragments contains accounts of provisions distributed to workmen of the necropolis at Thebes Botti very reasonably concludes that the households enumerated on the recto are those of the cemetery workers. The document would thus be a further proof of the high organization of the Theban necropolis in the Twentieth Dynasty.

A third papyrus, in 35 small pieces, contains an account of certain religious ceremonies in which the
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names of various dead kings figure largely. Botti interprets the document as describing the carrying in procession of royal images in their boat-shrines, either on the temple lake or on the Nile, and ceremonies attendant on this. The papyrus dates either from the late Nineteenth or the Twentieth Dynasty, the latest royal name in it being that of Ramesses II. Botti brings this papyrus into connection with a somewhat similar and more complete document found by the Italian expedition at Dēr el-Medīnah in 1908, which describes ceremonies instituted by Ramesses II in honour of King Amenophis I. He comes to the conclusion that the reign of Ramesses II marks a very important stage in the history of the cult of the dead Pharaohs. The article is of primary importance for the student of Egyptian religion and ritual.

T. ERIC PEET.

W. J. PERRY. The Growth of Civilization. Methuen, London, 1924.

This book is a popular exposition of the author's views on the origin of early civilization as given in his earlier works The Children of the Sun and The Origin of Magic and Religion, both of which have been reviewed in this Journal (x, 63, ff., and below). There is some new material in the last two chapters where Mr. Perry attempts to show that warfare is not natural to mankind but developed mainly out of the class system, and the book ends with a rather obscurely worded suggestion that this hypothesis should be applied to the reform of our modern social institutions.

T. ERIC PEET.

The Children of the Sun by W. J. PERRY, M.A. Methuen and Co., Ltd., 36, Essex Street, London, W.C.

Mr. Poet in his criticism of Mr. Perry's The Origin of Magic and Religion in the last number of this Journal says: "My examination of the Egyptian evidence, which is a vital part of his argument, makes it quite impossible for me to accept Mr. Perry's results even if I could believe in his general method of reasoning. Mr. Perry will hardly deny me the right to wonder whether his Indian and American evidence would stand specialist criticism any better than his Egyptian." As the Egyptian evidence in the Children of the Sun is much the same as in The Origin of Magic and Religion it is unnecessary to go into that side of the question again after Mr. Poet's review.

As in The Origin of Religion and Magic Mr. Perry has produced this book to further certain theories with which he and a few other anthropologists are associated. It is unfortunate that he has started with a theory and has tried to adjust facts to that preconceived idea. The Children of the Sun is a laborious volume in which the author has utilised to the full his almost encyclopaedic knowledge of authorities: but his discrimination does not always equal his industry.

According to his theme, there once existed a world-wide "archaic" civilization, of which the fons et origo was Egypt. It is difficult to understand how this culture spread, since it reached, says Mr. Perry, Central America during the last centuries B.C., and inspired the Maya culture, and also reached Cambodia and gave rise to the Khmer civilization. Since, however, the latter culture as exemplified by the ruins at Angkor dates from the seventh or eighth centuries A.D., Mr. Perry's chronology is paradoxical and unconvincing.

The elements of the "archaic" civilization are set forth as follows:

1. Agriculture by means of irrigation.
2. The use of stone, typically for pyramids, dolmens, stone circles, and rock-cut tombs.
3. The carving of stone images.
4. Pottery-making.
5. Metal-working and pearl-fishing.
6. The use of polished stone implements.
7. A ruling class in two divisions:
   (a) The Children of the Sun, connected with the sky-world, born of theogonies, who practise incestuous unions.
   (b) A class associated with the underworld, who survive as war-chiefs.
8. The sun-cult.
9. The practice of mummification.
10. The great mother goddess.
11. Human sacrifice, connected with agriculture and the cult of the mother goddess.
12. Mother-right.
13. Totemic clans.
14. The dual organization.
15. Exogamy.

This list presents a culture complex of so wide a range that it would be difficult to mention a people in the whole world whose culture did not include several of its component elements. However, according to Mr. Perry, it is not necessary for the entire complex to be found in one place; even the appearance anywhere of one element (e.g. agriculture by means of irrigation, or dual organization) is taken as satisfactory proof of the existence of the "archaic" civilization.

It is impossible to deal, in a brief review of so diffuse a volume, with the details of the author's argument; but I propose to consider as far as possible the continent of America. It is somewhat surprising to find that practically no allusion is made to the southern regions; for one might have expected that Peru, with its worship of the sun at Cuzco, would have assisted Mr. Perry's theories. However, he would have found that his statement on page 2 that "the essential fact is that irrigation tends to disappear in the later stage of culture" is quite untrue as regards that country; it is doubtful if any early people ever attained to such perfection in irrigation as that of Peru prior to the arrival of Pizarro.

When Mr. Perry does use Peru to give weight to his theories he is singularly unfortunate in quoting a writer in the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute who stated that two kinds of bananas were cultivated in Peru before the arrival of the Spaniards. This writer states that "to transplant the banana from Polynesia to the shores of America, across more than 2,000 miles of ocean would tax the skill and knowledge of any ordinary European gardener; but for a people who have dispersed this species and the breadfruit through the countless islands that form their home it would be a simple undertaking." Everyone who has studied the subject knows that the preponderating weight of evidence indicates the banana was first brought to the Americans from Africa after the discovery, and it is remarkable that though the Peruvians represented their foods again and again in pottery there is no example known of a pot in the form of a banana.

The chief part of America used by Mr. Perry is the Pueblo area, the culture of which he derives from Mexico. There is in Mexico a ruined pueblo, Casas Grandes in the Province of Chihuahua. If the culture of the Pueblo arose in Mexico it would naturally follow that the earliest Pueblo culture would be in the South. This is by no means the case. The earliest pottery is the black on white, followed by black on red, although black on white continued during the period. It is a remarkable thing that the earliest form of this pottery appears in some dry caves in Utah associated with the basket-makers' culture, and at Casas Grandes the earliest pottery found near by at the ancient Pueblo is black on red. The ruins themselves provide a polychrome pottery with vases modelled sometimes realistically from human and animal forms. These do not appear in early Pueblo sites in the United States, and later are of extraordinary rarity, having only been found in two isolated cases—a perfect pot at Hawikuh, and part of a pot excavated by the reviewer at Kechipaun near by, last year.

Mr. Perry attempts to show by the use of a small map representing a large territory that the ruins of Pueblo follow rivers and railways, and he says: "What cause can have led men, all over the wide area, practically universally, to settle in close proximity to water? I suggest that the cause was the search for pearls and pearl-shell." It is almost incredible that a man holding Mr. Perry's position should have overlooked the fact that even before America had prohibition the natives drank water. Has Mr. Perry any idea of the country? It is practically a desert. Did the Saxons when they worked up the rivers of Britain search for pearls? Most of the rivers, such as the Zuni River, even in the rainy season are little more than brooks. The ruins in New Mexico and West Arizona are so extraordinarily numerous that it would be impossible for the trains passing near water not to be close to ruins. Yet the well-known Seven Cities of Cibola are about 40 miles from the railway. Mr. Perry seems certain that the Pueblo Indians worked mines which were near them. Then it is a very strange thing that no metal tool has ever been found in any ruin dating to Pre-Columbian days and no gold found either. That they worked the turquoise mines is indisputable, but that the use of that stone shows an influence from Mexico is not necessarily the case, but rather the contrary, as unless the Mexicans had seen turquoise they could not have known of their existence in North New Mexico. Turquoise was possibly introduced into Mexico by the Aztecs or earlier Toltecs who came from the north. The elaborate turquoise inlaid mosaics were essentially an Aztec or Toltec introduction and turquoise mosaics are still made by Zuni. The Pueblos like other Indians in North America probably sank mines to obtain haematite for paint, but not to obtain the metal for other uses.
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When Mr. Perry starts dealing with the Maya civilization which for the purposes of his argument is vital since it is, with that of Peru (which he neglects), the earliest and highest civilization in America, he shows no intimate knowledge of the subject or of the material available for students. It would be possible for any one who has studied the subject to quarrel with 90 per cent. of the categorical statements he makes concerning it; even his geography is at times at fault, and indeed upholders of the theory that Maya civilization was imported from the west have little appreciation of the physical geography of the country; they have yet to explain how it was carried across the complicated mountain chain of the Andes through hundreds of miles of tropical jungle to a point far down the Atlantic slope, where it took root and flourished, without leaving a trace of its passage.

The Children of the Sun could if they wished have settled further west in Guatemala, as ruins of a definitely later period have been found at El Baul and Pantaleon and Quen Santo. On page 420 Mr. Perry tells us that the Maya civilization “seems to spring full-blown from the ground, to use the candid words of Mr. Joyce.” It is only a few years ago that we used to be taught that Egyptian civilization sprung up thus, but the use of the spade at length revealed the pro-dynastic graves, with the earlier history of what eventually became the Egyptian civilization.

Scientific excavation of Central America is still in its infancy; it was only started in the eighties by Dr. Alfred Maudslay, and explorers for the most part have confined their attention to the more obvious ruins above ground. In time, when the use of the spade is resorted to, we shall doubtless learn something of the development of this civilization, and it is better and more scientific to wait till that day than to spin webs which spread from Egypt to Guatemala. An excellent warning is furnished by the fate of those cognate theories of the unfortunate le Pirongeo. Even the string of pearls which Mr. Perry makes one of his chief bonds across the Pacific breaks, as it is highly remarkable that these Children of the Sun, absorbed in the quest of pearls when they reached the Pacific (the richest pearl field in the world), should have forgotten what they came for and used only the shell (except in the doubtful instance of Tahiti). Apparently when they reached the gulf of Panama they remembered the object of their quest, but on attaining the Maya area made no use of this whatever, for in spite of what Mr. Perry says there is no real evidence of the use of pearls by the Mayas.

Mr. Perry is doubtless quite correct in believing that the ancient civilizations of America were not absolutely isolated from each other. The dredging of the Cenote at Chichen Itza has produced gold ornaments; while some were of Aztec design, others were of the type found in large numbers in Costa Rica and Columbia and doubtless were traded north. It is of interest, too, that north of Manta, Ecuador, there were legends of invaders who arrived in balsa and at La Tolita near Manta were found a number of pottery fragments, some showing a strong resemblance to late Maya Art.

However, the book is of value in that it leads to reconsideration of current opinions, although it is scarcely likely to lead to their considerable modification.

LOUIS C. G. CLARKE.

The Oxford Excavations in Nubia. By F. Ll. Griffith, M.A. *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, viii-x. Liverpool: 1921-3.

The last two decades have witnessed great activity in exploration in Nubia, a region in which, up to that time, very little archaeological work had been done since the time of Lepsius. The decision of the Government to raise the Aswan dam, a step finally decided upon in 1907, immediately brought into prominence the question of safeguarding and recording the archaeological sites which the alteration in water-level would affect. The Survey Department immediately took steps to establish the Archaeological Survey of Nubia, which, first in charge of Dr. Belaunier, and later of Mr. C. M. Firth, systematically worked over a great area and published its results in the voluminous *Bulletins* and *Reports*, which contain a vast amount of archaeological and anthropological data. Meanwhile the Service des Antiquités set about the consolidation and publication of the temples, and the results of this undertaking are contained in an elaborate series of memoirs. At the same time an expedition sent out by Chicago University under Professor Breasted explored and photographed the pre-Ptolemaic temples and Weigall, then Inspector for the Service, was active in the district and published a report on the antiquities of Lower Nubia with which he was concerned. During the same period expeditions organised by the Universities of California (Eckley B. Cox, Jun. Expedition), Liverpool (under Garstang), Berlin (under Schaefer and Junker), and Leipzig (Seiglin Expedition), worked actively in Nubia. In 1909-10 Mr. Griffith worked upon the meriotic inscriptions (for *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* x. 25
this Society) and in the three succeeding years he took charge of the Oxford excavations in Nubia. From 1913 onwards the concession was handed over to Dr. Reisner who has for ten years carried out extensive explorations in Napata and its district and on other sites for the Harvard-Boston Expedition.

The results of most of these active field-parties have been published—some as special memoirs, others as preliminary reports in various journals, but others are still unpublished. In the journal of the Liverpool University Institute of Archaeology, The Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Mr. Griffith has during the last three years published a systematic account of the work of the Oxford Expedition. This account, as might confidently be expected, is in all respects what such a report should be. It contains a complete catalogue of all the antiquities, admirably and abundantly illustrated, with all their archaeological data, their present whereabouts, and their mutual relationships. In addition to this there is just as much, and no more, introductory matter as is necessary to grasp the significance of the whole of the work undertaken, and an admirably clear and brief historical account of Nubia and its relations to Egypt.

Before passing on to examine this report individually, it may be observed that in this, and the reports of the other Nubian expeditions, we have a vast amount of material, collected and published in recent years and upon modern methods. That is to say, in surveying the whole material, we may, for practical purposes, compare all these publications as equal with equal; we are not confronted with the problem which is almost always present in dealing with Egyptian sites, of having part of the published material in copies nearly a century old when the standard of epigraphic accuracy was not, and could not be, comparable with that of modern work. The vast and complex Nubian materials now at the disposal of scholars must not be allowed to get out of hand. There is at the present time a great need for a clear and succinct account of Nubia from prehistoric to Christian times, based upon the results of the last twenty years' field work; it is only by such a general conspectus that the missing links in the chain will make their absence apparent and scholars thus be directed especially to seek them out, find them if possible, and weld them into their places. As all archaeological work is necessarily confined to more or less limited areas, exploration reports or memoirs must deal with all material, irrespective of age or nature, that is to be found in that area, and must be, in fact, a detailed history and description of the microcosm enclosed within the boundaries of the concession. It is a truism to say that each of these microcosmic histories is but a small fragment of a consistent whole, and that a co-ordination of all units is necessary to make it possible to reconstruct the history and archaeology of a district or of a country. In spite of this, the fact remains that excavation records, each complete in itself, are liable to be docketed and filed after the manner of documents in a Government office, as it is no man's "job" to bring them all into focus. Let us hope that in the case of Nubia, where all the circumstances are favourable, an attempt will be made to crystallize in a short but authoritative form the results of the labours which so many scholars have ungrudgingly bestowed upon Nubian research in the last twenty years.

The Oxford expedition worked in two different areas. The first two seasons (1910-11, 1911-12), were devoted to Faras on the border between Egypt and the Sudan, about 25 miles above the second cataract. In this interesting region, the earliest remains—with the exception of a single paleolith—which were found consisted of a proto-dynastic cemetery and settlements. The graves were shallow oval pits, containing contracted burials, and pottery both of Egyptian and native wares. Some of the latter, treated with haematite applied in streaks or patterns, is of special interest. Stone vessels were rare, only a few specimens being found, but many good specimens of bronze implements of various kinds came to light, and a quantity of amulets, etc., of ivory, shell and other materials. A complete catalogue of all the graves and their contents is given, with accurate notes of the positions of all the objects.

The second article opens with an interesting and valuable summary of the history of Nubia from the Old to the New Kingdom, in order to show the significance of the finds made by the Oxford expedition in their proper chronological sequence. A cemetery of the type called by Dr. Reisner "C-group" was found and some 244 graves excavated. This cemetery dates from the intermediate period between the Old and Middle Kingdoms. A fort of Middle Kingdom date was also discovered and planned, but very few objects, other than broken pottery, were recovered from the site. Of the New Kingdom far more remains were found. These included a temple of Hathor, which yielded a fine series of scarabs, amulets and other small objects, and a quantity of inscribed architectural fragments, while near by was a small spoor or grotto dating from the reign of Ramsesses II, whose cartouches appear amongst the inscriptions. Remains were also found of a temple of Tuthmosis III. An Eighteenth Dynasty temple, built by Tutankhamun, containing

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1 Annals, vi11, 1-18. 2 Ibid., 65-104.
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fragments of some interesting ceremonal scenes was cleared and planned. It was of considerable size (56 x 25 m.) and consisted of a colonnaded forecourt, hypostyle hall and sanctuary. Of special interest is the prominence given to the viceroy Huy on the temple walls. It may be noted that the temple was called Sethep-entār ("Pacification of the gods") and was dedicated after the overthrow of the Aten cult when Tutankhamun had returned to orthodox Thebes: the deities worshipped in this temple were Amun, Isis, Hathor and the King himself. The inscriptions from these temples are all published in full in the plates together with some others from East Serra, which is situated further south.

The work of the third season was carried out at Napata, after which Dr. Reisner took over the concession and has worked it every winter since with brilliant results, which have been recorded in this Journal and elsewhere. The site worked by the Oxford expedition was Sanam, and it produced a rich crop of material belonging to the age which followed the New Kingdom—the Ethiopian period. The third article deals with the great temple of Tirhakah and the royal treasury. The walls of the temple were adorned with a remarkable series of processional and ceremonial scenes. Of special interest are the pictures of carts or wagons on four wheels, and of men riding horseback seated on decorative saddles. Amongst the antiquities discovered special mention must be made of a fine head of a statue of Amun with disk and plumes sculptured in yellow serpentine, the foundation deposits, an eponaemon depicting two rows of men taking part in some ceremony, moulids for making ushabtis, fragments of colossal vultures and uraei, lions' and rams' heads, etc. In the ruins of the treasury some remarkable objects in iron, bronze, silver, glass and other materials were found.

The cemetery of Sanam is the only one yet explored in the neighbourhood of Napata containing other than royal burials. Although the graves had no superstructure, or at least, if they ever had, none has survived, they corresponded in date with the prosperous period represented by the temples, and were rich in antiquities of high artistic merit and workmanship. The graves were of several types, some containing contracted, and others extended burials, and it seems that in some cases at least mummification had been attempted. The antiquities discovered were of a particularly varied and interesting kind, great numbers of amulets, scarabs, pottery, etc. being found.

We may, perhaps, express a word of regret that no anatomist was attached to the expedition. The very important anthropological and ethnographical results of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia, based upon the systematic examination of skeletons and mummies, show how much is to be gained in this direction. The generally ill-preserved condition of the bones discovered in the course of the Oxford excavations emphasises more than ever the need for specialist treatment: Nubia has many anthropological problems to solve, and a critical use should be made of the material from all sites.

W. R. DAWSON.

Die Literatur der Aegypter. Gedichte, Erzählungen und Lehrbücher aus dem 3 and 2 Jahrtausend v. Chr.
By ADOLF ERMAN. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1923.

In the preface of this truly delightful book Professor Erman rightly says that "no one who is unacquainted with this (the ancient Egyptian) literature ought to pass judgement on the Egyptians and on the epoch in human history to which they belong." Thanks to Professor Erman any one who can read German will now be able to estimate fairly whether or not Egyptologists are justified in claiming that the ancient inhabitants of the Nile Valley produced didactic and imaginative literature of a high order, as well as great architecture, sculpture, and painting.

It is much to be hoped that this book will be translated into English by a scholar who is equipped with literary taste as well as with philological and archaeological knowledge, so that the contents of so rich a treasure-house may be as satisfactorily displayed to British and American readers as to Professor Erman's fellow-countrymen.

The introduction comprises an outline of Egyptian history, the dating of the earlier period being that of Eduard Meyer and not, as it observed, that recently proposed by Dr. Borchardt. Professor Erman, it will be noted, suggests that the Fifth Dynasty was possibly a great age for literature as well as for art (p. xiv), and he is likewise inclined to accept a suggestion put forward by the reviewer in Discovery, xxx., 36, that the Horakleopolitan Period was marked by a great outburst of literary activity (p. 3).

The introduction has also a good deal to tell us about the different forms of Egyptian literature, about

1 Annals, ix, 67-124, and Pls. IV-LXII.
2 Op. cit., x, 73-171, and Pls. XI-LXVI.
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the scribe, the script, and the writing-materials employed, and also about the difficulties confronting the translator owing to textual corruptions,—for many of the examples of Egyptian literature that we possess are, unfortunately for us, only preserved in the form of the carelessly executed writing-exercises of schoolboys.

* A *propos *of schoolboys*, the reviewer would like to draw the attention of readers to the entertaining account of Egyptian education during the New Kingdom on pp. 238–41.

* For scholars* the most valuable part of the book is undoubtedly that containing the altogether admirable translations of New Egyptian literary texts and the accompanying introductory and explanatory notes, the rich harvest of a life-long study. These translations and notes (pp. 197–384) will be of the greatest assistance to students when beginning to study the language of the later period.

In the translation of Akhenaten's *Hymn to the Sun* (pp. 358–62), which is far the best that has yet appeared, there are just one or two points which the reviewer would like to call in question.

P. 355. Erman renders *in-tu š-D-n nbb lw-w hr smkn n mn-n* (line 3, bottom) "Wirden alle ihre Sachen genommen, die unter ihrem Kopfe liegen, sie merkten es nicht." Would not the following rendering be more correct? "All their things are stolen, even when they are under their heads; and they know it not."

P. 359. In (line 6) surely means "Samen" rather than "Knaben." If *nlb* is not to be regarded as the female counterpart of the male ejaculate, then *š-D-n* perhaps means "developing"; cf. *š-D-n* "educate," "bring up," and *š-D-n* "upbringing."

Breasted's translation of *wpk rlf hr mdw* (line 7) "thou openest his mouth in speech," is on the whole preferable to Erman's "so öffnet du seinen Mund, wenn er reden will (!)."

As Erman translates *dmny-f* (line 7) as "seine Kraft," in the passage "Du machst ihm im Ei seine Kraft (!), um es zu zerbrechen," there is no reason why he should leave *r dmny-f* untranslated in the succeeding passage. The combination is probably rightly rendered by Breasted "with all his might."

Professor Erman's translation of the *Gedichte auf Thuben und seinen Gott* (pp. 363–73) is in some respects an improvement on that of Gardiner in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 42. For example:

P. 372. The rendering of the passage *fä bty-fy*—*toby-fy* (Section 600) "Als er die Grotte unter seinen Füssen eintrat, da kam der Nil unter seinen Sohlen hervor," is preferable to "When he enters, the two caverns are under his feet. Nile goes forth from the grotto beneath his sandals."

There are also instances of changes having been made for the worse.

P. 365. Erman translates *šr nš-n y-y r š-n ṣ-a* (Section 10) "der Sand kam zu dem Ackerboden(?)"; but, as Gardiner points out in a footnote, *šn ṣ-a* probably means something like "the delimitation of fields," and renders the words probably more correctly: "Sand came to circumscribe (?) the fields."

P. 369. Why leave untranslated the perfectly intelligible words *mn wlt šw-ty lm-f* (Section 20), "There is no path empty of him," and the also translatable passage *hun nfr—kaph lb* (Section 40), "A fair colour becoming a goodly shape. Forming his images, creating himself. A goodly divine force (Âhm) enlivening his heart?"

P. 370. Surely *nby nh-tw hwn-f* (Section 200) does not mean "sein Wesen kennt man nicht," but rather "his colour (or 'complexion') is not known."

In *Der grosse Amenophymus,* zweites Lied, p. 363, the words *nb mšt* (Gneisaut, *Hymnes à Ammon-Ra*, § VIII, 5), and viertes Lied, p. 367, the words *twt tve* (Gneisaut, *op. cit.*, § XXIV, 2), are left untranslated.

Erman has evidently overlooked Spiegelberg's interesting discussion of the word *mšt* in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 53, 101–4, in which it is shown that the object in question is the case containing the documents which assigned to the Pharaoh all his rights and privileges as the successor and embodiment on earth of the god Horus. *Twt tve* probably means "pleasant, agreeable, of forms" (see Gardiner, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxxvi, 1914, 23).

With regard to the translations of selections from the *Pyramid Texts*, pp. 25–35, may the reviewer venture upon some minor criticisms?

P. 29. Surely *phr n.f phikt ntrw tvt* (Pyr., 304 e) means not "die Neunheit des Atum bedient ihn," but "the whole Ennead serves him."

Again *š-n ṣ-a* *fm k-w* *tn* (Pyr., 305 a) means not "er sitzt auf irgendeinem Throne des Atum" but "he sits on the throne of the Lord of All" (see Sethe, *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 54, 44).

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1 Cf. *mnh tu nh-tw* "Rescuing whom he will even when he is in the Teil," *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 43, 28.
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P. 31. It might perhaps be pointed out that Ember in Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr., 51, 114 [37], compares the verb ḫḥ (Pyr. 402 a) with the Arabic ḥj and accordingly suggests that the meaning is not "abstechen" (so Erman) but "to strangle.

Do not the words ʿiw pḥ̀r ʿf ḫ/hr be vn ḫ/hr šwmt (1) (Pyr., 408 b) mean "Thousands serve him, hundreds make obligation to him," rather than "Tausende werden ihm zuteil (1) und Hunderte werden ihm geopfert"?

P. 32. According to Ember in Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr., 51, 111(8), the verb nḥ (Pyr., 411 a) means "to bite" not "to gulp down" (verschlingen).

Hitt (Pyr., 616 c) probably means "forehead-unguent" rather than "feines Ol"; see the reviewer's art.

"On the Name of an Unquiet used for Ceremonial Purposes," in Journal, vi, 58-60.

P. 33. Bednář (Development, 22) is possibly right in translating ṣāqīf nṣāqīt tāḥt šwml (Pyr., 1194 a, b) "his unblemished birth whereby the Two Lands live."

Gardiner translates the word, ʿsw "dry" according to ERMAN-GRAPOW, Glossar, 179, being written with determ. 0 or 0b.

P. 34. Erman rightly gives "leero" as the meaning of 11b ṣeṣ (2, 11) instead of "dry" as Gardiner translates the word, ʿsw "dry" according to ERMAN-GRAPOW, Glossar, 179, being written with determ. 0 or 0b.

P. 130. ḫḥ nwb (3, 8) "Das Gold wird vermindert"; so Erman rightly as against Gardiner's "Gold is lacking."

P. 139. Erman gives a brilliant rendering of the difficult passage nām ... m r t n ʿḥy—hr ʾḥhr (6, 2-3):

"Man raubt die Abfälle (? ) aus dem Maule des Schweines, ohne (so wie früher) zu sagen (.) das ist besser für dich als für mich, weil man so hungrig ist."

P. 141. Equally clever is the translation of ḫḥ ṣāqīf m nḥ ʾḥhr (7, 11), "Wer ihm sonst um seine Neigen bat, der besitzt jetzt starkes Bier" (lit. beer that bowls one over!). Gardiner's translation is much less satisfactory "He who begged for himself his dregs is (now) the possessor of bowls full to overflowing(1)."

P. 145. "Kisse" as the meaning of ṣeṣ (3, 1) gives better sense than "waterskin."

"Stopfen" seems a more likely meaning of ḫḫ (9, 1 and 4, 2) than "prepare," "make ready."

P. 147. "Mit Amuleten geschützt," Erman's rendering of ṣfr m wḍ ṣw (14, 2), is decidedly preferable to Gardiner's "stored in safety."

Now for one or two criticisms:

P. 132. The perfectly translatable sentence n ḫḥ ṣḥ ṣḥ ʾḥhr (1, 2), "The washerman refuses to carry his load," is omitted, evidently by an oversight.

P. 133. It might be noted that Erman renders wdr (2, 4) as "barren," against the view of Setho and Gardiner, who take the verb to mean "be wanting," a view which finds support in the passage quoted by Gardiner in his Admonitions, p. 2 (Pfeil, Jager, i, 38, 9-39, 1).

P. 134. The words mḏ ḫḥ lw (2, 13), left untranslated by Erman and Gardiner, must mean "behold it is a net," i.e. a trap. For ḫḥ lw see Ûrk., iv, 2 = Journal, v, 49; Ûrk., iv, 669.

P. 144. Erman gives "Weizen" as the meaning of ḫḥ (10, 4), but it surely means "spelt."
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König Cheops und der Zauberer, pp. 64-77.

P. 74. The reviewer would like to draw attention to Professor Erman's brilliant rendering of the hitherto obscure passage (Westcar, x, 10-11) "Der Titel seiner Glieder war aus Gold und sein Kopftuch aus echtem Lapissalzuli." As he points out in an explanatory note, the children are described as coming into the world wearing the blue and yellow striped royal head-cloth as having their titles, which every Egyptian Pharaoh assumed on attaining the throne, inlaid in gold on their limbs, i.e. they are conceived of as inlaid bronze or copper figures. It might be pointed out here that a similar idea also occurs in Ramesses II's address to Ptah, engraved on a stela in the great temple of Abu Simbel, where that god is represented as saying to the king "I have wrought thy body of gold (ḫn-n-p), thy bones of copper, thy vessels of iron (ḥḥ-n-p)". Similarly, according to Pyr., 530, 1454, 2051, the bones of the reconstituted body of the dead Pharaoh are of copper. Again in the much damaged description of the fashioning of the dead Pharaoh's new body (Pyr., 1966-71) copper (ḥḥ) is distinctly stated (1966) to be one of the materials employed, and Sokar is said to smelt for the deceased his bones. Lastly in a coffin-text of the Herakleopolitan period the deceased says of himself: "The apex of my back is of lapissalzuli, my body is of gold (ḏḥnm), my neck (ḥmn) is of gold (nḥw)" (LACAU, Textes religieux, i, 92; cf. also the description of the aged sun-god in NAVILLE, "La destruction des hommes par les dieux," in T.S.B.A., iv, 1-9).

The translation of ḡn-n-ḥn ḫḏ ḏḏw ḫḏ (Westcar, x, 2), "sia...fanden ihn, wie er dastand mit herabhängendem (?) Schurz," does not fully convey the sense of ḫḏ, which surely means "be upside down." Is not the idea that Reśworos was so distracted that he did not notice that he had put his loin-cloth on the wrong way up?

P. 76. Is it not possible that the words ḫn-ḫ ḫḏ m ḫḏ (Westcar, x, 16), Erman's rendering of which "Nahs dich nicht in ihrem Leibe" has very little meaning, might be translated "Do not toe it (i.e. jump about) in her womb," the verb ḫḏ here being derived from ḫḏ "toe"? When this book was being prepared for the press GARDINER's article "A Hitherto Unnoticed Negative in Middle Egyptian," in Rec. de Trav., 40, 79 foll., had not yet appeared. Thus little sense could be made of the passage ṣfr ḫḏw ḫḏ N — ḫḏ ḫḏ-n-ḥn (Westcar, x, 123), which now, however, thanks to Gardiner's brilliant discovery, can be translated "There is no making good here, but the barlow of these dancers is in a chamber bearing their seal."

Die Gründung eines Tempels, pp. 79-82.

P. 82. More can be made of the ending of this interesting text than has been made of it here. There are certain useful parallels in the account of the laying out of the foundations of a temple by Tuthmosis III (Urk., iv, 166), a text which has apparently escaped Professor Erman's notice, but which is of assistance in the interpretation of the concluding sentences of the Berlin document. These, in the reviewer's opinion, should be transcribed and translated as follows:

\[\text{The king appeared in the double plumed diadem with all the people [ḥḥ-n-ḥ] behind him.} \]

The chief lector, the scribe of the god's book, extended the line (i.e. for fixing the axis) and let go the measuring cord (for the laying out of the walls or the fixing of the four corners). It (the foundation stone) was laid \(^3\) in the ground, and work was begun \(^4\) on this temple. Then his majesty made the king of Upper Egypt \(^4\) go and betake himself back to the presence, saying, 'United in one are Upper and Lower Egypt.' He who is in Aphroditopolis...."

1 L., D., III, 194, 9-10.
2 The sign in hieratic is more like \(\text{ḥḥ-n-ḥ} \) than \(\text{ḥḥ-n-p} \), but see the parallel passage in Urk., iv, \(\text{ḥḥ-n-p} \).
3 Impersonal use of passive form ḫḏw ḫḏ.
4 Evidently this is an officiant who, impersonating the King of Upper Egypt, takes part in a performance which recalls some event that occurred at the uniting of the Two Lands by Menes. In this connection it might be
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Der Kampf des Körös Kamose, pp. 83-5.

P. 83. The meaning of ln Hr rdl lw m nṣwt ḏsf (Carn. Tabl., 1, 2) is rather “Rōč has installed him as a veritable king” than “Be selbst hat ihn zum König gemacht.”

P. 84. “Der die rechten Gedanken hat” for mty ḫywr (Carnarvon Tablet, 1, 10) is distinctly preferable to Gardiner-Gunn’s “just of counsel.”

Erman has evidently not read Bartiassombe Gunn and Gardner’s joint translation of this text (in Journal, v, 45, 46), which is in certain points a distinct improvement on that which Gardiner printed in Journal, iii, 95-110. Thus the later translation of ḫn.l(sw r ḫb-nḥy (Carn. Tabl., 1, 3), “To what purpose am I cognisant of this, this power of mine, when one chieftain is in Avaris, another in Kush, and (so) I sit in company with an Asiatic and a Negro” is far preferable, from the point of view of syntax, to “Ich mochte wissen, won meine Stärke dient. Ein Fürst sitzt in Auaris und ein anderer in Nubien und ich sitze da, zusammen mit einem Asiaten und einem Neger.”

Bdt (Carn. Tabl., 1, 6) surely means “spelt,” not “Weizen.”

Erman leaves ḫpr ṣḏ ḫt (Carn. Tabl., 1, 6) untranslated, though “success will come,” the rendering of both the above-mentioned English translations is a highly likely one. ḫtḥ ṣḏ occurs with a similar meaning both in Kubbān Stela, 20, and in Tustankhamān Stela, 8.

Die Lehre für König Mert·ka-śe, pp. 109-10.

P. 112. “Seines Taten werden haufenweise neben ihm gelegt” (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 A recto, 55) seems a more satisfactory translation of rūf.w ṣnʾf ṣḏ ḫw m ḫḥw than Gardiner’s “his deeds are laid beside him for (all) treasure.”

P. 117. “Gott greift den an, der gegen den Tempel feind ist” seems to be a possible translation of ṭḥk nfr ḫl-ḥfr ṭ pr (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 A recto, 110). Gardiner renders the words “God thwart(s) (?) the rebel...home.”

“Das Königstum ist ein schönes Amt. Auch wenn es keinen Sohn und keinen Bruder hat, der die Erinnerung daran fortzuarbeiten liesse, so stellte doch einer (das Denkmal) des andern wieder hör” is on the whole a better rendering of ḫtḥ pw ṣḏt—in ṣḏ ḫḥw ḫḥw (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 A recto, 110-17) than Gardiner’s “A goodly office is that of King; it has no son nor has it a brother who is made to endure upon its monuments. One brings honour to another.”

P. 110. “They who know (the extent of) his knowledge do not thwart him” seems a more natural and satisfactory translation of n ṭḥk-n ṣḏ ḫw ṣḏ ḫw (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 A recto, 33-4), than “den greift die Gelüthten nicht an, wenn er gelehrt ist.”

P. 111. The quite legible words ṣḏ rd ṣḏw-k (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 A recto, 38) “make strong thy frontiers” have been left untranslated.

Why are the words ṣḏ rd ṣḏw m ṣḏw (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 A recto, 45) not translated? They clearly mean “August is he who is rich in magistrates.”

Mty n nb ḫḥt-ḥl (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 A recto, 46) means “Uprightness of heart befits the sovereign” rather than “Einen Herrn mit rechtem Sinne geht es gut.”

Translate ḫr mmt ṣḏ ḫḥw tp (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 A recto, 46-7) “Do right that thou mayest live long upon earth” and not “Tue das Rechte solange du auf Erdon weilst.”

P. 112. Erman’s translation of ḫn pw ḫḥy m ḫḥw (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 A recto, 54) “Ubel ergibt es, wo der Anklicher der Weise ist,” in which he takes ḫḥw “der Weise” to mean Thoth, seems too far-fetched. It is better to take ḫḥy as perf. pass. participle=“he who has been cited,” “the accused,” and translate “Woful is the accused when in the capacity of (m) one who knows,” i.e. an instructed person who therefore should know better, or perhaps rather, as Gardiner suggests, one who knows he is guilty.

P. 113. Gardner’s interpretation of the passage rṣp tps 20—n ṣḏw (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 A recto, 58-9) is more satisfactory than Erman’s. The latter scholar takes rṣp 20 as a genitive defining ṣḏw mtf, and refrains from translating the rest of the passage, evidently overlooking Gardner’s clever suggestion that the word ṣḏw means “father of a family,” =lit. “one who causes to enter,” i.e. begets children.

P. 115. Gardner’s rendering of mfr-h ṣḏw n ṣḏ ṣḏ ḫḥw tp-ḥ ṣḏ ḫḥw (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 A recto, 70-81), “Behold the king is a lord of joy. Thou art indolent and sleepest through thy strength; thou followest thy desire through what I have done. There is no enemy within thy border,” is better than “Siehe, du König, du Herr der Freude...du schliefst in deiner Stärke. Folge meinem Herzen in dem, was ich tat, so pointed out that one of the priests attached to the temple of Ḥarāchef at Herakleopolis Magna was entitled ṣḏw (Bruns, Dict. geogr., 1877).
hast du keinen Feind innerhalb deiner Grenzen." Erman, it will be observed, does not accept Gardiner's emendation \( m \overline{hpr} \overline{i} \) for the \( m \overline{hpr} \overline{k} \) of the MS.

P. 116. "Mit schlechtem Wasser" is surely an impossible translation of \( htw m \overline{nv} \) (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 a recto, 91–2). The substantive \( htw \) means "pain," "trouble." Here, where the word is used as an adjective, the meaning must be "painful," "troubled." Insert with Gardiner the preposition \( m \) before \( m \overline{nv} \), begins with the same letter, and translate "troubled (with) water.,"

Die Weissagung des Nefer-reha, pp. 151–57.

P. 154. "Was gemacht ist, ist als wäre es nie gemacht und Ro möge (wieder) zu gründen anfangen" is a much more satisfactory translation of \( krty \ m \overline{tm} \ ft \ R \overline{e} \ m \overline{grg} \) (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 n recto, 22) than Gardiner's "Things made are as though they had never been. Day begins in falsehood (??).

"Es ist kein Rest geltend und nicht das Schwarze vom Nagel bleibt von dem, was da sein sollte" is a brilliant rendering of the apparently hopeless passage \( hpr \ \overline{dt} \ ov \ \overline{km} \ ov \ \overline{nt} \ m \overline{b} \overline{t} \overline{f} \) (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 n recto, 23).

The passage \( lw \ R \overline{e} \overline{t}w \ ov \ \overline{rw} \ \overline{nw} \)—\( \overline{nw} \) (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 n recto, 51–2) is rendered by Erman "Die Sonne trennt sich von den Menschen; sie geht auf, wenn es die Stunde ist (?). Man weiss nicht mehr, dass es Mittag wird und man unterscheidet den Schatten nicht mehr." This is a distinct improvement on the rendering adopted by Gardiner who did not recognise the reference to the sun dial.

It has occurred to the reviewer that the following translation is possible and also preferable to that of Erman:—"Re\[i\] separates himself from man. He rises (\( \overline{wbn-f} \)), and the hour passes (\( \overline{wnt} \ \overline{ Amenf} \)), (but) one knows not that it is noon, (for) one discerns not his (the sun's) shadow (i.e. the shadow that should be cast by the sun, were it not overclouded, on the dial)."

Two passages in this text are left untranslated, though they are not so hopeless as we are thus led to suppose. They are:—\( Or \ m \overline{tkh} \ mp \ t \ \overline{b} \overline{t} \overline{m} \ \overline{nt} \ \overline{km} \) (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 n recto, 20–1), and \( m \overline{kv} \ m \overline{vwr} \ m \overline{khrw} \ m \overline{nt} \) (Pap. Petersburg, 1116 n recto, 22). The first is very difficult, but there is much to be said for Gardiner's rendering:—"He who is silent is a transgressor. Behold, that exists whereof men spoke as a thing to be dreaded. Behold, the great one is fallen in the land whence thou art sprung." There is less excuse for leaving the second passage untranslated, for it must mean, as is also the view of Gardiner, "Behold, princes (i.e. a number of petty rulers) are in control of this land," where the Pharaoh, of course, should be the solo ruler. For \( m \overline{khrw} \ m \overline{nt} \) "in control of," cf. \( dl-tw-l \ \overline{fr} \ \overline{khrf} \) "I am placed under his control" (Sinuhe, B 217; see also Bersheh II, 13, 12; 21, 10; Siut, v, 23; Urk., iv, 96).

Die Geschichte des Sinuwe (pp. 39–56).

P. 42. \( Bty " \) zwei Büsche" (B 5); so Erman rightly. Gardiner strangely translates "two brambles." P. 43. Despite Gardiner's remarks on p. 21 of his Notes on the Story of Sinuwe, Erman's rendering of \( f\overline{b}-n\overline{r} \ \overline{k} \) (Pap. B 29) "ich zog von Byblos fort" seems more satisfactory than "I set forth to Byblos." P. 48. The translation of \( dl-\overline{m} \ \overline{nt} \ \overline{hpf} \) (B 160–81) "mochte der Gott mir Gnade geben," where \( n \overline{nt} \) is taken as dative and \( \overline{hpf} \) as a substantive, seems preferable to Gardiner's "I have caused God to be gracious," where \( dl-\overline{m} \overline{nt} \) is in the form \( sgm-\overline{ntf} \overline{f} \) and \( \overline{hpf} \) pseudopartice.

P. 51. "Der grosse Gott der dem Re gleich, macht selbst den, der ihm dient, verständig," Erman's rendering of \( Ntr \ \overline{C} \ \overline{mtw} \ R \overline{e} \ \overline{hr} \ \overline{kdfs} \ btk \ \overline{ntf} \ \overline{df} \) (B 210–17), is perhaps an improvement on Gardiner's "Great god, like unto Re\[e\] in making wise one who was labouring for himself.

P. 52. \( Nn \overline{kdfs} \ Rtmw \ m \overline{n\overline{km}} \ \overline{by} \ \overline{wtt} \ \overline{twm-k} \) (B 222) "ohne dass ich Retenns gedenke: das ist dein, so wie es deine Hunde sind" is preferable to the rendering adopted by Gardiner who tacks \( Nn \overline{kdfs} \ \overline{on} \ \overline{hwrf} \ m \overline{n\overline{twm-k}} \) and translates "who have grown up in love of thee, albeit unremembered," and then begins a new sentence with \( Rtmw \ m \overline{n\overline{km}} \ \overline{by} \)." P. 41. Surely \( m \ \overline{sw} \overline{yt} \) (B 3) means "my arms opened" or "were spread open," not "meine Arme sanken."

P. 42. "Da erzilte es mich, dass ich vor Durst niederfiel" is impossible grammatically. As Gardiner has pointed out, the passage, according to the text of B, line 47 (\( hpr \ m \overline{lh} \ \overline{th-n\overline{ntf}} \) \( m \overline{ntf} \)), can only mean "thirst fell and overtook me" or according to that of B, lines 21–2 (\( hpr \ m \overline{lh} \ \overline{th-n\overline{ntf}} \) \( m \overline{ntf} \)) "the fall of thirst overtook me."

P. 44. \( \overline{Smurf} \ b\overline{t}\overline{m\overline{ntf}} \ \overline{hpr} \) (B 51) "Er war es, der die Fremdlinge bezwang, während sein Vater binnen im Palaste sass" damit er ihm melden könnte, da ihm Aufgetragene sei geschehen (??)" is hardly in

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1 Reading \( \Delta \). The \( \Delta \) may easily have dropped out between the two groups \( \alpha \ \alpha \ \alpha \).
accordance with the rules of grammar, for in that case hpr would be pseudopartic. and should be in the fem. not masc. form. Gardiner's view seems the only tenable one, namely that hpr is the pass. infin. of lrt= “siris,” and that št-ntf hpr means “what had been commanded him to be done.” The version of R, šmy-f n št-ntf ltrf, which Erman adopts and, in the reviewer's opinion, mistranslates, is to be rendered “he (Sesostris) reported to him (Amenemmes) what he (A.) commanded to be done.”

P. 45. Erman has overlooked Gardiner's point that ltrf m nkt cannot be taken as a principal clause, but qualifies the preceding sentence,—“Men and women go by, rejoicing over him, now that he is king.”

P. 47. Erman only gives what he considers to be the general meaning of the very difficult passage, B 114-26, instead of—and that seems a great pity—reproducing Gardiner's clever rendering of it, a rendering essentially sound both from the point of view of grammar and sense.

Erman translates honet lýwn hr “ii (B 132) “die Frauen der Männer redeten aufgereggt,” but Gardiner's “women and men jabbered” is much better. Erman has evidently not read Gardiner's art. in P.S.B.A., 37, 123, nor seen the note on p. 168 of his Notes on the Story of Sinuhe.

P. 48. Erman's rendering of the passage hr krt ntr r htp n št-nfr ltrf th-nfr r ktf hlt (B 147-9) “Und (dies) hat der Gott getan um einem deinen Fassaden zu sein, der sich an ihm vergangen (!) hatte, der zu einem andern Lande entrommen war” is in certain respects grammatically impossible. Gardiner supplies plenty of evidence to show that št m means “be vexed with” or sim. Accordingly r htp n št-nfr ltrf is to be rendered “in order to be gracious to him with whom he was vexed,” a rendering that complies with the demands of grammar and sense. It is curious that Erman should take the meaning of th-nfr r ktf hlt to be “who ran away to another land” instead of “whom he (God) had led astray into another land,” for on p. 51 he translates bkt th-n bfr r ktf hlt drdyt (B 203) by “Diener, den sein Herz nach feindlichen Ländern hin verleitet hat.”

Wv hpr sp nfr (B 160) can hardly mean “möge das Gute geschehen,” but rather, as Gardiner has pointed out, “that which has happened (i.e. Sinuhe's victory and additional acquisition of wealth) is a happy event.”

Why are the words ltrf my ljt r šmnh phwy n ltrf-m (B 161) left untranslated? Gardiner's rendering “May he do the like so as to make good the end of him whom he hath afflicted” is perfectly satisfactory. The difficult passage wdbf šmy nfr (B 165) is also left untranslated. May it not mean: “May he turn towards him whom he has oppressed unto (or “at”?) the place whither he hath brought him”?

Ndš ltr honet tš (B 166) does not mean “möchte ich die Landesherrsin...nach ihre Wünschen fragen” so much as “May I greet (lit. enquire after the state of) the Lady of the Land”; cf. hr mš-tw ltr-l m šnh čnh “I was greeted (or “enquired after”) with (the words) ‘Health, life!’ ” (Urk., iv, 50).

P. 49. “Übel” is a poor rendering of wgt (B 168), which surely means “foolishness.” Again lryt dš (B 198) does not mean “Meine Augen sind schwach” but “my eyes are heavy.”

P. 50. Why are the words n nfr m bfr r-b (B 185) left untranslated? The whole passage should be rendered “This thought, it seized on thy heart, (but) it was not in my heart against them.”

Gardiner has produced sufficient evidence to show that (B 194-5) is the correct reading here. It is therefore over-cautious to print “die Tänze der...”

“An deinen Opfersteinen” does not fully give the meaning of r ltr chtwk (B 196-6), which should be rendered “at the door of thy façade-stela.” The stela here referred to represents the façade of a house, the door occupying the centre of the lower portion. Such a stela is to be seen in the tomb-chapel of Pepi-imnkh the Middle at Meir with the tethering-stone to which the victims were fastened directly opposite it.

P. 51. After his admirable rendering of the difficult preceding passage, why does Erman leave lwr bkw lwm—hr šhrf (B 217) untranslated? Gardiner has quite convincingly shown that the words mean: “The servant there is in the hand of him who takes counsel on his behalf. Yea, I am set under his (the king's) guidance.”

P. 52. In view of the parallel expression in the Brit. Mus. stela quoted by Gardiner on p. 85 of his Notes, bkt wu ntrw nsw (B 221) should probably be rendered “they are chieftains whose names are renowned.”

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1 Or should we render “turn the arm towards,” or, as we should say, “give a helping hand to”?
2 For r šmy “at,” see Urk., iv, 768, pš ttw...šmy r ltr-nfr m, “this statue...which serves at this temple.”
3 chtw (plur.) should probably be emended to cht (sing.).
4 Blackman, The Rock Tombs of Meir, iv, Pla. I, xxv, 1, xxvi, 1.
5 MS. nft.

Journ. of Egypt. Arch. x.
P. 54. ḫr-n-k westerday (B 257), left untranslated, probably means "Thou hast traversed the waste.”

P. 55. "Löse dein Horn und ziehe deine Pfeile heraus" is not a satisfactory translation of ntf ḫr-k ḫhbt ḫr-k (B 274). According to Erman the king is here thought of as a bull and is asked to set free him whom he has transfixed with his horn. Presumably Erman also supposes that the king is requested to pull his arrows out of the persons he has shot? But in view of the parallel passage in the Piankhi Stela, the variant reading of the Berlin Ostracon No. 2, and the use of  in Koller, i, 8, with the meaning "bow," Gardiner is probably right in rendering "Slacken (i.e. unstring) thy bow, loosen the arrow (i.e. remove it from the string)."

It is somewhat surprising, after Gardiner's remarks in his Notes, pp. 109-110, and the reviewer's art. "The House of the Morning" in Journal, v, 148-63, that "Kabinett der Verehrung" should still be given as the meaning of pr-cost (B 282).

Judging from the footnote Erman seems to agree with Gardiner's interpretation of r irt ḥt-wf (B 283) "in order to wait upon him" (cf. ḥ, according to G., being an abstract word for "service," "attendance"). It seems unnecessary caution, therefore, to represent these words by "um seine...zu machen" in the actual translation.

P. 56. Why leave ḥm wmt ḥt (B 287) untranslated? ḥm is a not uncommon word for "figure" of a divinity. Gardiner's "painted devices of the horizon" is quite a reasonable rendering.

It has long been the opinion of the reviewer that the words ti-xeyw ḥt ḥnt-ḥ (B 281) are intentionally jocose and should be translated "I was plucked (i.e. underwent depilation)" and my hair was raked together"; the idea being that so much hair was removed from Sinuhe's body that it had to be raked together like the straw on the threshing-floor, which was raked together with a wooden fork under the feet of the oxen treading out the corn! This interpretation is hinted at by Gardiner in his Notes (pp. 111-12) but not followed out in his translation.

Erman still retains his old translation of the last words of the story, "So lebe ich belohnt von König, bis dass der Tag meines Hinscheidens kommt," overlooking what Gardiner has pointed out, namely that "a clause beginning with ḥnt-ḥ must be the continuation of the descriptive passage that precedes," for "otherwise we should have ḥt ḥnt-ḥ or ḥt miik-ḥ or the like," and ignoring the fact that the tale is written in the form of a funerary biography. The story should therefore end thus: "There is no humble person for whom the like has been done; and so I enjoyed the favours of the king's bounty until the day of death came."

Die Klagcn des Bauern, pp. 151-75.

This is the most unsatisfactory of all the translations appearing in this book. Dr. Erman had not access, of course, to Gardiner's brilliant rendering which has recently been published in Journal, ix, 5-25, and which has made back numbers of all previous attempts at translation; but on the other hand the same scholar's admirable "Notes on the Story of the Eloquent Peasant" in P.S.B.A., xxxv, xxxvi, should not, as apparently is the case, have been entirely disregarded. The following are some of the consequent deficiencies:

P. 159. We still read of "Redemmet-" instead of "Reometpflanzen" (R 9).

The combination šnt-tf ḥnt-ḥt (R 44), which Gardiner has shown to mean "a river-side path," is rendered "...eines wegen..."

P. 160. "Da die eine Seite versperrt war, habe ich meinen Esel auf die andere geführt und nun nimmt du ihn fort, weil er sich ein Maul voll Gerstenhalme genommen hat" appears as the translation of the passage ḥt ḥnt-ḥt -ḥt ḥt ḫnt (B 1, 12), instead of the much more satisfactory rendering proposed by Gardiner "One (bunch of corn) only has been spoilt. I brought my ass on account of .....", but thou takest it away on account of its filling with a bunch of corn."

P. 163. Instead of "In order that he may continue to speak, keep thou silence," Gardiner's clever and undoubtedly correct translation of ḥnt-ḥt ḥnt-ḥt ḫn ḫn-ḥt ḥt ḫnt (B 1, 79-80), we have a rendering based upon the improbable theory of Vogelsang that the last word is the particle ḫn "also," here having the meaning of "further," for which use there is no evidence whatever.

1 For this practice see the reviewer's art. "Purification (Egyptian)" in Hastings, Enyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, i, pp. 477, 481.

2 In his latest translation Gardiner suggests that ḥnt, ḥnt-ḥt means "endurance," "power of withstanding long travel."
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P. 164. As long as Gardiner's remarks on the meaning of the interrogative in *tu* are disregarded, the passage in *mut—n nḥḥ* (B 1, 92-5) is unintelligible. Accordingly we find not only the question deprived of its right sense, but also the words in *mut mut ħn cf ḫyw cf* left untranslated. But, as Gardiner points out, the passage should be rendered: "A mortal man dies even as (lit. along with) his underlings, and shalt thou be a man of eternity (i.e. live for ever)?"

It is unnecessary, however, to go on multiplying examples of the ill results of Gardiner's *Notes* being overlooked. All that need be said is that if and when this in most respects truly admirable book is translated into English, it is most desirable that permission should be obtained from Professor Erman to substitute Dr. Gardiner's latest translation of the *Peasant* for his own, which is based in the main upon that put forth by Dr. Vogelsang in his not always felicitous *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*.

Similarly it is to be hoped that in an English edition much more use will be made of Gardiner's *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*; in fact the best thing would be in this case also to substitute Dr. Gardiner's translation for that given here, incorporating, of course, Professor Erman's improvements, to which attention has been drawn above.

Just one more criticism. The book would be much more useful to scholars if the columns and lines of the original documents were indicated, for that would save so much time when one wanted to look up particular passages. The reviewer would suggest that in the English edition the same method of indicating columns and lines should be employed as that adopted by Dr. Gardiner in his translations of *The Story of Sinuhe* and *The Eloquent Peasant*, where such indications are placed in the margin. This presents a better appearance than when the text is broken up by numerals in brackets, as is the case in the same scholar's "New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt" in *Journal*, 1, 23–36, 101-5.

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